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Konstantinos Papagiannopoulos

Archaeology in the community – educational aspects.

Greece: a case-study

(Abstract)

Heritage education in Greece reproduces and reassures the individual, social and national self. My purpose is to discuss the reasons for this situation and, by giving account of the recent developments in Western Europe and the new Greek initiatives, to improve the study of the past using non-traditional school education. In particular, Local History projects through the Environmental Education optional lessons allow students to approach the past in a more natural way, that is through the study of the sources and first hand material. The community itself is involved in the projects either as a geographical place where the children's activities are located and referred to or as a source of a different perspective which enhances the school's worldview. Museum projects are not everywhere equally profitable in Greece, especially where they are not combined with other activities in general school planning.

Being a teacher in a Greek school I started to set up similar projects within Environmental Education, in order to articulate a syllabus which might work as a model for my colleagues all over Greece. My project put emphasis – as New History did – on the ability of (and the necessity for) children to undertake small-scale academic research including Archaeology. It emphasised also the interaction between the community and schools, and the advance of long-term education for sustainable development.

My involvement in the educational affair stimulated official and/or unofficial improvements which fit well with cross-developments announced in the Greek educational system as part of a very recent tendency in the socio-political sphere to alter the current situation. Children as not only long-term, but also short-term mediators of knowledge and attitudes constitute a major factor for change within the community.

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**ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE COMMUNITY -
EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS.
GREECE: A CASE-STUDY
(two volumes)**

Vol. I

Konstantinos Papagiannopoulos

***Mphil Dissertation
University of Durham
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INTRODUCTION

Approaching different uses of the past within the community largely through personal experience, I have developed a concern on the issue, which was intensified by my professional occupation as a teacher in Greek Secondary Education and my interests in local studies within the Environmental Education syllabus. Going through the related bibliography with an intention to develop a more systematic approach, I got in touch with the most recent trends both in Greece and abroad in order to crystallise my own conception.

What I found during my systematic work on the issue was that uses and abuses of the past are seen as constituting a complex system in which search for identity both individually and collectively prevails. Ideology is considered as one of the major factors which affect the reading of the past. Archaeology as a scientific way of thinking and as an institution operates within the community, more or less affected itself by the current system of values. At the same time the scientific community attempts to understand and to intervene in the procedure of extracting meaning from the past.

In Greece the problem seems to be enlarged and focused on the specific way by which the nation state was created and the circumstances within which the collective consciousness was formed. As many studies claim, all these led to a monolithic view of the past which tends to be hegemonic by excluding any other views. The consequences of that view can be recognised in all aspects of individual and community life which entail a certain reference to a shared heritage. In academic practice, for instance, the study of the Greek past is limited to certain periods and topics while others are omitted or underrepresented. Its presentation in the museums is also limited and narrow. This is obvious even in the educational system where similar ideas dominate. There is no need to stress how dangerous is that, especially for juniors who have hardly developed a critical approach of what they receive as the only truth.

My purpose is to discuss the reasons for this situation and, by giving account of the recent initiatives, to improve the study of the past using school education. Therefore, my research is going to be theoretical as well as practical. Education is always seen as a major force for change within the community, the potential of which may be traced and evaluated in the *longue durée* (cf. Stone 1994: 201-202). In my study archaeology is used, as by Fowler (1987: 229), in its original and broader sense: “Ancient history generally; systematic description or study of antiquities” (Oxford English Dictionary I: 431). Community is a much more difficult concept to be defined properly. It can be an abstract term, meaning the public or society in general. It can also be used in its limited and natural meaning, which puts the emphasis on people relationships as well as on the interaction between those people and the specific landscape where they live and/or act collectively. Here, it is used in both senses (see also section 3.2.3)

Starting the discussion I will refer in the first chapter to the role of the past in the 19th – 20th century society. Issues will arise as how the past is currently used/misused in post-industrial community life, how the perception of what constitutes our heritage is constructed, and what are the hidden ideologies which affect our knowledge of the past by introducing assumptions, biases and omissions in a whole range of selections and strategies in individual, collective and academic life. In this context the reactions of the archaeological community are extremely interesting and must be thoroughly examined. Then, discussion will focus on the specifics of the Greek experience and similar issues will arise. A reference to modern Greek history will reveal many aspects of this experience and its particularity.

In the second chapter discussion will turn to the current methodology of teaching the past so as to make become clear how our community’s perception is reproduced through the heritage education syllabus. The traditional Greek experience, as it was expressed in heritage education policies during the last two centuries, will be used as a framework within which certain selections in the aims, the methodology and the syllabus content can be thoroughly understood. Discussion will expand to cover also heritage teaching in class in order to match theory with practice and analyse the whole education (inter)activity. An account of the recent developments in theory and techniques in Western Europe – the source of most influences in the Greek educational system – will

offer a new framework to evaluate any new Greek initiatives towards the improvement and enhancement of the current educational worldview. This will lead me further to identify the problem which remains unresolved in Greek education reality and operates as a serious obstacle in the attempt to draw up an integrated education policy.

In the third chapter I will present the basic concepts of my project. My intention is to define a new education syllabus within the curriculum using the advantage which optional lessons offer. Emphasis will be put first on the definition of the content and the aims which will form the framework of the new pedagogic activity. The content and the aims must be consonant with the above-discussed theory and stay far from any weaknesses that were noted in the current education syllabus and the informal previous attempts to synchronise it. Methodology must take into consideration any recent developments and fit to theory. The suggested model will tend to built new relationships between teachers and students, and elevate the community as a major factor of the whole educational process.

In the fourth chapter I will present my case-study, i.e. the work I have done in the schools of the NW Peloponnese (Greece) first by testing the method and then by expanding the projects to cover the whole prefecture of Achaia. Remarks on how this work could reach its best will equally be included. Results will make clear the good points as well as any weaknesses due either to theory weakness or to the general educational climate.

I will conclude by highlighting the main points of this discussion and issues for further work in the future. I will state also any official or unofficial improvements which probably my involvement in the educational affair stimulated and any possible cross-developments which are going to be announced in the Greek educational system as part of a very recent tendency in the socio-political sphere to alter the current situation.

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finding the appropriate bibliography. Discussions on museum education I had also with museum curators and educators in Old Fulling Mill Museum in Durham, in Roman Arbeia in South Shields, in Bede's World in Jarrow and the Archaeological Resource Centre in York. Short discussions on special subjects I had also with researchers in the Archaeology Department of Durham University and the Department of Museum Studies of Leicester University. My special thanks are due to Dr M. Diaz-Andreu who read a part of an earlier version of the first chapter and commented on it.

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1. THE ROLE OF THE PAST IN 19TH – 20TH CENTURY SOCIETY

1.1. General theory on the role of the Past

In this chapter I am going to examine the role of the Past in 19th-20th century European community life. Firstly, I will describe the different uses of this, which have become a subject of criticism since the '60s and gave rise to several studies in an attempt to give a reasonable explanation of the phenomenon. Questions will be raised such as who is in charge of heritage management, that is to say who decides what is worth being preserved and presented to the public. This will lead us to ask more questions on how the past has been manipulated both individually and collectively for ideological purposes. The detailed study of the consequences for archaeology from such an attachment to socio-political context will reveal the necessity to think carefully about a re-orientation of the discipline. Finally, I will refer to the reactions of the archaeological community in the light of current theoretical approaches.

1.1.1. The growth of the heritage - Public use of the past

Almost 30 years ago Plumb in his book on *The Death of the Past* argued that “the strength of the past in all aspects of life is far, far weaker than it was a generation ago”. Then he explained that “some of the responsibility for the past’s weakness must be the historians’, who have so resolutely attacked mythical, religious and political interpretations of the past”. According to Plumb, “vestiges of its strength remain, particularly in religion and politics, which are still in conflict and in crisis within the new advanced industrial societies” (Plumb 1969: 15).

