The Greek-Orthodox Schools of the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the Perspectives of Pre-modernity and Modernity

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Abstract:

The present study is part of the framework delimited by the scientific discipline of "History of Education". The aim of this paper is to describe and interpret the institutional context of the "secret schools" of the "Rum Millet" under Ottoman rule and to identify the origins of the legend of these schools being illegal and secret, as it is obvious that, although the construction and the diffusion of the legend of the "secret school" started in the beginning of the 19th century, the academic dialogue continues to be active in the present day. The paper deals with the following topics: the institutional context of the schools of the "Rum Millet" under Ottoman rule; the effects of the circumstances, created during the different periods of the Ottoman rule, on the schools' institutional framework and their operation; typological classification of the schools of the Rum millet; the view of "secret schools" among the newly emerged Greek elite after the founding of the Greek state.

Key words: Ottoman Empire, Orthodox schools, Ecumenical Patriarchate, "Secret Schools", Rum millet.

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Introduction

Our study is part of the framework delimited by the scientific discipline of "History of Education". The aim of this paper is to describe and interpret the institutional context of the "secret schools" of the "Rum Millet" under Ottoman rule.

Our research questions are the following: a) what was the institutional context of the schools of the "Rum Millet"[1] under Ottoman rule and how did this context identify their character? b) how did the circumstances, created during the different periods of the Ottoman rule, affect these schools' institutional framework and their operation? c) what could we define as typological classification of the schools of the Rum millet? d) how could we explain the fact that, after the founding of the Greek state, the "orthodox schools" which had been operating under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate were considered "secret" by the newly emerged Greek elite?

To achieve these objectives, our research uses the historical-interpretive method. Its sources are the school monographs and the catalogues of books, from the dissemination of the printing press until today, as well as the sources which have come into light recently, namely the work of Chatzopoulos, Ziogou–Karastergiou, Chassiotis and Exertzoglou.[2]

1. The Education of the "Rum Millet" under Ottoman Rule

1.1. The institutional context

In the field of Greek historiography and in terms of Greek education in the Ottoman context there are two interpretive historiographical examples, the traditional one and the example of modernity. The

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[1] Orthodox Community in the Ottoman context

[2] Konstantinos Chatzopoulos, *Ellinika scholia tin periodo tis othomanikis kyriarchias* [*Greek schools in the period of the Ottoman rule (1453-1821)*], (Thessaloniki: Vanias, 1991); Sidiroula Ziogou-Karastergiou, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio, i Othomaniki dioikisi kai i ekpedeusi tou ethnous. Keimena-Piges 1830-1914* [The Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Ottoman Administration and the Education of the Nation. Texts-Sources: 1830-1914], (Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis, 1998); Ioannis Chassiotis, *Metaxi othomanikis kyriarchias kai europaikis proklisis, o ellinikos kosmos sta chronia tis tourkokratias* [Between Ottoman rule and the European challenge, the Greek world during the years of Ottoman rule], (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press: 2001); Haris Exertzoglou, *Ethniki tautotita stin konstantinoupoli ton 19o aiona* [*National Identity in Constantinople in the 19th Century*], (Athens: Nefeli, 1996).

traditional Greek historiographical example identifies the genesis of millet just after the fall of Constantinople, when, according to Runciman (1968), the Sultan granted privileges to the Orthodox Patriarch,[3] thanks to which he became the "spiritual head" of the Rum millet, as Hammer-Purgstall (1834) and Kardaras (1996) claim. [4] Based on this view, religion was considered the most serious criterion for categorizing the Sultan's ethnic subjects [Kitromilides (1990); Horowitz (1985)].[5] Conclusively, the traditional perception gives to 'millet' dimensions of a religious-cultural entity with distinct features. Therefore, education is considered as the crucial mechanism of the orthodox community by which the structural elements of religion-cultural identities were transferred.[6]

On the contrary, according to the example of modernity, the millet system was established in the 19th century by the Ottoman elite, as a consequence of the Tanzimat period, known as "period of the Ottoman reforms", and specifically as a result of the empire's modernizing efforts. According to this approach, and to the work of Kostis (1991), Varlas (1999), Exertzoglou (2008), Akturk (2009), Konortas (1999) and Karpat (2001), the predominance of the millet[7] coincides with the formation of the organized

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[3] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: a study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

[4] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Band I, Buch XIII, (Pest: *C. A. Hartleben,* 1834), 427; Christos Kardaras, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio kai o alytrotos Ellinismos tis Makedonias, Thrakis, Ipeirou. meta to synedrio tou Berolinou* [*The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the unredeemed Hellenism of Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus. After the Congress of Berlin* (1878)] (Athens: Epikairotita, 1996).

[5] Paschalis Kitromilides, "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans," in Martin Blinkhorn and Thanos Veremis (eds.), *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality* (Athens: Sage-Eliamep, 1990): 23-66; Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

[6] Tryfon Evaggelidis, *I ekpaideusi sti diarkeia tis turkikis katochis, ellinika scholeia apo tin ptosi tis konstantinoupolis mechri ton Kapodistria* [Education during the Turkish Occupation, Greek Schools from the Fall of Constantinople to Kapodistrias] (Athens: Chalkiopoulos, 1936); Nikos Zacharopoulos, *I ekpaideusi stin Othomaniki autokratoria* [Education in the Ottoman Empire] (Thessaloniki: Pournaras, 1983).

