

Full Length Research Paper

Creation and development of the historiography of the Greek education

Tommy Philip Leonidas

School of Primary Education, University of Patras, 26500 Patras, Greece. Email: tomy.phil@gmail.com

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In this article, the presentation as well as the interpretation (in a historical framework) of the creation and development of the historiography of the Greek education from the foundation of the Modern Greek State to date was attempted. During the first decades after the liberation of Greece from the Turks, this historiography served the national ideology, emphasizing on methodological works. From the very beginning of the 20th century until 1974 (the period of the fall of the dictatorship excluded), historiography focused on event recording and undertook an educative role through a number of works which recorded events in a plenary, linear fashion. Over the last 35 years, historiography was obviously influenced by foreign trends, and it developed into new history, specifically, the interpretative history. This last change appeared in numerous works which, in addition to the description of events, attempted also to interpret them by correlating education with both the socio-political and the ideological-political conditions of the period. These works are influenced by the international trends in historiography such as the School of Annales, the Marxist theories, the theories of reproduction, of dependence, etc.

Key words: Historiography of the Greek education.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we attempt a systematic presentation and a critical analysis of the creation, the development, the influences, and the perspectives of the historiography of the Greek education from the creation of the Greek State in 1824 till date. The historical documents that we use in this essay are the historiographic production of the period under examination (articles, studies, yearbooks, books, etc.).

We focus on the following questions relating to the Greek historiography:

Which were its basic characteristics over the period under consideration? What was its identity?
How can one interpret its creation and development?
Which educational, ideological, socio-political factors formulated these characteristics?
Which were the international influences that affected it? Which are its perspectives today?

We will next report the common characteristics of each period of the historiography of the Greek education from the creation of the Greek State in 1824 till date and comment upon them, using chronological boundaries as criteria.

Historical review

We distinguish the following periods thus:

First period: From the creation of the Greek State (1824) to the end of the 19th century: Historiography in the service of the national ideology and of mythological makings.

The Greek State, right after its liberation, attempts to organize itself "out of nothing" (Dertilis, 2005). The formation of a national ideology was its primary political target. The agonizing effort to achieve this dominant target favoured the ideological use of history and the mythological makings as well as the turning of the historiography of education to the period of the Turkish occupation (Lappas, 2004). The Turkish occupation (1453-1824) offered some intensive ideological material since it was attempted then to show that Church¹ was the "guardian angel" of education and contributed to the preservation of language, tradition, and religion and, subsequently, prepared the nation for the revolution.

The first references to the education in the 18th century were included in the twelfth volume of Koumas' book

(1832), "History of the human actions" in an extensive chapter under the title, "The situation of the Modern Greeks' education". Essays on the local history appeared later on. One of them was written by Kastorchis (1847) and referred to the Greek School of Dimitsana; another one was written by Papazaifiropoulos (1858) on the Greek School of Vitina, whereas Lambropoulos wrote about Education in Peloponnese (1861). The writers of those essays tried to show the changes that took place in the education under the influence of the Enlightenment².

The University of Athens³ and the "Philological Association of Constantinople"⁴ gave a significant impulse to the development of the educational historiography in the years that followed. Interestingly, historical studies that were conducted by these two Institutions focused on the education during the Turkish occupation. This is related to the discovery of Middle Ages by Greek scholars, which in its Greek version includes also the period of the Turkish occupation (Lappas, 2004).

Numerous interesting studies were written by those two Institutions, among which most notable were those by Paranicas (1867) on the education during the Turkish occupation. The author attempted, from a merely nation-centric viewpoint, to report the Greek schools within each geographical territory along with the names of their teachers. In 1881, another book on the history of education was published in Paris. It was written by G. Chassiotis and it examined the education from 1453 up to the time of Ioannis Kapodistrias (1828-1832), who was the first Governor of Greece. Much later historiographers, like Tryfon Evangelidis (1936), worked also on the education in the Turkish occupation period. Several local histories appeared also in the same period, including notably histories of the schools that operated in the areas of the authors' origin.

Finally, a valid and systematic chronological recording of the institutional evolution (laws, decrees, ministerial circulars) of the Greek education from the time of liberation and afterwards is found in the preambles submitted either to the Parliament or to the Senate by the Ministers of Education that served at the time. The preambles of the educational drafts of the Minister A. Eftaxias in 1899 (Bouzakis, 2002) are a characteristic example of such an analytical and systematic recording. All the legislative interferences to education from the liberation up to 1899 are presented in those preambles. The same holds with the preamble of the drafts of 1913, which was composed by D. Glinos and it included, in addition to the chronological recording, a thorough analysis of the socio-economic situation of the country.

