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Formal and Informal Education during the Rise of Greek Nationalism

Learning to be Greek

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CHAPTER 3

The School and the Textbook

The previous chapter discussed the lives of Greek children in urban and rural areas as well as the roles that the Greek family and community played in informal learning settings. As discussed in previous chapters, by the nineteenth century European nation-states understood that formal education could be monitored and regulated and that state-sponsored schooling could be used as a political vehicle. Indeed, education was also seen as a mechanism for modernization, secularization, and westernization in many European states. In the case of Greece, while the state was interested in modernizing, it was also unwilling to give up many aspects of Greek culture. As such, education in nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece could be generally summed up as the insistence in maintaining traditional Greek culture while incorporating secular and western values.

Moreover, issues of westernizing and modernizing the Greek school ran culturally deeper. From a social and cultural standpoint Greece wanted to be seen as European, but retain some of the country's traditional character. The west on the other hand saw Greece as the cradle of western civilization, but understood that Greece did not partake in many of the cultural, political, and social movements of western Europe. What westernization meant to Greece and to the west moreover differed. One aspect of this was the secularization of institutions. Many western European states had adopted secular models for their schools. Greece on the other hand was unwilling to do so. From the Greek point of view, maintaining

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traditional social and cultural norms would help its schools and society function accordingly.

Certainly many aspects of Greek society were changing, and education both in formal and informal settings was one of them. As more schools opened, school bureaucrats and school administrators looked to other systems of education for direction. In this sense, Greece's nineteenth century educational endeavor was partially a case study of borrowing and adapting western European educational models. Aspects of the centralized French and Prussian school model, such as a general framework of the school curriculum, organization of grade levels, and length of the school day, were incorporated into the newly formed Greek school system of 1834. Important to the Greek state was also a highly centralized school system that would ostensibly give the state control of all schools throughout the country. As such, the state would serve as the primary purveyor of education. National textbooks were selected by the state, which were vetted by committees. These committees decided which textbooks were to be used in schools, which authors and stories to include, as well as which parts of history to include or "leave out." In this way, the Greek state had control over what children were learning in school.

School textbooks in Greece were at first borrowed from England, France, and other parts of western Europe. The textbooks were translated into Greek and then used in the Greek school classroom. Revisions to textbooks rarely happened. Moreover, because resources and school funding were limited, we find that the state rarely issued new textbooks. Often, schools were required to insert pages into already extant texts or even omit pages and specific sections found in textbooks. While the historical record does not inform us on the extent to which teachers used the textbook and whether they presented the material found in the textbook, we could confidently say that the textbook was the primary instructive resource that was used by teachers and students for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Greek Orthodox Christian faith was also incorporated into schools, and the Church and the state were linked when it came to issues of schooling and education. This was accomplished through the incorporation of religious instruction at almost all levels of schooling as well as prayer in school, the celebration of Greek Orthodox holidays, the presentation of religious symbols such as icons and crucifixes in schools, and the creation

of a state educational governing body called the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων).

In all, Greece was hesitant in welcoming a more western and secular society and Greek Orthodox Christianity was seen as crucial to maintaining a Greek cultural identity. The following section looks at schooling and informal learning. The reader will find that, through the school, the Greek state was able to influence and even control what children learned in their local communities, and that what was being learned in school would eventually filter into informal learning settings.

Schooling and Informal Learning

Whether within the milieu of the community, the family, or around other children, informal learning settings were an important source of learning outside school. While most of this book focuses on learning outside the centralized Greek school, it is difficult to ignore the reality that what children learned in school played an important role in influencing what children learned in informal learning settings. It is evident that the centralized school provided the skills and resources for learning to flourish in informal learning settings but, more importantly, what children learned in school was brought back to their communities. Children often did their homework with their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, and siblings. They rehearsed lessons learned in school to other members of their community, and when asked what they learned in school they often felt obliged to go over in detail their school lesson for the day.

We know that through the school the Greek state was able to influence what children learned outside school. By using the audience of children, children later promoted what was learned in school to others in their communities. While new stories and songs were incorporated into the school textbook, the state also incorporated stories and songs that were already extant in informal learning settings. These stories helped the child connect to his/her school and community.

For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the textbook was a means by which children learned about their nation, their past, and about what it meant to be Greek. In addition, it was an apparatus that the state used to help regulate and monitor what children were learning. The textbook was the primary vehicle for this, and it was intentionally written to conform to particular standards and guidelines. The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs approved all textbooks, and a

standard textbook was issued for each grade level and subject throughout the country.

Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Greek textbooks covered a wide variety of topics, ranging from early age primers (*αλφαβητάριον*), which instructed students on learning the alphabet, to books that taught students the proper way to wash and to make the sign of the Greek Orthodox Christian cross. More important were textbooks that taught students about the Greek nation, its people, and the virtues of Greek Orthodox Christianity. These were typically school readers, history textbooks, geography textbooks, Greek literature textbooks, and religious textbooks.

By the late nineteenth century, most Greek textbooks were Greek-authored and published in Greece, whereas previous stories in readers were foreign-authored. They took place elsewhere and by people who were not Greek. By the late nineteenth century, most stories took place in Greece and were about the Greek people. Greek-authored textbooks focused on the Greek people, the land, and its people, as well as a history that dated back to ancient Greece.

Consider some of the images and referents found on the cover of a Greek textbook from 1930. The title of the textbook is *The Greek Youth* (*Το Ελληνόπουλο*).[1] It shows an image of a young boy dressed in school uniform while gazing from a distance at a man standing on a mountain peak who is wearing the traditional Greek *foustanella*. The textbook's lead story is about a young boy named Thanasi from Piraeus who finally climbs the Greek mountains near his father's village in the countryside. The story begins with,

> Little Thanasi who was born in Piraeus had yet to ever climb a high mountain, at his father's home village… This summer, because little Thanassi received perfect scores in his fourth-grade class, his father arranged for the first time for them and the rest of the family to leave Piraeus and travel to Mousounitsa. One morning, they took the train from Piraeus that went from Larissa to Thessaloniki, and they arrived in the afternoon at Bralo. At the station at Bralo, there were muleteers with their reigned mules, who had just descended from Mousounitsa on top of the mountain.[2]

Stories such as these appealed to children from rural areas and small towns where most of the child population lived. It also appealed to children from cities, who often visited the Greek countryside with their families.

Stories like *The Greek Youth* were about a sense of *τόπος* or a shared Greek space, which helped establish a legitimacy of a modern Greek nation-state with its own territory, people, and culture. Greek culture and history had been very firmly rooted in this space since ancient times.

Like *The Greek Youth*, geography textbooks discussed the physical and political geography of the nation. One geography textbook used in schools in 1922 states,

> After the World War and the glorious victory of the Greek army in Thrace and Asia Minor, the Kingdom of Greece possesses not only the southern parts of the Greek peninsula but all the islands located in the Aegean Sea, southern Thrace and parts of Asia Minor. Thus, Greece borders northward Albania, Serbia and Bulgaria and to the east Turkey.[3]

In school, children were often shown maps of Greece and the counties which Greece bordered. Children were also shown areas were Greeks continued to live and how these areas were yet to be incorporated into the Greek state.

In the lower elementary grades, students studied the school building, the classroom, the schoolyard, the church, the town square, parks, and any other physical features to which the Greek child may have already been exposed. In later grades, students learned about forests, plains, islands, lakes, mountains, and rivers found throughout the country. The political geography of the country was also discussed, such as cities, towns, and villages, as well as the professional occupations of the population, such as farmers, tradesmen, merchants, teachers, doctors, housewives, priests, and general laborers. Through the teaching of geography students were able to connect to their environment and the people with which they shared this environment.

In the case of Greek history textbooks, a Greek history needed to be written as Greek history had initially been borrowed from western Europe. It focused mostly on ancient Greece and little was said about Greece's medieval and modern history. A Greek national history was then accomplished by Constantine Paparigopoulos, and his publication of *History of the Greek Nation* 1860–1877 (*Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*). This work would become a template of how Greek history would be presented in Greek schools for much of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Moreover, most Greek history textbooks would follow Paparrigopoulos' historical chronology. Important to Paparrigopoulos was connecting the

modern Greeks to the ancient Greeks. He did this by dividing Greek history into three main historical categories or periods: Ancient, Medieval/Byzantine, and Modern, and linking each period into one unbroken and continuous historical thread from past to present.

In *History of the Greek Nation*, Greek history and the Greek nation appeared to have remained intact over the centuries, with few cultural distinctions between the modern Greeks and ancient Greeks. Greek history in schools was taught in this way and Greek children found unity with one another by sharing a common historical and cultural past. Generally speaking, the history curriculum began with ancient Greek history, then moved into Medieval/Byzantine history, and finally into contemporary or Modern Greek history, and each period was revisited in the lower and upper schools. In the lower elementary grades, students typically studied Greek mythology, which was seen as a way to prepare students for their later studies of Greek history. As presented at the time, Greek mythology was dominated by ideals of valor and heroism and focused on the lives of "great" individuals and their accomplishments, while Greek history courses generally focused on the collective ideals of the nation which were often manifested through well-known historical figures, events and accomplishments, including Socrates, Homer, the Greco-Persian Wars, the early Olympic Games, the Byzantine Empire, the Greek Revolution, democracy, philosophy, drama, and the Acropolis—to name a few.

In the upper grades of the elementary schools, students typically studied Byzantine and contemporary Greek history. The Byzantine Empire was normally presented as Christian and Greek. Mention was often made of Constantine the Great and the Christianization of the Roman Empire as well as Justinian's construction of the Hagia Sophia, and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Greece under the Ottoman Empire was generally presented as a period of slavery or 400 years of Turkish slavery (Τετρακόσια χρόνια Τούρκοσκλαβιάς). The Greek Revolution discussed the heroes of the Revolution such as, for example, Rigas Feraios, Adamandios Koraes, Theodoros Kolokotronis, Andreas Miaoulis, Yiannis Makriyanis, Athanasios Diakos, Daskalina Bouboulina, Odyseas Androutsos, etc. Mention is also made of the *kefts* and *armatoloi* as well as the major battles of the revolution, and the Massacre at Chios, the Dance of Zalogo at Souli and the fall of Messolonghi. All in all, within a historical framework, Greek history was presented in the school textbook as an unbroken continuum from past to present, giving one the impression that the Greeks of today were the Greeks of the past. It was

in school that children were inundated with information about the Greek nation. The following section looks at the school building and how the construction of schools assisted in spreading a Greek national identity in informal learning settings.

