

Revised Image of the Ottoman-Turks in the Current Sixth-Grade Greek History Textbook: A Comparative Analysis with the Previous Curriculum

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Abstract:

History textbooks are of key importance in constructing nations' identities. They have been the major medium for raising citizens who exhibit similar emotions and behavioural patterns in construing current events and developments. This paper traces back the formation processes of established stereotypes and the image of *other(s)* in relation to forming a positive *self*-image. Greece and Turkey have long been discussing forming teams of bilateral experts to emend their history textbooks, in particular removing othering and negative other images. Yet no success in this regard has been achieved, two littoral states have separately revised their textbooks several times. The focus of this study is limited to the current sixth-grade Greek history textbook, which launched to displace a historic textbook that was used for over two decades. The study employs interpretive discourse analysis and attempts to examine the main elements of *self/other* constructions, and whether there is a continuity or change in the images of the Ottoman-Turks between the previous edition and the current one in use. **Key words:** Greece, Greek history textbooks, Ottoman Empire, Ottomans, Turkey, Turks, identity studies, otherness.

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Introduction

If it is taken for granted that the textbooks are the major source of knowledge not only for students but also to a greater extent for the adults of a country (since they are the only books read from beginning to end for most), it must be noted that they play the most crucial role in shaping the national identities, goals, and interests. History textbooks are utilized as a set of assets to address crowds of young citizens, strike a chord with them, and aggrandize and etch the state's power in their minds. No doubt, the procedure of preparing textbooks is not just an academic process since it points to a much more complex mechanism that includes certain political decisions. At this point, one of the main problematique of history narrative surfaces: What has to and what has not to be mentioned in textbooks? It is not easy to answer this question because for many countries (especially those under fragile conditions) the national historiography and political priorities and conjunctures are often tightly interwoven with each other. In other words, established collective past, hand in hand, with domestic politics set an intricate pattern. As Martin O. Heisler briefly puts it; “[t]he current politics of the past deals with history, engages memory, and may invoke aspects of identity, but, in fact, it is *a practical matter that unfolds in the present*”¹.

Greece and Turkey have declared several times to form joint working groups to improve negative images in textbooks, the last of which was in 2010 -during the Turkish PM's state visit to Athens. However, none of these official studies has been concluded. Turkey and Greece separately have revised their history textbooks several times through committees of their national experts. The most prominent of these revisions, which caused social tension and hyperbolic public discourse, was experienced by Greece. In 2006, when the then Minister for National Education and Religious Affairs, Maria Giannakou, introduced a new sixth-grade history textbook², a storm of protest erupted among different sections of society. It is not surprising since alterations, shifts or amendments in the narrative depiction of the established national histories are never unproblematic.

¹ Martin O. Heisler, “Challenged Histories and Collective Self-Concepts: Politics in History and Time,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 617 (May 2008): 201. Italics in original.

² Maria Repousi et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Kai Synchrona Chronia (In the Modern and Contemporary Times - 6th Grade Elementary School)* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion, 2006).

However, the new book³ evoked such an unexpected source of controversy and contention that it had to be withdrawn a year after it was introduced⁴. There have also been analyses and projects (most of whom based on educative purposes⁵) carried out by scholars that whether the two states may revise their national narratives removing out the clear-cut distinctions in terms of *self/other* nexus⁶.

This article aims to illustrate the alterations made in the Ottoman-Turk images in the current compulsory sixth-grade Greek history textbook⁷ by comparison to the one that was previously in use⁸. It does not have a

³ Criticisms and arguments, at that time, were mainly about the new discourse that allegedly developed euphemism for the ‘Ottoman yoke’ or even amelioration for the then Greek-Turkish relation. Another claim about Repoussi’s book (as was named by the public) was that it downplayed the importance of the Patriarchate during the Greek Enlightenment and the War of Independence.

⁴ Since 1984 four history textbooks have been withdrawn. For a close analysis of the withdrawal, see, Hercules (Iraklis) Millas, “Greece,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Luigi Cajani, Simone Lässig, and Maria Repoussi (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 269-79.

⁵ See, for example, Dimitris Zachos and Anastasia Michailidou, “Others in Textbooks: The Case of Greek Sixth Grade’s History Textbook,” *Theory in Action* 7, no. 3 (July 2014): 1-25.

⁶ In terms of self/other relationships, see, for example, Hercules Millas, “History Textbooks in Greece and Turkey,” in *History Workshop*, 31 (Oxford University Press, 1991), 21-33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289049>; Penelope Stathis and Nilüfer Çağlar, “Yunan [Ve Türk] Tarih Ders Kitaplarında ‘Ben’ ve ‘Öteki’ İmgeleri,” in *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte Öteki Sorunu 2. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi 8-10 Haziran 1995*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 125-33; Betül Ayanoğlu, “Yunanistan,” in *Balkan ve Karadeniz Ülkelerinde Güncel Tarih Ders Kitaplarında Osmanlı-Türk İmaji*, ed. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, vol. 1, 2 vols. (İstanbul: Balkar - Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2020), 381-464 [A research project supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, based on the evaluations of 13 countries’ history textbooks, including Bosna-Hersek / Bosnia-Herzegovina by Jahja Muhasilović, Sırbistan/Serbia & Karadağ/Montenegro by Gencer Özcan, Hırvatistan/Croatia by Ozan Erözden, Kosova/Kosovo by Fatih Fuat Tuncer, Makedonya/Macedonia by Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu, Arnavutluk/Albania by Bülent Bilmez, Bulgaristan/Bulgaria by Neriman Ersoy-Hacısalihoğlu, Kıbrıs/Cyprus by Deniz Ertuğ, Ermenistan/Armenia by Yıldız Deveci-Bozkuş, Azerbaycan/Azerbaijan by Emin Uzun, Rusya/Russia by Evren Balta and Süheyla Demir, Gürcistan/Georgia by Keisuke Wakizaka].

⁷ Ioannis Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion - Institute of Computer Technology and Publications “Diofantos,” 2021), http://ebooks.edu.gr/ebooks/v/html/8547/2188/Istoria_ST-Dimotikou_html-empl/ [The current book was first printed and distributed in 2012. It is abbreviated to “CB” and marked by square-brackets in the footnotes to improve readability].

⁸ Dionysios Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion, 2009) [The previous book was first printed and distributed in 1989. It is abbreviated to “PB” and marked by square-brackets in the footnotes to improve readability].

say about Greek historiography in general but rather focuses on the *self/other* images and attempts to find answers for the following research questions: “What are the alterations in the current book if any?”, “How is the *self-other* nexus defined?”, “How is *other* portrayed?”, “What are the discourses employed in *othering*?”

Language as an instrument of thought or more generally as the media of discourse has always had a decisive role in constructing the world. Human language is not only a combination of sounds nor is it of signals, but *reasoned speech*⁹. Speech does not only passively describe a given reality, but it can also change and constitute a (social) reality. It is the main element of each construction; in other words, language constitutes the world *per se*¹⁰.

Humans are social animals and without social relations, they cannot be human beings. Being endowed with such a gift leads them to a communicative path where they can truly share their experiences, plans, and use abstract concepts for discussing their opinions¹¹. There is an inextricable constructive relationship between humans and nature. The web of social relations “makes” people what they call “we are” and that in turn those constructed people “make” nature “what it is”. For the reason that “saying is doing”, whatever we say “makes” us and *other* and nature which socially comprise the world itself¹².

Social reality does not exist *out there* (independent of the human mind), “but [it] is made by the actors, the concepts we use are part of a vocabulary that is deeply imbricated with our political projects”¹³ stemming from our identities. Treating normative-ideational and material structures equally crucial in building national identities, this study draws on the postulates of the constructivist camp and holds the tenet that identity conceptions are the significant factors that make an impact on

⁹ It is λόγος (logos) that once used by Aristotle as an umbrella term covering such meanings as word, oration, logic, ratio, and the like.

