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**Cultural Patriotism in the Southern Balkans:
The Case of Greece (1833-1848)**

1. "Cultural patriotism" in the study of the newly established Greek state

This study traces evidence of the Greek people's propensity to give what little they had in order to improve education and advance their young people's intellectual prowess. One might assert, with the support of archival material, much of which is published here for the first time, that this propensity constitutes what has been termed "cultural patriotism". It is not my intention to undertake a cumulative assessment of the Greeks' concern for the common good in that period, for this would not be feasible; but rather to reveal the general mind-set of the time and the social significance of the small donations made by people with a moderate or low income¹.

Konstandinos Tsoukalas uses the term "cultural patriotism", by which he means a general awareness among the economically weak (and other) Greeks of the nineteenth century, which, at the ideological level, identified the national interest with cultural advancement and superiority. It was an awareness which prompted often totally illiterate people to donate their savings for cultural works and for national education, rather than for other aspects of national activity. Tsoukalas notes that we have every reason to accept that the national consciousness that was propagated in the east Mediterranean basin was closely associated with the cultural patriotism that was served and promoted by all the educational institutions, particularly by the University of Athens, the symbol of the nation's intellectual rebirth. He continues:

And though it may be extravagant to explain this collective subconscious by attributing to the Greeks a conscious or un-

1. K. Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή: ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1922)*, Themelio, Athens 1987², p. 492. See also D. A. Sakkis, *Νεοσύστατο ελληνικό κράτος (1833-1848): Οικονομικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές συνιστώσες της εκπαιδευτικής πραγματικότητας*, Tipothito, Athens 2001.

conscious desire to pave the way to Constantinople and construct an intellectual stronghold that would be able to choose at will between superior military might and talented diplomacy [...], it is certain that the entire Greek middle class of the diaspora was fully aware that it could not sustain its dominant economic position without propagating a national “monopoly” on the specialised personnel which it needed within the framework of ever expanding imperialist infiltration².

An initial reading of the writings of nineteenth-century intellectuals and politicians suggests that the role of education in general and of the University of Athens in particular was to serve as the link between the modern and the ancient Greeks, and to help to channel the Enlightenment of the West to the East. These were the main ideological aims behind its foundation. But more generally, the stance of these intellectuals and politicians reveals, apart from their cultural patriotism, a distinctive *cultural Darwinism*. There seems to be an hierarchy of cultures, which, from the “civilised” countries of the West, is diffused, via Greece, to the peoples of the Orient. Education in general will assist understanding and the development of the appropriate consciousness, and will also help to create the prospects for Greece to identify with Europe and European culture³.

2. Tsoukalas, *op.cit.*, p. 492. Also Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism: New Perspectives on the Past*, Blackwell, Oxford 1983, p. 108. Gellner believes that the development of nationalism in the Greek diaspora confirms his theory about the transition from the agricultural to the industrial society. More specifically, with regard to the dominant economic and bureaucratic position of the Greek diaspora and, more generally, the Greeks and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, he quotes Elie Kedourie (ed.), *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, London 1970, p. 20: “Greek and Armenian nationalism arose among populations which were generally more prosperous and better able to understand the wealth-generating economies of modern Europe than their Ottoman Muslim overlords”. I feel morally obliged at this point to thank Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou-Farrington, Doctor of Social Anthropology, for our discussion of this question. I first met Dr Chryssanthopoulou-Farrington at the conference organized by the School of History, Archaeology, and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly on *Οι σπουδές της ιστορίας και του πολιτισμού στις αρχές του 21ου αιώνα* (Volos, 23-25 June 2000).

3. For similar importance attached to education and a sense of tradition for the construction and transmission of the identity of the Greeks of Australia, see V. Chryssanthopoulou, *The Construction of Ethnic Identity among the Castellorizian Greeks of Perth, Australia*, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, Trinity 1993, 2 vols, Wolfson College, Oxford.

When opening the University, its first rector, the historian D. Skhinas, revealed the deeper message underlying its aims:

The University, lying between Occident and Orient, is destined to receive the seeds of wisdom from the one, and then, having nurtured and fecundly developed them within itself, to transmit them, young and fruitful, to the neighbouring Orient⁴.

Kolettis was pursuing the same ideological line of reasoning when he pronounced that Greece “is predestined to enlighten the East through her own rebirth”⁵. And the same long-term goal of cultural infiltration of the East seems still to have been an underlying objective thirty years later. The University, declared S. Komnos in 1867,

in transmitting to the entire East our language, ideas, and institutions, is, as the epic says, sowing Greece in the East [...] and thus preparing the political union of the scattered members of the great Greek family⁶.

In discussing the term “cultural patriotism”, I consider it useful briefly to refer to such related terms as “nation”, “country”, and “patriotism”. One way of approaching the subject is Gellner’s.

Defining the concept of the nation, Ernest Gellner asserts that people belong to the same nation if, and only if,

i) they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a

4. Konstandinos Dimaras, “Ιδεολογική υποδομή του νέου ελληνικού κράτους, η κληρονομία των περασμένων, οι νέες πραγματικότητες, οι νέες ανάγκες”, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. XIII, Ekdotike Athinon, p. 464.

5. Dimaras, *op.cit.*, p. 464.

6. Dimaras, *op.cit.*, pp. 464-465. For the concept of the intellectual and cultural superiority of the modern Greeks, which arises out of their ancient heritage, and Europe’s “debt” to them, see M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece*, Univ. of Texas Press, Austin 1982, esp. pp. 13-18. For the concept of the Great Idea and the concomitant irredentism which led to the Asia Minor Disaster, see Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, pp. 123-139. See also a comparison of the Greeks with other peoples who gained their own nation state in the nineteenth century (the Finns, for instance, who similarly compared their own “European” culture with the “oriental barbarism” of the Russians), in Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, p. 11. I have already broached the subject of the role played by education in general and the University of Athens in particular in this respect in a paper read at the Greek-Serbian symposium organized by the School of History and Ethnology on the theme of *Funkcionisanje skolstva u periodu posle oslobođenja Greke: greki primer*.

system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating; ii) ... they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations make the men; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarity. [...] It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members⁷.

In agreement with Tsoukalas's thoughts on the Greek bourgeoisie's promoting of the creation of a nation-state, Gellner's theory asserts that the nation-state is the creation of the industrial society and its need for a uniformly trained and educated workforce able to move about between multiple jobs. This is achieved by "universal high culture", the literacy provided by schooling⁸. Furthermore, Nikos Mouzelis observes,

The important role of the bourgeoisie and the Westernized intelligentsia before and during the War of Independence and their partial victory over the traditional oligarchy explains to a great extent why from the very start there was a persistent effort to organise national life along liberal-bourgeois lines, despite the weak capitalist development and the non-existence of a strong, Western-type autochthonous bourgeoisie⁹.

It is certainly not my intention to depreciate the role of the Greek bourgeoisie abroad¹⁰, which played a very important part in the construction and progress of the education system. On the contrary, if we are to give a complete picture of the question under discussion, it is essential to connect the efforts of the benefactors abroad to play an im-

7. Gellner, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-24.

8. Gellner, *op.cit.*, Chapter 3: "Industrial Society", esp. "The Age of Universal High Culture" (pp. 19-38). Gellner defines "universal high culture" as follows: "Universal literacy and a high level of numerical, technical and generalized sophistication are among the functional prerequisites of industrial society" (p. 35).

9. Nikos Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., New York 1978, pp. 12-17 (esp. p. 14).

10. Tsoukalas, *op.cit.*, pp. 485-491; also Elli Skopetea, *To "Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, Athens 1988, pp. 65-85. On pp. 68-69, she points out that Greece may be marginally involved in both aspects of Greek prosperity, intellectual and economic, but not totally uninvolved.

portant part in education and culture with their financial gifts with those of the benefactors at home and of the people generally, since it was the former who set the example.

Also, I take a cautious view of the blinkered, simplistic notion that the Greeks have a natural predisposition towards education¹¹, even though my research in the General State Archives has brought to light a number of cases that might seem to support it. But it is probably an exaggeration, when there is already the argument that it is part of the Greeks' collective identity and is associated with the ideology of the continuity of the splendid ancient Greek past, which the intellectuals in the newly established Greek state sought to cultivate and promote abroad¹².

The debate over the terms "country" and "patriotism", as Andonis Liakos points out, began as early as the sixteenth century, giving rise to a long tradition in political thought¹³. Today, under the influence of new historical, cultural, and demographic circumstances, as also the circumstances which shape the framework of an evolving multicultural society, the subject has come up again, and it is interesting to see what various people have to say.

In the early 1990s, for instance, the concepts of country and patriotism were being examined in the context of German society as it had taken shape after the wave of immigration which followed the Second World War. Intellectuals and politicians alike took part in the debate, and from it I have gleaned the following views.

11. Tsoukalas, *op.cit.*, p. 485.

12. Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-23; also pp. 97-112, where, in Chapter 5, he analyzes the birth of folklore as a Greek national science, the aim of which, at least in part, is to prove the cultural continuity of the modern Greeks and their ancient heritage. N. G. Politis, the father of Greek folklore, spoke of "modern Greek mythology" (1871) and "monuments of the word" (Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-115), expressing a more general ideology which regarded aspects of modern Greek culture as "survivals" of ancient Greek culture. This notion is clearly reflected in the title and content of John Cuthbert Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (1910) (see also Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, p. 103). Regarding the creation of "ethnic myths" and their importance for the development and promotion of nationalism, see A. D. Smith, "Ethnic Myths and Ethnic Revivals", *Archives européennes de sociologie* 25.2 (1984) 283-305; *idem*, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986; *idem*, "The Origins of Nations", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12.3 (July 1989) 340-367.