Through the above works, the traditional national or nationalistic historiography, subdued to political expediencies, was formulated and strengthened in Greece. It is this ground that history textbooks are written on: textbooks of "silence" or forgery of history and aim at the formation of an idealistic picture of the Greek nation and the Greeks (Koulouri, 2004). The basic features of the

historiographic production relating to education, which was an ideological mechanism of a newly established country in that period, are the narration, the report of data on teachers and students, the one-dimensional presentation, and the plenary recording of information. Speculation, interpretation, and global consideration are absent. The ideological uses of history are obvious. Of course, taking into account the historical data of that era and the fact that historiography itself obeys the rule of historicity, things could not be different. That was the proto-historical period of the Greek educational historiography (Dimaras, 2004).

Right before the end of the 19th century, two interesting foreign studies on the history of the Greek education were published. One was in German, written by Kipper (1897); and the other one was in English, written by Quinn (1898).

Second period: From the end of the 19th century to the end of the '60s: The period of event-writing and pedagogic historiography.

Since the 19th century, the influence of the German positivism-historicism, the pattern of the neo-humanism and the chronological-historiographical model have been already been quite vivid in Greece and in other European countries (France, U.K., Spain), as well as in the U.S. In Germany, the history of education through all its expressions –writing, research, academic- was part of pedagogy in the training programmes for educators, under the influence of Evart and neoclassicism (Viñao, 2002). Essentially, it was about History of Education and Didactics⁵.

Within the framework of these influences, which in the Greek case involved organizations – individuals who have studied in Germany, the course of History of Pedagogy was included in the curricula and in the training programmes for teachers (Teachers' College from 1834 to 1933; Teachers College from 1933 to 1984, when the first University Departments of Education began to operate) (Bouzakis and Tzikas, 1998; Antoniou, 1987/8; Andreou, 1995). Among the contents of this course is the History of Agogi in ancient Greece but no reference is made to the History of Modern Greek Education. That is, we have here the "pedagogy" of the History of Education, regarding both the content and the teachers (who are educators or psychologists) . Only at the Marasleios Pedagogical Academy of Athens (directed by D.Glinos) the leftist Roza Imvrioti taught the course of the History of Education (1924- 26), which was included in the curriculum of the Academy (Dimaras, 2004), in a non pedagogical way.

This period resulted in a rich bibliographic production along the lines that were described above. Historical works published referred to older times, to local history, and involved collections of educational legislation (Klados, 1860; Parisis, 1884; Venthyllos, 1884), intended

for use as textbooks.

During this second period, several books would appear that concern the History of Education, among which notable examples are the book by inspectors Tzoumeleas and Panagopoulos⁶ (1933) and C. Lefas (1942), who served as a senior staff in the Ministry of Education for several years. Over the following decades, more studies on the History of Education would appear which are also of higher quality compared to the previous ones since they attempt to present critical judgments and correlations. More specifically, we refer to the studies by Papademetriou (1950), Tsiribas and Constantopoulos (1953), Isigoni (1956 and 1958), Rosi (1924), Iatridi (1939), and Moraitis (1927)⁷.

Third period: From the end of the '60s to the beginning of the '80s: Coexistence of the traditional and the modern historiography of education.

Traditional historiography works were also produced in the 70s. They had a descriptive and law-centered character and concerned either publications of archival collections and documents (Daskalakis, 1968), or specific periods of the Greek history (Koukou, 1972), or local histories (Belia, 1970). Those works combined positivism with nationalism, that is, the scholastic use of documents with the promotion of the "development" of education after the revolution (Koulouri, 2004).

In the same period, the first innovative approaches appeared in the field of the Greek historiography of education, which tend to overstep the event-writing linear approach of the educational phenomena. They provide an introduction to the "modern" history of education. A basic qualitative difference from works over the previous period consists of the hermeneutic dimension, which is the new viewpoint to the educational facts. The socio-economic and the cultural phenomena of the period under consideration are taken into account in the interpretation of the educational facts. "The reform that never happened", a book written by Alexis Dimaras (1973/74), is considered a book-vehicle for the transition from the traditional historiography to the modern era. This work, which contains a great deal of sources from the history of the Greek education over the period of 1834-1967, introduces a new key to open the History's closet, namely, the correlation of the educational reform with the conditions (socio-political, ideological, economical) pertaining to each period.

In the same period, two social scientists, Fragoudaki (1977), Tsoukalas (1977) approached certain topics on the history of education from a sociological point of view and proposed new hermeneutic methods both for the understanding of the phenomenon of reform (Fragoudaki, op.cit.) and for the analysis of the school mechanisms or of the textbooks (ibid). The work, for instance, of Konstantinos Tsoukalas contains an analysis of the school

mechanisms in the way these were enacted during the Bavarian period in Greece (1834-1862). It also presents the way they influenced the later formation of an education culture that was dominated by a pseudo-classicism, a theoretical ethical-religious orientation, and a depreciation of the technical-vocational education. That was a neo-marxistic aspect in which the concepts of reproduction and of dependence were truly dominant. In one of her studies, Anna Fragoudaki analyses the dominant reform perceptions that characterize the first reform attempts of the 20th century (1913, 1917, 1922) in Greece and she accents the role that the intellectuals had in them.