¹⁰ Nicholas Onuf, *Making Sense, Making Worlds: Constructivism in Social Theory and International Relations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 28-29.

¹¹ Friedrich Kratochwil, *Rules, Norms, and Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 6.

¹² Onuf, *Making Sense, Making Worlds*, 3-4.

¹³ Friedrich Kratochwil, *The Puzzles of Politics, Inquiries into the Genesis and Transformation of International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 185.

states' approaches to issues since any material explanation will inevitably fail unless discursive conditions involved¹⁴.

In the same fashion, the nexus of *self* and *other* is not given nor is it endogenous, but hypothetical and constructed. They correspond to each other and are mutually complementary in forming *self*¹⁵. In other words, the *self* is constructed regarding the other. The attributes of an adversary define not only the *other* but also the *self*-image "because a thing can only be known by what it is not"¹⁶.

Nations are highly qualified in creating their *other* in relation to their *self*-formation. In case of not having a real enemy to situate contrary to *self*, "[n]ations have always found a way to invent an enemy even if that enemy is vaguely defined"¹⁷. Theodoros Zervas names this condition as "Bogeyman Syndrome" and asserts that when enemies were not actually real (artificial) or did not exist in reality (fictional) they could still be instilled in the minds of a nation, and the citizens would always remain fearful of those unknown enemies as if they were real.

The evolution of Greek identity has also been shaped by a similar identity formation process and influenced by several factors¹⁸. According to Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos¹⁹, the Greek genealogy is as follows:

¹⁴ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 135-36.

¹⁵ Iver B. Neumann, "Self and Other in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations*, no. 2: 139 (June 1, 1996): 140-41.

¹⁶ Bahar Rumelili, "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference: Understanding the EU's Mode of Differentiation," *Review of International Studies*, Cambridge University Press 30, no. 1 (January 2004): 29.

¹⁷ Theodoros Zervas, "Rethinking the Past, Reforming the Present: Reflections on Greek Educational Change and the Future of a Greek Identity," 10, accessed October 13, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/9358083/Rethinking_the_Past_Reforming_the_Present_Reflect_ions_on_Greek_Educational_Change_and_the_Future_of_a_Greek_Identity.

¹⁸ It has to be noted that in the early decades of the Greek Kingdom, Greek historiography and history education "remained faithful to the ideas of the Enlightenment and established patterns in the philosophy of history, according to which the medieval period was a dark age of ignorance, religious bigotry, and moral and spiritual decline". The Greek enlighteners had a distaste for the Byzantine period and 'drew their political and cultural models exclusively from the ancient world'. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the worship of antiquity was abandoned with the emergence of a new ideological schema, 'expressed by the term Helleno-Christian civilization'. Angelos Palikidis, "Why is Medieval History Controversial in Greece? Revising the Paradigm of Teaching the Byzantine Period in the New Curriculum (2018-2019)," *Espacio, Tiempo y Educacion* 7, no. 2 (December 2020): 178-179.

¹⁹ In his masterpiece, 'History of the Hellenic Nation' (1853), drawing on Zambelios's conceptualization of the uninterrupted Greek culture, Paparrigopoulos claimed the concept

Ancient Hellenism, Macedonian Hellenism, Christian Hellenism, Medieval Hellenism, and Modern Hellenism²⁰. Analogous to his study, history textbooks cover mainly such contents: Ancient Greek heritage, the Byzantine Empire, the Orthodox Church, the Greek War of Independence, and the Asia Minor Catastrophe. Specifically, the struggle for independence and its respective national narratives based on the Orthodox' suffering under the Ottoman rule, have an important effect on the formation of the Greek nation-state identity.

The centuries-long period of interaction between Byzantines and Ottomans, and Ottomans and Greeks, respectively, provides a rich repository of representations (most of which are sealed in myths and stereotypes based on hearsay and misinformation) that are employed in constructing meanings, beliefs, and ideas while dealing with socio-political and cultural issues. Otherness, enmity, and hatred are sticky concepts that are moulded deep in identity perceptions²¹.

The conflict-prone relationship between Greece and Turkey stems at most from their national histories wherein they have obtained "their national identities by fighting against, and interacting with, each other"²². Students of any age have been educated at every level to maintain this collective memory and national self-consciousness²³. In this sense, history, neither for Greece nor for Turkey, belongs to the past because the past lives in the present²⁴ and references to national history constitute a significant part and a sound basis for their bilateral issues.

of an uninterrupted Greek history wherein he incorporated the Ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval and modern ages that correspond to more than 3000 years of Hellenism.
²⁰ Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, *Istoria Tou Ellinikou Ethnous [History of the Hellenic Nation]*, ed. Pavlos Karolidis, 6th ed., 1-7 vols. (Athens: Eleftheroudakis, 1932).

²¹ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 36.

²² Mustafa Aydın, "Contemporary Turkish-Greek Relations: Constraints and Opportunities", *Turkish Greek Relations the Security Dilemma in the Aegean*, ed. Mustafa Aydın, Kostos Ifantis (London: Routledge, 2004), 23.

²³ Millas points out that Greece placed significant importance on its national education system, especially during the period of industrialization. These attempts might have been rooted in the need for an educated workforce to employ, but their unintentional outcomes varied from standardization of citizens to development of monotype identity. The nationwide standard free education made it possible for the nation-states to raise generations with similar views and visions. Therefore, industry or more precisely -the weapons industry- have enabled such regulations and implementations. Herkül Millas, *Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 17-25.

²⁴ Şükrü S. Gürel, *Tarihsel Boyut İçinde Türk Yunan İlişkileri (1821-1993)*, vol. L (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1993), 10.

Recalling the well-known saying “Greeks and Turks destined to be enemies”, this article investigates the compulsory history textbook distributed nationwide for pupils eleven-years-old with the focus whether the national narrative mainly based on differences or similitudes.

Initial Evaluation and the Outline of the Current History Textbook

First, it might be fruitful to share the material elements by drawing an outline of the current book (CB) and highlighting the major changes in its content. Compared with the previous book (PB), the CB consists of 238 pages and includes five chapters that are as follows: “Developments in Europe in Modern Times (mid-15th century - early 19th century)”, “The Greeks under Ottoman and Latin rule (1453-1821)”, “The Great Revolution (1821-1830)”, “Greece in the 19th century”, “Greece in the 20th century”. Although the CB, with its two new additional chapters, appears as if an extended version of the previous, it has fewer pages than the PB of 288 pages.

Starting with the “Hellenism after the Fall” (of Constantinople), the PB’s main emphasis was on the difficulties of the “enslaved” Greeks under the “Ottoman yoke” and the Greek War of Independence, with nearly two-thirds of the book. Conversely, the CB starts with the multi-dimensional portrayal of the European historical developments, such as the Renaissance, the geographical discoveries, the Enlightenment, and the American and French Revolutions, and continues up to the entry of Greece to the European Economic Community in 1981.

Another important point in the CB is the shift in the heading of the chapter about the Ottoman reign. The previous title (“Hellenism after the Fall”) is revised and expanded as “Greeks under the Ottoman and Latin rule”, but the text about Venetians, Genoese, and Franks has been shortened significantly. The CB makes a handful of references to the Latin world (only three paragraphs in 45 pages) contrary to the PB, which devoted nearly five full pages. The narration as well as the tone of the language in use have also softened and euphemized.

Before analysing the image of the Ottomans/Turks in the CB, it is necessary to remark on another fundamental issue available in the Greek history textbooks in general. This last but not the least point is the conceptual confusion about Ottomans, Ottoman Turks, Turkish rule

(*Tourkokratia*), Turks, Turkey, etc. Regardless of their grades, the Greek history textbooks use these terms interchangeably within the same context.