13. Anđonis Liakos, "Πατριωτισμός ή κοσμοπολιτισμός", in the newspaper *Το Βήμα*, 5 January 1997.

Dietrich Sperling asserts that “country” as a term goes beyond geographical boundaries and takes root in a social and cultural environment, in a place where history continues. Thus, some people have patriotic feelings for their native land or their village and others for their family, social, and cultural environment. For the latter —immigrants, for instance, and refugees— their “country” can be carried from place to place; for the former, however, this would be difficult. But it is possible to find both these views co-existing in different degrees in any individual. The most important conclusion is that one’s country can be acquired and created, it is not something given and immutable. Some people think that one’s country is connected only with one’s nation, while others see it in a wider European context. According to Sperling, “country” is a political term and exists only where there is peace and human solidarity in pursuit of the same goals¹⁴.

Certainly, in order to feel more secure, people associate the term “country” with people who speak the same language and have the same feelings and a shared way of thinking. According to Frank-Dieter Freiling, culture is reproduced from generation to generation: “Acquire what you inherit from your forebears, so that you may possess it”¹⁵. In these views, the political and the cultural factor are conjoined in the definition of “country”, which takes us back to Gellner’s definition of the concept of “nation”¹⁶.

Holger Börner, Prime Minister of Hessen (1981), distinguishes between the terms “country” and “fatherland” when he harks back to the economic situation after the Second World War, which forced millions of migrants to leave their own countries in search of a new country. For the migrants to develop their personalities, the new environment had to be “actively developed”, to be “shaped” in a way, in order to make it a credible (new) country. After all, patriotic feelings for one’s new country can be born when one offers one’s services and does not abjure one’s

14. Frank-Dieter Freiling (ed.), *Heimat. Begriffsempfindungen heute*, Königstein/Ts 1981, p. 15, for the views of Dr Dietrich Sperling, parliamentary secretary, by order of the leader of the Social Democratic party in Germany, Willi Brandt. Cf. also Liakos, *op.cit.*: “We need a democratic conception of the nation and the concept of national solidarity in its contemporary context of social solidarity”.

15. Freiling, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11.

16. Gellner gives “nation” a cultural definition and a voluntaristic definition.

own distinctive cultural identity. Co-operation between people in order to develop the entire entity in which we live gives them a sense of belonging to that entity. At this point, it is useful to mention Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou's important finding that Australia's multiculturalism has not excluded, but rather strengthened, the ethnic consciousness and patriotic pride of the Greeks, with the result that they are good Australian citizens and consider themselves at the same time "Greek patriots"¹⁷.

According to Börner, patriotic feelings arise when we are looking to the future, which is also the best basis for human solidarity (a view which, as we have seen, Sperling also embraces), without which there is no country for any of us¹⁸. The German Prime Minister Karl Carstens (1980) also regards patriotic feelings as one of the paramount human needs and, in his opinion, the term "today's country" also embodies people's profound concern about the destruction of the natural environment and their fear of the psychological effects of deracination¹⁹.

Alasdair Macintyre poses the rhetorical question "Is Patriotism a Virtue?", which is the basis for further speculation in his article with this title. The term "patriotism" is coloured either by basic values, such as love of one's family or loyalty to one's friends, or by significant symbols, such as cricket for the English or baseball for the Americans²⁰.

17. Chryssanthopoulou, *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 7-14, diagram p. 26, and pp. 208-223. For the evolution of multiculturalism in Australia and its social, cultural, and political impact on the Greek immigrants and their descendants, among other ethnic groups, see also G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, Santa Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1979; also Nicholas Doumanis, "The Greeks in Australia", in R. Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, Houndmills, Macmillan 1999, pp. 58-86. For multiculturalism among the Greeks in Canada, see A. N. Panagakos, "Citizens of the Trans-Nation: Political Mobilization, Multiculturalism, and Nationalism in the Greek Diaspora", *Diaspora* 7:1 (1998) 53-73.

18. Freiling, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-15.

19. Freiling, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17.

20. For the construction of the concept of "community" on the basis of shared perceptions and use of symbols, see A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Chichester: Ellis Horward Ltd. and London and New York: Tavistock 1985; and Chryssanthopoulou, *op.cit.*, p. 20. For the concept of the imagined community, see Benedict Anderson, *Φαντασιακές κοινότητες: Στοιχασμοί για τις απαρχές και τη διάδοση του εθνικισμού*, tr. Pothiti Xadzaroula, Nefeli, Athens 1997. See also L. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, Princeton Univ. Press 1995, esp. p. 25, where he discusses the significance of symbols in creating national cultures. We

People feel that these concepts “epitomize” their country, for they are what comes to mind, and to their “heart”, when they think of their “country”:

Patriotism by contrast is defined in terms of a kind of loyalty to a particular nation which only those possessing that particular nationality can exhibit²¹.

And also:

Patriotism does generally and characteristically involve a peculiar regard not just for one’s own nation, but for the particular characteristics and merits and achievements of one’s own nation²².

As we have seen, Macintyre ascribes other characteristics to the term “patriotism”, such as:

Patriotism is one of a class of loyalty-exhibiting virtues (that is, if it is a virtue at all), other members of which are marital fidelity, the love of one’s family and in friendship, and loyalty to such institutions as schools and cricket or baseball clubs²³.

He also asserts that a conflict may arise between ethics and patriotism, because an action is evaluated on the basis of specific social structures.

The moralities of different societies may agree in having a precept enjoining that a child should honour his or her parents, but what it is so to honour and indeed what a father is and what a mother is will vary greatly between different social orders. So that what I learn as a guide to my actions and as a standard for evaluating them is never morality as such, but

can, he says, follow Geertz (1973, p. 207) and perceive the ideologies which inspire and guide nationalist movements as systems of symbols by which these movements accomplish the work of collective self-determination and create new national cultures out of existing local and ethnic cultures. For a penetrating analysis of family bonds in a Greek village, as the model, by extension, of the bonds which constitute the nation, see R. Just, “Ethnicity and the Village: The ‘Them’ and ‘Us’ of Family and ‘State’ ”, in: John Burke and Stathis Gauntlett (eds.), *Neohellenism*, Humanities Research Centre Monograph, No. 5, Australian National University 1992, pp. 113-140.

21. Alasdair Macintyre, “Is Patriotism a Virtue?”, *The Lindley Lecture*, University of Kansas, 26 March 1984, p. 4.

22. Macintyre, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

23. Macintyre, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

always the highly specific morality of some highly specific social order²⁴.

Consequently, Macintyre regards the subjective and relative nature of the various moral codes of different societies as a reason for the clash between different forms of patriotism and different nations.

The potential conflict between morality so understood and patriotism is at once clear. For patriotism requires me to exhibit peculiar devotion to my nation and you to yours²⁵.

In Greece, as time went by, the concept of “country” became more specific, evolving from a confused notion embracing the Orthodox Christians of the same race, though not necessarily speaking the same language, within indeterminate geographical boundaries possibly of a supranational kind (in the sense that Rigas Velestinlis conceived of it), until it came to denote the Greek state²⁶, which is, of course, national, being the product of the Greek national struggle for independence. All the same, nation and state are often regarded as one and the same thing in a nationalist context.

The meaning of the terms “patriotism” and “country” changed over time, passing from a “cosmopolitan” or “supranational” view of “country” to a national view²⁷. According to Elli Skopetea, the Greeks, as

24. Macintyre, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

25. Macintyre, *op.cit.*, p. 5. For the antagonism between various forms of nationalism, see Gellner, *op.cit.*, pp. 2-3. Also, in P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, Cambridge University Press, 1977, see the important concept of *habitus*, which propels people almost unconsciously into behaviours based on the representations which they have received from the specific society in which they live. Bourdieu defines *habitus* as follows: “Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules” (*op.cit.*, p. 72, in: Jane K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton Modern Greek Studies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 22-23).

26. Elli Skopetea, *Το «Πρότυπο Βασίλειο» και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830-1880)*, Polytytho, Athens 1988, p. 33; cf. Liakos, *op.cit.*: “As time went by, [the debate] was enhanced by the values and the logic of the Enlightenment, and cosmopolitanism was termed ‘universalism’ from the point of view of the nation and the nation-state, in which ‘country’ was identified with the nation and its organization as a state”.

27. For the identification of the concept of “country”, and also “nation”, with the

members of the Greek race, took a cosmopolitan view of their role in their relations with members of other nations. Rigas did not confine the War of Independence to Greek territory, for other peoples were allowed to take part in the Struggle. So we may say that the nature of Greek patriotism before the War of Independence may be broadly described as "supranational". Both scholars and statesmen played a part in the transition from supranational to national consciousness, completing a process which had begun before the War of Independence. Furthermore, as we have seen, the struggle was linked with the ancient period, and scholars sought to present the War of Independence as a corollary of the ancient Greek consciousness which the modern Greeks inherited. The Greek nation was regarded as simultaneously "new-born and ancient"²⁸. The trend towards classical education during the period of Bavarian rule is a fact and was due to the impact of the Enlightenment on Greek scholars and to the fact that it was embraced by the political (and other) leadership of the time.

Again according to Skopetea, before the War of Independence broke out,

cosmopolitanism began to give way to nationalism. It is difficult to describe the homeless, pre-Greece consciousness. Was it the consciousness of a cultural identity? After all, in the struggle between civilization and barbarity, which was the prevailing view of the situation in 1821, the Greeks were representing civilization.