[7] Konstantinos Kostis, "Koinotites, ekklisia kai millet stis ellinikes perioches tis Othomanikis Autokratorias kata tin periodo ton Metarrythmiseon," ["Communities, Church and Millet in the 'Greek' Territories of the Ottoman Empire **during** the Reform Era"], *Mnimon*, 13, (1991): 57-75; Michalis Varlas, "Katoptra koinotiton. I eikona tis koinotitas stin elliniki istoriografia" ["Community Mirrors. The Image of the Community in Greek Historiography"] (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Athens: National Kapodistrian University, 1999); Haris Exertzoglou, "Reconstructing Community: Cultural Differentiation and Identity Politics in Christian Orthodox Communities during the Late Ottoman Era," in Minna Ronen (ed.), *Homelands and Diasporas: Greeks, Jews and their Migrations* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 137-154; Sener Akturk,

Greek-orthodox community during this period of reforms,[8] and with the prevalence of nationalism.[9] Furthermore, it must be clarified that identities are treated as social constructions, and as an object of negotiation in terms of their components, that is in terms of their values, symbols or stereotypes, according to Brubaker and Cooper in "Beyond Identity" (2005).[10] Following the above-mentioned interpretive scheme, we accept that the Ottoman legitimacy gave to the orthodox population the identity of Rum. The utilization of the term "identity" imposes certain conceptual indications: in the present study we consider that identities are characterized by a continuous conversion process, despite the fact that certain old elements can revive at a later stage or under a different geographical frame, following the claims of Jenkins (1994).[11] These identities are defined as religious-cultural identities due to the fact that the members of the Rum millet were subjects of the Ottoman Empire and were under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate that was considered as one of the legal institutions of this Empire, as Matalas suggests (2002).[12]

Consequently, the education of the orthodox millet, as part of the intellectual jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, cultivated the religious cultural identities of the Rum millet's members. Within this legality framework, education of the orthodox population was addressed, beyond any notion of ethno-racial segregation, to all members of the Rum millet. Its Greek character was reflected in the use of the language and the values of classical Greek culture.

"Persistence of the Islamic Millet as an Ottoman Legacy: Mono-religious and Anti-ethnic Definition of Turkish Nationhood," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 6 (2009): 913-929.

[8] Paraskevas Konortas, "From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek-Orthodox Community," in Dimitris Gondicas and Charles Philip Issawi (eds.), *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy and Society in the Nineteenth Century.* (Princeton, N. J.: Darwin Press, 1999), 169-179.

[9] Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[10] Rogers Brubaker & Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity," in Frederick Cooper (ed.), *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (California: University of California Press, 2005), 59-90.

[11] Richard Jenkins, "Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v. 17, 2 (1994): 197-223.

[12] Paraskevas Matalas, *Nation and Orthodoxy, the Adventures of a Relation: From the "Greek" to the **Bulgarian Schism**.* (Rethymnon: **University of Crete** Press, 2002).

1.2. The Dynamics of the Conjuncture and Its Effects on the Operation of the Orthodox Schools

1.2.1. The Preparation Period (15th -17th Centuries)

According to Manuel Gedeon, the main feature of the sources of the 15th and 16th centuries is their handwritten character, while at the same time it is considered extremely difficult for these documents to be found. [13] In fact, our information about the state of education during the 15th and 16th centuries is indirect and comes from the scholars of the 19th century, such as Nikolaos Sofianos. [14] The scholars of the 19th century identified a "cultural gap" during the 16th and 17th centuries in the East, which could be interpreted as follows: the scholars of the 19th century had already established themselves in the Enlightenment and thus they evaluated the culture of previous centuries as inferior. It is also obvious that, although the West had left the educational "Middle Ages" [15], the East seemed to be still engaged in Byzantine medieval tradition. This reality is echoed in the writings of Manuel Gedeon, who was a prominent scholar of the 19th century and an official of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

> *"Let us not forget the gratitude imposed to the sent by the Lord Great Conqueror and to his glorious successors who became patrons of schools and letters..."* [16]

It is obvious that the creation and maintenance of private lessons was continued by the educated scholars of that time, who had often studied in the West. In addition, the founding of the Patriarchal School in 1454 served the operation of the Great Church and prepared the

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[13] Manuel Gedeon, "Scholeia kai vivlia sti diarkeia tou 17ou aiona," ["Schools and Books during the 17th Century"] *Ekklisiastiki Alitheia*, 38 (1888a): 303-306; Manuel Gedeon, *I pnevmatiki kinisi tou genous sti diakeia tou 18ou kai 19ou aiona* [*The Spiritual Movement of the Nation during the Eighteen and Nineteen Century*] (Athens: Ermis, 1976 [1888-1889]).

[14] Nikolaos Sofianos, *I grammatiki tis ellinikis koinis glossas* [*Grammar of the Common Greek Language*] (Paris: Emilios Legradios, 1870).

[15] Kristine Wilson-Slack, "The Seven Liberal Arts – The Trivium," https://blog.philosophicalsociety.org/2017/05/24/the-seven-liberal-arts-the-trivium/; Albert Reble, *History of Pedagogy* (Athens: Papadimas, 2012), 89.

[16] Manuel Gedeon, "Scholeia kai vivlia," 374-378. [*in Greek* " *…to de na min parasiopipisomen evgomosynin epivallomenin prow tin theothen tetagmenin ef ymas kosmikin exousian ton eukleon diadohon tou oxynoos porthitou, prostaton genomenon ton scholeion kai ton grammaton….*"]

Metropolitans, the Patriarchs and the teachers.[17] Regarding the establishment of the Patriarchal School, Paranikas wrote the following:

> *"The fire in the hearth was not completely extinguished but it burned slowly, until it came to life again. Finally, it lit. The Great Church cultivated letters and took care of the establishment of schools and mainly established the Patriarchal School* in which the courses related to the byzantine tradition were attended." [18]

In addition, during the first year's financial difficulties did not provide the Patriarchate with the preconditions for the establishment of yet another secondary school, except for the Patriarchal Academy.

In 1454 Patriarch George Gennadios or Scholarios appointed Matthaios Kamariotis as Director of the Patriarchal Academy[19] and in 1540 Joasaph, who came from Adrianoupoli (Edirne) and was later elected Patriarch of Constantinople, invited John Zygomalas from Nafplio to Constantinople[20] in order to attend to Greek letters. The former also advised the latter not to neglect his students, but to teach them diligently and with a clear conscience. [21] Moreover, in 1593 Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos was studying at the Patriarchal Academy. [22] In addition, the Synod of the Metropolitans which was organized in Constantinople by Jeremias in 1593 came to the conclusion that any bishop should have to take care of the 'divine and sacred letters' in his own jurisdiction. Consequently, education became decentralized from 1593 onwards, as elementary