In the CB, for example, such statements are as follows: “conquered by the Ottoman Turks”,²⁵ “Turkish-occupied Hellas”,²⁶ “the terrible, inhuman, antichrist and ruthless Turk”,²⁷ “the Turkish rule” (*Tourkokratia*) and “the Turks”,²⁸ “freedom for the Christian slaves of Turkey”,²⁹ “Christians were subservient to the Turkish state for four centuries” and “Turkey had Christian slaves”,³⁰ etc.

There are a lot more examples available throughout the book which might lead to ambiguity or perplexity for the students that might end up with a false explanation or incorrect definitions. In this sense, it might not be easy for a sixth-grade student to set the difference between the Ottoman State and Turkey thus avoiding the error of chronology and drift into anachronism.

Hellenism and the Lives of “Enslaved Hellenes” during the “*Turkokratia*”

The Ottoman rule (1453-1821) or as it is named by the Greek historiography “the Turkish rule (*Turkokratia*)”, whose negative effects are allegedly still alive in the Greek culture, is seen as the root cause of any spheres of backwardness in Greece. Paradoxically, it is portrayed also as a period wherein the Greek national virtues aroused. In other words, “*Turkokratia*” was the period of enslavement of Greeks, and the slavery situation initiated and facilitated the process of the Greek Renaissance and Revolution that constructed the basic blocks of Modern Greece³¹.

The national narrative clung to the sad remnants of the Ottoman’s absolute monarchy of targeting the defence and expansion of Islam religion describes the Orthodox Greeks and the other non-Muslim subjects as “slaves” who struggled to overcome the centuries-long system of

²⁵ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 30. [CB].

²⁶ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 30. [CB].

²⁷ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 30. [CB].

²⁸ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 37. [CB].

²⁹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 38. [CB].

³⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 38. [CB].

³¹ Antonis Liakos, “The Construction of National Time: The Making of the Modern Greek Historical Imagination,” in *Political Uses of the Past*, ed. Jacques Revel and Giovanni Levi (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 37.

oppression. In this vein, some defining themes regarding the administrative structure, regulations, and conventions imbued with the Ottoman qualities are presented as essentials that would revive the trying circumstances and the spirit of the era. Typical topics of the “Turkish rule” period that became the *sine qua non* of the history textbooks are conversion to Islam, children levy (*paidomazoma*), extra-taxes, secret schools (clandestine education), *angaria* (forced labour, chores), crypto-Christians, and being treated inferior to Muslims, as well as, some legends like half-fried fish (that jumped into the holy spring in Baloukli when Constantinople fell to the Ottomans), the last divine liturgy in Hagia Sophia (reportedly, the crowd with two priests disappeared into the wall when the first Turk entered in), and the Marbled King (supposedly, the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos, had not actually died during the siege of Constantinople, but had been rescued by an angel and turned into marble)³².

Regarding the CB, the curriculum has followed the aforementioned traditional pattern except for the legends³³. Although the scope and content of the topic in the CB have changed dramatically, the way it is considered, and its general flow has been preserved. The new parts named “sources narrate” and “eyes on the past” reflect the similar viewpoint and method of *othering* that were available also in the coloured pages of the PB. In other words, there is a fluctuating relationship between the tone of the authors and the stories or poems they cite. They have a tendency to keep the neutrality of the language employed in the main text, whereas the material they quote at the end of each section remain biased using stereotypes and deep prejudices.

Put differently, the CB meets the general expectations of different segments of the society for it subscribes to an alternative approach of operating the corpus of national representations of the Ottoman past. The authors, with their tone of language, stay aloof from the narratives in the

³² Stephanos Glentis et al., *Istoria E' Dimotikou - Sta Vizantina Chronia (In the Byzantine Years: 5th Grade Elementary School)* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion, 2008), 101-103. [currently in use]. Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 18, 24, 30, 31, 35, 49, 53, 54, 55, 91, 217. [PB]. Ioannis Dimitroukas, P. Ioannou Thoukididis, and Kostas Baroutas, *Istoria Tou Mesaionikou Kai Tou Neoterou Kosmou 565-1815 B'Genikou Lykiou (History of the Medieval and Modern World 565-1815 11th Grade High School)* (Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion, 2009), 141-143. [currently in use].

³³ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmu (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 30, 33, 34, 38, 54, 55, 68, 88, 167, 168. [CB].

main text, but they conspicuously eliminate the detached objectivity with the supplementary material they quote. Thus, although not stated explicitly by its authors, the book includes the basic principles and priorities of the national historical narrative. In the light of employing this multi-stranded method of writing a textbook, authors also enhance a chance of keeping distance between the traditional perspective and their own reinterpretation of national history.

Living under “Turkish rule” marks a period full of traumas and historical tragedy that befell the Greek nation. According to the CB, between the 15th and 17th centuries, the entire “Greek peninsula”³⁴ was captured by the Ottoman Turks and the life of “*rayahs*”³⁵ became exceedingly difficult. The “enslaved Greeks”³⁶ or the “slaves”³⁷ led a miserable life in pain and sadness, “they faced many discriminations, especially in the first centuries of the Ottoman rule”³⁸. Despite these harsh conditions, Greeks provided cohesion of their community and did not assimilate due to three basic elements of their national identity: religion, language, and tradition³⁹. Thus, the Greek nation retained its uniqueness, and in 1821 claimed freedom within the political climate evolved⁴⁰. Both books highlight the status of non-Muslims *vis-a-vis* Muslims in everyday life, the PB did not notice a difference at any period during the Ottoman rule whereas the CB remarks that the sufferings of *rayahs* alleviated over time. Below are some excerpts taken from both books displaying the living conditions of the Christians during “*Tourkokratia*”:

[PB] *“The enslaved Greeks suffered a lot from the Turks. ... The Turks, in general, considered the rayahs inferior. They were forced to dress poorly, to live in small houses and slums, to do angry, to step aside on the street,*

³⁴ The book does not provide a clear definition of the geography mentioned, whether it corresponds to the present or to the past; that is, the lands currently covered by Greece or by Turkey or by both. Koliopoulos et al., 28, 29. [CB].

³⁵ *Reaya* in Turkish, refers to the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman State. In both textbooks the term defined as “slaves”. See, Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 31. [PB]; It is also limited to “Orthodox Christians”. See, respectively, Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 37, 64. [CB].

³⁶ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 29, 32, 36, 41, 44, 49, 53, 62, 63, 64, 70, 74. [CB].

³⁷ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 32, 37, 38, 63. [CB].

³⁸ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 32. [CB].

³⁹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 29. [CB].

⁴⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 26. [CB].

and to bend down while Turks were passing by. [Turks] were embarrassing and humiliating them, treating them unfairly and often inflicting terrible torture on them”⁴¹.

[PB] *“Weddings, births, and baptisms with preparations and wishes gave beautiful moments to relatives and friends. But the shadow of the conqueror always encumbered. ... The mourning and the participation of the people in moments of mourning were enormous and everyone said goodbye to the dead with laments. One of a well-known wish was: ‘If only we hadn’t died and the Turks hadn’t come”⁴².*

[CB] *“The first two centuries of the Ottoman rule were the most difficult for Christians. The demographic, economic, and social changes were a lot. Many inhabitants moved to the highlands of the Ottoman Empire. Also, the Byzantine lords disappeared after the Fall. Finally, several scholars left for Western Europe. ... From the middle of the 16th century, the position of the Greeks in the Turkish-occupied areas gradually improved. During this period, military conflicts in the Greek Peninsula and taxation and child levy were reduced”⁴³.*

[CB] *“Although in theory, the Ottoman Sultans granted some freedoms to their ‘unbelieving’ subjects, in everyday life the restrictions were many, especially in the first centuries of the Ottoman rule. Christians were forced to live in slums in the cities”⁴⁴.*

The CB apparently refrains from using common ordinary expressions that can spark strong negative emotions or evoke national memory laden with unpleasant memories and the images of Ottomans/Turks while describing “the intense discrimination against Christians”. Nevertheless, it draws ambivalence and indecision about the agent of such marginalization of non-Muslims: did it derive from a state-based practice or an arbitrary whim of local authorities, following the book:

[CB] *“Discrimination against Christians was more intense in remote areas. The local governors, taking advantage of the fact that the central authority could not easily control them, did not hesitate to mistreat them, especially in times of unrest but also to strengthen their own treasury”⁴⁵.*

⁴¹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 31. [PB].