After Liberation, this antithesis was set aside, and as a result European civilization or culture acquired a new significance, became a vision²⁹, and, to a certain extent, was embraced as an aspect of the collective self-determination of the members of the newly established Greek state.

All the same, this outlook also embraced the hypothesis that European culture had derived from Greek culture. Herzfeld mentions a speech

Greek nation-state, see P. Kitromilidis, "Το Ελληνικό κράτος ως εθνικό κέντρο", in: D. G. Tsaousi (ed.), *Ελληνισμός και Ελληνικότητα: Το Πρόβλημα της Νεοελληνικής Ταυτότητας*, Estia, Athens 1983, pp. 143-164. Also, for the different view of the concepts of the Greek country or homeland and the Greek nation held by Greek immigrants in Australia and their Greek-Australian descendants, see Chrysanthopoulou, *op.cit.*, pp. 250-260.

28. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, pp. 32-40.

29. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31.

by Adamandios Koraïs (1803), in which he declared:

The Greeks, proud of their origin, far from closing their eyes to the lights of Europe, considered the Europeans as mere debtors, who would repay with very great interest a capital sum received by them from the Greeks' ancestors³⁰.

But Maurer says the same, when he observes that the entire civilized world owes a great deal to the Greek people, particularly with regard to scientific knowledge. He argues that so-called "classical education" was based on the knowledge of this great race; and this is why it is important to record evidence from the period of their servitude until the day they gained their liberty³¹.

However, according to Tertsetis, the point of adapting to European models was "not to enslave ourselves to the nations of Europe, but to resemble them"³². His words reflect contemporary scholars' acceptance of, and admiration for, Western culture. Furthermore, in 1845, Stefanos Koumanoudis, an exponent of the Enlightenment, which he relates back to the ancient tradition, developed the theory that the West had inherited the spirit of the ancient Greek world and consequently the modern Greeks who were heading towards the West were reclaiming their patrimony³³.

Fallmerayer's views did momentarily heat up relations with Europe, since they were an affront to the newly established Greek state and its vision. But the Greek intellectuals' reactions put the humanities on another course, towards proving the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek race down the ages, a purpose for which the intelligentsia of the time was pressed into service, represented by such luminaries as, *inter alia*, Spyridon Zabelios, Konstandinos Paparrigopoulos, and N. G. Politis³⁴. Byzantium was rehabilitated, and Paparrigopoulos pointed out the important part it had played in preserving the unity of the Greek people³⁵.

30. Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

31. Georg Ludwig Maurer, *Ο Ελληνικός Λαός: Δημόσιο, Ιδιωτικό και Εκκλησιαστικό Δίκαιο από την έναρξη του αγώνα για την ανεξαρτησία ως την 31 Ιουλίου 1834*, Heidelberg 1835, tr. Olga Robaki, Tolidis, Athens 1976, pp. 29-30.

32. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

33. Dimaras, *op.cit.*, pp. 458-459.

34. Herzfeld, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-122.

35. K. Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (with an introduction by

The fledgling Greek state now had pretensions to acculturate the East. From being an object of acculturation, it would now play the role of acculturator. Emmanouil Xanthos, member of the *Filiki Etaireia*, also supported this notion: "Having been restricted in numerous ways, Greece has not achieved her purpose; what your fathers began through war, we must complete through Enlightenment"³⁶. And according to Soutsos, the struggle may have been over, but it continued in the form of spreading Enlightenment from Athens to the provinces and thence to the East.³⁷ We thus see that the prospects for acculturation were directly connected with Greece's "purpose" as the "channel" that would carry the Enlightenment of the West to the East. The existence of that purpose, especially during the Romantic period of modern Greek history, which is delimited by the beginning and end of the reign of the house of Wittelsbach (1833-1862), was based on pre-existing aspects of culture which the Greeks learnt to regard as symbols of the nation. It was not "racial self-confidence" and therefore should not in any way be perceived as an early example of "Greek racism"³⁸.

What Xanthos (and others) said shows how far the intellectuals and the emerging bourgeoisie of the new Greek nation shaped this consciousness. The creation of this consciousness and the systematic cultivation of the notion of cultural superiority led to national and patriotic "self-confidence" and went hand in hand with the birth of irredentism. At all events, the term "racism" in general refers to other eras and other parts of the world, and should therefore be used with care, and always within a specific socio-cultural context. In the nineteenth century, Greek irredentism was based more on concepts of cultural and national continuity in space and time³⁹ than on notions of biological determi-

K. Dimaras); K. T. Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος. Η εποχή του - Η ζωή του - Το έργο του*, MIET, Athens 1986.

36. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

37. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-72. Here too we detect aspects of *cultural Darwinism* in the hierarchy of cultures, which begins with the "civilized" countries of the West and, through Greece, is diffused to the people of the Orient.

38. Skopetea, *op.cit.*, pp. 171-172.

39. As we have seen, the Greeks' unity in time was expressed by Paparrigopoulos, refuting Fallmerayer, while their unity in space was the theme of Ioannis Kolettis, who, in his address to the National Assembly in January 1844, asserted the free Greeks' duty to proclaim their unity with their unredeemed brethren, fostering faith in the Great Idea in the people and,

nism. However, irredentism professes national self-sufficiency. It thus distanced the Greeks from the liberal ideology of 1789 and offered them the national mission of acculturating and Hellenizing the East⁴⁰.

In fact, if in the beginning (1833), as we shall see, there was an educational movement which aimed, under adverse economic conditions, to acculturate Greece, after 1869, with the founding of the Association for the Propagation of Greek Learning, the vision of carrying the torch of Enlightenment to the unredeemed Greeks in the European part of the Ottoman Empire became a reality⁴¹.

Thus, after the Crimean War, and with the legitimacy created by the implementation of the *Khatt-i Humayun*, from the 1870s there were some 125 Greek educational and cultural associations operating in the Ottoman Empire. The trend towards acculturation through the mechanisms of education—which, as we shall see, had been systematically cultivated in the modern Greek consciousness since the Greek state was born—now opened up new prospects and spread vigorously outside Greece⁴².

Consequently, this systematic cultivation by the mechanisms of state education helped to inculcate a sense of “cultural patriotism”, examples of which I shall now give from my archival research.

through the message of nationalism, placing them all on the same level and demanding their dedication to the national ideal (T. Veremis, “Κράτος και έθνος στην Ελλάδα: 1821-1912”, in: *Ελληνισμός και Ελληνικότητα - Ιδεολογικοί και βιωματικοί άξονες της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας*, edited by D. G. Tsoulos, Estia, Athens 1983, p. 63). See also Anna Frangoudaki and Thalia Dragona, «Τί είν' η πατρίδα μας;», *εθνοκεντρισμός στην εκπαίδευση*, 2nd edition, Alexandria, Athens, who note that the Greek nation is described, through the educational institutions and with the contradictions of nineteenth-century nationalist discourse, as an impermeable cultural entity resistant to change.

40. Veremis, “Κράτος και έθνος στην Ελλάδα: 1821-1912”, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

41. P. Kitromilidis, “Το ελληνικό κράτος ως εθνικό κέντρο”, in: *Ελληνισμός - Ελληνικότητα: Ιδεολογικοί και βιωματικοί άξονες της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας*, edited by D. G. Tsoulos, Estia, Athens 1983, pp. 153-154, incl. bibliography. It is interesting that even recently the Greeks of the diaspora have been demanding that Greece send teachers and teaching material to strengthen their sense of ethnic identity and to pass it on to their descendants. For its own part, the Greek state regards it as a duty, and also as politically expedient, to preserve the educational and cultural bonds which link Greece with the Greeks of the diaspora. On these issues, see Chrysanthopoulou, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-259.

42. K. T. Dimaras, *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός, 7 Νεοελληνικά Μελετήματα*, Ermis, Athens 1982, pp. 399-402.

2. *Research in the Archives of the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (Ministry of Education) from the period 1833-1848: the aims and the socio-historical context of the research*

In the study which follows, I shall try to present a holistic picture of the phenomenon of “cultural patriotism”, based on my research thus far into the period 1833-1848. The possibility of gaining access to the archival sources in 1990, particularly the archives of the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (Ministry of Education), led to a long period of research, the fruit of which was the detection of this phenomenon right from the very birth of the modern Greek state and during the reign of the Wittelsbach dynasty. It remains a debatable question⁴³ to what extent the phenomenon continued to exist after Otto was deposed, given that his departure marked the end of the Romantic age in Greek history⁴⁴.

When it was established, the Greek state was divided into ten prefectures and forty-three provinces⁴⁵. Its structure and operation were centralized, and so control over the outlying areas was wielded centrally by the Bavarians. Apart from the Secretaries, who were in fact heads of ministries, since actual governance was in the hands of the Bavarians, it was the appointed prefects, and later the governors, who were administratively responsible for the prefectures, the appointed sub-prefects for the provinces, and the mayors for the municipalities. Though the latter were elected, they enjoyed the necessary favour of the central government⁴⁶.

The law on primary education⁴⁷ and the Royal Decree on secondary

43. The process of cataloguing the General State Archives has not progressed beyond 1848, and so scholars do not have access to the primary sources. At any rate, Tsoukalas maintains that, at least as far as national benefactors are concerned, such behaviour continued until 1922 (*op.cit.*, p. 493). To avoid repetition, I shall refer to my own publications which briefly allude to the phenomenon of cultural patriotism only when I consider it necessary in order to present the aforementioned holistic picture.