Until now a huge amount of studies on the subject has clearly showed that not only the past never died but on the contrary it has risen as a major subject for analysis and de-

bate. Only 14 years after Plumb, Lowenthal wrote that “the past is everywhere... Whether it is celebrated or rejected, attended to or ignored, the past is omnipresent. Nowadays the past is pervasive in its abundance of deliberate, tangible evocations... the landscape of the 1980’s seems saturated with ‘creeping heritage’” (Lowenthal 1985: xv). The word “heritage” enters the archaeological vocabulary with both positive and negative meaning. Heritage is the past we care for in the sense of constructing individual and collective identity and, at the same time, to exploit it for “commercial ends” (Merriman 1991: 8). Turnbridge & Ashworth (1996: 6) make a distinction between history and heritage as both selective and subjective uses of the past: “history is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on”. From another point of view Chippindale (1993: 6) claims that “history is just the old things that happened to happen, then ‘heritage’, the dreaded ‘H’ word, is possession”.

It is now common knowledge that over the last three decades human concern for the past has tremendously increased more than ever. Public attitudes to the past, as showed Lowenthal (1985) in his detailed study, are many and complex and are conditioned by a variety of stimuli (family, education, class, media attitudes, psychological makeup etc.). As a consequence, a great number of institutions and services are deployed in every country to cover the requested needs. Alternative ideas were announced and some of them were realised in an attempt to experience the past from different points of view. Since the early ’80s interest in heritage has been firmly combined with ecology and environmental activities, in order to meet people’s growing desire for recreation in the nature. Natural history museums, farm and rural life museums, historic houses, archaeological parks, environmental or historical trails etc. have been deployed or altered their services to keep pace “with the expansion of popular interest in rural matters, and the threat of losing the market share” (Hill 1995: 27).

In this context the influence of tourism is decisive. Tourism is transforming historical sites, which are being over-visited, and, as a result the entire concept of cultural resource management is changing rapidly. MacCannell (1992: 1) remarked that “tourism is a primary ground for the production of new cultural forms on a global base. In the name of tourism, capital and modernized peoples have been deployed to the most re-

mote regions of the world, farther than any army was ever sent". He concluded that "tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs". The visit to a historical place is no longer an academic's practice but laymen want to approach history through its material remains as a "pilgrimage" to the past (Horne 1984). In fact there is the idea that history is taking the place religion once occupied in our minds (Kristiansen 1992: 12) and tourism is the means to get to know history, therefore the ideology of other peoples.

During the 70's and 80's an incredible increase in the number of museums and archaeological sites of every kind was remarked in England and the USA, where comparative information is available (Merriman 1991: 9). Archaeological museums, local museums, heritage centres, open-air museums, individual sites and cultural parks are among the chief loci of immediate archaeological interest. Tourist guides and attractions' leaflets are more popular than local literature. Public attention has been recently expanded to cover modern historic period hotels, pubs, banks, town halls etc. The buildings that are chosen to house the most serious business, are converted to combine several claims, e.g. towers converted into traditional hotels or pubs, bearing the patina of time and raising their user's prestige and credibility.

This trend is apparent in everyday life in the fact that people collect old pieces of furniture, enjoy old films and "classical" TV series on the television, listen to modern music that sounds old and is performed with traditional instruments. Antique shops have multiplied shelling whatever seems old, strange, used by famous historical persons or in great historical instants. Acquired objects usually alter their initial function as they are used as decorative – and domesticated – elements than domestic items. The same can be said for the monuments which are restored and rendered to public use to cover various events (Lowenthal 1985: 263-362; Kristiansen 1993: 9). In this context, archaeology occasionally became a familiar subject when Indiana Jones films by Steven Spielberg or popular documentaries, like *Mary Rose*, reached a very high figure of attendance (Stone 1986: 18-19). Novels of historical fiction, like *Meurtres sur l'Agora* by Claude Mossé or some works of Marguerite Yourcenar, treasure seeking in unexplored lands by Mickey Mouse pretending to be a talented detective in Disney's

cartoons and Von Dainiken's intrusion in archaeological affairs, acted as vehicles through which public, informed and/or distorted, search in past for identity and pleasure.

The growth of the "heritage industry" became a subject of criticism and challenged many attempts to explain the phenomenon. Until the end of the '80s the emphasis was put on its psychological and moral dimensions. A year after Plumb, Toffler supported, as he did, that a break with the past had occurred. The rapid progress, which he attributed to modern technology, provoked a sharp break with all past human experience. Humans suffer a kind of psychological disease, a kind of stress in front of the future. The "future shock", as he called it, is a term "to describe the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time" (Toffler 1970: 4). He believed that shortly the society would need to create sub-societies "whose members are committed to staying away from the latest fads... To phrase it differently, we shall need enclaves of the past -communities in which turnover, novelty and choice are deliberately limited" (op.cit: 346-347).

The same idea is also advanced by Marc Laenen (1989: 90-91). According to him, "the main reason for the boom of the past and heritage is to be sought in the moral, social and identity crisis that we have experienced increasingly during the last decades". In particular, he believes that "the substitution of present-day culture by artefacts of the past should be seen as cultural decline: a definite part of modern architecture consists indeed of renovating old buildings instead of encouraging a new architecture". Nostalgia, "apparently stimulated by commercial groups", is in antithesis with welfare orientation of the modern world.

However, all attempts to explain the phenomenon have been put forward by intellectuals, either historians or archaeologists, as their own interpretation of how the public reacts to heritage culture. In fact, little systematic work has been done within the community itself. Is the public really interested and how? Peter Fowler defines, with much pessimism, the heritage public in Britain as being "that minority which is consciously interested in the past as represented by what archaeology studies and produces" (quoted in Cleere 1988: 37). He quantifies those people as "hundreds of thou-

sands". According to him, the remainder of the population can be divided into a first group of "several million people who have some awareness of and perhaps a mild interest in the past", and a second one which is identified with "the bulk of the population who, frankly, do not give a damn about the past or archaeology" (op.cit.).

However, we can get a profitable experience from survey results conducted all over the world. The most prominent work, which is available in details because it is fully published, is the one conducted in 1985 by Nick Merriman, which eventually covered Britain as a whole. The people interviewed express an interest for the past in the vast majority. Those who stated that they went to museums at a regular basis considered that "museum-visiting is a valid use of the leisure time". Indeed, it was remarked that only a third or a fifth of them definitely excluded the idea to go there because of the museums' "unwelcoming image and their associations with high culture". On that point, the museum as the main representative of past culture fails to express the whole community and becomes "a symbol of social divisions". Merriman believes that in the course of time, due to educational progress, the effort to ameliorate the museum exhibitions, the improvement of life conditions and accordingly the gain of greater leisure time, the real strength of the past will rise up in "greater numbers of people". However, an increase in quantity does not mean that museums "spoonfeed a dominant ideology to an unthinking mass". On the contrary, "the survey work shows that people vary greatly in their conceptualisation of the past, and those who visit museums regularly do not necessarily exhibit images of the past consistent with uncritical acceptance of a dominant ideology" (Merriman 1991: 94-95).

Merriman's survey of public opinion emphasised museum visiting and the attitudes towards the past resulted at most from contact or not with museums. A similar survey conducted in 1983 by members of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge, first as pilot in Cambridge (Cambridge Research Cooperative 1983) and a year later in four urban centres in Britain (Stone 1986). This survey put the emphasis on archaeology but unfortunately it is not yet fully published. According to its conductors, the survey attempted to "collect information on the general public's conception of the past, together with the extent to which this conception is affected by the public's social context". In particular, the intention of the survey was to "(1) collect

information on how people's concept of the past is formed (e.g. from museums, the media, the family, education, work) and (2) collect information on people's archaeological interests, attitudes, and awareness" (Stone 1986: 15; 1994: 197).