⁴² Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 47. [PB].

⁴³ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 29. [CB].

⁴⁴ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 33. [CB].

⁴⁵ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 33. [CB].

In the CB, throughout the pages describing “*Tourkokratia*”, stereotypical images of the Ottomans, such as *barbarian*, *looter*, *invader*, *primitive* or *fanatic* that have been attributed by the traditional Greek account of national historiography are not present; instead by using gentle phrases preferably, they are implied as *disrupters* on the perpetual Greek lands. However, with the selected quotations accompanying each chapter, evaluating the Ottoman State and the then socio-cultural structure becomes a difficult task. On one page the language of the narrative attempts to maintain its neutrality whereas on the other it employs negative images or covert expressions.

Germane to the fact that the language does not function only for describing and defining a social reality, but also for constructing it,⁴⁶ it is the most powerful apparatus through which thoughts, ideas, feelings, and beliefs are processed to produce meaning⁴⁷. Hence setting the tone of the language while composing such written material is a signifying practice that entails the regeneration of history. Language designates what *other* means to *self*. The following text, of Efthymiou Ieromonachou quoted by the CB at the end of a section named “the living conditions of the slaves”, is a good example to display the characteristics of the Ottomans:

[CB] “Violence against Christians and the bey⁴⁸ welcomed them with honours and false joy, and when they explained to him that they were persuaded by the Franks to take the chariots, but didn't do anything bad, the bey forgave them and advised them to be always prudent and to mind their own business and to leave with the sunrise in the morning. ... In the evening the bey gave an order, and they were caught, one by one, and chained and put in a dark dungeon without leaving anyone, and there they were slaughtered with swords, all of them, all eighty, except the one from the village Vounochora, who was called Dimitris Lykothanasis. [S]ince he was a brave man, he broke the irons and grabbed the sword of an executioner, slaughtered two Turks and the guard of the gate, and he started to run like a deer, escaped the carnage, and after five days as soon as he arrived in his village he died as the other eighty -the first lords and the bravest lads- were executed with thousand tortures, with great deceit.

⁴⁶ Onuf, *Making Sense, Making Worlds*, 28-29.

⁴⁷ Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall, 8th ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 13.

⁴⁸ The governor of a district or province in the Ottoman State.

... All of them died for the homeland and religion, they were forgiven of all sins!''⁴⁹

The text is a sharp snippet of a probable long story whose concept is unknown, and the meaning conveyed is that Christians had to be distrustful of Ottomans⁵⁰ and that even at the administrative level could not take them at their words because executives, as well, were dishonest hypocrites, and ruthless killers against Christians. Thus, the language depicts a needless brutality scene of everyday life under a tyrannical structure wherein ordinary people survive by chance.

Another quotation at the end of the same section is a folk song from Epirus⁵¹ and depicts the pain Greeks suffered from the child levy. This subject has remained dominant and important and covered by both books with the utmost delicacy⁵². It is regarded as one of the concrete proofs of Ottoman barbarism and its inhumane acts. The CB, in its glossary part, defines it as: "Compulsory military recruitment of the young boys from Christian families by the Ottoman authorities, to man the body of the Janissaries and the highest administrative mechanism of the empire"⁵³. Contrary to this plain definition, in the PB, child-levy was defined as "the blood tax" on the Greeks:

[PB] *"The blood tax, the paedomazoma, was particularly painful for the Greeks. With the paedomazoma, the young people were conscripted into*

⁴⁹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 34. [Source information given in the book: "Efthymiou Ieromonachou, Chronicle of Galaxidi, edited by Elias Anagnostakis, (Athens: 1985), 51-53"]. [CB].

⁵⁰ Similar message conveyed by PB on page 91 with a reading titled "The secret of Filiki Eteria" (Society of Friends). In the text, one day a Turk, who speaks Greek and knows the rituals of Orthodox worship very well, goes to the Despot (bishop) of Lakonia and pretends he was a Christian and wants to confess his sins. While speaking to the Despot he asks when the time for the armed revolt against the tyrannical rule is, following from the original: "When will it come, my despot, that holy hour to take the chariots to kill our unbelieving tyrants and suck their blood?" Then the Despot checks if he knew the secret sign of the Filiki Eteria and understands that he is a Turk and answers him: "Child, what words are these? Don't believe the words that are said. God put the sultan in our head for our good. He made him rule over us and we should be faithful to him and convinced, because he cares for us, otherwise God will punish us". See, Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 91. [PB].

⁵¹ A region shared between Greece and Albania.

⁵² For related pages see, Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 29, 33, 34, 35. [CB].

⁵³ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou*, 33. [CB].

the battalions of the janissaries and destined to be the followers of the sultan or officials. They were educated in such a way that they became fanatical Muslims and completely forgot about their family, homeland, and religion.”⁵⁴

The CB does not address such emotional dimensions of child levy in its body text, except for the folk song aforementioned, which is full of lament and sorrow:

[CB] *“Curse you, King, curse you three times,
with the evil angary, and the bad thing you do.
You tie [and] send the old men, the first priests
You chew the child levy to make janissary
The parents, the children, the sisters and brothers cry
I cry too and burn myself and as long as I live I will cry
Last year they took my son, this year my brother.”⁵⁵*

The infamous *devshirme* (*paedomazoma*) practice is defined as the systematic abduction of male children of the Greek subjects that were living in the rural areas. The song in the excerpt, from the mouth of a Greek who had allegedly lost his family members one by one because of *paedomazoma* and held a grudge against the Sultan, reflects the Greek families’ fear of losing their children. This practice, as it is depicted in the book, was not painful for the Greeks in terms of not seeing their children again physically, but also of the alienation of the Greek children from the Orthodox religion and their Greek roots.

Religious Practices During the Ottoman Reign

Some basic rights were ostensibly granted to Christians; however, Greeks faced several harsh measures like massacres and captivity as stated by the CB. Their freedom of upholding and practising Orthodox religion was also impeded by Islamization⁵⁶, which is defined as “adherence to the Muslim religion”⁵⁷. Converting Christians to Islam by force is another topic

⁵⁴ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 31. [PB]. Similar expressions available in 5th grade elementary history textbook that is currently in use. See, Στέφανος Γλεντής *ve dig.*, *Ιστορία Ε’ Δημοτικού - Στα Βυζαντινά Χρόνια* (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων, Οργανισμός Εκδόσεως Διδακτικών Βιβλίων, 2008), 102.

⁵⁵ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 34. [CB].

⁵⁶ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 33. [CB].