44. N. G. Svoronos, *Επισκόπηση της Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας*, Themelio, Athens 1985⁹, p. 96.

45. Royal Decree, “On the division of the Kingdom and its administration” (Government Gazette, No. 12, 3/15 April 1833).

46. John A. Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*, Princeton University Press 1968, Princeton, New Jersey.

47. Law “On primary schools”, 6/18 February 1834 (Govt. Gazette, No. 11, 3/15

education⁴⁸ were enacted in 1834 and 1836 and drafted by Maurer and Armansperg respectively.

The country was trying to implement an education system in adverse economic circumstances⁴⁹, for its few financial reserves were borrowed, and it was unable to implement a productive investment programme or other development programmes because public money was being squandered on the hydrocephalous state machinery and on party agendas, as had been the case when Kolettis was at the helm⁵⁰. Furthermore, the road network was too limited for the effective distribution of goods and merchandise, which led to the implementation of a closed economy⁵¹, and although Greece was primarily an agrarian country, the agricultural sector was highly inefficient, because farmers were still using antiquated methods and unable to adapt to new ones⁵².

Since the significance and the value of a gift are directly related to the financial status of the giver and to his or her general lifestyle, we should now take a look at the living conditions of the Greek people in the period under discussion. After liberation from Ottoman rule, the Greeks were undernourished and living in wretched conditions. A typical

March 1834).

48. Royal Decree, "On the regulations for the Greek primary and secondary schools", 31 December 1836/12 January 1837 (Govt. Gazette, No. 87, 31 December 1836).

49. For details of the country's economic situation, see Edmond About, *La Grèce contemporaine*, Paris 1855.

50. Svoronos, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

51. Christina Agriandoni, "Οικονομία και Εκβιομηχάνιση στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα", in: *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία (18ος-20ός αιώνας)*, Athens 1999, pp. 145-176.

52. Evyenia Bournova - Yorgos Progoulakis, "Ο Αγροτικός Κόσμος, 1830-1940", in: *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία (18ος-20ός αιώνας)*, Athens 1999, pp. 45-104; N. P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, London: Macmillan 1978. For Greece's underdevelopment in the 19th and 20th centuries, see *idem*, *passim*, esp. pp. 144-145 for the role of Western imperialism and the Greek diaspora and its strong ties with Greece. With regard to the modern Greeks' "glorious ancient heritage", Mouzelis asserts that cultural imperialism and economic imperialism go hand in hand in all peripheral social structures (p. 146). Thus, "it is in this manner that we have arrived at the apotheosis of formalism on the cultural level in modern Greece. Katharevousa, scholaricism, archeolatry (obsessive preoccupation with - blind admiration of everything 'ancient') instead of being seen as servile and narrow-minded imitation of a culture far removed from the daily experiences of men and women, came to be seen as indexes of 'Greekness' and 'patriotic spirit' " (p. 147).

rural house consisted by and large of a single room, in which people and animals lived together; and there was a hole in the middle of the roof through which the smoke from the fireplace could escape in winter. People and animals alike slept on the floor, and the windows were unglazed⁵³.

With few exceptions, the demand for the distribution of national land was not met, because the land had been mortgaged to help finance the liberation struggle. Most rural families owned no property at all and lived in a state of wretched poverty. A very few of these families owned lots of between half and one hectare in highland areas and even fewer had five to twenty hectares on the plains⁵⁴, while their diet consisted mainly of bread, pulses, vegetables, cheese, and salted fish⁵⁵. But even under these conditions, the Greek people were usually prepared to give what little they had to further their children's education.

The law of 1834 on the people's schools entrusted the building and running of them to the financially straitened municipalities⁵⁶, with a few choice exceptions⁵⁷ that were covered by Church funding⁵⁸, for the Church now owned the estates of the local monasteries which had been dissolved. Out of their meagre income⁵⁹, the municipalities were required

53. Bournova - Progoulakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

54. On 26 May 1835 the law "On the endowment of Greek families" was promulgated, stating that those who had taken part in the struggle for independence were entitled to receive up to two thousand drachmasworth of national land, though the terms were oppressive: V. V. Sfyroera, *Ιστορία της Νεωτέρας Ελλάδος. Η Περίοδος της Βασιλείας του Όθωνα (1832-1862)*, Athens 1970, p. 50; also Svoronos, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

55. Bournova - Progoulakis, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

56. Article 4 stipulates that schools should be gradually established in every municipality.

57. In article 59, the legislator makes a legislative intervention to resolve education problems in cases of economic hardship by stipulating that poor municipalities should receive funding from the Church.

58. Royal Decree, "On the establishment of the Church Fænd, with directives for its services" (Govt. Gazette, No. 41, 21 December 1834/2 January 1835). A review of the most important articles reveals that the legislator wished to establish a special fund, the purpose of which would be to collect the income of the dissolved monasteries and use it to meet the needs of education.

59. One important source of income for the municipalities was tax collection ("On licence tax", Govt. Gazette, No. 38, 29 November 1837). The collection of taxes was assigned to the municipal collectors, who, having collected the tax for the first quarter, gave the taxpayers their professional licences and then paid the money collected into the public purse, keeping back one fifth for the municipalities, in accordance with article 21, since the

to meet the country's educational needs by playing an important part in founding, organizing, and running the schools.

Understandably, in these financial circumstances, the early efforts to educate the country's youth and foster their cultural advancement could not be carried out without the help of the Greek people, who still had the message of the Greek Enlightenment fresh in their mind: "Education will bring freedom".

So ordinary citizens, and institutions too, took up the cause of education under adverse economic conditions, embracing its great importance for the people and their cultural advancement. Below are some important testimonies which I believe aptly illustrate this trend.

Yeoryios Lyddis, a teacher on Folegandros, asserts that "the establishment of the first school on Folegandros may be attributed to patriotism alone"⁶⁰, for it was he himself who took the necessary steps to establish it.

Thus, in the period in question, the inhabitants of the municipality of Amalias describe "the enlightenment of education" as the "only lasting heritage"⁶¹ (see below), while, according to the Mayor of Marpissa (1838), the benefits that derive from it are the most essential to human happiness:

After the examinations, I spoke at length to the children and their parents, endeavouring to show them the benefits which derive from education and that without it one cannot live happily⁶².

According to a document from the municipal council of Anafi to the Ministry of Education in 1843, these benefits of education should never

cost of collecting the taxes and pursuing arrears was borne by the municipal funds. Article 21 stipulated that 10 per cent of the one fifth received by the municipalities had to be spent on local schools.

60. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωνική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, Athens 1997, pp. 190-194, 196-197, 200-201.

61. General Archives of the State, Othonian Archive, Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Education, Division II, Education (1990), Box 125, File 4. Hereafter General Archives of the State.

62. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, doc. No. 85, 21 April 1838, Marpissa.

cease to be extended to the country's youth if the newly established Greek state wished to avoid the barbarization of its young people:

This the Municipal Council submits to the Secretariat, warmly begging it to take pity on our unfortunate children, for otherwise our children shall henceforth be called not Greeks, but barbarians all, Scythian barbarians, for their parents have not the wherewithal to bring a teacher to Anafi to educate their children, owing to their great wretchedness and poverty⁶³.

The image harks back to the ancient (Classical) Greek distinction between civilized Greeks and barbaric Scythians. So the question is raised of cultivating national consciousness, continuity, and cultural heritage.

The same apostrophe is found in the words of the Mayor of Ia on Thira, who refers to the new school (1836) and urges parents to bring their children to school if they truly wish to be called Greeks without bringing shame upon their race.

Citizens, you know the sanctity of this purpose. You know your children's need for Education. Whoever among you has the misfortune to think otherwise and henceforth to neglect it had better efface his graceless name from the glorious book of Greece by his own hand, for in a short time circumstances will efface it with eternal shame for him and his lineage⁶⁴.

We see here that *Greek national consciousness* is identified with *Greek education*: anyone who does not actively help to foster Greek education is not even a Greek. This is why even the poor countryfolk contributed as much as they could from what little they had in order to help establish and develop the schools.

3. *Efforts to promote cultural advancement in strained economic circumstances*

In this study, as I have said, I shall show how not only the ordinary people, the newly liberated Greeks, but also the local authorities, the

63. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, doc. with reg. No. 22646, 21 August 1843, Anafi, Act 28 of the municipal council.

64. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document with reg. Nos. 449, 279, August 1836, Ia, from the mayor A. Manolezos.

Church, and the local monasteries showed an active concern for the education of young people even in extremely difficult economic circumstances. As I have said, I am not overlooking the contribution of well-known donors within Greece or in the diaspora: indeed, I have discussed examples of these in another study. The present study focuses largely on the ordinary people's activity in this area. All the same, I must repeat that the example set by prominent figures both at home and abroad acted upon the ordinary people as an example to follow, hegemonistically, in Gramsci's sense of the term. According to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, the lower socio-economic strata often uncritically absorb and adopt the values and ideas of the upper socio-economic strata.

Gramsci's hegemony should be understood as an intellectual and moral "leadership", achieved by acceptance and consent, not by the use of force by the members of one social class over the members of other classes. Hegemony is not necessarily oppressive; in fact it is frequently a process whereby the lower strata perceive and adopt values and ideas of the upper socio-economic strata uncritically and without the mediation of conscious awareness. For this reason, whereas "domination" is achieved mainly through the machinery of government, "intellectual and moral leadership", i.e. hegemony, is expressed and transmitted via civil society, that is via educational, religious, and other organizations.⁶⁵ This seems also to have been the case as regards the cultivation of "cultural patriotism" in the education system of the fledgling Greek state, where, as we shall see, the ordinary (often poor) citizens, through organizations and the Church, frequently contributed their meagre mite to help pay the teachers whom the state could not or would not pay.