A great deal of the public opinion is formed through popular films about prehistory or archaeology. 59% of the survey respondents declared that they had seen one or more of those films either on television or at the cinema, and 42% believed that many of the films "gave reasonably accurate versions of the past" (Stone 1994: 200). Stone (op.cit.: 199-200; cf. Cleere 1988: 38) analysing the results, thinks that they fit well with other studies which showed that "archaeology has been poorly represented on the television and, to a lesser extent, on the radio" than in the late '50s, and wherever it is represented it "is firmly linked to 'academic style' documentaries". Therefore the wider audience with less formal education who claimed to watch the most television, get bored and easily lose their interest. The same is argued for radio programmes on archaeology. Consequently, "archaeology rarely gets air-space on the more popular national stations, and only really does so when the topic is spectacular or particularly controversial". In contrast, local TV or radio programmes on "archaeological topics of local importance, or even series concerning local archaeology", are usually very successful. This distinction in practice between national and local TV and radio, is followed in newspapers also (op.cit.: 201; cf. Cleere op.cit.).

Books on archaeology keep the interest of less than half of the survey respondents (Stone 1994: 200). However, those who claimed that studied at least one of these books hardly managed to "recall specific authors or titles". Stories from Egypt and Rome are the most enjoyable while Erich von Daniken is considered as one of the most known authors. People's majority do not like books of "academic style" but do like those illustrated with a lot of pictures and those of historical fiction. This situation is equally described by Cleere (1988: 40) who stresses that archaeology does not have "an outlet for communication with the public through journals and magazines", in terms of high figures of circulation and availability at newsagents and bookstalls.

The survey respondents answered in their vast majority that people need to know about their distant past or, at least, knowledge about the past is of great interest. Many

of them also agreed that public money is well spent on Archaeology, though they were often surprised that it really happens and have no idea of the amounts involved (Stone 1986: 17-18).

Stone (1986; 1994: 198, 201) argues that the survey showed that a basic and wide-ranging interest in the past does exist in public, though it differs in level and type between social groups, genders and individuals with different cultural backgrounds. All want to “identify with some form of a past”. Conveying his experience, Stone (1986: 14) believes that not only an interest do exist in the public but also “a lack of basic knowledge; a similar desire for more knowledge; and possibly an even better imagination”.

He further believes that archaeologists are responsible for that situation because they “have little understanding (or even regard) for what the public thinks about the past or archaeology”. Access to knowledge for public is denied through several ways one of which is the use of terminology, a language difficult for public to follow (Stone 1994: 196). This recalls Hodder’s (1984) opinion that people consider archaeology as a specialists’ concern and archaeologists as belonging to those who control knowledge and consequently power in our society. Therefore, public try to find other ways to get in touch with past, some of which are not legal as the increasing of popularity of metal detectors indicates, but reveal the weakness of archaeologists to communicate with the wider audience (Gregory 1983).

If archaeology is identified with what most film viewers are interested in watching, i.e. “wet planks, dead bodies, treasure and palm trees” (Norman 1983: 29) and archaeologists with one of the two figures which Kidder described, i.e. the “hairy-chested” and the “hairy chinned” (quoted in Cleere 1988: 39), then we must represent it “in a lovely and exciting way” (Stone 1994: 200). The reason to do that is also disputable. For Stone (1986; 1994), conveying an idea advanced in America in 1970, this is vital for archaeology’s own existence, development and support (political and financial). In contrast, Smardz (quoted in Clark 1998: 229) very recently argues that we must stop taking archaeology to the public for archaeology’s sake and start doing it to meet public needs.

In fact, it is very difficult for archaeologists to marry “profesional rigour with an openness to different views of the past” (Clark 1998: 229). Heath (quoted in op.cit.) stresses the danger of involving public in archaeological research. Such a danger, for instance, comes from people’s own agenda: a teacher who wished to excavate without skills or experience, or a developer who started to develop an area for treasure seeking, both of them enthused by a project. The same danger appear when politics are involved in the subject or when various archeological approaches give the impression that archaeology could be anything.

1.1.2. Ideological use of the past

Archaeology does not merely comprise a source of information, nor does it consist just of stimulating facts or things which are worth while to be acquired and exhibited. It operates within the community as a community service, either belonging directly to the state or to local authorities (*cf.* Hall & McArthur 1998: 55). Archaeology is involved in the building of community heritage and therefore archaeological discoveries as they are conducted, interpreted and presented to the public, play an active role in the formation of the community’s identity (Cleere 1988; 1989; Walker 1988).

The past relics which come from the archaeological discoveries, are merely attributed by ordinary people to a vague but flourishing and outstanding period when their own ancestors lived, and belong to a shared heritage. This is an idea which owes much to nationalistic propaganda.

Nationalism is a political phenomenon which has its roots further back in the past but it does not mean that it affects our lives less than in older periods of European history. On the contrary, events such as the Gulf War and more recently the Kossovo crisis and elsewhere, prove quite the reverse. After the two World Wars we had expected that nationalism would be buried under the ruined buildings for ever. Now it is clear that nationalism plays an important role in society and is responsible to a great extent for the construction of our common identity. Therefore it is necessary to think carefully the possible relations which are being developed between nationalism and archaeology.

The number of monographs and other publications, which refer to this subject, has increased over the last three decades. Scholars from different disciplines such as “political scientists, sociologists, historians and social anthropologists are now taking the subject of nationalism” – and its close relations – “patriotism, ethnicism and racism seriously”. They “are trying to see the differences, if any, between these isms and are looking at them historically within the context of modern European history” (Koenigsberger 1996: 594).

The traditional perception on the emergence of the nation-states and the nationalist notion is that nations and national feelings have a long history. However, it is still supported by some scholars. Beramendi, Máiz & Núñez (1994) characterise such scholars as “primordialists” and remark that they reflect traditional ideas in general. This idea is always symptomatic of nationalistic influence. It is now widely believed that nationalism and the creation of the modern nation-states appeared in a discernible form in Western Europe by the late 18th century. At the same time distinctive “national” cultural characteristics (literature, architecture, regional universities etc.) evolved.

Scholars also do not agree on the causes which led to the appearance of nation-states as historical phenomena. Spruyt (1994) argues that the prevailing of the sovereign state of French type was to a great extent a contingent rather than an inherent incident. In fact, there were two other types of political union which might possibly have formulated Europe’s future at the end of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period: the individual city state (e.g. the Italian city states) and the league of cities (e.g. the Hanseatic League). However, he finds no reason to support the idea that the sovereign state, which won finally, was a historical necessity. Moreover, he believes that what gave it international legitimation and, consequently, empowered it, was the definition of specific political frontiers against a universal claim which was represented by the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire.

Most scholars argue that it was the “rise of the bourgeoisie” or the “decline of feudalism” which caused first the failure of the large multiethnic empires of the Middle Ages and made them break down into smaller geographical units, and then the construction

of moderately large nation-states. These scholars argue that nationalism appears at the same time as liberalism and socialism, and in response to the conservative policy of the European governments, which had been enforced after the battle of Waterloo in order to “reinstate the disturbed regularity” (Burns 1980: 78). Therefore, nationalism initially appeared as one democratic, progressive and humanitarian theory (Nairn 1977: 331-2). The state appropriated the capacity of nationalism “to provide psychic and emotional sustenance in an age marked by the decline of religion and by the dehumanisations of industrialism. Nationalism thrived because it tapped the potent emotions of history and locality to give individual lives meaning in an increasingly meaningless universe... Nationalism can strengthen the state by endowing it with quasi-religious loyalty” (Schlesinger 1981: ix).

The new states which were created from the beginning of the 19th century, also represented a new perception of the economy (Hobsbawm 1991: 107). The middle class in the cities asked for participation in economic activities and abolition of traditional privileges, which otherwise led the economy of the states to a poor situation and most of the people of the third class to poverty (Burns 1980: 108). According to liberalistic theories, the great multinational empires should break into smaller, more efficient units in order to ensure the development of new enterprises.

Nationalism in Western Europe was generated as an ideology “open to imitation” by the French Revolution and was established as a reaction against the imperialist policies of Napoleon (Llobera 1994: 179-193). French people offered a good example of what a nation could achieve without the supervision of a government sent by “God”: people having the attribute of the French citizen managed to defeat the united troops of their enemies (Burns 1980: 111). The Revolution may have been buried by Napoleon for good, but the new ideas had spread round the world. The Declaration of the Rights of Human and the Citizen reserved the principle of sovereignty for the “nation”. The term “nation” took a special political meaning, which it had not till then, and was identified with the “state”, as clearly appeared in its definition in the Diderot and D’Alibert’s *Encyclopedie*, where “nation” is considered to be:

a collective word used to denote a considerable quantity of those people who inhabit a certain extent of country defined within certain limits, and obeying the same government

(quoted in Kedourie 1986: 14).