⁵⁷ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 34. [CB].

that has been downplayed in terms of content in the CB; on the contrary, in the PB, respective narratives were engendering a feeling of “slavery”, as quoted below:

[PB] *“A terrible ordeal for Christians was Islamification. The Turks often forced Christians to embrace the Muslim religion. There are many who preferred martyrdom rather than changing their faith. Many of these new martyrs are honoured by the church as saints. However, many of those who were obliged to embrace Islam, externally pretended to be Muslims but secretly they remained Christians and were called crypto-Christians.”*⁵⁸

[PB] *“The Islamization of Asia Minor and the crypto-Christians of Pontus:*

*It is Easter night. The bells of the village or the neighbouring village ring. Christians wake up, get up and go to church. Mustafa, who is a Christian, also wakes up. Without noise and without turning on the light, he wakes up his family, his wife Emine, named Maria, his daughter Fatma or Eleni and his son Hasan or Georgios. They meet in a space in the basement of the house. There they set aside the sacks and take the icons from below and hang them. They kneel before them, make their cross and each lights a candle. Mustafa, who is a Christian, takes a holy book and opens it. He cannot read but sings a hymn whispering in his broken Greek. The family cross themselves again and everyone says ‘Christ is Risen’ [Christos Anesti]. Everyone eats an egg that is browned with onion juice. They were afraid to buy red paint for the eggs. With their hearts tight and tears in their eyes, they kiss each other and go up to their rooms to sleep. The bells are ringing again - far or near.”*⁵⁹

Religion is one of the most important factors in the making of modern Greece and to a great extent with the Greek language, they constituted the national culture. The Orthodox tradition developed from the Christianity of the Eastern Roman Empire not only consolidated the Greek community and undermined the risk of assimilation for them but also preserved the Greek language, which has been the medium of most prayers and religious ceremonies since 325. Therefore, there has been a

⁵⁸ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 31. [PB].

⁵⁹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou*, 217. [PB].

two-way relationship between religion and language⁶⁰ that formed the Greek identity⁶¹. This strong bond has remained intact without any interruption or alteration⁶² via Christmas carols⁶³ and hymns⁶⁴ that were inherited from the Byzantine period.

In the CB, it is explained that the “Fall” (of Constantinople) was a shocking event both for the Byzantine Empire and the whole Christian world. At that time, two different opinions reportedly prevailed among the Christians. Pope Pius II of Rome, who was head of the Catholic Church and ruler of the Papal States, for example, “characterized the Fall as the second death of Homer and Plato ... whereas some others believed that the conquest of Constantinople was nothing but a punishment of the Byzantines, sent by God”⁶⁵.

Following the “Fall”, Sultan Mehmet II recognized the Patriarch as the religious and political leader of all the remaining Orthodox subjects and granted the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople additional responsibilities and also assigned judicial powers to the clergy:

⁶⁰ In contrast to this opinion, Clogg maintains that language has been the least important part of the Greek national identity because Greeks are a nation of diaspora, whose descendants barely speak Greek, thus, Greekness did not have much relationship with the language. See, Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

⁶¹ Koliopoulos and Veremis, while defining the others of the country, question who were to be identified as Greeks conforming with the national identity perception. They give a striking example of the situation of Turks living in Greece, following their words: “Lastly, were indigenous Muslim Turks as Greek as the rest if they chose to convert to Christianity, as many did to avoid being slaughtered or to keep their lands? Yes and no: Orthodox prelates welcomed such converts, but lay revolutionary leaders were reluctant to consider them as more than opportunists, who would turn against the Greeks as soon as the opportunity arose; only children converted under the age of twelve were taught to be meeting the qualifications of a Greek”. See, John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel: From 1831 to the Present* (London: Hurst & Company, 2002), 250.

⁶² Millas, *Yunan Ulusunun Doğuşu*, 37.

⁶³ The one especially chanted by the children strolling around at Christmas nights known as the ‘Kalenta of the New Year’ or ‘Saint Basil coming from Caesarea’ (Αρχιμηνιά κι αρχιχροινιά / Aziz Vasilis Kayseri’den geliyor). For its Greek original and translation into English, See, “Archiminiá Ki Archichroniá”, <https://www.mamalisa.com/?t=es&p=5166>. [01.10.2019].

⁶⁴ For example, the one known as ‘To Tropáριο της Κασσιανής’ (The Hymn of Kassiani) and chanted on Great Tuesday evenings (at matins on Holy Wednesday) in the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Churches that follow the Byzantine Rite is dated back to the 9th century. For the original of the hymn, See, “To Tropáριο Tis Kassianis,” Ορθόδοξος Συναξαριστής, <http://www.saint.gr/5/texts.aspx>. [13.10.2019].

⁶⁵ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou* (*History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School*), 30.

[CB] *“The Patriarch, in addition to being a religious leader, was also a representative of the Rum (Greek) millet, that is the Orthodox Christian slaves, and was accountable to the Sultan for their actions. Thus, during the Turkish rule, the Church not only had religious duties but also decided on various matters, such as inheritances. At the same time, the Patriarch had the capability to establish schools and impose special taxes on the believers”*⁶⁶.

According to the CB, what Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman State had in practice was different than what they had in theory. Although the Ottomans “seemed more tolerant of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople by expanding its responsibilities”⁶⁷, they prohibited “even the processions and litanies”⁶⁸. Considering the excerpt above and the following quotations, it is not clear why the authority of the Patriarchate was expanded in the fields like education, law, and administration while it was restricted in its real domination area, namely the religious practices.

Both books briefly refer to the jurisdiction power of the clergy over the Christians. In the PB, it was associated with the important features of the Patriarchate such as honesty, trustworthiness, and fairness and maintained that “[e]ven the Turks sometimes resorted to these ecclesiastical courts because they trusted them more”⁶⁹. On the other hand, the CB points out that the Orthodox clerics had that legal right “[b]ut the serious court cases concerning Christians were also heard in Muslim courts and not in ecclesiastical courts”⁷⁰.

The Patriarchate’s approach to the Greek Enlightenment and Revolution is another important point. In the PB, its negative attitude towards the “freedom movement” whose success was crowned with the Independence War was justified by stating that “the Patriarch had to excommunicate Ypsilantis and his movement because he was worried about Turkish retaliation for the Greeks”⁷¹. When Sultan Mahmud II learned of the Greek Revolution, “he became furious to an unimaginable degree and ordered retaliation against the Greeks in Constantinople, Izmir,

⁶⁶ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 37.

⁶⁷ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 37.

⁶⁸ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 33.

⁶⁹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 27.

⁷⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 33.

⁷¹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 93.

and Ayvalik. Among the many victims of fanaticism was the Patriarch Gregory V. They arrested him on Easter day and hanged him along with three other bishops⁷². These statements were followed by the portrait of Patriarch, with a description that reads: "Patriarch Gregory V was hanged at the gate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which has remained closed ever since"⁷³.

The CB tends to disregard the Patriarch's approach to the "freedom fighters" and the story of Saint Peter's Gate at the Patriarchate that has remained closed since 1821. The perspective that interprets the Sultan's sentence of death on Patriarch, who was blamed for his inertia and inability to suppress the Greek freedom movement groups, as vindication of the Patriarch's decision on excommunicating Ypsilantis and his friends, has shifted to the positive outcomes of the execution, such as "after the hanging of Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V on Easter Day... the Russian ambassador left Constantinople"⁷⁴. The only similarity between the narratives of the PB and the CB is the symbolic meaning of being "hanged" on Easter.

Independence of the Hellenes from the Ottomans

The liberation of the Greeks from the Ottomans was depicted as an outcome of a long historical period that was a part of the Western political developments, and the year of independence as an important milestone in the Western world. In the CB, the Greek Revolution and Independence are tightly interwoven with European developments and social movements. Greek national history narrative has been detached away from Ottoman-Greek intertwined history as it is approached Western history. This fresh image of the modern *self* (following the ancient *self*, which has been integrated and articulated into Europe as the central part of the western history narrative) might create an unbridgeable gap (a new division deepening differences and fostering othering and dichotomies like civilized/uncivilized) and estrangement between two nation-states. Following the book:

[CB] *"1830 was a year of important developments, not only in Greece but also in Europe. In July in France, the people revolted due to the deepest economic, social and political crisis. The memories of the French*

⁷² Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou*, 98.

⁷³ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou*, 99.

⁷⁴ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 131.