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[17] Chatzopoulos, *Ellinika scholia*, 60-82; Tasos Gritsopoulos, *I Patriarchiki Megali tou Genous Scholi* [Patriarchal Great School of the Nation] (Athens: Fexis, 1966); Dimitris Stamatopoulos, *Metarrythmisi kai ekkosmikeusi. Pros mia anasynthesi tis istorias tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiou ton 19o aiona* [*Reform and Secularization. Towards Recompositing of the History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the 19th century*] (Athens: Alexandria, 2003), 161; Exertzoglou, *National Identity*, 33.
[18] Matthaios Paranikas, *Schediasma peri tis en to elliniko ethnei katastaseos ton grammaton apo Aloseos Konstantinoupoleos mechri ton archon tis enestosis ekatontaetiridos* [*Plan about the Situation of the Greek letters* in the Greek Nation, from the Fall of Constantinople until the Beginning of the Centenary] (Constantinople: Koromilas, 1867). [in Greek: *To pyr en ti estia ouchi olos esvesmenon alla ypokaion vathmidon eos anazopyrothen anifthi ..i the megali ekklesia .. periethalpsen ta grammata kai anerripisen tin systasin ton scholeion, dia de Patriarchikin scholin synestisen…*]
[19] Manuel Gedeon, *Chronika tis Patriarchikis Akadimias.Istorika nea gia tin Megali tou Genous Scholi* [*Chronicles of Patriarchal Academy. Historical News about The Great School of the Nation, 1455-1830*] (Constantinople, 1883), 124-131.
[20] Martin Crusius, *Turcograecia* (Editrice Memor: Modena, 1972), 94; Vasilis Mystakidès, "Notes sur Martin Crusius: ses livres, ses ouvrages et ses manuscripts," *Revue des Études Grecques*, 11, no. 43, (1898): 279-306.
[21] Manuel Gedeon, "Scholeia kai Vivlia," 245-246.
[22] Martin Crusius, *Turcogrecia*, 205.

education was considered the responsibility and obligation of the local Metropolitans.

1.2.2. The Emergence of Education (17th century -1850)

Although we cannot refer to uniform education in the 17th century, [23] we do have written sources which prove that the formation of the bourgeoisie within the millet in the 19th century led to the predominance of modern Greek Enlightenment in the progressive strata of the communities of Greek Diaspora. [24] The turn of the bourgeoisie towards the Enlightenment was due to the fascination of its proclamations for the emancipation of the people and was intertwined with the demand for the expansion of letters in the East, through the establishment of schools. In conclusion, the expansion of intellectual movements of the West to the East was not easy in the 17th century, although Methodius Anthracitis was accused of ideological affinity with the Molinos heresy. [25] More Specifically, Patriarch Raphael invited Franciscus Coccus, who had studied in Rome, to Constantinople in 1603. Also, in 1626 Cyrillos Loukaris invited Theophilos Korydalleas from Zakynthos, where he worked as headmaster. [26]

Moreover, there are written sources dating back from the 17th century[27] by which it becomes clear that the Patriarchate had the authority to take the following actions: a) to issue a "sigilium", that is a decision for the establishment and operation of schools, b) to award letters of praise regarding the zeal shown by the founders of the schools, c) to grant positions to distinguished teachers,[28] d) to secure permanent resources for the operation of schools, e) to control the management of the money which

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[23] Paraskevas Konortas, "Ottoman Considerations Regarding the Status of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople. Some Hypotheses," *Greek Communications Presented at the 15th International Congress of South-Eastern European Studies.* (Athens: Greek National Committee for South-Eastern European Studies / Center for South-Eastern European Studies, 1990), 213-226.

[24] Dimitris Mavroskoufis, "The Radical Ideology of the Greek National Territory and the Linguistic Educational Proposals of the Greek Demoticizing Movement (Early 19th Century)," in Nikos Terzis (ed.), *Education in the Balkans. From the Enlightenment to the Nation States* (Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis, 2000), 275-287.

[25] Chatzopoulos, *Ellinika scholia*, 310

[26] "Praktika tou Ellinikou Filologikou Syllogou Konstantinoupoleos," *Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople*, year B, 10-12, 292 with remarks by S. Aristarchos.

[27] Paraskevas Konortas, *ibid*.

[28] Manuel Gedeon, H, 38 (1888a): 303-306

had been allocated to the function of schools,[29]   f) to issue "School Regulations".[30]

The issuance of the "sigillia" was a prevalent practice adopted by the Patriarchate from the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century and aimed at defining the status of the administration of schools. The different "sigillia" vary in terms of both the institutional conditions and the purpose and the period of their issuance. In general, the institutional conditions that the 'sigillia' include are the following: a) The conditions imposed by the founder of the school, b) the obligations of the founder c) the curriculum d) the origin of the school's resources and the initiatives undertaken in order for their smooth performance to be achieved, e) the names of the teachers and the amount of their fees f) the Supervisors and the structure of the administration of the school g) the qualifications and the preconditions which had to be fulfilled by the teacher.

During this period the Patriarch helped in order for fixed resources to be found for the schools in the following ways: a) he encouraged rich patriots from abroad to cover the expenses with funds and to increase the schools' fixed resources b) he established the schools in monasteries and "metochia" (sing. "metochion") c) he annexed churches and parishes to the school, in order to increase their resources with the money deposited by parish members as payment for the candles, or with rent paid to them. These were also the usual funding bodies for the schools. In the 19th century there is the dynamic financing of schools by the bourgeoisie in the context of charity.[31]

The 18th century was the century of the cultivation of Greek letters because a) other printing houses were established such as that of Moschopolis or Constantinople, b) more and more scholars returned from the West where they were educated, c) the conditions were created for the social rise of expatriate Greeks, which contributed to the promotion of letters, d) after the treaties of Kuchuk Kainarji (Küçük Kaynarca 1774) and Ainali Kavak (Aynalı Kavak 1779), the East became rich and at the same time new ideas began to be introduced, e) the studies at the Patriarchal

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[29] Manuel Gedeon, Θ, 46 (1889): 370-376

[30] Manuel Gedeon, Η, 39 (1888a): 310-312.

[31] *Hermes Logios* or *Ermis o Logios* (in Greek: Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος/ in English: Hermes the Scholar) was a Greek periodical edited in Vienna (1811-1821) that included contributions of scholars before the outbreak of the Greek revolution. *Hermes Logios* (1817), 115, 148, 572-603, 1817, 467, *Hermes Logios* (1816), 96; Manuel Gedeon, Η, 47 (1888c): 374-378; Θ, 46 (1889): 370-376.