The School Building

After the Greek Revolution, the first Greek King, Otto of Bavaria (1833–1862), commissioned the construction of several schools in the city of Nafplion, modern Greece's first capital city. However, few school buildings were built after the Greek Revolution, because the country was bankrupt. In most cases, rural towns and villages continued to use the buildings they had been using since Ottoman times. The few new schools that were built were nevertheless imposing structures. They were up to three stories tall and took the popular European neoclassical architectural style, characterized for its symmetry, clean elegant lines, and standing Greek columns. Space and light were secondary, while grandeur and detail were the main interior features of the buildings. The new school buildings were a radical break from Greece's Ottoman past. They symbolized westernization, modernization, and a revival of classical Greece, in the country in which it originated. They could also be easily confused for a government or municipal building, which ostensibly suggested government-regulated education and uniformity.

Between 1895 and 1920, up to 500 new schools were built in Greece, most of them in Athens and Patra. Neoclassicism continued to dominate school building architecture well into the 1920s, and the Greek architect Nikolaos Mitsakis (1899–1941) designed most of these buildings. However, the Greek government invested less on school buildings in rural parts of the country. Much of the money for these buildings derived from funds from the municipality or from local donations.[4]

In Athens, the appearance of many of the new schools seemed uniform, but many new school buildings across the country were far from that. Schools in northern Greece were typically stone-built and took on aspects of the regional architecture of the area. They were simple and utilitarian and looked more like large estate homes than schools. Schools in rural parts of the Peloponnese continued to be housed in churches or other local buildings such as a barn or home. The best-funded Greek schools were still found in Constantinople, Smyrna, and some of the islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas, which had been supported by wealthy Greek

merchants since Ottoman times. Perceptions on the value of education also varied from region to region. In some areas of the country, many families discouraged girls from attending school. Many schools in cities were able to provide their students with basic resources such as books and school uniforms, while in other communities many of these students lacked a designated space to learn.

By 1928, Eleutherios Venizelos initiated an ambitious campaign for the restoration of school buildings throughout the country (there is more on the number of schools and students in the following section). Venizelos's plan was inextricably bound to economic growth and trade. Many school buildings had been left neglected for decades and lacked basic needs such as proper toilets and electricity. The plan also sought to extend education into rural parts of the country. In the end, Venizelos's plan managed to update many existing school buildings, and new school buildings were constructed. At the same time, many towns and villages would not build dedicated schools of their own until the middle part of the twentieth century. However, education was important to Greece, and it was understood that education would not succeed if schools and students were not provided with basic resources such as a dedicated space for learning. The following section looks at the school and classroom experience and what schooling was like for many children in Greece during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

School and Classroom Experience

Early photos of the Greek classroom show children sitting attentively behind their desks, wearing uniforms and waiting for their teacher. In some photos, the students' hair is finely combed, their cloths are neatly pressed, and their shoes are shined. The teacher walks into the room and all the students stand to greet her with a "Good morning, teacher" "Καλημέρα Κυρια." The teacher responds to the children "Children please pay attention so we can begin our lesson." "Παιδιά παρακαλούμε να δώσετε προσοχή έτσι μπορούμε να ξεκινήσουμε το μάθημά μας." The children wait attentively behind their desks for their teacher's instructions. The teacher asks the students to take out their primer, which they had been instructed the day before to practice their reading. After the students have placed their books on their desks, the teacher chooses a child to read out loud to the class. When the teacher says "who would like to read," the mood of the room changes almost in an instant. Some raise their hands

with enthusiasm while others hide behind their books or look down at their desks. She proceeds to choose a student, who stands and begins to read out loud. He reads a few sentences and then stumbles on a word, then he pauses for a moment, and looks around the room nervously. The teacher follows by asking him to try again, so he begins from the start, and he reads slowly, making sure he carefully pronounces each word correctly by adding the right inflection to each vowel. He gets to the word he stumbled on earlier and tries again to make out the word, but again struggles. He hopes that this time the teacher or one of his classmates will help him. He continues to try to make out the word. He gives a few vowel sounds, but cannot quite get the word. The class laughs out loud. The teacher yells "Quiet please!" (Ησυχία παρακαλώ!). He continues to stand staring at the schoolroom floor. The teacher calms the class. The class is quiet. She then reprimands the student, "Why didn't you read the night before!" (Γιατί δεν διαβάσετε το κείμενο χθες το βράδυ!). The student tries to think of an explanation, but he is embarrassed to say that it got dark and there was no kerosene left in his lamp for him to see, so he went to bed early because he had to work with his family early in the morning, or there was nobody to help him practice his reading. He just shrugs his shoulders and waits. The teacher asks him to sit outside the room. He stands at the doorway outside the room. The teacher chooses another student to read out loud.

The setting above could have taken place almost anywhere in Europe or even the world. Students in the Greek elementary school were expected to receive a basic education in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, physical and political geography, history, Christian teaching, and hygiene. Victorian notions of what a "good" classroom should look like also influenced the structure and culture of the Greek school and classroom. A well-regulated classroom was central to the Greek school, the word classroom *τάξη* (order) meant a quiet classroom, where children sat with their backs upright, and heads forward; reading out loud and memorizing passages was a productive classroom. Students followed a fixed daily schedule; ascribed to clearly defined rules of discipline, and were expected to dress and behave a certain way while they were in school.

Such expectations were mostly borrowed from nineteenth century industrial Europe. Schools in England, Prussia, Austria-Hungary, France, and the United States were designed around the idea of how our schools must prepare our students for a growing industrial economy. In the late nineteenth century, Greece was not an industrializing nation. Its economy

was mostly based on agricultural production and trade. The Greek school was nevertheless organized and structured to prepare its students to work in industrial and manufacturing fields. There were, for example, set hours of operation, special facilities, and rules that mirrored those of factory work. Discipline was essential, children were put to task to complete their work, and most students were taught the same material throughout the country.

Most Greek teachers were trained in the Pedagogical Institute in Athens, which was founded after the Greek Revolution (1834), with the mission of supporting compulsory education throughout the country. The teacher-training programs, which were created by the state, were comprised of both men and women who were often assigned to teach at schools away from their own communities. They were expected to teach in a specific way, to cover specific material, and to instill a particular type of discipline in their classrooms.

Education in Greece had come a long way since the Revolution of 1821 to 1830, which brought schooling in Greece to a halt. By its end in 1830, there were essentially no active schools in Greece from elementary to higher education.[5] As early as 1822, the first Greek National Assembly proposed free elementary education for all Greek citizens and the establishment of new schools. In 1833, King Otto instituted important measures for the expansion of Greek education. In that year, the *Primary and Communal Education Law* was enacted. In 1834, another law established compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and twelve, and a training school for teachers was opened.[6] The number of schools and attendance grew as the population of the country increased over the years. During the rule of King George I (1863–1913), Greece had the greatest increase in the number of elementary schools that were opened. In 1881, there were roughly 63,000 students attending elementary school in Greece,[7] and there were about 1,447 elementary schools and 1,292 teachers.[8] The teacher-to-student ratio was about 60 students per teacher. Moreover, the school facilities were inadequate, and many schools were housed in churches or large outdoor spaces. There were often not enough desks for the students, and classroom materials for the students and teachers were often insufficient.

By 1880, there was a push to open more schools, especially in the newly incorporated regions of northern Greece. In 1889, there were roughly 1,600 schools with 76,000 students[9]; by 1900, that number rose to 2,180 schools and 216,883 students; while by 1928, there were 3,219 schools

with 266,000 students.[10] Both boys and girls attended school, but while schooling was open to both boys and girls, more boys attended school than girls for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11]

Throughout Greece, elementary education consisted of grades 1–4. Secondary education was organized in a two-ladder system, the Hellenic schools and the *gymnasium*. The Hellenic schools were divided in three years, grades 5–7. A variety of subjects were covered in the Greek elementary and middle schools. Students studied religion, Greek (both modern and ancient), mathematics, physics and hygiene, history and Greek mythology, geography, French, drawing, penmanship, gymnastics, singing, and handwork. G*ymnasium* consisted of an additional four years (grades 8–11). Schooling was free and many students especially those from rural communities found schooling more of an escape (even if temporarily) from the hard work and daily toils of work on their farms than an educational endeavor. At the same time, many families had yet to grasp the notion that an education could help their child move up the social ladder and even improve their lives. For the most part, they saw schooling as recreational and as an opportunity for their children to play and interact with their friends and peers. As such, many children found the school experience pleasurable and fun, and would prefer to go to school than to work.

By the 1890s, the school day was increased in the Greek school system. In 1911, Article 16 of the Greek Constitution ensured mandatory and free elementary education for all citizens. During Eleutherios Venizelos's last premiership (1928–1932), education went through a drastic overhaul and Demotic (common) Greek was used as the primary language of instruction in schools. Venizelos's new education mission set to tie education to the national economy. General and classical education would be left to a select few, while more practical and vocational programs would be incorporated into higher levels of education in order to help grow the Greek economy. According to Ioannis D. Stefanidis, "The proposed system intended to direct the predominately lower middle-class and rural youth towards acquiring practical, professional skills. For Venizelos, education and social stability were intimately related."[12] Venizelos's reforms stipulated six years of compulsory education, the elimination of the Hellenic Schools or middle schools, a flexible curricula that considered the specific needs of the school and its students, and the opening of school libraries.[13] Teacher programs, which trained teachers for primary or secondary instruction, were opened in Athens and Thessaloniki. Between 1930 and 1932, over 3,000 new schools opened across Greece.

Greece overall followed a similar trend to that occurring in most of western Europe. By the turn of the nineteenth century, governments had learned the importance of education, in not just growing their economies or informing their citizens on the political process, seeing that education could be a mechanism in uniting its people. Similarly, historians on the history of American education are quick to point out how the United States (by fact of the sheer numbers of students attending schools) in 1900 was successful in accomplishing free and universal education for all children. However, in Greece, education was more than just a gracious endeavor that entailed helping students find work after schooling, or climbing up the social ladder, but was equally as much about developing an allegiance to the nation and state. It served to teach students to become loyal Greek citizens, to develop a common understanding of what it meant to be Greek, and to convince those who were not Greek to become Greek in an environment with few opportunities for choice or deviation.