But the most interesting development was on the level of the relationships between the state and the citizens. The Declaration legitimated the right of the citizens to change their political situation and, therefore, to decide which government they wished to obey. Moreover, this meant that, for every reason, a group of people within a state had the right to constitute a separate nation and obey a different government elected by them.

It is not so clear how conscious to contemporaries was the fact that such theories introduced into eighteenth-century Europe were bound “to create a turmoil” (Kedourie 1986: 15). The nationalists themselves could not accept the uncontrolled creation of states, especially those which included only a small population. Some, like G. Mazzini and, later, Woodrow Wilson had already produced maps of the distribution of the nation-states of Europe. As they proposed, the small peoples’ request must “be reduced to provincial idiosyncrasy within larger ‘real’ nations, or even disappear by assimilation” (Hobsbawm 1991: 107-109).

There are other scholars, as Gellner (1983), who believe that the organisation of peoples in wider, centrally educated and culturally homogeneous entities is a phenomenon of the industrial society. The uneven development of industrial capitalism, and consequently the need for constant, regular and accurate communication, and collective, uniform and general education, was the factor which most likely affected the development of nationalism. More recently, Llobera (1994) followed Gellner, wrote that it was the force towards modernization (urbanization, secularization, mass education, increase in communications etc.) which played a crucial role in the appearance of nation-states and the idea of nationalism.

Very few historians and social scientists support the view that the guiding force in this process were the monarchies themselves which broke down the political structure of

the society of orders (in other words, the *dominium political and regale*). In particular, Koenigsberger (1996: 598-600) argues that in the late Middle Ages a skilled international elite “enabled large parts of Europe to develop economically and culturally” so they could “afford the skills, services and at least some of the high-value goods which people wanted”. These parts were developed in the late Medieval/early Modern sovereign monarchies. Slowly, “*dominium regale* and its modern version, princely absolutism, forced the monarchies to become populist” and, consequently, political democracy grew which is mainly “responsible for the growth of modern political nationalism”.

It is now time to study the process of building the nations and the role of archaeology. The new states which emerged in the 19th century were less complex but still artificial. Britain and France were multiethnic states (as a matter of fact, all states have been multi-ethnic, see Connor 1994: 39) including several peoples within their frontiers. However, by the time that these peoples developed a consciousness of their internal differences so as to pose problems to the state’s coherence, the process of nation forging was well advanced (Colley 1992; cf. Pittock 1997; Fleury-Ilett 1993). Hobsbawm (1991: 110) argues that countries with a great medieval political history like Britain or France, were not obliged to prove their autonomy. It was not the same for Germany or Italy, which for centuries were politically fragmented. “Many who thought themselves as ‘Germans’, did not believe that this implied a single German state”. On the other hand, citizens of Germany and Italy or other fragmented countries believed that their liberal aims could succeed only after the unification of the small kingdoms into a nation-state. There existed also certain intellectuals who believed that political unification would highlight a great deal of common characteristics. It is not then unexpected that pioneering work to link liberalism and nationalism started first among the German intellectuals. In these two countries the nation was built slowly but the results which appeared very late, were impressive.

Certainly, each nation-state had a different experience in the course of its formation process (see for instance: Wagstaff 1994; Atkinson, Banks & O’Sullivan 1996; Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996a). However, it was always necessary to bring people together. Therefore, beyond a common disjuncture to current political situation they

needed something to link people more deeply and lead them further to earn recognition. And this was certainly meant to prove self-sufficiency and existing common characteristics among the people. The latter should result from the fermentation in the same historical developments. Usually, national propaganda proposed long residence in the same place, a common language, religion and racial affinities (Diaz-Andreu & Champion 1996: 4), the strongest among them being the first (Banks 1996: 1).

Nationalist propaganda could not be effective without the help of history. Thus, in the mid 19th century, people who believed that they belonged to a special group turned to the study of their own history. On this point, i.e. the strong relationship with the past, nationalism has been linked to the contemporaneous movement of Romanticism (Burns 1980: 109). Whereas in some countries the study of the past was a rather intellectual occupation, in others it was a compelling need. Nationalist intellectuals should highlight the common characteristics of their peoples, in a first stage, then confirm that they go back to the past and, finally, propagate them.

To many of these peoples history offered only a poor medieval past. Therefore, they were obliged to look for political identity in a different source and this could not be other than archaeology. The first impressive archaeological discoveries in Italy or elsewhere offered an alternative perspective: archaeological finds and monuments could speak for the longevity of a people residing in the same place. As Diaz-Andreu & Champion (1996b: 1) argue, on the one hand, archaeology has been connected in methodology rather with developments in the natural sciences than with history and appeared to be an objective tool, but it has not yet developed a system of reading and criticising the past. Therefore, past relics could merely be attributed to any people and period and were, therefore, used as proof for supporting nationalist ideas.

The countries which were endowed with a rich monumental past, e.g. those lying round the Mediterranean sea, turned to the past as a symbol of unity (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996; cf. Bourdieu 1985). It is not without meaning that the first revolutionary movements, after the French Revolution, took place in the wider Mediterranean area: in Spain (1820), Naples (1820), Portugal (1820), Piedmont (1821) and Greece (1821), to speak only for the first quarter of the 19th century.

However, a more credible form was required in order to classify all these civilisations in a nationalistic framework. Therefore, the people of the nation are considered to belong to a special group, separated from others by a discernible tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Henceforward the word “culture” accompanied with an adjective – which usually refers to a widely known location – has been used to express the particular tradition of a people at a particular period (Diaz - Andreu & Champion 1996b: 4-5, 11). Historical, geographical, linguistic, religious and demographic developments should be seen within the framework of a natural evolution of the elements which characterise the nation. Every nation has its “Golden Age”, a period when it reached a cultural peak which implies further the existence of “Dark Ages” and a continuous effort to imitate the past glories and values. As a result, nation-states tend to neglect the study of the “ugly” periods and exercise pressure on ethnic minorities which deny to acknowledge national values. The need for unification of the people has sometimes led to extreme reactions as the destruction of cultural remains and “ethnic cleansing” by conflicting parties or in purpose to diminish possibilities for future claims by hostile neighbors (Kohl & Fawcett 1995). National consciousness as a mass phenomenon is created further “by compulsory schooling, the development of communications and military conscription” (Llobera 1994: 216).

In this context, Archaeology emerged as a science after the mid 19th century. Is Archaeology completely nationalised? Diaz-Andreu & Champion (1996b: 3-4) support the view that nationalism “is deeply embedded in the very concept of archaeology, in its institutionalization and development”. Archaeologists helped, consciously or not, with their work, the nationalist affair and the nation-state supported from its side in the full development of archaeology as a science. At the beginning very few and isolated scholars were occupied with it but after archaeology was connected with nationalism a “rapid increase in interest in antiquities among lower middle-class individuals” was observed. The state usually intends to help archaeological research as long as it produces results useful for its perpetuation. Only these finds fall into the perception of the wider public and are advertised. Mere artefact processing does not offer anything and does not justify the existence of archaeology as a separate scientific faculty. The inter-

est and, therefore, its use for nationalist purposes, begins at the moment when interpretation begins.

In the same volume Hroch (1996: 297-299) refuses to accept that archaeology is strongly influenced by nationalism. He makes a distinction between “nationalist misuse” and “nationally oriented archaeology”. He believes that today academic archaeology is “potentially ‘neutral’, just like regional archaeology”. Hroch stresses the independence of archaeologists “in developing their research methods and procedures and in interpreting their discoveries”, though he acknowledges that a misuse of archaeology for opportunistic reasons also exists, especially in the choice of excavations. He concludes that “it is a matter of personal, not institutional, attitude and decision, if these interpretations are strongly, partially or not at all influenced by nationalist ideology”.