*Revolution of 1789 awoke and led to regime change and democratic reforms. The aftermath of the revolution in Paris reached many parts of Europe. In the same year, Serbia gained its autonomy*⁷⁵.

Both books maintain that the multifarious initiatives to abolish the “Ottoman yoke”⁷⁶ were buttressed by the national awakening, which ensued from the movements in the West. The national awakening is exhibited as the clear motive behind the Greek liberation movement; but surprisingly all those risky ventures have been qualified as “holy” -an adjective that connotes religious purposes⁷⁷. There are some examples that epitomize the religious intonation of the Greek freedom movement, such as the name “Holy Company/Sacred Band (Ieros Lohos)”⁷⁸ that was given to the military corps made up of volunteer Greek students from the parishes, or *Filiki Eteria* (Society of Friends⁷⁹) whose members’ rite of initiation into the organization was sealed by the oath in front of a priest⁸⁰.

The independence of Greeks was achieved after myriad armed struggles involving bloodshed and violence⁸¹. Following *the massacres of*

⁷⁵ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 144.

⁷⁶ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 59, 83.

⁷⁷ Grigoriadis argues that even the start date of revolts is distorted in order to portray a perfect match between their outbreak and the Christian calendar. 25th of March, which is celebrated as the Annunciation of Virgin Mary by the Christians, is constituted as the Greek “national annunciation”. Thus, “the Greek nation –or patrie in its female reincarnation– received the good news about its liberation on the same day. The Patrie is juxtaposed with Virgin Mary, while Greek Nationalists undertook the role of Gabriel who communicated”. See, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A “Sacred Synthesis”* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 31-32.

⁷⁸ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosμου (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 79-80.

⁷⁹ The same name was used to identify a Christian group that arose in mid-17th-century England. See, “Society of Friends: Definition, History, Beliefs, & Facts: Britannica,” accessed December 27, 2021,

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Society-of-Friends>.

⁸⁰ “The Oath of Philhellenes (Friends): I swear voluntarily before the true God that I will be completely faithful to the Society for the rest of my life. I swear that I will not reveal the slightest of its Signs and words, nor will I ever let them to understand that I know anything about these things in any way, neither to my relatives nor to my Confessor, nor to my friend... I swear that I will nurture in my heart an undying hatred against the tyrants of my Homeland, against their followers and their like-minded people. I will always act in a way that harms them and when circumstances permit, I will contribute to their complete catastrophe.” Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosμου (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 76. [CB]. Available also in PB. See, Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 88.

⁸¹ Toynbee maintains that the main responsible for these massacres was the ‘Western formula’, in that, the western political idea of nationality deeply influenced the relations between non-

*Muslims in Tripolitsa*⁸² (1821) and *Christians on Chios* (1822), the philhellenic current of Europe⁸³ strengthened its degree and flourished in the Battle of Navarino (1827) where the naval forces of the Ottomans were destroyed⁸⁴.

Constituting positive self-images entails, though often unpurposely, negative *other* images in order to differentiate the *self* from *others*⁸⁵. In this vein, for most nations, the narratives of their war of independence have turned into a show of legitimacy before the law or righteousness wherein the *other's* loss is associated with its state of being unjust and immoral. Even when the national "mythistory" is built around "victimhood" "the negative aspects of the theme are redeemed by testimony of survival and overcoming, imparting a positive spin to past injustices or misfortunes"⁸⁶. By the same token, in addition to the "unfavourable and inaccurate depiction of the *other*", by "ignoring peaceful periods of coexistence" between *self* and *other* and instead by rather "stressing the conflictual areas" most narratives refrain from promoting a sense of familiarity and trust⁸⁷. History textbooks exemplify these problems, and the writing teams strive for a successful formula that might

Western peoples due to the West's hegemony in the world. However, this formula, which proposed a sovereign independent territorial state with a single language, was not of a universal application because the populations of Eastern civilizations were speaking various languages and had intermingled geographically. See, Arnold Joseph Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study In The Contact Of Civilisations* (London, Bombay, Sydney: Constable and Company Ltd., 1922), 18-19.

⁸² "The Turks of Greece left few traces. They disappeared suddenly and finally in the spring of 1821 unmourned and unnoticed by the rest of the world. ... Upwards of twenty thousand Turkish men, women, and children were murdered by their Greek neighbours in a few weeks of slaughter. They were killed deliberately, without qualm or scruple, and there were no regrets either then or later. ... Tripolitsa fell to the Greeks on 5 October 1821. ... [T]he Greeks broke in and for two days the town was given over to the mob. Upwards of ten thousand Turks were put to death. ... Their arms and legs were cut off and they were slowly roasted over fires. Pregnant women were cut open, their heads cut off, and dogs' heads stuck between their legs. ... The heap of bones could still be seen years later. For weeks afterwards starving Turkish children running helplessly about the ruins were being cut down and shot at by the exultant Greeks". See, William St Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2008), 1, 44, 45.

⁸³ Richard Clogg defines it as "philhellenic agitation". See, Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 37.

⁸⁴ The Battle of Navarino was noted as "the last great battle of the age of sail and characterized as one of peaceful interference by British" forces. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 42.

⁸⁵ Rumelili, "Constructing Identity and Relating to Difference: Understanding the EU's Mode of Differentiation," 31.

⁸⁶ Heisler, "Challenged Histories and Collective Self-Concepts: Politics in History and Time," 205.

⁸⁷ Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 161-62.

reach the essential desiderata of different spheres of the states, including not only teachers or students but also power elites and pressure groups. The Western world takes the lead in the attempt to objectivize and emend textbooks by carrying out projects and publishing guidelines on textbook revision, particularly by institutions such as Georg Eckert and UNESCO⁸⁸.

In the same virtue, the texts in the CB have been revised and the statements that are prone to misconception or misunderstanding have been avoided to some extent. In contrast to the CB, the PB involved problematic use of language in which the scene of a heavy defeat of the Turks is described as a “glorious battle”.

[PB] *“Hellenes came to capture ... the road of Valtetsi, which led to Tripolitsa. The Turks had left their dead behind. ... [and] carried wounded people into Tripolitsa. There was so much mourning and lament in the city and there was no house without dirges and cries. There, seen, the wives of the Turks were scratching their cheeks with their nails and tearing their hair out, and the children shouting and looking for their fathers. Such was the view of Tripolitsa after Valtetsi. But who can also portray the joy of the Hellenes! This glorious battle of Valtetsi was the salvation of the homeland.”⁸⁹*

Drawing on the narrative above wherein concrete losses, such as “death” of *other* are blended with abstract gains of *self*, such as “the salvation of the homeland”, it can be read like there are two types of wars: when *self* is destroyed the war is “brutal” whereas when it destroys the *other* the war is “joyful”.

On the contrary, the CB approaches this topic as a historical phenomenon that was decisive on the road to independence and not only devotes a full sub-section to the “Fall of Tripolitsa”, but also in a sense, dares to face up to the massacre:

[CB] *“As time went on, the siege became closer. In the city the food was scarce, and the discord began. Tripoli fell into the hands of the revolutionaries on September 23, 1821. Massacres and looting followed. The armed Greeks entered the city, beating the Turks, who fortified their*

⁸⁸ Falk Pingel, *Unesco Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision.*, 2nd ed. (Paris & Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2010), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000117188>.

⁸⁹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 107.

homes. The Ottomans who were locked in the central tower, the Great Tapia, surrendered after three days of lack of water.”⁹⁰

In tandem with the conception of the nation-state construction, states’ borders have become distinct, as the nations’ and their identity. To this end, differences have been exaggerated and Western-type collective identity-building processes have engendered *othering* in the form of portraying positive *self*-concepts and negative *other* concepts. However, most societies have happened to be involved in some unfortunate incidents. These, especially, past unfortunate incidents cause a tension that has to be confronted by their national historiography and politics of the past, between “bad act” and “positive *self*-concepts”. There is hardly any nation-state that has not committed a “bad act” in its past⁹¹.