Academy were considered as prerequisite for ascending to the upper echelons of the clerical hierarchy.[32]

Thus, for example, shortly after 1786 the Greek community of Trieste established a school with 2 teachers, one for Ancient and one for Modern Greek. [33] In addition, in 1753 the Patriarchate appointed Eugenios Voulgaris, who had studied in the West and who was considered as a bearer of modern philosophy,[34] Director of the "Athoniada Academy" - whose establishment, in fact, must be taken into account, since it was effected on the initiative of the Patriarchate as another secondary school to be established in the area of its jurisdiction.[35]

1.3. Education during the Period of the Ottoman Reforms (Tanzimat) (1850-1908)

In 1856 the Tanzimat reforms institutionalized a regime for the establishment of non-Muslim schools. The economically dependent Sultan granted educational and spiritual autonomy[36] to the Rum millet members through Hati-sherif (1839) and Hati Humayun (1856) and, thus, specific conditions were created for equality, at least at a theoretical level, regarding the advancement of education. In the context of these reforms, the legal framework for the establishment of schools in local communities was established and the conditions for a unified elementary education were determined. [37]

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[32] Manuel Gedeon, H, 40 (1888b): 318-321

[33] *Hermes Logios* (1817): 339

[34] Konstantinos Michael Koumas, *Istories ton anthropinon Praxeon apo ta archaia chronia mechri simera*, [*Stories of Human Acts from Ancient Times to the Present*] by excellent German Historians, freely translated by K. M. Koumas (Vienna: Anton V. Haykul, 1832), IB, 561; Andreas Papadopoulos-Vretos, *Synchroni Elliniki Filologia* [*Modern Greek Philology*: That is, List of Books Printed by Greeks from the Fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Establishment of the Greek Kingdom in the Spoken or Ancient Greek Language Composed by Andreas Papadopoulos-Vretos]. (Athens: 1854-1857, L. D. Vilaras, V. P. Lioumis), 4.

[35] Michael Angold, *Eastern Christianity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 202-204.

[36] Haris Exertzoglou, "Economy, Social Stratification and Cultural Approach. The Presence of Business and Professional Groups in the Educational and Cultural Affairs of the City, 1850-1912," in Association of Constantinople (ed.), *Poli ke Pedia* [*City and Education*] (in Greek: Poli=Constantinople) (Athens: Hellenika Grammata, 1997), 155-176

[37] Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876*, (Princeton: Princeton Legacy University Press, {1963}, 2016); Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1986), 319-337; Exertzoglou, "Economy, Social Stratification."

Moreover, we have to take into account that in the second half of the 19th century the prevalence of the ideological values of the Enlightenment and nationalism contributed to the configuration of Greek national ideology in the millet's social strata. The progressive nationalization of the millet gave national dimensions to the spread of Greek education within the Rum millet. In this context, the role of the bourgeoisie became significant as its members encouraged charity donations for the expansion of schools inside and outside the borders of the contemporary Greek state. In addition to the above, donations were granted for the publication of school textbooks in European printing Houses in Venice, Vienna or Budapest and distinguished scholars undertook to teach courses in schools of all levels.

Regarding the changes which took place, Konstantinos Vardalachos stated in the introduction of his book edited in Vienna in 1812 that: "Greek schools today have fervent patrons. The "Holy Council" of the Patriarchate is surrounded by glorious and distinguished men".[38]

Grigorios Paliouritis also wrote in the prologue of his book published in Venice in 1815: "From the beginning of this centenary our goal was directed towards the spiritual progress of our compatriots."[39]

Specifically, in 1817 the New Greek Society was established in Odessa, which donated a percentage of its profits per year to schools.[40] Also, in the context of the revised role of the Patriarchate, the Regulation of "Monitorial Schools"[41] was constituted in 1846 including the following objectives: a) the establishment of uniform education, b) the control and validation of textbooks. During this period the role of the clergy became

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[38] Konstantinos Vardalachos *Fysika* [*Physics*] (Vienna: Leopold Ground, 1812), Introduction, s. e & g. [in Greek *Ta scholeia tis Ellados simeron echoun enthermous prostatas.i iera ton archiereon omygyris endoxoi kai eklamproi andres ta yperaspizontai*]
https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/search/?dtab=m&serach_type/simple&search_help=&display_mode=overview&wf_step=init&show_secret=0&number=10&keep_number=&ccltern1=Κωνσταντίνος +Βαρδαλάχος++&c.
[39] Grigorios Paliouritis, *Elliniki Archaeologia* [*Greek Archeology*, that is, Philological History, Containing the laws, the State, the Customs of the Ancient Greeks, and Especially of the Inhabitants of Athens. Collected from Various Authors by Ordained Monk Grigorios Paliouritis of Ioannina, Teacher of the Hellenic Museum of Livorno, Completing the Third Volume of his Greek History. Edited by Spyridon Vlantis] (Venice: Nikolaos Glykis, 1815), introduction, [in Greek: "*apo tin archin tis parousis ekatontaetiridos olon o skopos archise na dieuthinetai prow tin veltiosin ton omogenon…*"].
[40] *Hermes Logios*, (1817), 608.
[41] Sidiroula Ziogou-Karastergiou, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, 429-443.

dominant. At the same time local Committees were created which dealt with the relevant financial management.

What is more, in 1851 the Regulations of Schools for Girls were constituted according to the model of the Regulation of Schools for Girls inside the Greek state, which had been promoted by the "Educational Society" in 1842.[42] In 1866 the Central Educational Brotherhood was established, which aimed at strengthening "The Great School of the Nation", formerly "Patriarchal School". At the same time, in 1871 the establishment of the "Educational Committee of the Greek Philological Association" in Constantinople was affected, which set as its goal the strengthening of educational activity in every way.[43] In 1873 the "Patriarchal Central Educational Committee" was established, which consisted of three distinguished members of the community and three distinguished members of the clergy,[44] who were appointed by the Patriarch. The objectives of the Commission were defined as follows: a) the supervision of educational trends, b) the creation of a center concerning books, teachers, programs and school examinations, c) the creation of a network of center-Metropolitans. [45]

In 1878 Patriarch Joachim III took initiatives to upgrade education. Thus, in 1879 the Program of the 6-year Primary School[46] was published, while in 1880 the "Educational and Charitable Brotherhood 'Agapate Allilous'" was founded (in Greek, "Αγαπάτε Αλλήλους", roughly translated as "Love thy Neighbour") , aiming at providing education to poor communities. [47] In 1881 the reconstitution of the "Patriarchal Central Educational Committee" was fulfilled, whose authority was the control of school textbooks. [48] In 1887 The "Patriarchal Central Educational Committee" promoted a uniform program for primary education,

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[42] Sidiroula Ziogou-Karastergiou, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*, 443-458

[43] George A. Giannakopoulos, *O Ellinikos Fillologikos Syllogos Konstantinoupoleos (1861-1922). Elliniki ekpaideusi kai epistimi os ethniki politiki stin Othomaniki Autokratoria* [*The Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople (1861-1922), Greek Education and Science as a National Policy in the Ottoman Empire*] (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Athens: National Kapodistrian University, 1998); Exertzoglou, *National Identity*, *ibid*.