I emphasised nationalism as a major phenomenon which affects our lives and reading of the heritage today but there are other ideologies which have made use of the past (Trigger 1984; Fowler 1987). Colonialism and imperialism have also drawn on heritage manipulation. Close relations do exist between them and nationalism, according to Hamilakis (1996: 977) as they share “the same essentialist ideological foundations”, i.e. “the same notions of superiority and the same strategies for exclusion”. However, as Llobera (1994: 219) remarks there is an incompatibility “between continuous territorial expansion and cultural and linguistic homogeneity”, though he accepts that the contradiction is not totally insoluble, “but it requires, in the medium term, the constant use of force and a non-humanitarian ideology involving a sense of racial and/or cultural superiority.

The best known example is that by Nazi regime in Germany: a “Nordic” or “Indo-Germanic” past, based on Kossinna and his followers’ work, was officially created and manipulated to legitimise xenophobia, racism, territorial expansion and oppression by a totalitarian state (Arnold 1990). Manipulation was expanded to additional use of anatomical and linguistic data in order to “prove” Aryan “superiority” and with it, the “right” to conquer and rule the world, as well as to advance crimes against Hebrew people (Fowler 1987: 239). Diverse uses of historical, archaeological and ethnographic data and theories occurred in African studies of pre- and post-Colonial times.

The horrors of World War II urged global community soon afterwards towards a more humanitarian and universalist perception which have doubted separatist, totalitarian, imperialist and authoritative ideologies. Koenigsberger (1996: 600-601) risks to predict that the nation-state is going to gradually outlive its political and emotional usefulness and be replaced by another more international political formation, the exact character of which “will depend on historical contingencies”. According to him, although “we are now facing the mirror image of the long-term weakness of the universalism of the early middle ages”, we will certainly experience its might as a fatal change in the future. However, as experience shows, hegemonic and “global” discourses tend to co-exist (if not merge occasionally/partially) through time. Ethnic revival in the United States and somewhat similar phenomena in other parts of the democratic capitalist world between the mid-60s and the mid-70s, are the best examples (Fishman et al. 1985: 489-517).

This is particularly significant nowadays. At a time when most of the western European countries participate in the European Union (EU), a common identity is searched towards this direction. EU – the “largest imagined community” as Dietler (1994: 595) calls it – attempted to “establish authenticity through links to Celtic antiquity”. The projection of the Celtic past as a unifying factor was clearly manifested in exhibitions on Celtic archaeology which “have been mounted in Europe since 1980, most of them well financed, sponsored by more than one nation, and constructed with objects from a wide array of countries”. Celts formulated “the first historically documented civilization on a European scale”, according to the introduction to the Venice exhibition, which was entitled “The Celts: The First Europe”. The Celtic past was manifested as one of the principal factors of European people’s cohesion in this exhibition because “linking that past to this present was in no way forced, but indeed essential, and could effectively call us back to our common roots”.

However, sharing a common Celtic identity to which all European cultures ought to find their roots (Benvenuti 1991: 11), poses a series of historical problems with particular meaning in the present (Dietler 1994: 596). The historically documented area where Celts lived or expanded left outside northern Germany and the Scandinavian

countries while including other countries in eastern Europe which are not yet members of the EU. Moreover, emphasis on the Celtic past favoured French nationalist claims. At the same time a European identity constructed upon the Celtic past does not match Breton activist narratives about a limited existence of authentic Celts' successors in today's Europe after the "assassination of *la Celtique*" by Romans, Saxons and Franks successively (McDonald 1989: 117).

However, after 1994 when Europe went "through a period of uncertainty and questioning, marked by major political and economic upheavals and by a crisis in society, the outcome of which remains unpredictable", the reading of the past was enhanced by the adoption of regional variations. Wegraeus (1994: 2) in the editorial of the second volume on the *European Heritage* implies that our interest in Europe's cultural heritage may include "its 'rediscovery' by communities or individuals". Trotzig (1994: 3), chairman of the Committee of Experts of the European plan for Archaeology, explains in the same volume: "The archaeological heritage shows an immense variation in different parts of Europe. Some areas have been the very centre of development throughout the ages, starting hundreds and thousands of years ago, whereas others on the periphery have created their own peculiarities during a more limited time span".

This attitude, towards a more liberal approach to European history, is not irrelevant, as was already noticed, to recent political, economic and social developments which took place within the frontiers of the Community. I will stress the phenomenon of emigration as one of the current major problems of the EU and its great might in the reviewing of cultural policy (Cesarani & Fulbrook 1996a). In France the phenomenon is going to form a disease as the "non-native" population in recent years inflated to one third of the total population of the country. The increase of peoples' movement inside and outside the European countries confronted EU members with a multicultural society and policy questioned any claims for a supposed homogeneity in population (*cf.* Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: 13-18). Otherwise, the experience of a European, or even, global market reinforced a more international perception in contrast to the narrow and ethnocentric one. Probably the same can be said for international manifestations such as the movement for Global Peace and the Green Move-

ment, the effects of both of which in archeological discourse must be thoroughly examined (MacInnes & Wickham-Jones 1992).

Silverman (1996: 146) supports that a breakdown characterises, at the European level, the links between state and nation today which “is perceived in France very specifically as the revenge of civil society on an oppressive state”. Soysal (1996: 18) explains that “in the post-war era citizenship has undergone a profound change, through which the two major components of citizenship – identity and rights – are increasingly decoupled”. Therefore, “what was brought together by the French Revolution and the following two centuries of nation-building efforts no longer ‘naturally’ belong together”.

Soysal (1996: 18-19) believes that among the post-war global developments which “have undercut these foundational principles of citizenship, and have contributed to the expansion of membership beyond the boundaries of national collectivities”, are:

1. Post-war internationalization of labour markets.
2. Massive decolonizations after 1945, which led to the mobilization of newly independent states at the international level, and ushered in an awareness and assertion of their ‘rights’ within universalistic parameters.
3. The emergence of multi-level polities, as we observe with the gradual unfolding of the European Union.
4. The increasing intensification of the global discourse and instruments (legislation) on individual rights.

Soysal (1996: 28) concludes that “all these recontextualizations of ‘nationness’ within the universalistic discourse of human rights blur the meanings and boundaries attached to the nation and the nation state. The idea of the nation persists as an intense metaphor, at times an idiom of war. However, in a world within which rights, and identities as rights, derive their legitimacy from discourses of universalistic personhood, the limits of nationness, or of national citizenship for that matter, become inventively irrelevant”.

At the same time a reactive nationalism appeared in member countries of the EU (*cf.* Mouzelis 1993) using anti-immigrants and anti-Maastricht slogans, in some cases pa-

tronised by extreme conservative politicians like Jean-Marie Le Pen and Philippe de Villiers in France. Cesarani & Fulbrook (1996b: 4) stress the paradox of the appearance of an “insurgent nationalism at a time of European integration”, partly explained as a reaction against the European integration which is going to erode “each country’s power to control the influx of aliens”, but probably has deeper roots in recent socio-political developments. In its extreme manifestation this reactive nationalism, of which reunified Germany is an example, recalls racism and xenophobia and threatens Europe’s future “half a century after the demise of the Hitler regime” (1996: 2).

Modern criticism has also indicated that research into the past is not only of interest in the academic, national and global level, but becomes a strong weapon in the hands of social groups in order to fight against others and defend their rights (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 117). Ruling class uses the past “to convince the governed that those in power rule legitimately”. Conflicting political parties use the past for internal legitimization of policies, actions and ideologies. They usually “glorify, and hence, justify the present and the future by denigrating the evil past” (Fowler 1987: 237-239). Wealthy middle classes use the past as a means to point out prosperity and empowerment, while for lower classes past signifies an escapist nostalgia or a tool for resistance (*cf.* Turnbridge & Ashworth 1996: 42). Getting into class conflict Marxism, as theory and practice, influenced the interpretation of the past by projecting explanations for power and social divisions back even to the remote past or rewriting history in service of the present needs. Archaeological theory and practice in Mao’s China (Fowler *op.cit.*) and the former Soviet Union are the most eloquent examples.