Finally, the curricula of the secondary education, which were considered to reflect the social control exercised by the dominant social classes, were approached from the same viewing angle (Noutsos, 1979). The foreign influences (French school of Annales) and the new tools - Marxism- were apparent.

Fourth period: From the beginning of the '80s to date: The course towards the "Modern History"

The works on the history of education that appeared in this period marked a new era of overstepping the traditional pedagogic, event- and law-centered historiography⁸. The qualitative and quantitative magnitude of the jump noted in this period is, certainly, far from coincidental. It has to be attributed to the number of favourable factors, like the change in the political environment -brought by the left-center party of PASOK that came into power in 1981- that "wished" to incorporate the educational changes into the perspective of social changes, the inclusion of the subject of "History of Education" in the curricula of newly created Departments of Primary Education and Preschool Education (1984), the foundation of the "Greek Society of Education Historians"⁹ in 2001, the funding of historical scientific research by the General Secretariat of New Generation¹⁰.

The rich production of historiography in this period offers a lot more than new hermeneutic and methodological tools. It broadens vertically the thematic sectors, which attract the interest of researchers. The connection to the relevant international problem, the communication with the international scientific community of historians reveal the foreign theoretical influences, like those of the French school of Annales in the work by F. Eliou (1983), the theories of dependence (Bouzakis, 2001), of Foucault (Solomon, 1992), but also of the marxistic or neo-marxistic theories, already mentioned above (Tsoukalas, op. cit.; Noutsos, op. cit.).

A variety of themes are dealt with by the history scientists of this period, including the syndical activities of the educators (Andreou, 1995; Charalambous, 1987), the role of the educators in the education reforms (Papageorgiou and Vasilou, 1996), the educational sup-

port of the popular language (Athanasias, 2001), the students' movement (Lazos, 1986), the "micro-history" or "history from below", the local history (Chourdakakis, 2002; Charitos, 1989), the portraits of evolution leaders, politicians or educators (Bouzakis, 1997), the education of women (Ziogou, 1986), the training/further education of educators (Bouzakis and Tzikas, 1998), higher education (Papadakis, 2004), the role of political parties in education (Provata, 2002), school textbooks (Fragoudaki and Dragona, 1997), nationalisms (Vouri, 1992).

All three methodological and interpretative approaches can be distinguished in these works that accent the trends of the Greek historiography of education. Thus, the historical-comparative analysis, for example, is being used in order to approach educational systems, like that of Cyprus (Persianis, 2006), as well as to study the social history of education (Kyprianos, 2004) or to analyze the educational reforms (Kazamias, 2004). Moreover, both extremely interesting albums (Dimaras and Vasilou-Papageorgiou, 2008) and biographies of personalities from the educational field (Bouzakis, 1997, Moschopoulos and Bouzakis, 2005) are published. Finally, a significant effort has been made over the last years for the writing of the History textbook (6th grade of the primary school). Those authors, influenced by the French School of Historiography (short narration, numerous historical sources, detective learning), tried to surpass the nationalistic approach of the historical events and of our national visions (Repousi et al., 2006). This textbook did not meet a good fate. It was introduced in schools in 2006 and was withdrawn in 2007 through a political decision of the party of New Democracy. This action proves that contemporary historiography is still subdued to ideological-political interests. The distance between scientific and school historiography is still very long.

The aforementioned works are quite systematic and methodic in their approach, and are characterized by their aim, through the use of theories from similar scientific sectors like sociology, to interpret the historical educational phenomena and correlate them with the historical events that were taking place at that time, avoiding reference to their present time and to historicism. These works are clearly influenced by the international historiographic trends. This category includes works that refer to micro-history, works that place emphasis on biotic "trajectories" of the subjects themselves, in the framework of major trends of social research (grounded theory), works that are influenced by the school of Annales and by the theories of dependence and reproduction (Bourdieu) etc. These works are based on texts written by numerous known authors within the subject of international historiography, such as Carr, Jenkins, Braudel, Cohen, Iggers, Hobsbawm, etc.¹¹ The aforementioned works of the fourth period indicate a turn to the qualitative methods, from the macrostructures to the microstructures, the abandonment of the holistic-interpretative approaches (Marxism/functionalism). What

is now pursued is no longer the simple description of events but their interpretation in relation to their context. The organization of postgraduate studies over the recent years facilitated the publication of several works on the History of Education. Furthermore, a scientific conference on the History of Education¹² is organized, and the communication of Greek historians of education with the international society of historians is expanded continuously. Therefore, we can claim that the subject of "History of Education" is now paving the way to its autonomous emancipation.