[44] Ioannis Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects of the Education of the Greek Orthodox Communities in the Ottoman State, from the Beginning of the Tanzimat reforms until the Young Turks' Revolution," (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University, 2003).

[45] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 64.

[46] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 70.

[47] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 88

[48] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 71.

prepared by Charisios Papamarkou[49], while in 1896 it promoted the implementation of a uniform program for the secondary Schools of the Archdiocese of Constantinople[50]. In 1892 the Rules of Procedure of the Commission were revised, and its responsibilities were limited to the boundaries of the Archdiocese of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the supervisory role of the Patriarchate was not reduced, but, within the framework of the implementation of the "National Regulations", educational responsibilities[51] were assigned to the local Metropolitans and local communities.

1.4. Education and the Insurrection of the Young Turks (1908-1923)

The situation changed with the revolution of the Young Turks,[52] with the emergence of Turkish nationalism.[53] The promotion of modernization and, therefore, of Westernization, thanks to the Young Turks contributed to the secularization[54] of the millet's institutions and to the redefinition of the role of the Patriarchate and the communities.[55]

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[49] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 123.

[50] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 124.

[51] Betsas, "Institutional and Functional Aspects," 66.

[52] Doğu Ergil, "Reassessment: The Young Turks, Their Politics and Anticolonial Struggle," *Balkan Studies*, 16 (1975): 27-28.

[53] George Arnakis, "Turanism: An Aspect of Turkish Nationalism," *Balkan Studies*, 1 (1960): 21-32; Kemal Karpat, "The Memoirs of Batzaria: The Young Turks and Nationalism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 6 (1975): 276-298; Niyazi Berkes (ed.), *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization. Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); François Georgeon, *Aux origines du nationalisme turc* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Anatoliennes, 1980); Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement (1905-1926)*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 198; Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 46-49; Paschalis Kitromilides, "From the Orthodox Commonwealth to the National Communities, Greek-Russian Intellectual Relations," *Historika*, 6 (1989): 29-46; Paschalis Kitromilides, "Ideological Currents and Political Demands: Perspectives from the Greek 19th Century," in D. G. Tsaousis (ed.), *Aspects of Greek Society in the 19th Century* (Athens: Estia, 1994), 23-38; Andreas Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey*, (London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1996).

[54] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964).

[55] Sia Anagnostopoulou, *I Micra Asia ton 19o aiona. Oi Ellinorthodoxes koinotites. Apo to Rum Millet sto synhrono elliniko ethnos* [*Asia Minor 19th century-1919, The Greek Orthodox Communities. From the Millet of the Rum to the Modern Greek Nation*] (Athens: Greek Letters, 1997).

Consequently, the patriarchal privileges stemming from traditional ethno-religious segregation were abolished. [56]

The new constitutional political framework transformed communities into political mechanisms in order for the political representation of the former millet to be organized. Consequently, in 1910 political leadership inside the millet communities was constituted, in the context of which the representatives of the expatriates in the Ottoman Parliament were elected.[57] Finally, the abolishment of favourable conditions for the operation of the schools of the community took place. Moreover, this abolishment could be interpreted as part of the wider policy of Young Turks towards the Christian populations.

2. Typological Classification of the Schools of the Rum Millet

Until 1890 elementary schools had been following the Lancastrian teaching method. Specifically, Kleovoulos Georgios, coming from Plovdiv, worked as a teacher in Iasi in 1888, using the Lancastrian teaching method and wrote a textbook referring to this method which also included "reading plates".[58] On the other hand, Alexander Helladius informs us about the curriculum in elementary schools. For example, regarding the surviving syllabus of the school of Trikala, we conclude that in these schools the Alphabet, the reading plates, Calligraphy, the Octagon, the Psalter, the "Wish List", the "Six Psalms" and the "Apodipnos" were taught.[59] These were, therefore, schools run by priests and teachers who had graduated from elementary schools, in order for the orthodox traditions to be perpetuated and for the needs of the Great Church to be met. [60]

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[56] Paschalis Kitromilides, "The Greek State as National Center," in G. D. Tsaousis (ed.) *Hellenism–"Hellenikotita": Ideological and Experiential Axes of Modern Greek Society* (Athens: Estia, 1983)

[57] Ecclesiastiki Alitheia, *I allagi tis politeias* [*The Change of Polity*], 31 (7.8.1908); Ecclesiastiki Alitheia, *To mati tis dikaiosynis* [*The Eye of Justice*], 36, (12.9.1908); Ecclesiastiki Alitheia, *Gia ta themata mas* [*On our Issues*], l.37 (17.9.1908); Ecclesiastiki Alitheia *Logiki opsi ton thematon mas* [*Logical Aspect about our Issues*], 39, (30.9.1909).

[58] *Hermes Logios* (1819): 27-34.

[59] Manuel Gedeon, "Sholeia kai vivlia sti diarkeia tou 18ou aiona," ["Schools and Books during the 18th Century"], *Ecclesiastiki Alitheia*, H, 40 (17.8.1888), 318-321.