A systematic investigation of the primary unpublished archival material in the General State Archives has revealed that phenomena of this kind occurred immediately after the birth of the modern Greek state in certain parts of both the mainland and the islands. The investigation will continue when the repairs to the building of the General State Archives, necessitated by the recent devastating earthquake in Athens, are completed. So far, I have investigated parts of the prefecture of the

65. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and tr. by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, in: Jane K. Cowan, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton Modern Greek Studies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 12-13.

Cyclades and of Evvia⁶⁶, and, on the mainland, the prefectures of Ahaïa and Lakonia.

I. Cyclades prefecture

The province of Tinos

In the province of Tinos⁶⁷, the battle to educate the young people was waged by the Church of the Annunciation and the islanders themselves. So there were primary schools⁶⁸ and (junior and senior) secondary schools⁶⁹ operating on Tinos.

Despite their penury, the 2,600 inhabitants of the municipality were well aware of the importance of learning and sent their children to the Lancasterian school when they were old enough and ensured that they attended regularly. However, age was no obstacle to learning: a priest's son was attending the Lancasterian school at the age of twenty⁷⁰.

More specifically: according to a document of the Eparch of Tinos⁷¹, in 1833 the province had 11 schools, 2 "Greek" (junior high), 1 French, and 8 Lancasterian. All were sustained by the Church of the Annunciation. There was another "Greek" school in Pyrgos, attended by thirty children. It was built in 1832 "with the help of the people of Pyrgos and the Church of the Annunciation"⁷², and was in good condition. The Lancasterian schools were built "at the expense of the Church of the Annunciation" or "at the expense of the inhabitants"⁷³.

As for the girls' Lancasterian school four leagues outside the large village of Pyrgos, it too was built in 1832 "with the help of the people of Pyrgos and the Church of the Annunciation"⁷⁴. It had room for 180

66. D. A. Sakkis, "Η πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην ανεξάρτητη Σκόπελο (1833-1848)", *Απόψεις* 7 (1995) 471-498.

67. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, No. 12, 2). The province of Tinos also includes the islands of Mykonos and Dilos.

68. General Archives of the State, Box 197, File 6; Box 197, File 7.

69. General Archives of the State, Box 197, File 4; Box 197, File 5.

70. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 3, 13 September 1839.

71. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, document with reg. Nos. 170 and 1079, 20 July 1833, Tinos, from the Eparch of Tinos to the Prefecture of the Cyclades.

72. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, *op.cit.*

73. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, *op.cit.*

74. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, *op.cit.*

students and was in good condition. In 1833, it had 100 students.

The Lancasterian school at Ysternia, with room for eighty students, was built in 1830 by the villagers themselves⁷⁵. It was in good condition and had sixty students. The Lancasterian school at Arnados, finally, was built “years ago” by the villagers themselves⁷⁶, and repaired in 1828. In 1833 it was attended by boys and girls from the surrounding villages.

The archival sources also reveal other efforts made by local people, within their strained financial means. A document of the Governor himself tells us that the people of Sostheni, for instance, used 500 drachmas from their budget to set up a similar school.

The municipality of Panormos acquired a school in 1832, a large building with room for 200 students, which was paid for by Karanopoulos and P. Karamanlis. The two men handed the building over in good condition, and all it required was some minor repairs and the necessary teaching materials.

In the document which it sent to the ministry, the governorate praised the people of Ysternia (in the municipality of Panormos) for their concern for the newly established Lancasterian school, which was attended by 105 boys and girls⁷⁷. It opened on 1 September 1837, and “the truly praiseworthy inhabitants with their love of learning” offered to organize it at their own expense. Furthermore, the members of the school board were the citizens with the greatest love of learning, and the local people and the students were on excellent terms with the teacher, Kovakis. In October 1837, the Lancasterian schools of Ysternia and Panormos were supplied with the books they needed⁷⁸.

Despite its poverty, the municipality of Peraia, which consisted exclusively of Roman Catholics, voted and approved a budget which included 150 drachmas for the upkeep of the school⁷⁹. There were Catholics

75. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, *op.cit.*

76. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, *op.cit.*

77. The fact is, however, that, despite all the praise, the regional authorities usually turned to the impoverished inhabitants to resolve economic problems, rather than to the government. Thus, the Governor of Tinos insists that the islanders do even more to resolve the schools’ financial problems.

78. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document with reg. No. 15906, 3 October 1837, Athens, from the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education to the Governor of Tinos.

79. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 42α, 26 December

in all the villages on the island. In fact, according to the Governor of Tinos,

the Western priests teach the children of their fellow Catholics the catechism on the pretext that they are being taught by them in a language other than Greek⁸⁰.

The Governor expressed his vexation at the teaching of a doctrine other than that of Orthodoxy at a local level. My research in the General State Archives has found that the Secretary of the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (i.e. the Minister) was explicit with regard to the question of religious tolerance in his communications to the teachers and other functionaries: during religious instruction, the Catholic students had to leave the classroom and be taught the lesson in another room by a priest of their own faith.

As I have already mentioned, the intellectual advancement of the island depended on the efforts of the Church of the Annunciation, which covered the expenses involved in running primary and secondary schools. This is attested in a report by the Eparch, G. Levendis, to the Ministry⁸¹, in which he reveals that at least 10,000 drachmas a year would be required for the schools to operate, notes that the municipalities must help to raise that sum, and concludes:

I do not think that the piety of the Christians will continue so zealously henceforth to collect sufficient money that all these schools, both "Greek" and primary, will be maintained out of the church's funds.

According to the Eparch, the Church of the Annunciation could play a decisive part only in getting the educational efforts off the ground and only until the newly-established municipalities' efforts to find resources to maintain the schools yielded results, for the church's income was small and earned no interest.

I think that, if the church is to include in its expenses the

1836, Tinos, from the Governor of Tinos to the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education.

80. General Archives of the State, Box. 155, File 4, document No. 42Γ, 6 November 1836, Tinos, from the Governor of Tinos to the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education.

81. General Archives of the State, Box. 155, File 4.

salaries of the three “Greek”-school teachers, whose salary has been established by royal decree, it should not be obliged also to pay the salaries of the primary-school teachers indefinitely, but for one year only, until the municipalities find resources to maintain the primary-school teachers. Otherwise, since the church’s funds are not great, nor do they even earn interest so that it could cover part of the expense out of the interest, piety alone is not a steadfast resource and has already begun to diminish [...] and the Church of the Annunciation will find itself embarrassed if it is burdened indefinitely with paying the salaries of both the “Greek” and primary schools.

The Church made an undeniable contribution to the efforts to educate the Greek people in a period when those efforts had been entrusted to the impoverished municipalities and had started from scratch with whatever was available. Greek culture and education have traditionally been associated with the Church and the Orthodox faith. But it must be noted that even here “cultural patriotism” played its part, for some of the funds used for this purpose came from property that had been donated to churches with clear instructions from the donors that the moneys arising out of the use of the property should be used to meet the needs of education.

According to a document of the regional authorities, in 1837 the island of *Mykonos* had a population of 4,650. The people of *Mykonos* were no less concerned about their children’s education. According to one source⁸², *Mykonos* had two schools from 1828, a “Greek” school and a primary-level Lancasterian school. The “Greek” school was in the Monastery of St Luke on the edge of the town. *Tourliani* Monastery and some of the islanders paid for the monastery to be renovated, because there were no public buildings on the island that could be used as schools. And so *Mykonos* had the good fortune to enjoy secondary-level education, since the “privately maintained ‘Greek’ school” continued to operate, according to a document of the Mayor of *Mykonos* in 1836⁸³.

82. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, document with reg. Nos. 170 and 1079, 20 July 1833, *Tinos*, from the Eparch of *Tinos* to the Prefect of the *Cyclades*.

83. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 48, 16 October 1836, *Mykonos*, from the Mayor.

The primary school was built in 1809, and eighteen years later, in 1837⁸⁴, the 212 students (of whom 70 were girls) were described as "worthy of the expectations of their teacher and the expectations of their country"⁸⁵. Furthermore, in 1837 the people of Panormos donated 300 drachmas to refurbish their school.

The province of Naxos

From my research relating to the province of Naxos⁸⁶ and the inhabitants' activities, I shall discuss the efforts made by the islanders to advance education on Paros. I have already shown that the local people, both the wealthy and the ordinary citizens, and monasteries donated a considerable amount of money for education on Naxos⁸⁷. More specifically, donations to cover the cost of accommodating and maintaining the primary and secondary schools were made by: the Church of the Eka-tontapyliani, the Pantokrator dependency in the village of Kefalos, the island's salt-works, the Mount Sinai dependency, the New Monastery dependency on Hios, Taxiarches Monastery, and Langouvarda Monastery and the Monastery of St Athanasios in the little town of Naoussa. Wealthy locals (Alexandros Mavros and Panayotis Dimitrakopoulos) and tax-paying citizens also struggled to raise the level of education in the area.

The municipality of *Paros* had a population of 1,800 in 1838. According to a document of the Mayor, Leonardos Kondylis, the intellectual advancement of the local youth was fostered both by the municipality and by a private individual named M. Mavroyenous, who donated 130 drachmas so that work could be completed on the school, which opened in May 1837⁸⁸.

84. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 12ε, 2 September 1837, Mykonos.

85. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 3στ, 21 April 1837, Mykonos.

86. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 12, 7). The province also includes the islands of Naxos and Andiparos.

87. D. A. Sakkis, "Κοινωνικοοικονομικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία. Τα νησιά του Αιγαίου στο αρτισύστατο Ελληνικό κράτος", *Μνημοσύνη* 13 (1997) 143-198, esp. pp. 162-164.

88. General Archives of the State, Box. 155, File 4, document No. 44β, 18 April 1838, Paros, from the Mayor of Paros, Leonardos Kondylis.

Furthermore, a document from the teachers in the “Greek” and Lancasterian schools in Kefalos, Kosmas Makkas and Andreas Yeoryiou, to the Metropolitan of Paronaxia, Ierotheos, in 1833, tells us that the Lancasterian school was established in 1830 with money donated by the Monastery of Antony the Great. In the past, residents of Kefalos had endowed the monastery with movable and immovable property, the revenues from which were also used for the upkeep of the Lancasterian school⁸⁹.

In the town of Naoussa on Paros, the “Greek” school and the primary school were founded in 1807 with donations from local people, foreign residents, and sacred establishments, most notably the Monastery of St Athanasios. The local elder of Naoussa, D. Karountzas, tells us that the teachers were paid out of this income in 1833⁹⁰.

Thus, the cultural advancement of the province of Naxos was brought about by donations of money from local people, taxation of goods, and the financial assistance of local monasteries.

The province of Kythnos

Despite the manifest poverty of the inhabitants, there were primary and secondary schools in the province of Kythnos⁹¹. *Kythnos* had a “Greek” school and a primary school built in 1830 and attended by 87 students, including 18 girls. And on *Kea* there was a “Greek” and a primary school, built in 1825 and attended by 138 children. The local people were greatly concerned about their children’s education and the government assisted their efforts because they were so poor⁹². Investigations so far have not uncovered evidence of “cultural patriotism”⁹³.

89. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, document, 21 July 1833, Paros, Kefalos, from the “obedient teachers of Your Reverence”, to the Reverend Metropolitan of Paronaxia, Ierotheos.

90. General Archives of the State, Box 141, File 1, document, 28 June 1833, Naoussa on Paros, from the local elder D. Karountzas to the Royal Eparch of Naxos, Paros, and Andiparos.

91. Royal Decree, “On the division of the Kingdom and its administration” (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 12,4). The province includes the islands of Kythnos, Kea, and Serifos.

92. D. A. Sakkis, “Κοινωνικοοικονομικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία”, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-160.

93. The final verdict must await further investigations when the earthquake damage to the General State Archives has been repaired.

The province of Andros

In the province of Andros too⁹⁴, as we have seen, monasteries and people contributed to the education of the young people⁹⁵. Regarding the efforts of the people of *Andros*, there was a voluntary tax of 1 per cent on their products, livestock leaving the island was taxed, and 1,000 piastres out of the island's income was given to the schools. In addition to the information I have already published⁹⁶, assiduous investigations have found that the small, permanent school in the municipality of Gavrio was built by the teacher himself, Yanoulis Dzonakis. Deeply moved by the islanders' poverty, he performed this fine act with the young people's intellectual advancement in mind. The school began to operate on 1 March 1837, and two of the students were aged 4 and 24 respectively⁹⁷.

The province of Milos

In the province of Milos⁹⁸, as I have already shown in an earlier study⁹⁹, the local people gave what little they had to assist the cultural advancement of their area, frequently offering their manual labour to build schools under difficult economic conditions. The material support offered by the Church also played an important part in this respect. More specifically, the first primary school on *Milos* was established in 1830 with the financial support and personal manual labour of the local people, and with the financial support of the Monasteries of St Marina and St George. The proportion of girls in the period 1833-1848 was as high as 29 per cent. Children of all socio-economic levels received an

94. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 12). The province consists of the island of the same name.

95. The Monasteries of the Source of Life (Zoödochos Pege), Tromarhia, Panahrandos, and St Nicholas.

96. D. A. Sakkis, "Κοινωνικοοικονομικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία", *op.cit.*, pp. 156-159.

97. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document No. 411, 12 May 1838, Gavrio.

98. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 12, 5). The province includes the islands of Milos, Kimolos, Sifnos, Polykandros (Folegandros), and Sikinos.

99. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, Athens, Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1997.

education, thus helping to raise the standard of culture in the region¹⁰⁰.

The primary school on *Sifnos* was established in 1829, under Kapodistrias, by public subscription. The proportion of girls in primary education was 20 per cent, and the children's financial status presented no obstacle to their access to education¹⁰¹.

The primary school on *Kimolos* was established in 1831 with financial assistance from Kapodistrias and with the contribution of local workers. Children of labourers and seamen took part in the educational process, but fewer girls on agricultural Kimolos attended school than in other parts of the province (7.6%)¹⁰².

The primary school on *Folegandros* opened in 1840, after the islanders had paid a 2 per cent tax on their products to help complete the construction of the building. The teacher himself, Yeoryios Lyddis, asserted that "the establishment of the first school on Folegandros may be attributed to patriotism alone". A high proportion of girls attended the school (25-30%)¹⁰³.

The primary school on *Sikinos* was established in 1843, using the 486 drachmas in the municipal fund and a contribution from the Mayor, Petros Alafouzios¹⁰⁴. As for secondary education in the province, it prospered on Milos thanks to the initiative of "the few and impoverished Milians", who voluntarily offered their labour to build schools (1837)¹⁰⁵; while on Sifnos a significant part was played in re-establishing the school in 1835 by a donation from the national benefactor Ioannis Varvakis, the island's municipal fund, which covered the school's running costs, and the touching concern of the islanders themselves that their children

100. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-119.

101. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-154.

102. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-188.

103. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-202.

104. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-216.

105. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 217-252.

“should not live in accursed and odious ignorance”¹⁰⁶

The province of Thira

A considerable part in the cultural advancement of the province of Thira¹⁰⁷ was played by the islanders themselves and, as more recent research has shown, by the municipal authorities. I have shown that, in order to achieve their goal of the “common good”, as they termed it, the people of *Thira* paid a voluntary tax on exported and imported goods, since they had no significant communal property to serve as a source of revenue.

Furthermore, protests voiced by the islanders reveal that the sum of 25,000 drachmas which some of them had donated at certain times to the monasteries and other “sacred institutions” for the enlightenment of the young people on the island, in this case, having been brought under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical fund, was being distributed unjustly and selectively to other parts of Greece¹⁰⁸.

Regarding the municipal authorities’ role in upgrading the state of education, we have the information that the Mayor of Thira, P. N. Alvis, not only offered economic support for education in the form of his own salary and the rent on his two houses, but also repaired two schools at his own expense. For this he received prestigious citations both from the Secretary (Minister) for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education and from the Eparch, N. K. Gikas, acknowledging him as *kalos kagathos* and “praiseworthy” “for his love for the Municipality and for the education of the young people”. The Secretary also bade the administrative authorities to convey to the Mayor “the extreme pleasure of His Majesty’s government regarding the generous and philanthropic sentiments which he has shown and continues to show for the education of his fellow citizens”¹⁰⁹.

106. D. A. Sakkis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στις Νοτιοδυτικές Κυκλάδες κατά την Α΄ Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1843)*, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-309.

107. Royal Decree, “On the division of the Kingdom and its administration” (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 12, 6). The province includes the islands of Thira, Ios, Anafi, and Amorgos.

108. D. A. Sakkis, “Κοινωνικοοικονομικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία”, *op.cit.*, pp. 151-152.

109. D. A. Sakkis (ed.), *Ανέκδοτα κείμενα-πηγές Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας. Η παιδεία κατά την Οθωμανική περίοδο (1833-1848)*, vol. 1: *Τα νησιά του Αιγαίου*, Volos

As I have shown in another study¹¹⁰, the people of Thira were also anxious to educate their daughters, and to this end they shouldered the running expenses of a primary school in an age when the state regarded the education of girls as merely a possibility¹¹¹ and at a social level it was considered to be of minor importance. The citizens of Thira,

wishing to credit [their daughters], as their male children, with knowledge of letters and other arts necessary to their sex, in order to make them useful to themselves and to society,

set up a school in 1840 at their own expense. However, after the economic crisis of 1843, the education of the island's girls declined and the school closed down early in 1845. Thus, the education "of the female sex, to which both God and nature have entrusted the first nurturing of humankind", to quote the philomaths of Thira, was abandoned for reasons of poverty¹¹².

The central government's selective attitude to financing the schools is clearly apparent in the case of the "wholly destitute" (as the Governor of Thira described it) municipality of Thirasia. Despite its manifest poverty, the municipality of *Thirasia* began its efforts to educate its young people in 1836¹¹³.

According to a document of the Eparch of Thira¹¹⁴, Thirasia had already prepared a suitable school with what few resources it had, and the islanders were expecting a teacher to be sent, if the government were

1996, p. 110.

110. D. A. Sakkis, "Οι πρώτες προσπάθειες για την οργάνωση της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης των κοριτσιών στο νεοσύστατο κράτος: η περίπτωση του αλληλοδιακτικού θηλέων Θήρας", *Νέα Παιδεία* 80 (1996) 125-135.