The past has been also manipulated in the debate for the role of gender in community life. Until recently androcentric interpretations were widely accepted and reproduced, as gendered divisions of contemporary Western society were projected uncritically back in time. Women’s movement in North America and Europe politicized gender roles in history and introduced issues for debate and study. As Cullen (1996: 409) says, the debate in the ’70s was concentrated in human origins and evolution, and the existence of goddess cults furthered mainly by sociocultural anthropologists and the popular press. An article by Conkey and Spector published in 1984 challenged the participation of archeologists in the debate and the study of gender. The article exposed

patent androcentrism in archaeological interpretations of the history of “mankind”: “the (often implicit) image of early man as hunter, tool-maker, and agent of cultural change, paralleled by the rugged (male) archaeologist, was seen to reinforce and naturalize modern gender stereotypes”.

Responses of uneven value to Conkey and Spector’s image of the past soonly after came to light. Thus, “revisionist histories were subsequently proposed, in which women’s experience and contributions were highlighted, sometimes involving a simple reversal of bias – Woman the Gatherer replacing Man the Hunter – but often in thoughtful and probing examinations of our assumptions about gender, the ‘naturalness’ of current divisions of labor, and the relative status and power of women and men in the past” (op.cit. 410). Feminist archaeologists “have sought to expose sexism in the workplace and collusion in our accounts of the past” (op.cit.) addressing studies not only to the standing of women in past cultures but also to past and present disciplinary structures (Diaz-Andreu & Sørensen 1998).

Terefore, archaeologists are not completely unaware of the attachments that may be implicated in their work. In recent years, especially just after World War II, archaeologists tried to exclude from their presentation the judgement of past events. But, interpretation is a fact that proceeds automatically and is affected by the researcher’s background. Archaeological theory today highlights the pitfalls which threaten the discipline’s subsistence and reliability sometimes reaching extreme conclusions such as that “there is *no* neutral, value-free, or non-political past” (Wilk 1985: 319). Reactions of the archaeological community are going to be more clear in the next section in the light of the current theoretical trends.

1.1.3. Need for a theoretical framework

The abundance of the information available for the past and the growth of the heritage industry, as well as the ideological use of the past, led the archaeologists trying to establish a conceptual framework. Although a particular emphasis in theory appeared as late as the 1960s, theoretical approaches already existed in the about 150-year-old life of the Archaeology as a discipline after its detachment from the antiquarianism (Daniel

1975). As it is remarked “some archaeologists still consider that they examine data objectively, and ‘let the facts speak for themselves’”. However, “the majority now develop a conscious theoretical approach and gather data or explore existing information with an explicit theoretical framework in mind and a clear problem orientation” (Greene 1996: 160).

Modern archaeological theory is characterised by the struggle of the discipline to acquire autonomy, first scientifically and then ideologically. During the 1960s and 1970s the debate was concentrated in the rivalry between traditional and “New Archaeology”. “New Archaeology” emerged as a response to “the increasingly sterile preoccupation of culture-historical archaeology with ethnicity” (Trigger 1989, 288) – a problem which “functional approach” was also confronted with – and the “traditional descriptive and narrative approaches” (Bintliff 1991: 4).

Developments in archaeology matched similar developments in sister disciplines like history and geography, though new theories appeared there slightly earlier than in archaeology (Bintliff 1986: 9-11. Cf. Barrett 1983: 189; Yoffee & Sherratt 1993: 3-4). According to Herbert & Johnson (1978: 7-8), the “new” geographical approaches reached their apogee in the United States between 1955 and 1960 and soon after in Britain. Their appearance was caused mainly by the war, “the organisation of which involved geographers working in teams with members of other disciplines”. Therefore, they became “aware of the current methods, interests and issues beyond the narrow horizons of the few other subjects – anthropology, geology, history – with which they had maintained some contact”.

Herbert & Johnson (1978: 8) tend to see the phenomenon as a part of a major change that took place “in many social science disciplines” after the World War II. Social scientists, according to them (op.cit.: 26), wished to emulate the physical scientists “in terms of methodology, and making a contribution to public policy became a part of the scientific ethos to which, increasingly, social as well as physical scientists were attached”. Grano (1981: 32) wants to see it as a product of “the relations between society and science” in economic terms i.e. “science was seen as the best way to achieve economic growth”. The basic characteristics of the phenomenon were:

- “1. It was nomothetic (ie law seeking) rather than idiographic (ie descriptive), focusing on the general trends and patterns and interpreting specifics within an explicit theoretical matrix.
2. It used numerical methods to analyse its data and so was scientifically ‘respectable’.
3. It apparently had predictive power and so could be used in the development of public policy” (Herbert & Johnson 1978: 8).

In any case, change appeared first in economics and social psychology; then in sociology and social administration; and, finally, in human geography (op.cit.: 26). In the latter the “new” theory, according to Derruau (1987: 27) tends to use an approach “considering it as geometry, ie as a science of an abstract space, in which points, inhabitants or geographical events are distributed. In this case, the phenomena which we analyse are the densities and sparsities (scarcities) or the shapes, standing and moving”.

In history the “new” theory imposed by the 1960s similar characteristics, such as: “self-conscious explication of concepts and models; deliberate comparison of individuals, groups, places, or events (often many of them) placed within a common framework; and fixation on reliable forms of measurement, frequently involving numerical treatment of evidence. Economic history, archaeology, demographic history, urban history, plus some kinds of political, labour, agricultural, and family history qualify” (Tilley 1984: 365).

In this frame local studies emerged as a separate field – with some reluctance at the beginning actually – and as a deliberate antithesis to the general and, especially, to the national history. Although the Department of English Local History was founded at the University College of Leicester in 1948 (Phythian-Adams 1991: vi; cf. Douch 1970), it was only in 1967 that Finberg clearly argued that local history was to be seen “not as an ancillary discipline but as one subsisting in its own right”. He explained further that “those who take up this position – and without more ado let me avow that I am one of them – draw a distinction between local history *per se* and national history localized” (Finberg 1967: 39).

In archaeology “new” theory started almost simultaneously with the work of Binford (1968) in USA and Clarke (1968) in Britain. However, although here the development of the “New Archaeology” knew a rapid and wide development among intellectuals and Universities, in Europe the spread was so slow that even in the 1980s it hardly managed to inform university prehistorians and failed to reach countries such as France or Germany. The expansion of the new theory came across difficulties among classical archaeologists and historical archaeologists because of “the traditional background in Classics and History on both sides of the Atlantic” (Bintliff 1986: 11; *cf.* Dyson 1993: 204-206).

“New Archaeology” uses a slightly older theory to interpret the change caused by the interaction between a society and its environment (systems theory). The theory favours modifications within societies and rejects traditional explanations in terms of diffusion, invasion and migration. Results from the study of data are “scientifically” extracted, with the additional help of statistics, through hypothesis-testing and not intuitively after looking at the data, as it was the traditional practice. As Binford (1972: 90) says “once a proposition has been advanced no matter by what means it was reached the next task is to deduce a series of testable hypotheses that, if verified against independent empirical data, would tend to verify the proposition”. Hypothesis-testing concludes in “the formulation of laws of cultural dynamics” (*op.cit.*: 100). According to Binford, archaeology has the advantage of focussing on major processes – what anthropologists could never achieve – and so provide us with a depth of information about the past on condition that we are able to combine theory with precise scientific thinking. In his own words: “in order to deal with process we must seek explanations for observed phenomena, and it is only through explanations of our observations that we gain any knowledge of the past. Explanation begins for the archaeologist when observations made of the archaeological record are linked through laws of cultural or behavioural functioning to past conditions or events” (*op.cit.*: 117).

In research practice “New Archeology” contributed to a more scientific analysis of archaeological sites both trying out better techniques of surveying and using an improved understanding of how sites were formed (formation process or taphonomy). A parallel tendency was the so-called “rescue phenomenon” i.e. the intention to put limits

to the use of destructive techniques and emphasis on a thoughtful approach to the landscape either by ceasing to excavate and deal with study or by using less destructive policy and techniques (Bintliff 1986: 14-17). In the same framework falls the development of experimental archaeology applications (see Reynolds 1979). Another manifestation was the development of ethnoarchaeology which seeks to understand archaeological sites and societies through physical contact with “living peoples” (see Binford 1978).