The question of the exceptional child often arises, and, more specifically, what happened to children who suffered from learning or physical disabilities. In Greece, like in many other nations, these students were often cast off as naughty (*άτακτος*) or seen as being raised poorly by their families, and they often did not attend school. Children who suffered more severe mental or physical illnesses often did not attend school, as there were few schools to help such students. They were often isolated from their communities and spent most of their days within their homes. Unfortunately, there is little information on these children who were often neglected during their own times. By 1913, the Venizelos government took steps to provide education to illiterate adults and to individuals with special needs. Steps were taken to make preschool obligatory and to encourage more girls to attend school. During Venizelos's last premiership, Constantine Gontikas, the Greek Minister of Education, proposed the establishment of experimental schools, the improvement of teacher training programs, and vocational training in schools.[14] The issue of which language to use in school, *Demotic* (colloquial Greek) versus *Katharevousa* (purified Greek), persisted for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Issues of Language

Colloquial Greek was the dominant spoken language in Greece, while various other dialects were spoken across Greece for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early on, debates about which

language to use in schools centered on purified Greek *Katharevousa* versus colloquial Greek *Demotic*, which often became politically heated. In many cases, some students were bilingual, for example, those who lived in Arvanite- (Albanian), Vlach- (Aromanian), and Slavic-speaking communities, while others spoke variant forms of Greek, such as Tsakonian in the Peloponnese and Pontic Greek in parts of northern Greece (brought mostly to Greece after the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s). An interesting example where distinctions of words are found is Nikos Kazantzakis's *Report to Greco*. Kazantzakis recollects his experience while in elementary school in his hometown of Heraklion, Crete. A young Greek teacher was looking for a wheel of cheese that had been given to him by one of the locals in the town. While asking around where it might be, he used the purified Greek "tyros" rather than the colloquial Greek "tyri." Kazantzakis and his friends found this humorous, repeating out loud to themselves "tyros" "tyros" "tyros." Examples like this were common, and people were naturally perplexed why words that they had always been using were suddenly considered improper.

A formalized national language was nonetheless important to the Greek state and that schools should teach students this language. For much of the nineteenth century, a common language was important for nation-building. Governing elites used mass schooling as a primary purveyor to achieve linguistic commonality. Linguistic commonalities maintained national cohesion, but also worked to preserve territory. According to Darden and Mylonas,

> States that initially developed in an environment of external threat, typically in regions of the world with a higher level of territorial competition, would be more likely to pursue nation-building policies. An important observable implication of this process is the pursuit of mass education with national content and a single national language.[15]

For much of the nineteenth century, colloquial and adopted foreign words were replaced with Greek or Greek-sounding words. Teachers discouraged students from speaking languages such as Albanian, Aromanian, and Slavic, which they may have used as their primary languages within their communities. In all, the Greek state felt that its people could be united around a commonly spoken language, but at the same time maintain its territorial integrity and even expand its borders.

While the Greek state worked long and hard to replace many common everyday words with "purified" Greek words, the Greek people continued to use words with which they were familiar and comfortable using in their communities and everyday lives. Purified Greek became seen as elitist and only used by the wealthy and educated classes. Debates on what language to teach in schools, purified Greek versus common or demotic Greek, continued into the mid-1970s, often becoming politically heated. But from the late nineteenth century through much of the 1920s and 1930s, demotic Greek became the language of instruction. *Katharevousa* became far too difficult to learn and was far too impractical for most Greeks. Some even argued that it was easier for Greek children to learn a foreign language than purified Greek. While most textbooks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were written in colloquial Greek, ancient Greek was required in the upper levels of schooling. This seemed like a fair compromise for conservatives who supported *katharevousa* and progressives who advocated colloquial Greek. The following section looks at Greek textbooks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Several of them are analyzed to help shed light on how children learned in school helped influence what children learned in informal settings.

The Textbook

We know that, through schooling, the Greek state was able to influence what children learned outside school. By the nineteenth century, Greek children were exposed to a variety of stories and songs, which were written by Greek authors. One early (and well-known) example is Polemis's children's poem "Κρυφό Σχολειό" (Secret School), which was found in most elementary school textbooks in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The poem sought to remind children of the hardships that were incurred by the Greek people during Ottoman times and how the Greek people survived after centuries of Ottoman oppression.

While new stories and songs were devised (and later incorporated into school textbooks), the state also adopted stories and songs that were already extant in informal learning settings (more on this in Chap. 5). In both cases, the stories often promoted the states external and internal goals: to expand Greek territory and to unite its people around a Greek national identity.

For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the textbook was the means by which children learned about their nation and

what it meant to be Greek. Unlike children's periodicals and magazines (which is discussed in the following chapter), the textbook paid far less attention to entertaining the child, or providing the child with a temporary escape, but focused primarily on instructing and imparting knowledge and information to the child. However, more importantly, the school was also an apparatus used by the state to regulate and monitor what children learned. It was far more regulated than what children were learning in informal learning settings, and it was also a means by which the state could indirectly influence learning in informal settings.

Textbooks were intentionally written and conformed to particular standards and guidelines. They covered a wide array of topics, ranging from early-age readers (*αναγνωστικό*), which instructed students on learning the alphabet, to books on hygiene which taught students the proper ways to wash. More important were textbooks that taught students about the Greek nation, its people, and the virtues of Greek Orthodox Christianity. These were typically school readers, history textbooks, Greek literature/language textbooks and religious textbooks. At first, textbooks were imported from western Europe, translated into Greek, and then used in schools. By the late nineteenth century, most Greek textbooks were Greek-authored and published in Greece. By this time, stories found in textbooks usually took place in Greece and considered the lives of the Greek people.

Between 1880 and 1930, most early school textbooks dealt with learning the Greek alphabet as well as learning to read and write. The first few pages of many textbooks often gave instructions to the teacher on how to present the material to the students. Most Greek language textbooks were typically composed of short stories. Students would typically read these stories out loud in class and the teacher would assist students in their reading skills. Students also worked on their penmanship and pronunciation, while memorization was important to the learning process.

Other textbooks included those on history, religion, geography, and literature, as well as on drawing and arithmetic. A 1903 manual instructed elementary school teachers and school officials on subjects to be covered in the Greek school.[16] Among the subjects were religion, Greek language, history, arithmetic, geography, physics, chemistry, drawing and calligraphy. The manual also recommended how many hours per week each grade level would spend on each subject.[17] For example, students in the first, second, and third grades would spend two hours per week learning about the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. Among the topics covered

in the religion course were church history and church music, catechism, the Bible and liturgy. In the first, second, third, and fourth grades, students would spend six hours per week learning the Greek language, while one hour would be spent on grammar for the first and second grades. In grades one to four, students would spend three hours learning arithmetic, and by the fifth grade, students would spend two hours learning geometry. Students would take geography in the first second, and third grades on which they would spend two hours per week. By grades four and five, students would take physics, which was mostly physical geography. Students would spend about two hours per week learning history and two hours per week learning drawing. The textbooks were the primary tool used by students in learning these subjects. The section below examines several textbooks used in Greek schools between 1880 and 1930.

An Analysis of Several School Textbooks

Andreou Koklinakis's second-grade reader was used in Greek schools from 1902–1907. The reader begins with a section titled "God Created the World."[18] The section discusses how God created everything that exists in the world. "God created the first men and women….He created the various species of animals…He created the sky and the earth, and everything we see today."[19] A prayer then follows that thanks God for creating everything in the world. The next section is simply titled "The School." The section discusses the role of the teacher and the student, including how students should behave in school and how all good students should respect their parents and fellow men. The section continues with a brief description on what the students will learn in school and the role of the teacher. "[In School] children learn to read and write, to do arithmetic, they learn to speak and to think….he who teaches them is called the teacher. The teacher loves his students like parents love their children."[20] The section follows with a prayer to the Virgin Mary (*Παναγία*) and a section called "The Classroom." In this section, the classroom is described, including the classroom windows, the desks at which the students sit, the religious icons in the front of the room, the blackboard, and the teacher's desk.

The following sections are about the student's school bag, about a charitable boy named Andreas, a garden, a church (lithograph of Byzantine church included), the sun, the Greek home (with lithography of a tradi-

tional Greek home). While the text was primarily used to teach students how to read and write, it also sought to teach students about their environment and to build upon their pre-existing knowledge. It is evident that the moral development of the child is also important. This is accomplished by presenting students with stories about the importance of caring for others, as well as religious stories about God, Jesus, and the Virgin Mary. A story about a dishonest shepherd (an adaption of the story "Never Cry Wolf") instructs students on the dangers of dishonesty and foolhardiness. The natural environment is also important and there are several sections describing the various animals found in Greece, such as snails, mules, sheep, bees, and horses.

Students also learned about the Greek Orthodox Christian faith in school as early as elementary school. An understanding of Orthodox Christianity was seen as important to the understanding of what it means to be Greek. One textbook used in school by kindergarten students is titled *Sacred History* (*Ιεράς Ιστορία*) by Yiorgos Mellas.[21] The textbook includes stories from the Bible, beginning with the creation of Adam and Eve and concludes with the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In upper grades, students studied stories from the Bible in greater detail. In these grades, more emphasis was placed on the New Testament rather than the Old Testament.

Ioannis Arsenis's *Little Primer* (*Μικρόν Αλφαβητάριον* 1852)[22] and *Primer* (*Αλφαβητάριον* 1906 to 1911)[23] bear several similarities. Both textbooks instructed early childhood students on learning the Greek alphabet, pronunciation, and vocabulary as well as how to perform simple reading tasks. Arsenis's primer in addition included an illustration at the top of each section. The primers begin with one- and two-syllable words using a particular letter. Phrases are then included using that letter. The textbooks then follow with exercises on the proper way of pronouncing the letter. The words are broken down in order to help students memorize vocabulary, spell words, and pronounce words correctly.

Π π

π α πα, π ι πι
π η πε, π ο πο
ο ς ος π ος πος
σ ε σε ν ι νι
π η πη ν ω νω

παπί πα πι πα πι παπί
πανί. πήρα τόπος πετώ πατώ πίνω
πίνω νερό πατώ το πανί πετώ το τόπι
επότισα τα ια έπεσε το παπί.[24]

Both primers were intended for students who were just beginning to learn the Greek alphabet and to read and write. Unlike these primers, D. Douka's 1930 primer is filled with illustrations of children across Greece.[25] Like earlier primers, Douka's primer begins with the Greek alphabet, pronunciation, and simple vocabulary. It follows with several poems and stories, the latter focusing on the lives of children, children playing in the town, children taking a trip to the park, as well as children visiting the market, the butcher shop, and the bakery. There are also stories about children and their relationship to others in their community, such as grandparents, parents, siblings, and playing with other children. While in school, students were asked about their own lives by their teachers, such as their family, friends, games that they played, and their lives at home and around school. This helped students make connections

One first-grade textbook, *Virtuous Learning* (*Χρηστομάθεια*) from 1898, looked to teach children about ancient Greece.[26] *Virtuous Learning* is 205 pages in length and divided into four sections. Section A: Proverbs, consisting of 52 ancient Greek proverbs; Section B: Myths, including 47 short mythical stories; Section C: Short Stories, with 68 short stories from Greek mythology; and Section D: Historical Short Stories, consisting of 38 short stories from ancient Greek history. The primer does not appear to have been used in Greek schools after 1898.