[60] Martin Crusius, T*urcogreciae (Quibus Graecorum status sub imperio Turcico, in Polita & Ecclesia, Oeconomia & Scholis, iam inde ab amissa Constantinopoli, ad haec usque tempora, luculenter describitu* (Basilea.: Leonhard Ostein fur Verlag Sebastian Henricpetris.Folq, 1584); Alexandri Helladii, *Status praesens Ecclesiae Graecae in quo etiam causae exponuntur cur graeci moderni Novi Testamenti*

According to Alexander Helladius,[61] secondary schools were distinguished by different names, for example, "Greek schools" or "schools of Cyclopedia": Greek schools were the primary level of secondary education. The study lasted 3 years and concerned grammar, syntax and a few courses. The schools of cyclopedia lasted 4 years, so the attendance in the secondary schools was 7 years in total (3 years in Greek school attendance and 4 years of Gymnasium or school of cyclopedia). The courses involved sciences such as Philosophy, Theology, Physics, Mathematics, and languages such as Ancient Greek, Latin, but also foreign languages, mainly French. At the end of the 19th century, the type of 6-class Gymnasiums prevailed and the distinction between Greek and Gymnasium or Cyclopedia was abolished.[62]

An example of an elementary school to which a class of cyclopedia was added is the School of Kastoria, which was founded in the framework of the Testament of Georgios Kastriotis on March 20, 1708.[63] The curriculum started with Homer, included dogmas of philosophy (according to the "Constitution" written by Coavius or by Konstantinos Koumas) and principles of theology (summary of the "divine doctrines" written by Athanasios Parios) and was completed with the teaching of Mathematics.

In addition, Grigorios Papadopoulos mentioned that in Greek secondary schools students were taught the "collection of opinions" written by Emmanuel Chrysoloras, the myths of Aesop, Byzantine Mysticism, and mainly the "encyclopedia of Patousa" which included a mixture of ancient orators and Christian patriarchal texts, that is, ancient and Christian literature combined, whose edition took place in 1710.[64] Conclusively, the syllabus consisted of the following sections: Letter-writing Lesson-Rhetoric-Poetry, from the curriculum composed by Antonios Byzantios and texts selected from the corpus of ancient and

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editiones in graeco-barbara lingua factas acceptare recusant. Praeterea additus est in fine status nonnullarum controversiarum ab A. H. Nat. Graec. Impressus A.R.S, MDCCXIV, 27.

[61] Matthaios Paranikas, *Shediasma peri tis en to elliniko*, 201

[62] C. N. Constantinides, *Ekpedeusi sto Byzantio ton 13o kai ton proimo 14o aiona* [*Education in Byzantium in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (1204-1310)*] (Thessaloniki: Stamoulis, 1982), 7.

[63] Angeliki Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon scholion sti diarkeia tis Othomanikis katochis* [*Notebooks of the Greek Schools during the Ottoman Occupation*] (Athens: Association for the Dissemination of the Useful Books, 1993), 197-198; Georgios Kournoutos, *Scholia tis tourkokratoumenis Kastorias* [*Schools in Turkish-occupied Kastoria*], (Athens: Geras Antonios Keramopoulos, 1953), 441-443.

[64] *Ibid*, 105.

ecclesiastical literature, as it is evidenced by the study of the "matrices", that is the students' notebooks in which the texts of the literature were copied.[65]

The texts of the authors and specifically the "asmatic canons",[66] gnomic verses, philosophy quotes, myths, "parodies", the lesson "Mirrors of the Sovereigns", or "Christian ethics", the lesson "epistolary texts", or "rhetoric texts", Plutarch's "Parallel Lives", Luciano's "dialogs", Homer's epics, Hesiod's didactic epics, lyric poetry, dramatic poetry, the epigrams, Platonic dialogues, all were published as early as the end of the 15th century.[67] The Byzantine Christian Ethics was the only textbook which was printed in the 18th century (1780).[68]

High schools were called "Tutoring Centers" or "Academies" or took the names of their founders. Such schools were considered, for example, the schools of Iasi Bucharest, Patmiada, the Patriarchal School, the Athoniada Academy. Finally, examples of provincial high schools are the school of Gouma in Ioannina,[69] the Tutoring Center of Chios[70] (1660), the Philological High School of Smyrna,[71] the Academy of Moschopolis,[72] the Tutoring Center of Trabzon during the academic year of Sevastos Kiminitis. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that in the Athoniada Academy during the period of Eugenios Voulgaris there were two cycles, the cycle

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[65] Grigorios Papadopoulos, "On the Earlier Greek Schools," *Pandora*, 9: 169-179, 15.7. issue 176, 5: 450-451, (1.1.1855), issue 115. (1857).

[66] D. Stratigopoulos, *Adimosieutoi Byzantinoi Asmatikoi Kanones. Diorthoseiskai Prosthikes* [*Unpublished Byzantine Asmatic Canons. Corrections and Additions*] *Byzantina* 20 (1999): 253-266.

[67] *Vatrahomyomahia* edited in 1486, *Isocrates Orations* edited in 1493, *Gnomic verses* edited in 1494, *Luciano's Dialogues* in 1496, *Nine Comedies* by Aristophanes in 1498, Agapetus Deacon "Series of Exhortations in Seventy-two Short Chapters" (Ἔκθεσὴς κεφαλαίων παραινετικῶν), edited in 1509.

[68] Athanasia K. Avdali, *I Fyllologiki enkyklopaideia tou Ioanni Patousa. Symvoli stin Istoria tis ekpaideusis toy Synchronou Ellinismou* [*The Philological Encyclopedia by Ioannis Patousas. Contribution to the History of Education of Modern Hellenism (1710-1839)*] (Athens: Karavias, 1984), 315.

[69] Priest Kosmas Balanos, the most venerable and scientific Great Economos and teacher of Ioannina. Concise exposition of Arithmetics, Algebra and Chronology. (Vienna: Marcos Poulios, 1798).

[70] Angeliki Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 191-192.

[71] *Hermes Logios* (1813): 275-277, Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 204.