By the same token, neither shifts nor fissures are easily accepted by the collective memory. Yet, the implicit attitude to have a more objective view of the epoch and include factual information in the textbook, besides recurring *self/other* motifs, arises as a distinguishable feature in the CB. From the preceding excerpt, it is possible to infer that the Tripolitsa battle was full of slaughters and massacres. Since the perpetrators remain unclear, at first glance it might be deemed as if it was a situation of mutual mass killing, however, the following sentence in the text removes this ambiguity by stating that the Turks were defeated by armed Greeks. Therefore, it might be taken as a reconciliation with the national history, that in a sense it enables implicitly acknowledging the *other’s* past suffering.

In the context of the massacre of Chios, on the other hand, the books (PB & CB) follow a similar pattern in which *self* had lost a battle but got the revenge:

[CB] *“The Turks retaliated against the Greek population living on the coasts of Asia Minor and the islands. In April 1822 Chios was completely destroyed by Turkish soldiers and most of its inhabitants were massacred”⁹².*

⁹⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 99.

⁹¹ Heisler, “Challenged Histories and Collective Self-Concepts: Politics in History and Time,” 199.

⁹² Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 91. Italic usage is in the original.

[CB] “When the Revolution began, Kanaris left the merchant navy ... and took part in campaigns against the Turks. In June 1822, with his artillery, he blew up the flagship of the Turkish fleet in the port of devastated Chios, in which the Grand Admiral Kara Ali was killed along with about 2,000 Ottoman sailors and soldiers who were celebrating Bayram, the biggest religious festival of Muslims. It was the revenge of the Greeks for the destruction of Chios that took place a few months before.”⁹³

[PB] “The fleet, led by Kara Ali, moved against Chios. Thousands of Turks landed on the rebellious island and destroyed it. Some of the inhabitants were slaughtered and others were sold as slaves. ... A little later, Kanaris with his artillery blew up the Turkish flagship in the port of Chios. Kara Ali and 2000 sailors and soldiers who celebrated Bayram, the largest religious holiday of Muslims, were killed there”⁹⁴.

The excerpts above fix the images of *self* and *other* and their struggles against each other into a still frame where their bilateral relationship seems allegedly intrinsic to protracted conflicts and endless wars. They also provide insights into the volatile political condition of these adjacent countries and their intransigent attitude in approaching mutual problems that endure distrust of the *other*.

One last thing worth mentioning about constructing a positive *self*-image is the visual materials used in textbooks. Norman Fairclough maintains that there are three types of “semiotic modalities” that the discourse analysis is to be conducted; language, visual images, and “body language”⁹⁵. As regards the images in both books, there crudely be 3 categories noticeable: portraits of prominent or heroic characters, maps, and religious images or pictures.

Using religious images and pictures in history textbooks gives the impression that they are religious education books rather than history textbooks and vitiate the objectivity of the narrative. Both books make use of religious figures and images, like angels, Jesus Christ, etc.⁹⁶ matched in

⁹³ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou*, 103.

⁹⁴ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 111.

⁹⁵ Norman Fairclough, “A Dialectical-Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Sciences,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 3rd edition (London: SAGE, 2015), 87.

⁹⁶ See, for example, Aktypis et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 62, 148. [PB]; Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St' Dimotikou - Istoria Tou*

accordance with the body texts, clinching the sense of the vindication of the *self's* rightfulness, the justification of the revolutionary acts, or the verification of the *self's* position. These abstract forms can affect students' knowledge acquisition of national history in two ways. First, since they (read, for example, angels) do not lie, they religiously affirm that *self* is free from any immoral acts, and they support the Greeks in their ideas and aims. Hence, the tension between positive *self*-concept and bad acts reduces. Second, they increase the scope for confusion by leading the students into a liminal zone where non-material forms visibly enter into the physical world.

Concerning the first feature of the visuals in textbooks, on the other hand, Ibrahim Pasha's embrace and the kiss of the dead Papaflessas can be given as a striking example. Costas M. Constantinou refers to this picture in the National Historical Museum in Athens as an "odd" one. As available below, in the picture, we see a lifeless body (supposedly Papaflessas's), which had raised and been tied to a tree and was being kissed by another man (supposedly Ibrahim). Constantinou comments that: "The valiant homage unites the two fighters, but on closer inspection may also conjure a homoerotic desire for posthumous recognition. Imagining the caress of one's foe could be the ultimate aphrodisiac, an inspiration to continue fighting."⁹⁷

Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School), 9, 15, 114, 121. [CB].

⁹⁷ Costas M. Constantinou, "Why Greeks and Turks Fight," *Current History* 120, no. 824 (March 2021): 105, <https://doi.org/10.1525/curh.2021.120.824.105>.



Figure 1: “Ibrahim embraces the dead Papaflessas, oil painting by A. Georgiadis, Athens, National History Museum”.

Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou* (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School), 114. [CB]

The picture with an indefinable gesture above, which was not available in the PB, appears as an acknowledgement of Greek adoration and bravery in the CB. Nonetheless, the PB recounted the event to students with an extraordinary story named “The Kiss” written by Michael Mitsakis, which reveals the extent of Turkish admiration for the Greeks and claims that Greeks are not only respected by Westerners but also by their foe against whom they fought⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ The story is as follows: “Ibrahim reached the top of the hill, went up and stood still. And with an open gaze, looked surprisedly at the tall bodies of the lads, their wide chests, their strong arms, their beautiful shapes, their proud foreheads... -Who is Papaflessas? His guides ran, showed the corpse. -Raise him up, take him... Take him, wash him... Wash the lad... Two

Asia Minor (*Mikrasiatiki*) Catastrophe

Both books have underlined the bad economic conditions of the Kingdom that hit a bottleneck right after its establishment, due to important projects such as the opening of the Corinth Canal and constructing the railway network⁹⁹. In the meantime, when “the unfortunate Greek-Turkish War of 1897” ended after the intervention of the Great Powers, Greece was allegedly forced to pay large sums of money to Turkey. “For this reason, it took a new loan from the Great Powers”¹⁰⁰.

Nonetheless, although it had been more than six decades following its establishment, the Kingdom had not yet been harbouring all its Greek subjects nor had the self-esteem that it could defeat the Ottomans without external support. The CB states that “in **Thrace**, on the coasts of **Asia Minor**, in **Pontus** but also in distant Cappadocia lived hundreds of thousands of Greeks, who were Orthodox Christians”¹⁰¹. The “unredeemed areas” had suffered from the “Turkish persecutions” and “the compact Greek populations of Thrace were diluted by forced Islamisation”¹⁰². The Greek population of Anatolia, on the other hand, increased greatly and the issue of crypto-Christians became widespread¹⁰³.

Richard Clogg claims that “the crushing defeat of 1897 was to usher in a period of introspection and self-doubt, for the clear lesson of the war was that the single-handed pursuit of the “Great Idea” was doomed”¹⁰⁴. Put differently, although the Ottoman State was in a continuous decline, the Greek Kingdom was likely to lose in any armed battle against them, and the sense of helplessness was so dominant that

men held him under his armpits, lifted him up, put him on his feet and went to a nearby spring. -Sit him down there. They set him up on a tree, leant him on, fastened him to the trunk, and balanced him as if he was alive ... Then Ibrahim approaches the tree, stands before him and watches him, the opponent’s lifeless body, in silence for a long time, under the moonlight that was rising at that time, under the branches that were mourning horribly for [Papaflessas], [Ibrahim] kissed the standing dead with a long kiss.” Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 145-146. [PB].

⁹⁹ Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 185. [PB].

¹⁰⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School)*, 163. [CB].