A second-grade reader called *The Three Friends* (*Οι Τρεις Φίλοι*) was published in 1923.[27] The textbook is 160 pages in length and composed mostly of short stories. It was used in most schools in Greece during the early nineteenth century. The lead story of the textbook is titled "How I passed the time when I was little." The story begins with,

> I was born in a small village near the sea. All day long I would run on the sand and play with my friends. With paper we would build boats and send them off to sail in the sea. When the waves came in I would run to the shore and let the water wet my feet. I would see the seagulls open their white wings and fly afar. And I would cry out: Oh! I wish I had wings like you to fly.[28]

The Three Friends is filled with stories about childhood and the experiences of children from across Greece. They take place in towns, as well as being located near the sea, in the mountains, near rivers, forests, and in cities.

Dimitrios Kolokotsas's third-grade reader was used in Greek schools in the early twentieth century.[29] Kolokotsa's textbook is 142 pages long and begins with a section entitled "Beginning the School Lesson." The section instructs students on the proper ways to behave in school as well as what is expected of them both in school and at home. The textbook follows with stories on the relationship between the child and his/her parents and the importance of caring for one's family. There are more stories about animals such as a horse, a bat and a spider as well as about a Greek ship, a train, and a bicycle. Biblical and religious stories are also included in the textbook as well as some of Aesop's fables, and the book ends with stories about ancient Greek history such as the Battle of Marathon, Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylae, Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis, and a story about ancient Mycenae.

The lower elementary grade history books were primarily textbooks on ancient Greek mythology, Aesop's fables, and contemporary stories, folk songs, and poems.[30] In the first and second grades, students learned about the Greek gods, and ancient Greek figures like Theseus, the Minotaur, Perseus, Hercules, Pandora, Jason, the Trojan War and Odysseus traveling back to his home on Ithaca. Detail was often provided about each god and their relationship to the other gods on Mount Olympus. Many of Aesop's fables were often found in the early school readers and mythology textbooks. At the end of each fable, the students were asked to provide the moral of the story. The fables were intended to help in the moral development of the child. In many school textbooks in the early twentieth century, we find the incorporation of modern Greek folk tales. Also included are stories about vampires, fairies, demons, and witches.

At grade three, students learned about ancient Greece in their history class. Paparrousis's third-grade history book was used in Greek schools in the late nineteenth century.[31] The textbook begins with the geography of ancient Greece, then deals with the proto-inhabitants of Greece. Paparousis's states, "The earliest inhabitants of Greece were Pelasgians, who originated from Asia Minor and settled in present day Epirus, Thessaly, Attika, the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece."[32] The following section is titled "Heroic Years." Here, the textbook covers the Trojan War, its heroes, and major events during the war.

In their last year of elementary school, students learned about the Greek Revolution. Theodororos Apostolopoulos's history textbook, *The Rebirth of Greece*, begins with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks.[33] It follows with a section titled "Greece Under the Turks," in which Apostolopoulos says, "The Turks became of the rulers of Constantinople and all of Greece. The Greek people suffered for centuries under the barbarous and uncivilized Turks."[34] Apolstolopoulos's textbook continues with the Greek Revolution, the major heroes of the Revolution, and the major battles. The textbook ends with the first Greek King Otto of Bavaria. Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greek history were topics covered in the teaching of history in Greek schools. All served to provide students with a link from the past to the present, and to give the perception that the Greek people had existed for centuries.

Ioannis Asimakopoulos's geography textbook was used in Greek elementary schools during the late nineteenth century.[35] The textbook begins with a discussion about the earth, the sun, and the solar system followed by a discussion of the rotation of the earth and other planets in the solar system. Later, it explores the continents and the oceans. After a discussion on the physical geography of the planet, the textbook abruptly shifts to a section entitled "The Ancient Greeks." In this section, Asimakopoulos states, "We Greeks are an ancient people. Ancient Greece was not one country as it is today, but composed of many city-states."[36] The next section is titled the "Byzantine Greeks." In this section, Asimakopoulos states, "In 335 ACE, the Roman Empire was split into two parts, the eastern part of the Empire went to the Greeks. This portion of the Empire would be known as the Byzantine Empire. Its capital would be Constantinople."[37] Next comes a section on Greece under the Ottoman Empire and another on the Greek Revolution and Modern Greece, before the textbook gets back to its focus on geography by looking at the physical geography of Greece. A map of Greece is provided before the individual counties (*Νομός*) of Greece are discussed. The teaching of geography was important in Greek schools for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It provided a place in which the Greeks lived as well as a historical location for the Greek people.

In the upper elementary grades, topics in the geography textbook included Greece's size relative to other countries in the region and the world, as well as Greece's physical geographic shape and the countries it bordered. Also important were world geography, the planets, other major landforms (mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.), the nations and peoples found

therein, and Greece and its place in the world. In high school, geography textbooks explored the planets and then placed most attention on the geography of Europe and the Balkans.

Other textbooks included drawing, mathematics, and hygiene. Ioannis Draikis's drawing textbook was used in Greek elementary schools in 1880.[38] It begins by teaching students how to draw straight and curved lines, followed by teaching them to draw angles and parallel lines. It later teaches students various shapes, such as circles, squares, trapezoids, rectangles, pentagons, triangles, and so forth. Students are then taught how to draw three-dimensional images such as a cube and a cone. The final pages instruct students to draw a vase, a teapot, an urn, a lamp, and a fountain, before presenting the them with simple geometric problems.

Georgios Gerakis's mathematics textbook was used in the upper Greek elementary grades in the late nineteenth century.[39] This textbook includes complex addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division problems. A multiplication table is also included and, later in the text, students were expected to work on simple fractions and word problems. One word problem states: "In a school, the first grade is composed of 45 students, the second grade 40, and the third grade 35 students. How many students attend the school."[40] Almost all the word problems are designed around the lives of Greek children. There is a word problem about a boy named Pavlos and several missing pages in his textbook, about a mother who has sent her son to buy something at the local store and how much change he would receive, about two laborers who get paid by the day and are able to save. One problem says "If you paid 893 Drachmas for a small garden, but still owe 774 drachmas, how much does the garden cost?"[41] Another problem says, "A city has 730,000 inhabitants, how many more does it need to reach 1 million."[42]

Also important was the teaching of hygiene in schools. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, child illnesses in Greece covered a wide range of infectious diseases, such as measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, chickenpox, pertussis, meningitis, influenza, conjunctivitis, and malaria. Many of these illnesses resulted in high child mortality rates among children in Greece. The Department of School Health Service of the Ministry of Public Education (Τμήμα της Σχολής Υγειονομικής Υπηρεσίας του Υπουργείου Δημόσιας Εκπαίδευσης) established rules that were incorporated into the school curriculum and the teaching of hygiene in schools.[43] N. Lampadariou's manual for school hygiene was used by school administrators and teachers to teach students about hygiene.[44] The manual is

over 300 pages long and covers a variety of topics such as the proper way to bathe, the dangers of wearing shoes that are too small, how to prevent the spread of lice, and the proper way to wash one's hands. Other topics covered in the manual were proper sanitation in schools, open outdoor space for students to play, and daily physical exercise for students. It was believed that the environment in which students learned also helped in the physical and psychological development of the child.

Transitioning into Formal Education

The centralized school in many ways provided the skills and resources for learning to flourish in informal learning settings. However, more importantly, through the centralized school the Greek state was able to direct what was being learned outside school. Generally speaking, changes made in Greek education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a widespread phenomenon found not just in Greece but also across most of Europe. By the nineteenth century, western European models of education had filtered into Greece. The modern and centralized school system became the standard of how future citizens would be educated. Learning in the home and community were seen as primitive and adverse to western and modern ideals. Greece struggled with its own identity as well as the changes that were being incorporated into Greek society. A rapid transformation in almost all aspects of life took place for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much of it was forced onto the Greek citizen so that the nation and state could "catch-up" with its western counterparts.

New school buildings were built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but most communities, especially those in the rural parts of the country, continued to use the outdated school buildings that had been in use for decades. During Eleutherios Venizelos's last premiership, new schools were constructed throughout the country, and many old school buildings were brought up to date, so that the Greek school classroom came to look much like other classrooms found in Europe. In this classroom, the child could easily get lost in a room full of other students. They did not have the individual attention that they once enjoyed in their home and community, from their parents, grandparents, and other family members. The parent could no longer directly monitor or direct their child's learning. The state also decided what was an education and who would receive an education. A career in the bureaucracy, the military, and

the Church required a specific requisite level of education. This was also true for professional careers, such as medical doctors, teachers, nurses, and lawyers. Teachers were required to receive a diploma (*πτυχίο*) or certificate (*απολυτηρίων*) by a state-sponsored institution confirming that they had qualified and been approved by the state to practice their profession.

The central government also kept tabs on its schools. How many schools would be built? Which schools would be renovated? How many students would attend school? How many teachers would be trained to teach a growing number of students? And the state also determined how certain topics and issues would be presented in the classroom. How would ancient Greek history be treated? What were students going to learn about their geography? And which stories should the student be exposed to while in school? Using the textbook as a vehicle to unite the people around a common cultural and educational experience, the state determined what its school textbooks would include, how the material would be presented, and how their teachers would teach it to their students. Schools ultimately fostered affection and loyalty to the state and its people and united the Greek people around a shared national identity. The next chapter looks at Greek children's literature, what children read in informal learning settings, and how these stories helped shape their identity.

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CHAPTER 5

Learning Informally Through Story, Song, and Children's Shadow Theater

The previous chapter examined the role of children's literature and reading in informal learning settings. This chapter also discusses how children's books, children's magazines and other printed material were important resources in informal learning and how many stories were shaped by the political and social events of the time.