111. Articles 58 and 68 of the law of 1834 on primary education reveal that the education of girls was regarded as merely a possibility and clearly discriminates between the two sexes. For the education of girls in the Ottoman period, see mainly: A. Lambraki-Paganou, *Η εκπαίδευση των Ελληνίδων κατά την Οθωνική περίοδο*, Athens 1988; S. Ziogou-Karasteryiou, *Η Μέση εκπαίδευση των κοριτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1893)*, Athens 1986.

112. The continuing classification of the archives in the General State Archives will eventually enable scholars to study educational activity after 1845.

113. General Archives of the State, Bos 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 170, 20 September 1836, Thira.

114. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 995, 21 June 1836, Thira, to the prefecture of the Cyclades.

convinced of their poverty. Apart from their personal assessment, the authorities also based their decision on a document of the Thirasia Municipal Council, which resolved when it met on 20 May 1836 to repair the school as soon as possible, because “it is needful that this school be established in this municipality to educate our young people”. It is interesting to note that some of the councillors were illiterate¹¹⁵:

The Municipal Council of the municipality of Thirasia, convening this 6th day of May [...], considers that it is needful that this school be established in this municipality to educate our young people, and resolves unanimously: First: that the school designated in this municipality, which needs repairs, should be repaired as soon as possible. Second: that the Government send a third-class primary-school teacher. Third: That books, slates, etc. sufficient for fifty students be sent. Because this municipality is poor and destitute, we crave the Government’s mercy and beg that the teacher’s salary be paid out of the Church Fund.

A document of the Secretary himself shows that the authorities’ assurances convinced the government that the teacher’s salary should indeed be paid out of the Church Fund.¹¹⁶

The economic crisis of 1843 had a most adverse impact on education on the island and on the inhabitants’ efforts: the school eventually closed, despite the local authorities’ efforts to persuade the government to continue paying the teacher’s salary¹¹⁷:

Having duly sent orders to the Mayors of Thirasia and Anafi in accordance with the spirit of the Secretariat, we have received from the Mayor of Thirasia a notification regarding the poverty of the municipality. The aforementioned municipalities have not sufficient funds to pay the salary of a pri-

115. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, doc. No. 7, 20 May 1836, Thirasia.

116. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 8616, 3 October 1836, Athens.

117. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 1028, 7 July 1843, Thira, from the Governor of Thira to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

mary-school teacher, despite all the economies which they have made, comparing the budget with their expenses, for their income amounts to 919 drachmas in the municipality of Anafi, 1,156 in the municipality of Thirasia, and 3,782 in the municipality of Ios. [...] From which it may be concluded that, being unable to pay, either out of their public funds or by any other means, owing to the inhabitants' great poverty, the salaries of the teachers, all three municipalities will remain forever without teachers if the Government does not assist them henceforth by paying their salaries. The Governor of Thira, A. Anagnostopoulos.

The Governor of Thira confirmed that the islanders truly were poverty-stricken, but met with little sympathy. The ministry refused to pay the teacher's salary, proposing instead that the teacher should also take on the job of the mayor's secretary and be paid out of the municipal fund¹¹⁸. The Secretariat (Ministry) regularly proposed this kind of "solution" in the period in question. And so it became difficult for the teachers to carry out their duties, and their pedagogical task took second place to their bureaucratic work.

We get a full picture of the situation from a document of Thirasia Municipal Council, expressing the islanders' profound concern for the young people's future¹¹⁹, and essentially terminating the island's educational endeavours, owing to economic malaise and the government's refusal to give the little island financial assistance.

Generally speaking, after the economic crisis of 1843¹²⁰, most of the country's primary schools survived with the help of the municipal fund and the people themselves¹²¹.

118. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 21805, 17 August 1843, Athens.

119. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 22138.

120. In January 1843, Rizos Neroulos, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, told the protecting powers that Greece could not make its debt repayments for the semester ending on 1 May unless it were granted a loan. The Great Powers refused, and the government proceeded to reduce its standing expenses by cutting salaries, abolishing jobs, and suspending public works: Ioannis Petropoulos and Aikaterini Koumarianou, "Η επανάσταση της 3ης Σεπτεμβρίου 1843 - Η οικονομική κρίση, απειλή οικονομικού ελέγχου", *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, vol. XIII, Ekdotike Athinon, pp. 89-90.

121. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document with reg. No. 25505, 14

On *Ios* the ardent desire of the islanders and the municipal authorities to raise the young people's level of intellectual performance helped them to achieve their dream of a secondary school on the island.

In a communication to the authorities on Thira, the Mayor of *Ios* confirms the impoverished islanders' wish, and states that, despite their penury, they are willing to help pay half the salary of a secondary-school teacher.

Unfortunately, there is no secondary school in the Municipality of *Ios*, but the inhabitants' desire [for one] is implacable, and they beg His Majesty's Government to appoint at least a preparatory secondary-level teacher here, half of whose salary the municipality is willing to pay, despite its extreme penury and indigence¹²².

As I have shown in an earlier study¹²³, the island's primary school was built in 1827 with money deriving from the cultivation of the land belonging to the dependency of the Monastery of Amorgos and from charitable donations. In fact, action for cultural advancement in adverse economic circumstances was taken to extremes on *Ios*: the islanders deducted money not only from the products they imported and exported, but also from all their formal occasions, whether celebratory or sorrowful (weddings, births, funerals)¹²⁴.

As we have said, the crisis of 1843 affected education on the island. So, although the regional authorities deemed the municipality to be "poverty-stricken", and despite the aforementioned economies, the Secretariat gave instructions that the municipality should also pay the salary of a Lancasterian teacher¹²⁵. The Governor himself was placing his hopes

November 1844, Athens, from the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education. The teacher in the Lancasterian school in Karterados, for instance, which is the subject of the document, was to have half his salary paid by the children's parents; while in other cases, the teacher's salary was paid entirely out of the municipal fund.

122. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, doc. No. 281στ, 9 November 1836, *Ios*, from the Mayor to the regional authorities on Thira.

123. D. A. Sakkis, "Κοινωνικοοικονομικές και πολιτισμικές προσεγγίσεις στη Νεοελληνική Ιστορία", *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154.

124. *Op.cit.*

125. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 21805, 17 August 1843, Athens.

in rumours that a local man named S. Valetas would be making the municipality of Ios a donation, which would enable the school to survive¹²⁶.

Regarding the impoverished municipality of *Anafi*, the Ministry agreed that the Church Fund should pay the teacher's salary and cover the school's organizational needs. However, the Fund was closed down in 1843, causing terrible problems for the running of the school and especially the payment of the teacher's salary.

So, although another source¹²⁷ tells us that Governor Anagnostopoulos described the situation in the municipality as "pitiful" and the islanders as "poverty-stricken"¹²⁸, the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education had no hesitation in proposing that the teacher's salary be paid entirely out of the municipal fund¹²⁹. The Anafi Municipal Council met on 21 August 1843 to try to deal with the financial situation facing the municipality and the islanders. It reached some painful conclusions. 1) The people of this impoverished municipality were barely managing (owing to their "poverty and wretchedness") to pay a 2 per cent tax on all the products which they produced on their land and on those which they imported. 2) This tax constituted the sole revenue of the municipality of Anafi and was barely enough to meet its needs. 3) The economic crisis of 1843 and the closure of the Church Fund, together with the ministry's decision that the municipalities should pay the teachers' salaries from 1 July 1843, left the council completely at loss. It therefore resolved, in act 27 of 10 July 1843, to beg the abbatial council of Hozoviotissa Monastery on Amorgos "to take pity on the island's children" by helping to pay the teacher.

Centuries before, the ancestors of the people of Anafi had donated thirteen hectares of uncultivated, irrigated land to Hozoviotissa Mona-

126. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. Nos. 1058, 1068, Thira, from the Governor to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education.

127. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12. This is File 12 "Thirasia", from which I have taken information about Anafi.

128. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. Nos. 1058, 1068, Thira, from the Governor to the Secretariat of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education.

129. General Archives of the State, Box 147, File 12, document with reg. No. 21805, 17 August 1843, Athens, from the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education to the Governor of Thira.

stery. The abbatial council rented it to one of the islanders for 500 drachmas a year, and he in turn sub-let it in plots to the farmers for a total of 900 drachmas a year. If the regional authorities intervened, this revenue could devolve to the municipal authorities and be used to educate the island's young people. So the Municipal Council decided unanimously to beg the ministry "with hot tears", through the Governor of Thira, "to take pity on our unfortunate children" and resolve the problem of the teacher's salary by sub-letting the Hozoviotissa land on Anafi. Furthermore, three of the islanders were prepared to act as guarantors for the payment of the rent to the monastery and also for any damage that might be done by the farmers. The Municipal Council concluded:

This the Municipal Council submits to the Secretariat, warmly begging it to take pity on our unfortunate children, for otherwise our children shall henceforth not be called Greeks, but barbarians all, Scythian barbarians, for their parents have not the wherewithal to bring a teacher to Anafi to educate their children, owing to their great wretchedness and poverty¹³⁰.

At the start of the period under discussion (1834), the people of *Amorgos* donated a plot of land on a lovely site near the sea to be used for a school. Some buildings already stood upon it for the students to use, but because pirates had sacked the island, the local people were unable to repair and maintain them. Their efforts were assisted by the monks of Hozoviotissa Monastery, who, as in the past, continued to pay the salaries of the primary-school and "Greek"-school teachers. On their own initiative, they also built a new solid and spacious primary school. However, the island also needed a new secondary school. Islanders and monks promised to provide the necessary lime and stone, together with the manual labour to build it, if King Otto would hearken to their plea and supply the rest of the building materials¹³¹.