[72] Ioannis Martinianos, *Moschopolis 1330-1930*, Stilpon P. Kyriakidis (ed.). (Thessaloniki: Association of Macedonian Studies, 1957), 150-162; Efstathios N. Kerkidis, *Theodoros Anastasiou Kavaliotis (1718-1789). The Teacher of the Rum Millet* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Kavala: Parousia, 1991), 23-24; Konstantinos Skenderis, *Istoria tis Archaias kai synhronis Moschopolis* [*History of Ancient and Modern Moschopolis*] (Athens: I. Vartsos, 1928), 16; Evlogios Kourilas, *I Moschopolis kai I nea tis Akadimia* [*Moschopolis and its New Academy*] (Athens, 1934).

of cyclopedia and the cycle of philosophy, in which Eugenios taught Logic, Introduction to Philosophy, Metaphysics, Arithmology, and Cosmography. Gedeon provides us with much information about the curricula of these high schools.[73]

If we attempted to classify higher schools based on the institution which financed their establishment and operation, we would distinguish the following categories: The "Hegemonic schools" which were founded by the Rulers of the Danuban Principalities with a "chrysovoulon". These schools introduced in their curricula not only the teaching of the Latin and European languages, but also the teaching of Sciences, for example Rhetoric or Mathematics. Representative examples of these schools are the Academy of Bucharest and the Academy of Iasi. The following three programs survive today: two programs of the Academy of Bucharest (1707[74], 1776[75] & 1810) and one program of the Academy of Iasi (1766).[76] The Program of the Academy of Bucharest of 1707 aimed at the reorganization of the Academy by Konstantinos Bragkoveanos, with the contribution of Chrysanthos Notaras. On the contrary, according to the program of 1776[77] we have the division into five courses of which the three corresponded to the courses of cyclopedia, while the last two in the courses of sciences, which included the positive sciences -Mathematics, Astronomy, Historical Geography, Physics- and the living European languages -German, Italian- and finally the Latin language. Finally, in the 1810 program of the Academy of Bucharest[78] the school was reconstituted by the Metropolitan Ignatius of Hungravlachia, who founded the Greco-Dacian Philological Society in 1810. The program was divided into 3 categories: Sciences, Philology, Languages. Sciences included the teaching of Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural History, Geography, Metaphysics, Logical Ethics. Philology included the teaching of Rhetoric, Poetry, History, Mythology, Archeology, and the practical applicative exercises. Languages included the teaching of Greek, Latin, Russian, French, German. The program of 1766 of the School of Iasi [79] was formed in the same spirit. In the sigillum of Chrysanthos Notaras, which was addressed to the Hegemon Gregory Gikas in 1728, two schools of Greek courses were mentioned concerning the Academy of Iasi. The operating

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[73] Gedeon, *ibid*, 334-339.

[74] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 195.

[75] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 199.

[76] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 203.

[77] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*.

[78] *Hermes Logios* (1811): 69.

[79] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 203.

status of the Patriarchal School of Constantinople was regulated by the Patriarchal "sigillia". According to the sigillum of 1663, which was written by Patriarch Nectarios of Jerusalem on the occasion of the reconstitution of the Patriarchal school by Manolakis Kastorianos, the school included three courses, the class of the "common letters", the class of "cyclopedia" and the class of the "scientific courses". The sigillum of 1691 was signed by Patriarch Kallinikos II, Dositheos of Jerusalem and Ioannis Karyofyllis, and the sigillum of 1793 was issued by Patriarch Neophytos VII.[80] Conclusively, although the sciences which were introduced to school curricula in the 18th century were only Philosophy and Theology, at the end of the 18th century the positive sciences and the European languages were added. Finally, it should also be noted that famous teachers who wrote important textbooks were appointed in the Patriarchal School.[81]

3. The Construction of the Legend of the "Illegal and Secret Schools"[82] in the Era of Modernity

The term "illegal and secret school" refers to the existence of illegal underground schools for the teaching of the Greek language and the orthodox doctrine, which allegedly operated under the supervision of the Orthodox Church during the Ottoman period between the 15th and the 19th century.[83] It is a fact that the study of Greek education of the Ottoman period was associated in the 19th century with the legend of the "secret school" which derived from the popular belief that the Ottoman authorities had institutionally obstructed the education of non-Muslim populations.[84]

According to our point of view the research, regarding the reasons which led to the questioning of the institutional nature of the orthodox education within the Ottoman context, shortly before the Greek national revolution, should have to focus on the ideological components of the

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[80] Gritsopoulos, *I Patriarchiki Megali tou Genous Scholi*, 454-457, 460-462; Chatzopoulos, *Ellinika scholia*, 76.

[81] Skarveli-Nikolopoulou, *Mathimataria ton ellinikon*, 192-194; M. Manousakas, *Symvoli stin Patriarchiki Scholi tis Konstantinoupolis. I idrysi tis Scholis tou Manolaki Kastorianou me vasi anekdotes piges* [*Contribution to the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. Regarding the founding of the school of Manolakis Kastorianos on the Basis of New Anecdotal Sources*], *Athena*, 54 (1950): 3-28.

[82] Greek-orthodox School in the Ottoman rule [in Greek: *Krifo scholeio*].

[83] Tasos Gritsopoulos, *Patriarchal Great School of the Nation* (Athens: Fexis, 1966), 66-69.

[84] Elli Skopetea, "To protypo vasileio kai I Megali Idea. Opseis tou Ethnikou Provlimatos stin Ellada. (1830-1880)" [The Model *Kingdom and the Great Idea: Aspects of the National Problem in Greece (1830-1880)*] (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University), 198.

period and specifically on the period of transition from tradition to modernity. The conceptual burden of tradition is understood in the present study as the opposite of that of modernity, identical with the structures which prevailed in the East, in terms of millet and in terms of the special weight of religion, in the process of configuration the identities of the citizens of the Ottoman Empire.

On the contrary, the other part of the dipole, modernity, is defined as the manifestation of the ideological movement of the Enlightenment, is associated with the secularization and disconnection of knowledge from religion, but also from authority, attaches particular importance to science and to human logic. The principle of self-determination and autonomy acquires a significant role as a goal of the nation and therefore at this point, it could be observed the convergence among nationalism, and Enlightenment.

Modernity will create at the beginning of the 19th century the conditions for the replacement of the Orthodox Commonwealth by the Greek Nation.[85] The establishment of the ethnic state signified a direct dependence of its political identity on its cultural identity. Consequently, the citizen's function is defined in accordance with his participation in the cultural community, i.e., the nation, while, at the same time, the political forces have legitimized themselves as guarantors of the ethnic identity and consolidated their domination through a differentiation of cultures, and through a transfiguration of narrative space –the space of the nation's narrative tale– into a political sphere of power.