This chapter is about how young learners in Greece learned through the use of story, song, and shadow theater plays. While children's literature in informal learning settings required most children to know how to read, shadow theater, songs and stories (which were typically presented to children) only required a child to listen and watch the story. Such learning also required limited resources. Books, magazines and other printed material were not required, as most resources for stories and songs were part of a longstanding oral tradition. Shadow theater on the other hand was part of a tradition that dated back to Ottoman times. Shadow theater shows would travel from town to town throughout Greece, and these shows were affordable for most children.

This chapter is divided into several sections. It begins by providing a general overview of the use of stories and songs in informal learning settings. Folklore was the most popular form of stories and songs that were presented to children for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the section "Folklore In Modern Greece: A Short History," I relate how, beginning in the nineteenth century, foreign scholars were interested in finding links between a folkloric tradition found in rural

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Greek society and ancient Greek society. By the late nineteenth century, Greek scholars also began documenting Greek folk stories and songs to help prove assertions that a cultural continuity existed between ancient and modern Greece.

The section "Carols and Other Songs" looks at stories of the exotic. Like many folk stories and songs of nineteenth century Greece, stories about vampires, witches, ghosts, and other supernatural creatures were taught to children in informal learning settings. These types of stories were found throughout Greece. The section "Greek Shadow Theater in Informal Learning Settings" examines the topic of the shadow theater plays. Since the Karagiozis shadow plays were the most popular children's shadow theater during much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I delve into the Karagiozis plays, specifically examining two popular plays, *Alexander the Great and the Dreadful Dragon* and *Athanasios Diakos*, and how Karagiozis represents what it means to be Greek for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Karagiozis plays are also a window into understanding how late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greek society viewed itself and the immediate world around it, as well as how the social and political events of the time influenced what children learned. I conclude with a discussion on the shadow plays' overall impact on fostering a Greek national identity.

Stories and Songs and Informal Learning

Historically, the most common stories and songs presented to children within the context of informal learning were folk tales and folk songs. While stories and songs were part of the larger body of children's literature, they were typically presented to children through an oral tradition, since common people in Greece were usually illiterate. We often think today of children being told stories around the campfire, or songs being sung to children before they are put to bed. At the most basic level, stories and songs provide children with an easy source of entertainment, while for many children it is the only source of entertainment outside play. Like today, a certain special quality is required to present a story or a song to a child. It takes a level of patience and creativity to capture a child's attention. One's voice needs to fluctuate, one needs to hit points of exclamation, show humor, or even tap into the child's emotions. Moreover, stories and songs need to be creative in order to incite the child's imagination. For

much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Greece, stories and songs were passed down from one generation to the next. Parents, grandparents, and other members of a community were mostly responsible for this "passing on" and for preserving many stories and songs.

Developmental psychologists often agree on the positive effects that stories and songs have on a child's development. In this way, the presentation of stories and songs in informal learning settings in Greece also benefited the child's development. They provided a common language for children to understand who they were. They gave the child a sense of what was right and wrong, and a sense of the "good" and "bad." Also important was the development of the child's imagination. A mystical awe or trance often overtook the child when they heard certain stories and songs. Children also developed a sense of who they were within the broader context of their communities, and a sense of a shared space was nurtured. Sometimes, a bond was formed between children right into adulthood, where they would often recollect their childhood experiences with one another. The stories and songs became part of whom a child was. It became part of a child's identity and provided the child with an understanding of whom they were within the context of their community. At times, it linked the child to the family, community, and nation, and provided the child with a sense that they were part of broader community that extended outside the family.

Like elsewhere in the world, stories and songs were important sources of learning in Greece. They were part of a longstanding tradition in many Greek communities for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and an important source in defining what it meant to be Greek. It was not only Greeks who were interested in these stories but also foreigners who were looking to find links between modern and ancient Greece. Greek folk tales and folk songs became a focus for many western scholars. For many of them, an ancient Greek spirit still survived within frameworks of folk stories and songs that were shared and learned by people in informal learning settings. The following section provides a short history of Greek folk studies and shows how many Greek stories and songs were presented to children in informal learning settings.

Folklore in Modern Greece: A Short History

Beginning in the fifteenth century, there were attempts to document Greek folk stories and songs. Most of these early attempts were by foreign travelers who were interested in discovering whether a Greek folkloric tra-

dition that dated back to ancient Greece existed in modern Greece. In 1824, Claude Fauriel published *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*, which documented several popular Greek folk songs.[1] By the nineteenth century, Europeans began to become interested in Greece as both the birthplace of western civilization and as a repository of ancient Greek culture. During his travels in Greece in the nineteenth century, Rennell Rodd was convinced that modern Greek customs and practices dated back to ancient Greece.[2] He wrote,

> Probably no race is ever radically exterminated in the country where it has long been established; and the fact that the same language which was written and spoken and spoken by the ancient Greeks is still, with certain modification, the language of the country today affords the strongest argument in favour of cultural continuity…..[3]

Rennell Rodd's early travels to Greece were not uncommon. A fascination with the classical Greek and Roman world had been, for several generations, part of a neoclassical movement in Europe that led many Europeans to rediscover all things Greek and Roman.[4] "The world's great age begins a new, the golden years return" declared Percy Bysshe Shelly in his 1821 poem, *Hellas*.[5] Europeans flocked to Greece to find if there were still traces of the ancient Greek world in modern Greece.

Like Rennell Rodd, the Englishman John Cuthbert Lawson also traveled to Greece in the nineteenth century. Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* attempted to find links between ancient Greek religion and modern Greek practices.[6] Lawson's study looked at tales, songs, and everyday expressions and ritual practices used by Greek peasantry. Use of the word Hades (Ἅδης) was commonly mentioned by locals to explain where one's soul went after death. Charon (*Χάρος*), Hades ferryman, was also cited in various dirges (*μοιρολόγια*) to bid farewell to loved ones. Lawson also suggested that the common expression for "cheers" or "to your health" (*Στην υγειά σου*) and the evil eye (*το μάτι*) had derived from ancient Greek pagan practices.

Around the same time, G.F. Abbott attempted to find links between late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greek ballads and ancient Homeric hymns.[7] In his *Songs of Modern Greece*, Abbott wrote,

> But, if we take into consideration the Greek idea of music, which, for all we know to the contrary, has been the same from the earliest antiquity down to

> the present day, we see that it is not only possible, but extremely probable that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were sung in a somewhat similar manner to the rhapsodies of Plato's or any other time.[8]

Abbott believed that many modern Greek ballads bore similar rhythmic configurations to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. While Abbott could not prove this, many within his circle believed that there were links between modern Greek folk culture and ancient Greek culture.

By the late nineteenth century, there was a pronounced interest in Greece by both the Greek government and local actors. The collection and documentation of local knowledge was important, and was articulated in the field of Greek folklore studies. Moreover, the role of folklore became intricately tied to Greek territorial ambitions in the Balkans as well as a desire to link the modern Greeks to ancient Greece.[9]

Influenced and supported by foreign perceptions of modern Greece, Greek folklorists sought to add to preexisting nineteenth century European notions that an ancient Greek tradition existed within the folk culture of modern Greek peasantry.[10] While many scholars found many interesting similarities between ancient and modern Greek culture, there was no certainty whether these traditions and practices used in modern Greece dated back to ancient Greece. Nonetheless, folk studies led many in Greece to document Greek folk tales and songs, and many of these stories and songs were inevitably taught to children within their communities.

Michael Herzfeld's seminal work, *Ours Once More*, found that nineteenth and early twentieth century studies of Greek folklore were tied to an affirmation that a Greek national identity had existed since ancient times. A "Hellenist Theory," which was developed in western Europe and used to counter Fallmerayer's theory that there were few cultural traces of the ancient Greeks in the modern Greeks, saw modern Greek culture as directly linked to ancient Greek culture. The issue, however, was that a Greek peasantry did not identify with having a cultural or historical connection to ancient Greece, and more often than not identified with their Greek Orthodox Christian faith and local communities than with an ancient Greek past.[11] Loring Danforth found that early scholarship on the modern Greeks seized upon the opportunity to link the modern Greeks to the ancient Greeks. He writes,

> The claim for the continuity of Greek culture must be understood in terms of the particular ideological perspective of scholars who make this claim,

> not in terms of the similarities that exist between ancient and modern Greece. It is the same ideological perspective that leads scholars to ignore almost completely the difference that exists between ancient and modern Greek cultures, differences that are just as real and just as important as the similarities.[12]

Greek folklorists nevertheless took steps to document these stories and songs and to present them in Greece and elsewhere as having links to ancient Greece.

Beginning in the 1850s Antonios Manousos published a collection of folk songs entitled *National Songs*. It was the first collection of folk songs and stories to be published in Greece. Manousos's collection of songs was mostly derived from his home region on the Ionian Islands. Like previous scholars, Manousos was interested in pursuing possible links between the rural tales of his region and the stories and myths of antiquity. Manousos's *National Songs* were both patriotic and romantic songs. One such song described longing for a lover's kiss.

> Red lips I kissed, and they dyed my lips
> My pleated handkerchief was dyed
> In the river I washed it and the river was dyed
> It dyed the beach shore, and the middle of the sea
> It dyed a galley, and one beautiful sea gull
> And dyed were the beautiful, the quick little fish.[13]

Two years later, Spyridon Zambelios published *Folk Songs of Greece*. Like Manousos's *National Songs,* Zambelios's Greek folk songs were compiled mostly from the Ionian Islands. Zambelios was born in Lefkada, the scion of a wealthy Greek/Italian merchant family, which like Manousos was part of cosmopolitan Heptanesian culture. He was later trained as an attorney and began collecting Greek folk songs after traveling throughout Europe.

Zambelios was interested in Greek history and folklore, and he often wrote on historical and folk topics on Greece. Later, he devised his historical tripartite of Greece, or the continuity of Greek culture from ancient to modern times. The Greek historian Constantine Paparrigopoulos would later adapt Zambelios's Greek cultural continuity in his *History of the Greek Nation* (1877) in order to establish historical and cultural links between the modern and ancient Greeks. Papparigopoulos would get most of

the credit for Zambelios's historical continuity in his *History of the Greek Nation*.

Like Manousos's compilation of Greek folk songs, Zambelios's songs consisted of heroic and romantic songs. In *Folk Songs of Greece*, Zambelios begins with a lengthy introduction on the cultural links between ancient and modern Greece, arguing that one could find the spirit of the ancient Greeks within the songs of the modern Greek peasantry. Zambelios includes romantic songs and dirges in his book as well as songs about witches and dragons. One particular song is about a married man named Bekios who falls in love with a Frankish girl. The title of the song is Bekios's Mistress. Part of the song goes as follows:

> Tuesdays, Wednesdays saddened and Thursdays blackened
> Friday dawned (of course it would not dawn!)
> That Bekios talks to a Frankish beauty
> Friday he loves her, Saturday and all day as well
> And Sunday they catch him, and they send him off to Kati.[14]

Zambelios also includes several national songs most of which are about Souli and the Souliotes' struggle against the Ottoman Turks. Together, the works of Manousos and Zambelios would help to augment interest in Greek folklore (*λαογραφία*) studies, and the close relationship between nationalism, history, and folklore would inevitably become apparent through the work of Greek folklore scholars such as these two.