The municipality of *Skopelos*¹³², with its small income derived

130. General Archives of the State, Box 155, File 4, document with reg. No. 22646, 21 August 1843, Anafi, Act 28 of the Municipal Council.

131. D. A. Sakkis, *Ανέκδοτα κείμενα-πηγές Νεοελληνικής Ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-39.

132. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, art. 11, 3). The province of the North Sporades includes the islands of

mainly from taxes on wine and oil, established a primary school in 1838, which, being newly built, was “fittingly beautiful and respectable”. I have already written about the Skopelians’ educational efforts,¹³³ but it is worth noting again that their low social and economic status proved be no obstacle to their educational activity.

II. Lakonia prefecture

So far, my research relating to mainland Greece has focused on the prefectures of Lakonia and Ahaia. In this specific geographical and chronological context, my archival research has uncovered some significant efforts by the local people to raise their cultural level, even though they were so financially squeezed. With regard to Lakonia prefecture¹³⁴, the findings are as follows:

- i. In the municipality of Leptinion, which had 970 inhabitants, there was a school “in a small church” with room for 64 children of both sexes. The students themselves supplied whatever was required for the running of the school¹³⁵.
- ii. Despite their economic malaise, the municipalities’ funds allocated certain sums from the municipal budget reserves for the education of their children. These gestures were frequently interspersed with financial and other gifts from the philomathic local people, who made their own personal sacrifices in order to help develop education in their native town or village.

A document of the Governor of Lakedaimon, G. Latris¹³⁶, in 1840 gives some useful information about such sensitive actions by the local municipalities. It is a very important document, because a number of those municipalities no longer exist, as I am reliably informed by a profound local scholar¹³⁷. The reserve funds of eighteen municipalities in

Skopelos, Skiathos, Skyros, and Iliodromia.

133. D. A. Sakkis, “Η πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην ανεξάρτητη Σκόπελο (1833-1848)”, *Απόψεις* 7 (1995) 471-498.

134. Royal Decree, “On the division of the Kingdom and its administration” (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, 3/15 April 1833).

135. General Archives of the State, Box 158, File 2, document with reg. No. 18059, 19 January 1838, Leptinion.

136. General Archives of the State, Box 158, File 2, document with reg. No. 6410, Sparta, 31 December 1840, from the Governor of Lakedaimon.

137. He is the researcher Dr. Dikaios Vayakakos, whom I should like to thank for his information.

the prefecture were as follows:

1. Velamini. Total funds for education 880 dr., i.e. 180, 150, 370, and 180 respectively for the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840.
2. Pellani. Total funds for education 1,220 dr., i.e. 100, 440, 260, and 420 respectively for the years 1836, 1838, 1839, and 1840.
3. Amyklai. Total funds 700 dr., i.e. 150, 200, and 350 respectively for the years 1838, 1839, and 1840.
4. Kydonia. Total funds 489 dr., i.e. 239 and 250 respectively for the years 1839 and 1840.
5. Trinassos. Total funds 1,050 dr., i.e. 350, 500, and 200 respectively for the years 1837, 1838, and 1840.
6. Elos. Total funds 1,126 dr., i.e. 767, 159, and 200 respectively for the years 1836, 1838, and 1840.
7. Yeronthrai. Total funds 1,219 dr., i.e. 319, 400, 300, and 200 respectively for the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840.
8. Parnon. Total funds 80 dr., i.e. 50 and 30 respectively for the years 1838 and 1840.
9. Kronion. Total funds 100 dr., reserve fund for the year 1838.
10. Inous. Total funds 200 dr., i.e. 150 and 50 respectively for the years 1839 and 1840.
11. Karyai. Total funds 1,320 dr., i.e. 250, 223, 250, and 600 respectively for the years 1836, 1838, 1839, and 1840.
12. Akriai. Total funds 1,704 dr., i.e. 420, 20, 540, 340, and 384 respectively for the years 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840.
13. Assopos. Total funds 1,493 dr., i.e. 530, 243, 520, and 200 respectively for the years 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1840.
14. Dylimenia. Total funds 300 dr., i.e. 150 and 150 respectively for the years 1838 and 1840.
15. Kyfantes. Total funds 110 dr., reserve fund for the year 1838.
16. Zarax. Total funds 141 dr., i.e. 91 and 50 respectively for the years 1838 and 1840.
17. Maleas. Total funds 80 dr., reserve fund for the year 1840.
18. Viai. Total funds 150 dr., reserve funds for the years 1838 and 1840.

It seems, however, that these educational efforts were continued by the inhabitants. At least this is what we gather from a document of the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education, ordering that

fund-raising for education be carried out in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Secretariat of the Interior:

With regard to the report submitted to us by the Governor of Lakonia concerning the matters noted below, we have the honour to point out to you that collections for schools must be carried out in the same manner as other collections and according to the same regulations, and we therefore believe that the clarifications of art. 59 of the Administrative duties requested by the Governor fall within the province of the Secretariat of the Interior. Wherefore the Secretariat is requested to inform us whether it has given or intends to give clarifications or instructions regarding the collecting of moneys and if so what these are, so that we too may know the details of this matter for our own part. The Secretary¹³⁸.

III. Ahaia prefecture

An investigation of the primary sources relating to the prefecture of Ahaia has produced the following information¹³⁹.

Under Kapodistrias, the inhabitants of the municipality of Kalavryta repaired the school which had been burnt down during the War of Independence at their own expense.

In 1830, the people of Sopotos converted their secondary school into a primary school at their own expense.

In 1830, a permanent school was built in Patra, jointly financed by the citizens and the state.

Two municipal councils resolved to allocate 8,000 dr. from the municipal budgets to establish four schools.

Having realised that "the enlightenment of education is the only lasting heritage", 150 inhabitants of Amalias decided to pay the teacher's salary themselves for a period of time.

The private secondary school at Aiyio, attended by forty students,

138. General Archives of the State, Box 158, File 2, document, 28 February 1837, Athens, from the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education.

139. Royal Decree, "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration" (Govt. Gazette, No. 12, 3/15 April 1833): "On the division of the Kingdom and its administration".

was operating and being maintained by the local people.

The municipalities of Akrandá and Rahová had private schools attended by 100 boys and a few girls. They opened on 1 May 1835 and were maintained by the bequest of the late Androutsos Spanos.

The municipality of Sopotos had a private school attended by forty students, maintained by the bequest of its founder Dzipiras.

Mega Spilaion also had a private school, attended by thirty-five students. It too was built by the local people at their own expense¹⁴⁰.

In the last three cases, we note that the local private schools were maintained by the generosity of local benefactors.

4. Conclusions

From the very birth of the Greek state, there was considerable activity in support of the cultural advancement and education of the nation's youth. Inherent in that activity was the vision of spreading it eastwards, an aim that was pursued and achieved later on with the founding of the Greek cultural associations in the Ottoman Empire, when circumstances permitted, following the reforms which improved the Christians' social and economic position (*Khatt-i Sherif*, 1839, and *Khatt-i Humayun*, 1856). At the same time, as a new powerful national centre, Athens would strengthen its position by organizing its ethno-cultural identity and by propagating the machinery of power. And so we see that the prospects for acculturation were directly connected with Greece's "mission" to channel the knowledge of the West to the East. This "mission" was put together, especially during the Romantic period of modern Greek history, out of existing cultural material which the Greeks regarded as symbolic of the nation. The creation of this consciousness and the systematic cultivation of cultural supremacy led to a kind of "self-confidence" and went hand in hand with the birth of irredentist prospects.

In conclusion, at the start of Otto's reign and until 1841, when the perturbed relations between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire were still nourishing hopes of territorial expansion, the ideology of "Hellenism" gave birth to a Greece which felt it had to take cultural action as the heir to the ancient cultural heritage. In many cases, the message was clearly

140. General Archives of the State, Box 125, File 4.

received by the Greek people. And so, to a considerable extent, apart from with government support, the schools (which were the means by which the Greek people achieved their cultural advancement) were organized and run thanks to the financial sacrifices made by ordinary, poor people, who realised the importance of education for the human race in general and the contemporary Greeks in particular. The Church, some municipal authorities, and a few private donors also made a substantial contribution. All, people and institutions, were motivated by the same ideology of “Hellenism” and “cultural patriotism”, which was assiduously fostered by politicians and intellectuals and propagated by the Greek schools. Indeed, for a short while after the economic crisis of 1843, it was only these initiatives which kept many schools going.

One is also struck by the fact that, on the Greek islands at least, at a time when the social roles of the two sexes were quite distinct, because girls, mainly, were excluded from the productive process, parents were very concerned that their daughters should be educated. The more open minds on the islands were able to read the signs of the times and assimilate the message; while elsewhere, such as in the remoter parts of Lakonia prefecture, for instance, the message was not even heard, and as a result girls took little or no part in education and their cultural advancement was seen to be of secondary importance.

So people with moderate or low incomes seem to have played a substantial part in organizing and supporting education. And where severe poverty made this impossible, the entire endeavour foundered and the schools closed. Finally, it is worth noting that the government realised the significance of the people’s efforts to organize and run their schools and acknowledged it by intervening in the way they carried out their fund-raising.

However, we cannot say with certainty that all the simple, illiterate Greeks who made a contribution to the education and cultural advancement of the nation nursed conscious sentiments of “cultural patriotism”. In many cases, simple, illiterate peasants adopted the ideology of their socio-economic superiors and of the intellectuals, and as a result made an equally heartfelt contribution to the educational process out of their own meagre finances.