It is obvious that the Greek nation during the period of modernity was a new, symbolically enriched collective being, which had the right, even in extremis, to raise its voice of value on a permanent basis, independently and in opposition to the will of the people of which it is comprised at any given time. The structural composition of the nation exceeded the rational structural composition of the people, not only on the level of a revised political discourse and a rearrangement of basic theoretical parameters, related to the interpretation of political phenomena, but also on the level of the historical renaissance, which was

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[85] Raphael Demos, "The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19, 4 (1958): 523-541, Chatzopoulos, *Ellinika Scholeia*; Ziogou-Karastergiou, *To Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio*; Chassiotis, *Metaxi tou Othomanikou*.

founded on the study of the new deep incision created by the presence and historical consolidation of the nations.[86]

More specifically, in the case of Greece the national school mechanisms, via specific practices, acted as stabilizing agents for the social system, and as tools for imposing discipline and integrating people within the current social status quo.[87] School practices attested to the fact that every educational system was geared towards explicitly political and ideological directions; in other words, it reflected the social and political principles, which designated the dominant sociopolitical ideology.[88] Consequently, in Greece, which should be considered a relatively newly-formed state, when compared with the century-long history of the other European states, educational institutions almost blatantly took on the role of reproducing its social and class composition and of creating a nationally and culturally homogenized population.[89] So, the concept of the secret school, which passed into the curricula of Greek schools, was called upon to play a decisive role in the formation of the national consciousness of the students. That is why the reference to the education of the Orthodox of the Ottoman period was devalued.

However, at the beginning of the 20th century, a new controversy began over the existence or non-existence of the secret schools by scholars and intellectuals who concluded that there were no secret schools. Specifically having accepted that secret schools represented a public legend, the scholars of the 20th and 21st century published studies which explored the conditions for the creation and prevalence of myth in the post-revolutionary 19th century when the term "secret school" became even more popular and was inscribed in the national collective memory, after its depiction in a painting been composed by Nikolaos Gyzis, and

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[86] Constantinos Tsoukalas, *Exartisi kai anaparagogi* [*Dependence and Reproduction*] (Athens: Themelio, 1992).

[87] Anna Fragoudaki & Thalia Dragona, *Ti einai I chora mas: Ethnokentrismos stin ekpaideusi* [*What is Our Country: Ethnocentrism in Education?*] (Athens: Alexandria, 1997); Efi Avdela, *Istoria kai scholeio* [*History and School*] (Athens: Nissos, 1998).

[88] Joseph M. W. Turner, "Civic Education in the United States," in Derek Heater and Judith A. Gillespie (eds). *Political Education in Flux* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981), 62-73; Burry Dufour, *New Movements in the Social Studies and Humanities* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1982); Christina Nova-Kaltsouni, *Koinonikopoiisi. I genesi tou koinonikou ypokeimenou* [*Socialization: The Birth of the Social Subject*] (Athens: Gutenberg, 1998), 116-117.

[89] Tsoukalas, *Exartisi*.

completed between 1885-1886 and Ioannis Polemis wrote the popular poem "My bright moon…", with the same thematic content.[90]

Particularly of a main importance was the study of Alkis Aggelos,[91] who raised well-founded doubts at the academic level about the existence of the secret school, which focused on the fact that the first published reference to secret schools during the Turkish occupation was made in 1825, in a letter sent in 1822 from the enlightener S. Canellos to the philhellene C. Iken.[92] The letter stressed that the Turks raised prohibitions to a greater extent for schools than for churches, in order to justify why the Greeks were trying to "secretly establish common schools". These studies concluded that the relevant myth of the secret school was created by the Enlightenment to demonstrate the barbarity of the Turkish conquerors,[93] in order to ensure the support of the Greek revolution by the West. [94]

Discussion

As it has been proved the institutional context of the schools of the "Rum Millet" under the Ottoman rule was clearly cultural-religious, and their aim was to contribute to the existence and function of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which was considered as the spiritual head of the Rum millet.

Indeed, the circumstances, formed under the Ottoman rule, affected the institutional framework of the schools of the Rum millet not only because they influenced the relations between the Sublime Porte and the Ecumenical Patriarchate but mainly because they formed the opportunities for the millet's interventions to the status and to the evolution of the schools.

The typological classification of the schools of Rum millet has given already a whole aspect about the variety of school types in terms of the educational provision or the economical fundings and charities which had been offered by the distinguished members of millet.

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[90] Alkis Aggelou, *To kryfo scholio. Chroniko enos mythou* [*The Secret School. Chronicle of a Myth*] (Athens: Estia, 1997), 19-20.
[91] Aggelou, *The secret school*.
[92] Aggelou, *The secret school*.
[93] Aggelou, *The secret school.*
[94] Aggelou, *The secret school*.

In fact, according to the past years' studies the conditions of the creation and the attempt at instilling the myth of the secret school were formed during the post-ethnic Revolution 19th century. The question of course is why, after the founding of the Greek state, the "orthodox schools" which had operated under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate were considered "secret" by the newly emerged Greek elite.

Regarding the level of interpretation, we must point out that the theory of the existence of the "secret school" reflects the model of Enlightenment which transformed the Orthodox Rum millet into citizens of the Greek nation. Specifically, the dynamics of modernity and Greek nationalism opposed the version of the Ecumenical Patriarchate regulating the millet's education and imposed the notion of "forbidden education" for non-Muslims, constructing the version of the "secret school". The Greek National University and the central elites had been mobilizing until that point towards this direction.

At this point it should be noted that, although the term "secret school"[95] is accepted by public history, modern scholars have now proved that this secret function of the Orthodox schools did not exist and that the schools operated institutionally under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the Ottoman rule. Consequently, nowadays, the scientific approach to the history of Greek Orthodox education of the Ottoman period is a scientific field in which, in our opinion, modern science and historians should focus.

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[95] Vasilis Kremmidas, "Michanismoi gia tin paragogi istorikon mython," [Mechanisms for the Production of Historical Myths"] *Mnimon* 18 (1996): 9-21; Georgios Kokkinos, "Didaktiki tis Istorias gia mia nea didaktiki methodo stin ypiresia tis kritikis skepsis," ["Teaching Approaches in the Subject of History. For a New Didactic Methodology in the Service of Critical Thinking"] in Andreas Andreou (ed.) *I didaktiki tis istorias stin Ellada kai i ereuna ton ekpaideutikon egcheiridion* [*The Teaching of History in Greece and the Research in School Textbooks*] (Athens: Metaixmio, 1998), 89-101.

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