Like foreign scholars writing about Greece, many Greek folklore scholars also believed that ancient Greek culture had survived through a folkloric tradition practiced mostly in small, isolated, rural peasant communities. Many of these scholars were driven by the belief that a Greek national past emanated within contemporary frameworks of Greek folklore ,with folk tales and songs as direct links to ancient Greece. To help prove this, folk tales and other folk songs needed to be collected and documented throughout the country.

In 1908, the Hellenic Folklore Society was established. It published the periodical *Folklore* (*Λαογραφία*) and continued to contribute to the collection of Greek folklore while strengthening the notion of modern Greek links to ancient Greece. The journal's founder, Nicholaos Politis,—often referred to as the father of Greek folklore studies or *λαογραφία*—attempted to collect folk songs and stories found throughout the coun-

try, and not just regionally as had been done earlier by Manousos and Zambelios.

Early in his career, Politis was interested in finding links between the ancient Greeks and modern Greeks. In 1893, he published *Greek Folklore: On the Breaking of Vessels and Funeral Rite in Modern Greece*. In this paper, Politis argued that many rural communities throughout Greece practiced similar religious rites to the ancient Greeks. Politis wrote, "The custom in question obtains among many people besides our own and elsewhere as in Greece is probably survival from the very remotest antiquity."[15] Later, Politis organized a network of collectors, mostly schoolteachers in rural areas of Greece, to collect Greek songs, proverbs, and stories.

Politis's *Songs of Modern Greece* was published in 1914.[16] The final project was a hodgepodge of Greek folk tales and songs found across the country. Politis divided his final study into several thematic sections that included commentaries about several tales and songs. It began with "Historical Songs," which was composed of songs that dated back to Byzantine and Ottoman times. One particular song spoke of the atrocities committed by the Ottoman governor in Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, who was recruited by the Sultan to squash the Greek rebellion in the Peloponnese.

> This year the cuckoo bird will not sing.
> Nor will she ever sing again.
> The once melodious turtle dove now only laments.
> This year came the Arabs and they slaughter and enslave
> They enslaved young children, women, and men
> and they killed gallant men and captains.[17]

Kleftic songs formed the section "Folklore in Modern Greece: A Short History" of Politis's study. These were songs sung by Greek bandits during the Greek Revolution. One such song went as follows:

> The rich have bouquets of flowers, and the poor have feasts
> Others hunger for the pasha, and others for the vizier
> But I hunger for the sword, the one that bloodies the Turk
> I hold it with pleasure and bravery, and the Kleft hold it with pride.[18]

The section "Acritic Songs" of Politis's study is composed of Acritic Songs. These were epic poems that are thought to date back to Byzantine

times. They formed part of the heroic or chivalrous folkloric tradition of Byzantine frontiersmen, the Acrites (*Ακρίτες*), who were stationed on the empire's borders. Some of the songs included in this section are: "Andronikos's Steed," "Diogenis Akritas," "The Little Vach," "The Castle at Oria," "The Acrites," "Love for Women," and "The Thief." The songs continued to be practiced through an oral tradition in many Greek communities in Asia Minor. Subsequent sections of Politis *Songs of Modern Greece* are: "Love Songs," "Wedding Songs," "Lullabies," "Carols," "Foreign Songs," "Dirges," "Proverbs," "Workers Songs," "Vlach Songs," and "Humorous Songs." In his section on lullabies, Politis includes the following song:

> Sleep who takes small children, come and take this one too
> I'll give him to you small, but bring him back to me big
> Big like a tall mountain, and straight as a cypress tree
> Where his branches spread from east to west.[19]

After his death in 1921, Politis's collection of folk songs and stories was continued by his student, Georgios A. Megas. Politis's final work on Greek folklore remained mysterious and continued to generate interest by both foreign and Greek scholars. According to Roderick Beaton, Politis was a Greek nationalist whose,

> …vast labour on Greek folklore were motivated, throughout his career, by a deep commitment to Greek nationalism, a commitment which clearly affected his scholarship and to some extent that of his successors also.[20]

Politis and his successors were interested in finding links between modern and ancient Greece via a cultural continuity through folk studies. As Beaton articulates above, Politis was politically motivated and his personal nationalist pursuits and biases may have skewed his findings. Finding continuity between modern and ancient Greece, while concentrating his efforts on similarities rather than differences, were just a few of Politis's methodological weaknesses.[21] Politis's approach, however, was common during his time, and many folklorists were interested in amplifying their respective nations' importance in world history. Tales and songs, however, existed long before anyone conceived of "folklore." Robert Darton's seminal work, *The Great Cat Massacre: And Other Episodes of French Cultural History*, states that, "…comparative studies have found striking similarities

in different recordings of the same tale, even though they were made in remote villages, far removed from one another and from the circulation of books."[22] Prior to Greek schools, children learned stories and songs in informal learning settings**.** The following section looks at stories about the exotic in informal learning settings.

Witches, Vampires, Nereids and Other Stories in Informal Learning Settings

Stories about the exotic were also taught to children in informal learning settings. Greek views on the exotic, supernatural, or paranormal were shaped more by Christian Orthodox beliefs than by a longstanding ancient Greek folkloric tradition. Often, these stories were tied to the landscape: certain places were haunted, such as a house, a cave, a hill, a tree, or a river, or a lake. In the Greek countryside, shepherds often told stories of seeing nymphs, ghosts, and demons in the middle of the night. They frequently told these tales to children from their communities. Many of these stories were chilling, riveting, and attempted to explain the unexplained. They were also part of the imagination of the Greek people and, although often frightful, and uncomforting for many children, the latter typically enjoyed hearing these stories in their homes and communities.

Many of the stories told to children were about witches, vampires, nereids, ghosts, and other exotic personalities. In most communities in Greece, vampires or werewolves (*βρυκόλακας*—used interchangeably), were seen as half-living and half-dead beings who lurked the earth at night. In the nineteenth century, the Englishman William Martin Leake heard locals in northern Greece telling stories about vampires. Leake wrote,

> It would be difficult now to meet with an example of the most barbarous of all those superstitions, that of the Vrukolaka. The name, being Illyric, seems to acquit the Greeks of the invention, which was probably introduced into the country by the barbarians of Slavonic race….The Devil is supposed to enter the Vrukolaka, who rising from the grave, torments first his nearest relations, and then others, causing death or loss of health.[23]

Leake found that vampires were embedded within the imagination of the Greek people, and that locals often shared these stories with one another. Popular belief, within many communities in Greece, found that there were many ways in which one could become a vampire. In his study

of Greek folklore, John Lawson lists several such ways. Some of these include being buried in unconsecrated land, living an immoral life, or eating the flesh of a sheep that had been killed by a wolf.[24] Vampires or werewolves could attack the living and could only be defeated if the vampire was exorcized by a priest.[25] Vampires were the undead who would return from the dead and disrupt the lives of people. Often, they would appear at night, entering homes, eating, drinking, and stealing what they could find, and on rare occasions suffocating people in their sleep.[26] Stories about vampires could be extremely chilling to children, but also a good way for parents to get children to do what they wanted, i.e. "If you do not behave, the terrible *vrykolaka* will get you in your sleep." It is uncertain, however, if tales about vampires had always existed in Greece, or were brought into Greece by Slavic-speaking settlers in the Greek peninsula as described by Leake.

The Nereids have often been thought to date back to classical Greece as they are also often mentioned in classical Greek mythology. In modern Greek folklore, "nereid" (*νεράϊδα*) could mean nymphs, fairies, or mermaids, and they were seen as benevolent creatures. Stories about nereids were particularly common on the islands of the Aegean Sea. The English traveler, James Theodore Bent, came across stories about nereids while working on several archeological sites on several islands of the Cyclades in the late nineteenth century. He wrote,

> Now much has been written about the Nereids of modern Greece. Various stories from various parts of Hellas have been produced, which give us a varied idea of the belief of these mysterious beings. First we have the Nereids of the streams, and the Nereis, properly so-called, are water witches (*νερό*), and they correspond with the water nymphs of antiquity. Wherever there is a warm healing stream, they believe that it flows from the breast of the Nereid.[27]

Stories about ghosts (*φαντάσματα*) were also told to children in most communities in Greece. Ghosts were apparitions or wandering lost souls, and ghost stories fit well within the Greek Orthodox Christian faith, where after death one's spirit or soul wanders the earth for 40 days before leaving the earth. It was believed in many communities that there were apparitions that continued to wander the community after the 40-day period. According to Greek folklore, these apparitions would remain on the earth until the final judgment day when Jesus returned back to earth.

During his travels in Greece in the nineteenth century, Renell Rodd describes stories about witches that were old in many communities in Greece. He writes,

> In modern Italy, the *Strega*, like the Greek *Strigla*, is looked upon as a witch woman, who has the power of changing her form, and flying by night in the shape of a crow, sucking human blood, with breath of deadly poison; distinct, however, from the vampire, which is generally held to be material resuscitation of a dead person, while the *Strigla* is a living being who has assumed a birdlike form.[28]

Unlike ghosts, witches (*στρίγγλα* or *μάγισσα*) were living beings and were able to take the form of other living creatures. It was also not unusual for someone (usually an elderly woman) to be thought to be a witch.