Despite the fact that at the beginning of the 1980s “New Archaeology” had only some 20 years of life, “a growing dissatisfaction with the rate of progress in our understanding of past communities” occurred (Bintliff 1991: 2-3). As Bintliff (op.cit.: 3) remarks “without rejecting the very clear achievements of the New Archaeology movement of the 1960s and 1970s, many scholars feel that this particular major initiative of discipline renewal has done its job and is rapidly running out of the potential to create new ideas and approaches. Moreover, there have arisen an impressive number of problems and limitations to our knowledge with which New Archaeology offers little help”.

Bintliff studied again theoretical changes in the framework of similar trends in the Social Sciences and especially in archaeology’s sister disciplines (Bintliff 1986: 18-21). In particular, Phenomenology – which puts the emphasis on the individual and individual’s own world of experience – in the United States of the late 1960s “have provided a reaction against positivism” (Herbert and Johnson 1978: 9). In social sciences this was translated into the development of an interest to highlight cultural groups and their own “imagined” worlds. This attitude was replaced or just followed by the Structuralism in the early 1970s, which turned back to rediscover Marxism. To this direction the key-words are “market capitalism” and “monopolies”, “conflict”, “inequality removing”, “structure” (op.cit.: 17-18).

The changes in the Social Sciences were considered as a reaction to a series of events which took place in American and European society during the 1960s. The collapse of the great European empires (Britain, France) and the end of colonialism made the peoples of the mother countries gradually aware that their countries ceased to constitute worldwide powers. The numbers of foreign people coming from the former colonies

and settled in metropoleis increased. The anti-Vietnam movement in the United States and the youth and feminist movements changed many traditional attitudes and values. Nationalistic and separatist movements developed all over Europe. At the same time, the EEC was becoming a new powerful medium to unite countries of Europe on a economic and political basis.

As a consequence, "Geography has proceeded to pursue" Structuralism and Behaviourism "very fruitfully, whether emphasizing the individual's perception of the world around him, or that of the specific community rooted in time, place and culture" (Bintliff 1986: 19). Bintliff (op.cit.: 20-21) quoted Darley & Davey to support a similar change taking place in architecture in the passage from High-Tech to Post-Modern Classicism.

In history a "revival of the narrative" occurred and many historians believed that "the culture of the group, and even the will of the individual, are potentially at least as important causal agents of growth as the impersonal forces of material output and demographic growth" (Stone 1979: 9). The past reality was differentiated from its representation in the past and the image which one may create for it in the present. As a consequence, empiricism is questioned and it is considered that facts have a doubtful character and need continual reviewing.

By the late 1970s research shifted to describe the life and the perceptions of the social divisions now received to lie beneath the façade of a single national heritage. Interest is displaced from the individual itself to the social, economic and cultural parameters which define its substance. Radical changes took place with the emergence of oral history as a field of study. Oral history turned the spotlight of research away from the central stage on which historical events occur to the field of social groups, illuminating the "invisible majorities" that make up the force propelling the process of history. The oral material includes ideologies, mentalities, concepts, attitudes and ways of perceiving reality, together with the resistances and behaviours that come from them. The preferred field of research for oral history consists of the social categories of individual which formal historiography neglected until recently, including working people, migrants, ethnic and religious minorities, and women (Boutzouvi 1998: 23-28; cf. Popu-

lar Memory Group 1982). Thompson (1978: 7) believes that in this way History becomes “more democratic”. He considers (op.cit.: 64) also that “the discovery of ‘oral history’ by historians which is now under way is, then, unlikely to be obscured. And it is not only a discovery but a recovery. It gives history a future no longer tied to the cultural significance of the paper document. It also gives back to historians the oldest skill of their own craft”.

In countries like the United States, Britain, Australia and Canada, where a multicultural society appeared very early, scholars turned to “the study and evaluation of the cultural contribution of all world peoples” in the framework of “the mutual understanding, peace, co-operation and respect for differentiation and human rights”. It became obvious that the traditional “assimilation and integration policies were not able to give convincing answers to the requests and the needs of the minority groups”. Therefore, since the ‘70s new theories suggested “more conciliatory approaches which were gradually crystallised” to a suitable programme for an inter/multicultural and antiracist approach (Zoniou-Sideri & Charamis 1997: 10-11). This approach does not consider cultural differences as a factor which causes disorganisation and should be smoothed down with the acknowledgement and the imposition of the monoculture as the only solution to the problems which arisen because of them (Kanakidou & Pagianni 1994: 8).

In Canada an official multicultural policy was achieved since the ‘70s. As a consequence, about eighty different ethnic or cultural groups earned recognition (Bagley 1997: 93). In the case of Australia an effort was made to rewrite the history of Australians by paying attention to the 40000 years of aborigine prehistory and the rapid and tragic destruction of the aboriginal tribes by white colonists. Emphasis is given also to the role which women played in Australian history, the literature of the minority groups and local literature. Duffy (1997: 192) argues that “in the past the ruling class had monopolised the access to knowledge, its structure and distribution as a common knowledge” but in contemporary Australia it is now evident that “there are many ways to experience and define reality”.

Therefore, history is manifested as “retrospective ethnography” – as Tilley (1984: 380) remarks – making a “self-conscious turn to anthropology as a guide to historical reconstruction”. In particular, “the idea is to recreate crucial situations of the past as a thoughtful participant-observer would have experienced them”.

Similar trends were noticed in local history where a confusion in the definition of its special subject had prevailed. The area of community, as perceived in its traditional meaning, was now considered very small to include a discernible, continuously witnessed historical course. Otherwise, fragmentation leads to the elevation of the exceptional and the unique, and does not allow any generalisations. Therefore, there was proposed a widening of the research scope of Local History from the level of the community to that of the city, the *pays* or the region. Phythian-Adams (1991: 12) explains that “within a region, towns and trade and industry may, for example, be related to agriculture, society and communications in a satisfying whole; while the region as some sort of entity helps to expand the object of the local historical enquiry from possibly unrepresentative, and often insufficiently documented, single communities to a point where more real contact is made with the local society of which such communities were, after all, but a part”. At the same time modern research turn the spotlight “downwards and inwards from the perspective of either the *pays* or that of the county region, to the different types of community within them” (op.cit.: 14; cf. Everitt 1977: 19; Marshall 1981; 1985; 1986). If we adopt this meaning, then we may have to expand not necessarily the place for study but the viewpoint from which it will be approached so as to allow our study to acquire a wider significance.

In Archaeology the critique by the late 1970s and, mainly, the early 1980s concentrated on the following points:

The programme of the “New Archaeology” assumed data processing as objective, underestimating the role of observer-participant in this process (Bintliff 1991: 3). Systems theory was criticized as mechanistic because it neglected the role of the individual (Hodder 1986). It was also accused as scientistic: the simulation or predictive models – often complicated – were used to imitate the world but not to explain what actually happened within it. Thinking so, however, it was as if they legitimized the exercise of power (op.cit.; Shanks & Tilley 1994). The laws “of cultural process” were considered

as constraining (Trigger 1978) and of trivial nature (Flannery 1973; Barrett 1983: 189). “New Archaeology might inform us on the “major trends and developments occurring over generations or centuries or even longer” but it failed to deal with “short-lived events” (Bintliff 1991: 3) and value the various variables.

Colin Renfrew, staying in essence within the limits of processualism, took advantage of the critique to develop a cognitive-processual theory. According to him, New Archaeology did not pay enough attention to the value of “mind” and its “thoughts” following the traditional division between mind and matter. However, “in the process of development of new, more complex social formations, including early states and civilizations, there are important cognitive factors accompanying the demographic, economic and social changes, without which these can hardly be explained” (Renfrew 1982: 25). He argues that “thoughts”, or some of them, “do find effective expression in the material record” (op.cit.: 27). Therefore, states of mind of human participants and long-term social changes, as “New Archaeology” put the latter, are subjects of study in Renfrew’s “Archaeology of the Mind” or “Cognitive Archaeology”.