Conclusions

The Greek educational historiography has been shaped since the foundation of the Greek State till date under the influence of the following main factors:

The historic national framework (national, political, socioeconomic, ideo-cultural)¹³.

The philosophical orientation of the Greek education (theoretical, classical, affected by ancient Greek times)¹⁴, as this was formulated by the dominance of the Bavarian model since the 19th century.

The influence of the German positivism – historicism, which affected the Greek educational historiography just as much as it did the European one (Dafermakis, 2004). The German positivism had served as the dominant model before the Second World War as well (Viñao, 2002). This is attributed to the fact that the vast majority of Greek scientists that serve in universities have carried out part of their studies in Germany.

The "dialogue" between the Greek educational historiography - a basic feature in the international scene (Viñao, 2002) - and the social sciences. This dialogue was unbalanced due to the fact that these sciences had not been developed yet, whereas the first Departments of Sociology or Political Sciences as well as of History will be founded during the 4th period.

¹ The myth of the "secret school" during the Turkish occupation was based on that perception, whereas the archival research has proved the existence of "apparent" Greek schools operating during the Turkish occupation, especially over the last period (1760-1820) which was considered to be that of the educational flourishing thanks to the influences of the Enlightenment (Koumas, 1832; Kastorchis, 1847).

² It was the Enlightenment that acted as the main "driving force" of the Greek Revolution against the Turks (Dimaras, 1989) and not the Church which, in fact, was opposed to it (Lappas, op.cit.).

³ The University of Athens showed a special interest in the writing of both its own history and, through a competitive undertaking by the professors of the School of Philosophy, the history of the Greek Education from the capture of Constantinople in 1453 to the time of revolution in 1821 (Pantazidis, 1889).

⁴ The Association was constituted at the beginning of the 60s. One of its goals was the study of educational issues from the capture of Constantinople to modern years.

⁵ This viewpoint to the history of education is underlined both by the creation of relevant Companies (in 1890, "Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehung – und Schulgeschichte" is founded) and by the publication of relevant journals, like

Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und der Unterrichts (Vinao, 2002).

Towards the end of this period, the following developments are noted:

- a. In England, the History of Education Society is created (1967)
- b. In France, the Service d' Histoire de l' Education is created (1970), to be embodied later into the Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique
- c. In Germany, Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehung – und Schulgeschichte is created, which will upgrade the issues on the History of Education to a Department (Sektion Historische Bildungsforschung). The History of Agogi or History of Pedagogics will be taught in the Schools of training and graduate studies for teachers in the Primary and the Secondary Education.

⁶ These studies, in addition to the frequent historical inaccuracies, are limited to a planar, legislation-centered recording of educational matters. Critical views or interpretation attempts are absent not to mention any distinction of time periods or organization of the material into chapters. The studies are dominated by amateurism in the methodology, naiveness in writing, and hagiographic portraits. It is apparent that the Greek historiography of this period falls largely behind the one in Western Europe, where this sector has already acquired a scientific identity and expression (associations, journals) and disciplines itself into conceptual schemes and interpretation tools.

⁷ All these works devote only small segments to the modern Greek history of education.

⁸ Needless to say, works that are confined within the old traditional schemes appeared in this period as well. However, these works are not the ones that characterize the period and progressively are either eliminated or reduced in number.

⁹ Today, the Society has 110 members, is itself a member of the World Organization of Education Historians and publishes a biannual scientific journal, entitled "Issues on History of Education" (five issues have already been published).

¹⁰ Thanks to this funding, a number of exceptionally interesting works have been made possible, like the ones by D. Antoniou (1987/88), Ziogou-Karastergiou (1986), E. Fournaraki (1987), A. Bakalaki and E. Elegmitou (1987), etc.

¹¹ Several of these works are translated in Greek, such as those by Carr, 1983; Iggers, 1999; Cohen; Hobsbawm; Braudel.

¹² Indicative examples include the conferences that are organized by the Center of Modern Greek Research of the National Foundation for Research, by the Center of Educational Research, and by the Laboratory of Historical Archives of Modern Greek and International Education of the University of Patras.

¹³ The political situation in Greece was extremely unstable over the entire period after the liberation from the Turkish occupation in 1824 until today. Overall, changes of government took often place in this period. The first victim of this political instability was school, which undergoes frequent transformations, since it is used by the state as an ideological mechanism (to shape the national consciousness and national ideology, to secure social coherence) in the political arena. At the economical and social level, although the evolution at Goudi in 1909 brings the urban class to power (Svoronos, 1986), the capitalistic fashion of production becomes later exclusive but not dominant.

¹⁴ This orientation is established with the foundation of the first Greek school system by Othon in 1834-37 and remains dominant despite the attempts that occasionally appear to give a practical – developmental orientation to Greek school.

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