Other stories told to children were the Christmas goblins known as the *kallikantzaroi* (*καλικάντζαροι*). Such stories were typically told to children during the 12 days of Christmas. The *kallikantzaroi* were often described as half-human and half-animal-like creatures with bright red eyes and goat-like features. Some early scholars believed that the *kallikantzaroi* were merely adapted from the ancient Greek centaurs and satyrs. While the *kallikantzaroi* were mostly harmless, they usually appeared on Christmas Eve, and stuck around until the Epiphany. They were known for causing havoc in many communities. Here, John Tomkinson describes the *kallikantzaroi* habits during the 12 days of Christmas,

> During the 12 nights of Christmas, they would issue from caves where they spent the days feasting on toads, lizards, and suchlike. And would pester people in various ways. They would rush about in the darkness, bruising and trampling all who got in their way, breaking into mills, eating some of the flour and fouling the rest by defecating on it. In houses, they would break furniture, eat and drink the food, and defecate all over the place.[29]

E.M. Geldart examined several fairy tales told to children in Greece in the late nineteenth century. Among these tales were stories originally from the German and English traditions.[30] According to Geldart, the Greek fairy tale, "The Forty Dragons" (Οι Σαράντα Δράκοι) was the adapted Greek version of "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves." Similarly, the children's fairytale "Σταχτοπούτα" was the popular children's story "Cinderella." Geldart states,

> With the story of the "Golden Steed" [Το Χρυσό Άλογο] compare "Der gute Johannes" in Grimm's *Kinder und Hausmärchen*. With "Starbright and Biedie," Grimm's "Brüderchen und Schwesterchen!" With "Sir Lazarus and the Dragons," [Ο κ. Λάζαρος και οι δράκοι] Grimm's "Das tapfere Schneiderlein." Again essentially the same tale in another form, compare "The Man Without a Beard" [Ο άνθρωπος χωρίς γένια] and "Der Riese nd Der Schneider."[31]

Stories about the exotic and paranormal were important sources of learning for children in informal learning settings. The following section looks at carols and other songs.

Carols and Other Songs

Nikiforos Lytras's nineteenth century painting *Carols* helps sum up Greek children's carols during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lytras's painting shows five Greek children signing Christmas carols outside the home of a woman who is holding a baby while standing inside her home. Three of the children are signing while one is playing a flute and the other the drums. Lytras's so-called "historical realist" paintings depicted everyday life in Greece. Traditionally in Greece, children went out caroling (*κάλαντα*) on Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve and Epiphany Eve. They went door to door, signing holiday carols, hoping to be rewarded with a gift or money. At the end of some carols, children would add the following verse:

Σ' αυτό το σπίτι που 'ρθαμε	In this home we have come
πέτρα να μη ρηγήσει	No stone may ever crack
κι ο βοικοκυρης του σπιτιού	And the landlord
χρόνια πολλά να ζήσει.	May live for many years

As depicted in Lytras's painting, caroling was a common practice for children during late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece. Many of the carols sung by children were imported into Greece and later taught in Greek schools. For example, *Holy Night* or *Αγία Νύχτα* was originally written by Joseph Mohr an Austrian priest in 1816. Two years later, Franz Guber composed the music to the original poem. The song was later translated into several languages and sung by children across Europe.

Similarly, *Oh Christmas Tree* or *Ω Έλατο* is attributed to the German *O Tannenbaum*, which was written by August Zarnack in 1820. This song was also translated into several languages and learned by children across Europe. During Easter Holy Week, children sang Lazaru's Carol:

Ήρθε η άνοιξη, ήρθαν τα Βάγια	In spring came the palms
ήρθε και ο Χριστός στη Βηθανία	And Christ came to Bethany
και εφώναξε:	He cried out:
Μάρθα, Μαρία,	Martha, Maria
Μαρία, πού 'ναι ο Λάζαρος;	Maria, where is Lazarus?
πού ' ναι ο αδερφός μας;	Where is our brother?
που ' ναι ο φίλος μας και ο αγαπητός μας;	Our beloved friend?
Τετραήμερος και αποθαμένος.	He passed four days ago.
Πάμε στο μνήμα του να τον ιδούμε	To his grave to see him
πάμε στον τάφο του να τον λυπηθούμε.	To his tomb to pity him
Σήκω Λάζαρε, σήκω αδελφέ μας	Arise Lazarus, Arise Brother
σήκω, φίλε μας και αγαπητέ μας.	Arise beloved friend.
Πες μας Λάζαρε τι είδες	Tell us what you saw
εις τον Άδη που επήγες;	in Hades where you went
Είδα φόβους είδα τρόμους	I saw fears, I saw terrors
είδα βάσανα και πόνους.	I saw suffering and I saw pain.
Δώστε μου λίγο νεράκι	Give me some water
να ξεπλύνω το φαρμάκι	to wash away the poison
το φαρμάκι των χειλέων	the poison on my lips
και μη με ρωτάτε πλέον	and do not ask me again.

The following section looks at Greek shadow theater in informal learning settings.

Greek Shadow Theater in Informal Learning Settings

Like many folk songs and folk tales of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece, Greek shadow theater (*Θέατρο Σκιών*) was also directed at children audiences. Theatrical representation provided one of

the means by which a Greek national identity was constructed in informal learning settings. Although shadow theater had existed in ancient Greece, it is thought to have disappeared by the Middle Ages and was reintroduced to modern Greek society in the eighteenth century via the Ottoman Empire. The shadow plays dealt with a variety of topics. Popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were heroic plays, which typically dealt with the Greek Revolution. These plays were as much about forgetting as remembering Greece's experience during Ottoman rule. The plays were also a source of entertainment for children for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During the first part of the twentieth century, shadow theater plays were being performed across Greece. In urban areas, many of these plays were performed in indoor theaters, but on warm nights some plays were performed in open-air theaters. In smaller towns, the shows were typically presented in a park, town square, and coffee houses. Children did not have to be literate to understand the plays. They needed only to know Greek and listen and watch carefully. The plays were also affordable, and families saw them as a good source of entertainment for their children.

The plays included flat two-dimensional puppets made of leather, wood, tin, or cardboard that would be pressed against a white screen (*πανί*). The puppets' shadows were illuminated through the screen, and audiences enjoyed the shows in the dark while sitting directly opposite the screen.[32] The puppets themselves were often decorated in bright painted colors while backdrops helped set the scene. According to Loring Danforth,

> The puppeteer manipulates each puppet with a metal rod about two feet long that is attached to the puppet's shoulder with a hinge allowing the puppeteer to flip the puppet from one side to another to face in either direction. The puppets themselves consist of several pieces, joined at the waist and the knees to enable them to walk, dance, gesture, or strike one another.[33]

The puppeteer also served as the puppets' character voices. The puppeteer would fluctuate his voice according to the various performing character types. The puppets were colorful, boisterous, and animated and could be compared to popular characters found in children's television shows today.

Many of the shadow plays were heroic tales that dealt with Greece's war of independence. Some plays were adapted folk tales and popularized stories about classical, Hellenistic, and Byzantine Greece. Some of the plays were topical comedies that used local humor. Others were social commentaries that incorporated social stereotypes about the diverse peoples living

in Greece. All served to entertain children and all were arguably the most popular source of entertainment for children in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece.

The Karagiozis Plays

The most notorious Greek shadow theater from 1880 to 1930 was the Karagiozis shadow plays. The plays continued to be popular well into the 1960s. Today, most historians agree that the Karagiozis plays were introduced to Greece during Ottoman rule (Karagiozis being the adapted form of the Turkish *Karagoz* or dark-eyed). In colloquial Greek, the word could mean trickster or jokester.

Karagiozis, the central figure in the plays, is a poor, unemployed, and raggedly dressed Greek. He is hunchbacked with a large prominent nose and bears a swarthy complexion. Karagiozis resides with his family in a squalid cottage in a large Greek town. He is uneducated and unskilled. Across from his home is a large Turkish palace (*σαράι*) where a local Ottoman governor or pasha (*πασάς*) lives. Kargiozis is respectful toward his Ottoman superiors, because he fears that they could punish him. Poverty has forced Karagiozis into a life of petty crime about which he boasts freely to his friends. He never succeeds in his criminal acts, and is eventually caught and punished by the pasha.

Karagiozis is somewhat of a pitiful character. He is clownish and buffoonish, and fails at almost everything he attempts in life. He never seems to learn from his mistakes and always gets himself into trouble. At the same time, one could also feel sympathetic toward Karagiozis. He is naïve and has a childish innocence about him, he is funny even when he does not intend to be, and overall he is not a bad person. One is also inclined to side with Karagiozis and feel sympathetic toward him, because it is not entirely Karagiozis's fault for the way that he behaves. He is merely a product of Ottoman subjugation, poor, dilapidated, and with few possibilities for a good future.

There are several characters that form the regular cast in the Karagiozis's plays. These include Barbagiorgos, Karagiozis's sheep-herding uncle; Hadziavatis, a Greek who works for the Turkish pasha, Dionysios, a Greek from Zakynthos, Stavrakas, a rough and tumble working class Greek, Morfonios, a handsome and conceited bourgeois Greek, Veligekas, an Albanian mercenary, Solomon, a Greek Jew, and Karagiozis's wife and children. Each character is also differentiated by his/her style of cloth-

ing, physical appearance, or Greek dialect. Barbagiorgos, for example, is dressed in the traditional Greek kilt (*φουστανέλα*) and carries a shepherd's cane (*γκλίτσα*). He typically speaks in the *demotic* or common Greek with a heavy northern Greek accent. Dionysios, on the other hand, is dressed in formal western attire and speaks high Greek, *Katharevousa*, often incorporating Italian words and phrases into his sentences. Hatiziavatis is usually dressed in Ottoman attire and often serves as the go-to person between the pasha and Karagiozis. Karagiozis usually speaks in *demotic* Greek and his voice is usually high-pitched to add humor to his character's persona.

The characters also help reinforce social and class stereotypes common in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Greece. For example, characters that speak *demotic* Greek are often associated with rural and working classes, while characters who speak high Greek are often affiliated with urban and cosmopolitan Greece. Dionysios represents the Greek aristocracy and a Greek intellectual class that was akin to western styles and attitudes. Hatziavatis, the pasha's messenger, is a Pontian Greek. Stavrakas, on the other hand, who is often shown twirling his worry-beads (*κομπολόι*), is an urban Greek from Patras or Athens. Other characters represent Greece's ethnic minorities. Solomon represents Greece's Jewish community, Barbagiorgos's accent could be associated with Greece's Aromanian (Vlach) communities, and Veligekas, the Albanian mercenary who guards the pasha's palace, represents Greece's Arvanite community. Morfios (adapted from the Greek *όμορφος*) represents the narcissistic Greek who thinks that is he much better looking than he really is.