¹⁰¹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 166. Boldfaced words are in original. [CB].

¹⁰² Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 167. Italics in original. [CB].

¹⁰³ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 167. [CB].

¹⁰⁴ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 71.

some academic circles even “argued that the country’s future lay in some kind of condominium with the Ottoman Turks”¹⁰⁵.

In the CB, the narrative about the “Mikrasitiki Catastrophe” appears under the chapter “Greece in the 20th Century”, and on the part named “unit summary”, the given timeline reflects a cross-section of the epoch, including important events, and denotes a vantage point:



Figure 2: “Developments in the 20th Century”.

Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosμου* (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School), 176. [CB]

As appears above, it starts with the “Balkan Wars” and continues with the “First World War”, the “Second World War” and then ends up with the “Turkish Invasion of Cyprus”. The timeline, which does not indicate the “Mikrasiatiki (Asia Minor) Campaign and Catastrophe”¹⁰⁶ as a separate event, seems to imply that Greek troops landing in Anatolia at the end of WWI were only a detail in the big picture. That is to say, the consequences of the war entailed the Anatolian military campaign carried out by the Greek armed forces, like the similar others concomitantly intensified by its European allies. In this vein, the “Asia Minor Campaign” is considered as a part of the Euro-based act of dismantling the Ottoman State and a way of unification with the unredeemed Greek population. Therefore, sending the Greek army into Anatolia is not a Greek conclusion, but a Euro-Greek necessity. Portraying a European *self*-image, the Greek fate intertwined with the political events in the West, and Greece -as a core European country- acted jointly with its European equals, a remarkable

¹⁰⁵ Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, 71.

¹⁰⁶ In the previous book, the section was named as “Asia Minor War” (Mikrasiatikos Polemos) Aktypis et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Sta Neotera Chronia* (In the Modern Years - 6th Grade Elementary School), 221-229. [PB]. In the current book, the section name is revised as ‘Asia Minor Campaign and Catastrophe (Mikrasiatiki Ekstrateia kai Katastrofi). Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosμου* (History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School), 194-200. [CB].

aspect of Greek identity which is easily discernible throughout the textbook.

Another point to mention is the decision of the national narrative in defining similar acts. In most cases, nation-states use different words for identifying and often for stigmatizing historical movements whose qualities are in fact in common, such as war or invasion or military campaign or liberation movement, etc. Since the reactions to negative *self*-image presentations might include “foot-dragging in confronting such elements of the past” or “attempting to quarantine information damaging to established histories and to relativize negative revelations”¹⁰⁷ on most occasions negative *self*-images have been euphemized or modified. In this sense, after a quick glance at the timeline above, one could grasp the information about the four major incidents of the epoch: three “wars” and one “invasion”. The Greek “military campaign” has been considered as an act of freedom to save the “unredeemed areas” of Christianity from “Islamization” as quoted above. There were hundreds of thousands of Greeks – “Odysseus’s descendants” - who “curse the Turks, act and fight in their own way for the Great Idea (Megali Idea)”¹⁰⁸. Hence, “after the end of the First World War, Greece, as a victorious country, sent an army to Asia Minor. The dream of freeing the unredeemed brothers of the region seemed to come true for a moment”¹⁰⁹. Following the words that the then PM Charilaos Trikoupis avowed in a newspaper: “The national idea of Hellenism is the liberation of Greek territories and the establishment of a single Greek state, which includes the entire Greek nation. The legality of this idea was recognized by Europe, it was also recognized by Turkey”¹¹⁰. Therefore, it was a burden on Greece’s shoulders to set the whole of Hellenism to be in a free state. In another accompanying excerpt from the then British Liberal Party leader, Charles Dilke asserts that Hellas had to “include Lemnos, Lesbos or Mytilene, Chios, [Mount] Ossa, Mount Athos”

¹⁰⁷ Martin O. Heisler, “Introduction: The Political Currency of the Past: History, Memory, and Identity,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Politics of History in Comparative Perspective, 617 (May 2008): 16.

¹⁰⁸ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou - Istoria Tou Neoterou Kai Tou Synchronou Kosmou* (*History of Modern and Contemporary World: 6th Grade Elementary School*), 168. [CB].

¹⁰⁹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 194. [CB].

¹¹⁰ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 172. The source information is as follows: “Article by Charilaos Trikoupis in the newspaper *Ira*, July 2, 1876. Published by the Greek Parliament, Charilaos Trikoupis. His life and work, vol. 1, edited by Aikaterini Flerianou, (Athens, 1999), 289”. [CB].

and “Crete and the islands, the coast of Thrace and the Greek settlement of Constantinople are the Greek Hellas”¹¹¹.

In light of these excerpts, the construed positive *self*-image is not inclined to fight the Ottoman State, but for freedom. Both books share a plethora of representations of the righteousness of the Greek cause for stepping on Anatolia. The act was neither an invasion (like the one done by the Turks in 1972, in Cyprus), nor an irredentist aspiration, but a legal process that was legitimized by the Treaty of Sevres, which provided a legal basis for subsequent annexation between 1919-1922¹¹².

The execution of the “Megali Idea” or “Great Greece” was the policy of most governments¹¹³ since “over three-quarters of Greeks at the time lived outside the borders of the Hellenic kingdom”, thus the common goal to revise the country’s borders and “to unite and incorporate all territories which were home to unredeemed Greeks” was purported to be accurate and sensible¹¹⁴.

Conclusion

The constitutive role of textbooks in identity formation is indispensable and affect the relationship of *self/other* in producing or not producing othering. Exceptions aside, they are prepared by the committees of experts that are appointed by the state institutions and printed and distributed throughout the country free of charge to be utilized compulsorily at schools. In particular history textbooks are regarded as the direct medium for transferring national memory and teaching the autobiography of a state and raising the awareness of state identity and unity among young citizens.

The current and the previous editions of compulsory history textbooks of sixth grade of Greece are analysed comparatively with respect to identify the alterations and continuities in *self* and *other* images. Even

¹¹¹ Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 172. The source information is as follows: “Evangelou Kofou, Greece and the Eastern Question 1875-1881, (Athens, 2001), 161”. [CB].

¹¹² Koliopoulos et al., *Istoria St’ Dimotikou*, 191.

¹¹³ According to Vlavianos, the majority of the Greek bourgeoisie that backed the charismatic Venizelos “invoked social Darwinism to support Venizelos’ expansionist ambitions in Turkey, arguing that Greece had a right and a duty to retake Constantinople from the Turks and to create a ‘Greater Greece’ in the image of the Byzantine empire”. Haris Vlavianos, *Greece, 1941-49 From Resistance to Civil War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), 9.

¹¹⁴ John S. Koliopoulos and Veremis, *Greece The Modern Sequel: From 1831 to the Present*, 231.

though more similarities than differences are patently available between the two textbooks, some significant shifts deserve mention.

First, the contents of the books involve dramatic changes, however, the patterns of narrating national history have been preserved. In this sense, it has to be noted that the current book reorganized in a way to meet the expectations of the public to surpass the previous failed attempt of Repoussi's and to replace the historic sixth grade textbook which was in use more than two decades. Traditional methods of *othering* that were available in the previous book have been maintained by the quoted supplementary parts at the end of each chapter in the current book.

Second, given the variety of dimensions along which *self/other* relations establish, this article highlights that modern Greek collectivity is constituted in relation to the differences of *others*, especially Ottomans and Turks to a larger extent. In the current book, European self-image, which is in turn positioned against the non-European Ottoman-Turks image, typifies the European image, and represents the European process of identity formation.

Third, the siege of Tripolitsa, which has been a hugely emotive issue in the national historiography of Greece for being a potent symbol of "bad acts" in its glorious history of struggle for independence, is addressed briefly without any attachment to feelings such as happiness or hatred and presented to students' perception.

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