A popular Karagiozis play during the early twentieth century was *Alexander the Great and the Dreadful Dragon*. The play is an adaptation of the story of St. George and the slaying of the dragon. It is thought that the original play included St. George, but as tensions rose between Greece and Bulgaria at the turn of the twentieth century over the region of Macedonia, St. George was replaced with Alexander the Great to reinforce nationalist notions that Alexander the Great was Greek. The story is essentially the legend of St. George and the slaying of the dragon. It takes place in a far-off city where a dragon guards the city's only natural spring. The dragon will not give residents access to the spring unless it is offered a young maiden to eat. Each year, the city's residents use a lottery system to determine whom the dragon will devour. One year, the lot falls to the daughter of the city's pasha, the *Vezyropoula*. Distraught that the dragon will eat his beautiful daughter, the pasha puts out a decree in which he declares that whoever slays the dragon will receive 200 liras, his daughter's

hand in marriage, and access to his throne. Several take up the pasha's offer, but none succeed. Finally, the Greek hero, Alexander the Great, challenges the dragon. After a long fought battle, the dragon is killed and Alexander saves the kingdom. Most of the play deals with Karagiozis and the regular cast's antics. Alexander the Great and the dragon do not appear until the end of the play. After Alexander slays the dragon, a conversation takes place between Alexander the Great and Karagiozis.

Hatzivatis:	*Karagiozis where are you? Come and see, everyone is admiring the Macedonian who is entering the cave to kill the dreadful Dragon. There he is coming towards us.*
Alexander the Great:	*Karagiozis, please leave because I need to be by myself.*
	(Alexander the Great kills the Dragon)
Alexander the Great:	*(Karagiozis returns) Take the dragon and throw it down there in the river. Tell the pasha that I killed the monster and as a reward all I want is that he release all the Christians from his prison. Nothing else. I am leaving now. (Footsteps… Alexander the Great departing).*
Karagiozis:	*Go well. (Katagiozis standing over the dead dragon and gently poking it with a stick to see if it is still alive).*
Hatzivatis:	*Karagiozis did you kill the dragon? Everyone thinks that you did.*
Karagiozis:	*(Coughing). Well…Yes I did! Grab it over there so we could toss it in the river. Now that I will become the pasha I'll give you a special job in my court.*
Hatzivatis:	*What job will that be?*
Karagiozis:	*You could tickle my feet when I am lying down. Come on and grab its head quickly and quit the gibbering. One, two, three and lift. (Hatzivatis struggling to pick up the dragon's head). I'll go on the other side and pick up his tail and we could carry him off.*
Hatzivatis:	*Quickly pick up his tail. He is really heavy and I am afraid I will break my back.*
Karagiozis:	*(Struggling to pick up the dragon's tail) Never mind, run and get the pasha.*

(Hatzivatis leaves to get the Pasha)

Pasha: *Thank you Karagiozis! You are so very brave, now you will marry my daughter and become my son in law.*

Karagiozis: *My dear Pasha, Alex killed the monster and all he wants is that you release the Christians from your prison.*

Pasha: *I will grant the Macedonian's wish at once. We will celebrate this day together.*

Karagiozis: *Then Pasha I will dance for you a Greek dance.*
(Karagiozis Dancing, music playing)

By the first half of the twentieth century, Karagiozis is represented by several puppets, which correspond to a specific thematic plays such as: *Karagiozis the Baker*, in which Karagiozis is dressed as a baker and *Karagiozis the grocer*, in which Karagiozis is dressed as a grocer. There were also heroic Karagiozis plays such as *Athanasios Diakos,* (which included heroes form the Greek Revolution), *Alexander the Great*, on the legend of Alexander the Great, *St. George* on the martyred Christian hero, St. George. The plays often included Turkish words that would have been familiar to Greek children audiences. Karagiozis, for example, is often called *giaouri* by the Turkish pasha—the pejorative to describe non-Muslims from the Balkans. The pasha is often called *efendi* by Karagiozis, which means boss. The plays could last for several hours. They usually opened with an introduction that lasted for 10 to 20 minutes. The introduction or prologue included jokes, songs and traditional dances, or the puppeteer would just have the puppets horse around before the dialogue started.[34]

The Karagiozis plays also included messages about the nation and its people. Many of the plays emphasized common nationalist tropes and concepts, such as loyalty to the nation, the virtues of Greek Orthodox Christianity, and the importance of family and community. Linda and Kostas Myrsiadie assert,

> Christianized, sentimentalized, and Europeanized in the last half of the nineteenth century, Karagiozis is a product of an oral tradition that, by adding suspense, fully re-arranged historical materials to the traditionally comic Turkish plays, and became a vehicle of national expression and a medium for the Greek people to explore their own identity.[35]

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Greek nationalists emphasized that the Turkish state was Greece's eternal enemy. This was

reflected in many shadow theater plays, which were directed toward children. In most of the plays, the Ottoman pasha or *vizier* is the antagonist of the play. One classic heroic shadow play, *The Roasting of Athanasios Diakos*, from the early part of the twentieth century helps illustrate this antagonism between Greece and Turkey. Below is an excerpt from the play. It takes place after the Greek hero Athanasios Diakos is captured by the Turkish general, Omer Vryonis.

Diakos *Who are you oh Pasha, who terrorizes and slaughters, burns our homes and prepares to kill us all. You are not a creature of God, nor are you born from man. All you long for is to see everything destroyed around you. You only bring with you destruction and drink the blood of mankind. You are the son of Satan and born from his sperm. I am not afraid of you. I only fear God for it is He who I worship and it is He who protects me. With His strength and I Will fight till the end and it is His will that I will always live free.*

Vryonis *Ha Ha Ha Ha! You are wrong my dear Diakos. I control you. Ha Ha Ha Ha!*

Diakos *Why do you keep me in shackles, why do you terrorize me, and why did you bring me here? You try to tear down my will and ignore the laws of nature. Do you not worship a God? Do you not have a heart?*

Vryonis *God, Heart, Emotions! I have them all Diakos. Become a Turk my dear Diakos*
Change your faith. Pray in the mosque and leave your church.

Diakos *May you and your religion get lost….. I was born a Greek and I will die a Greek.*

Vryonis *Um? Then it is death that you wish for.*

Diakos *It is freedom that I want.*

Vryonis *You cannot be a Christian and be free.*

Diakos *Then it is better that I die.*

Vryonis *Your beautiful mother where would you like to leave her.*

Diakos *In the hands of God. In the hands of the nation. (Diakos lamenting) My dear mother, there is no other way you will have to live alone.*

Vryonis *O Diakos, O Diakos. Don't grieve for her. I will kill her too.*

Diakos *Shut your mouth…remove my chains at once. I will strangle you Vryonis. (Diakos attacking Vryonis).*

Vyronis	*(calling for his soldiers) Grab him! Hold him back he is going to kill me.*
Diakos	*I am going to kill you, you dirty dog.*
Vryonis	*Grab him and send him to be roasted at once.*
	(Final scene Diakos being roasted alive).

The Roasting of Athanasios Diakos was in the simplified *demotic* Greek and variations of the play had been performed in the Greek shadow theater scene since the 1880s. It sought to remind children of the oppression felt by the Greek people during 400 years of Ottoman occupation. A. Valaoritis's epic tale, *Athanasios Diakos* (1867), devotes his final *canto* to the fate of the kepht hero. In his *canto*, Valariotis describes Diakos as brave and respected for his courage by both Greeks and Turks. The Turks eventually capture Diakos after his sword blade breaks during a battle. After refusing to convert to Islam, Diakos is roasted alive by his captors. Other variations of the tale have Diakos impaled and then roasted. The execution of Diakos was also re-enacted in Greek schools during celebrations of Greek independence. Several children's magazines republished the story throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Diakos final words, "I was born a Greek and I will die a Greek" (*Γρεκός γεννήθηκα, Γρεκός θε να πεθάνω*) *or* (*Ρωμιός γεννήθηκα, Ρωμιός θε να πεθάνω*) became synonymous with the Greek people's will to maintain a Greek identity even when placed under torture and duress by the Turks. Diakos' martyrdom, although likely embellished, was a grim reminder to children of the suffering and torment incurred by the Greek people during Ottoman times. It got to the heart of the importance of freedom, of loyalty to the nation, and of a commitment to the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. Diakos's story was also reminiscent of Leonidas's last stand at Thermopylae. While Diakos and his men are outnumbered in battle, they choose to stay and fight even though they know that they will die.

Like the tale of Athanasios Diakos, other tales helped foster notions of faith, freedom, and the nation. From the rugged and mountainous terrain of Epirus came the story of the Souli maidens who, rather than becoming slaves to the Turks, jumped off a cliff while holding their children in their arms. Dionysius Solomos's and Myrtiotissa's (Theoni Drakopoulou) poems on the women of Souli "Souliotises," which was read by children in Greek schools, popularized the story of the women from Souli. The maidens became a symbol that it is better to die than become a slave.

Myrtiotissa (Theoni Drakopoulou) *Souliotises*

Oh! Those of you who gave me birth
the first chill of the dream
and admiration of children's soul
and my heart early
why opened leafs for them to come
divine breath of poetry to surge.

Only like a matured heart
that matured my thinking,
below golden-blood,
a golden piled day, spread out in Zalogo
before to reign,
oh! miracle! envisioned the tragic dance.

Children also learned about the clandestine Greek school or Hidden School (*Κρυφό Σχόλιο*) where Greek children during Ottoman times had to attend school in secret because Greek education was being prohibited by the Ottoman authorities. There were many other local tales about the Turks and their mistreatment toward the Greek people, including stories about the kidnapping of children (which probably stemmed from the Ottoman recruitment of Christian Janissaries), forceful conversions to Islam via torture, and towns being destroyed and pillaged by the Turks. In the mind of the Greek child, the Turk was associated with savagery, barbarism, and incivility. It was also not uncommon for Greek mothers to put their children to bed warning them to behave lest the savage Turks "*Άγριοι Τούρκοι*" would come and get them.

Conclusion

The stories, games, songs, and theater that children learned in Greece for much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries went beyond shaping the moral character of the child or providing a source of entertainment and temporary escape for the average Greek child. Overall, they sought to teach the child what it meant to be Greek and what role the child played in his/her community and nation.

For much of the nineteenth century, one of the Greek state's major goals was to bind the nation around a common history and culture, where

the nation was a single unit, linked around a collective and homogenous imagined community. By the late nineteenth century, a series of reforms had been introduced under the political leadership of Harilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896). As prime minister, Trikoupis sought to create a modern and well-organized Greek state. The question of Greek identity was still important nonetheless. While the modern Greeks were the descendants of the ancient Greeks, they needed to place their identity within the context of the present. This took the shape of a consolidation of history, ethnography, linguistics, and folk studies. All looked back to ancient Greece and all served to link modern Greece's to its past. The next chapter looks as the lives of informal learning, the personal accounts of informal learning by several well-known Greek writers and painters. The accounts show first-hand their experiences in informal learning settings.

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