“Post-processualism”, which emerged out of this criticism, has been influenced by different and often contradictory theories such as structuralism, post-structuralism, Marxist-structuralism and post-modernism. Post-processual criticism drew on the role of the individual in the past and the potential of his/her own view of the world. As Hodder (1982a: 5) puts it, “individuals are not simply instruments in some orchestrated game and it is difficult to see how subsystems and roles can have ‘goals’ of their own”. Jones (1997) in a detailed study of ethnicity showed that attitudes of the individual are defined by both his/her familial and experiential background, and new situations that require adaptive responses. Diaz-Andreu (1998: 199) studying Iberian ethnicity claims that “multiple ethnic affiliations can coexist and overlap in the same individual” but nationalism “has led to an understanding of ethnicity as monolithic, denying in this way its heterogeneous nature”.

Under the influence of the “Frankfurt School” post-processualists deployed a strong critique against hypothesis-testing and the use of criteria in the way of New Archaeology. By arguing that there are actually many views of the past which should be en-

couraged, they doubted the academic monopoly of truth as it “constitutes a self-reproduced power structure which should be undermined” (Hamilakis 1996: 977). Largely within this context Hamilakis (op.cit.) cites Friedman to support the view that all versions of historical narrative are ways of producing an identity. All discourses on the past are socially and historically situated attempts to construct notions of individual and collective selfhood”. Commenting on nationalism, he puts emphasis on ideology and nationalism as a closed system of thought, which promotes “a monolithic and bounded form of identity, a homogenized and uniform version of reality”. Therefore, he considers that nationalist ideology as hegemonic discourse “is at odds with archaeological approaches which emphasize the multivocality of past and present material culture”.

However, on the one hand, post-processualists do not agree on how we may alter nationalist embrace. The Lampeter Archaeology Workshop (1998: 48) doubts that “globalisation is bound to encourage multivocality and empowerment”, as Hodder believes. In contrast, “while it undoubtedly offers more opportunities to at least some social actors, at the same time it leads to more homogenisation and may in the end have the opposite effect from that anticipated by Hodder”. Diaz-Andreu & Champion (1996b: 21) believe, as many archaeologists do, that archaeology today can “survive without nationalist support” and “turn a self-critical eye on its own development and evaluate its own involvement in 200 years of social and political change in Europe”. I can also refer here to Bernbeck’s (1997: 150) suggestion which is based on archaeological practice. He thinks that “nationalist and ethnically driven distortions could be limited if it became an archaeological principle to work in ‘foreign contexts’, thus preventing too close an identification of the researcher with her or his research”. However, uncritical dealing with any material does not guarantee less influence by nationalist discourses. Therefore, a critical re-examination of archaeology as a whole need to be equally advanced.

On the other hand, post-processualists stress the danger for archeologists to adopt an objectivist position. In the light of the post-processual critique, Hamilakis (1996: 977) accuses Kohl and Fawcett that “they perceive nationalist archaeology in most cases as a distortion of the ‘real’, ‘objectively’ produced past”. Hroch (1996: 297) supposes

that the nation is not a mere “construct” but “a real existing social reality”. Anderson (1991: 6-7), in an influential study of nationalism, argues that the nation is “an imagined political community... because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... as a deep horizontal comradeship”. In this way, as he acknowledges, “all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined”. However, what distinguishes nations from other communities is that they are imagined “as both inherently limited and sovereign”. Therefore, nations are considered as living organisms and do not necessarily acquire a negative meaning, as was implied by Gellner (1964: 169).

Post-processualism stressed also the potential of material culture within society. Artifacts and their decoration were considered as the end-products of a deliberate action which conveys the feelings of the individuals (actors) in a symbolic form. Therefore, those who made the artifacts and created the archaeological record had in their minds beliefs and symbolic concepts which guided their actions. Hence, Post-processualism favoured the study of structures of thought. The existence of these structures can be traced in every manifestation of past life e.g. in pottery decoration. Arnold’s (1983) study of 172 Peruvian vessels produced and used in a village, is very characteristic. He related the design elements on the pottery (division of the surface, use of patterns and motifs) to the community’s perception of its own environment, i.e. the organization of space within the landscape surrounding the village, and the social divisions governed by kinship categories.

Orser & Fagan (1995: 206) remark that for years all prehistoric potsherds considered to be “female” objects as all stone arrowheads and spear points were “male” objects because gender roles assumed to be similar to those in contemporary Western societies. Therefore, “the ‘movers and shakers’ of a society were men; they were responsible for cultural change and technological advancement. Women were behind the scenes: homemaking, weaving, and cooking”. However, as Seifert’s 1991 study of the 19th century red light section of Washington showed, artifacts associated with clothing belonged both to men and women. Similar work undertaken in many parts of the world make it clear that “instead of simply adding women to their interpretations of the past,

like eggs to a cake mix, archaeologists must learn to evaluate gender roles, gender systems, and gender ideologies... The study of gender is not just about women; it is about women and men interacting to create and maintain society. When we learn about women's roles in the past, we automatically also learn something about men's roles. Giving women a voice in the past empowers us to develop a deeper understanding of history and culture" (op.cit.: 207).

Connected to Neo-Marxist thought some scholars put a great emphasis on exploitation and class conflict. They emphasised also ideology as a potential factor within the society which drives developments, in contrast to classical Marxist perception. These ideas influenced a series of practices particularly in the Third World in the study of the pre-colonial aboriginal past. This kind of study is characterised by the use of different methods in an effort to match peoples' beliefs and claims with the western approach of the past.

Post-processualist theory has not greatly expanded yet among scholars and institutions. The major problem is again in classical archaeology where neither did New Archaeology find a willing audience. However, some exceptions (e.g. Snodgrass, Morris, Dyson, Brown, Fotiadis and Hall) do exist. Following the new theories, for instance, Dyson (1992: 204-206) argues that a real crisis in research goals occurs in classical archaeology: "the center of the fieldwork tradition, based on the 'big dig', is dying". The great excavations have been contributed to the accumulation of a vast amount of objects which now must be studied. Therefore, "it would seem to be a good moment for Classical archaeologists to leap into this theoretical debate, not only rethinking their own goals and approaches, but also making sophisticated contributions to many of the topics" of the debate. Their contributions are highly valuable because "they have a rich body of material culture texts and an abundance of written texts that allow a degree of comparison and control that is rare in the archaeological study of complex societies". Furthermore, "classical archaeology is the oldest branch of the profession and its development and vicissitudes fit nicely into the current debates about archaeology, ideology, and society in both the past and the present". Dyson gives as examples the fascist archaeology and the Black Athena debate, both of which made use of the classical past, forcing archaeological community to react.

Similar ideas had already been advanced by Snodgrass in his book *An Archaeology of Greece* (1987). He believes that classical archaeologists should move away from the embracement with classics and get closer to anthropological archaeology. Therefore, he rejects the general inclination of classical archaeology towards art history and suggests a wide-range approach using questions of a historian and methods of a prehistorian. In accordance to his theory, he opens the scope of his study by paying attention not only to the objects themselves but to the context as well, and applying social archaeology down to the 5th century BC. His concern on demography as a prime mover in social change led him to co-operate with John Bintliff in Boeotia (Greece) in one of the earlier applications of the intensive surface survey technique (Bintliff & Snodgrass 1985). According to Morris (1994: 39-40), Snodgrass drew on eclecticism: “quantification, wide-ranging comparisons and varied interdisciplinary borrowings are all grist to the mill so long as they lead to new ideas about ancient society”.

Following and expanding Snodgrass’ eclectic approach, Morris (1994) makes an impressive exploration of the traditional as well as the few progressive approaches to Classical archaeology and by using post-processualist criticism tries to enhance the current view setting up a new theoretical framework. In particular, he explains that the traditional view of classical archaeology is very problematic as it is a product of a romantic era which drew on an imagined ideal prototype. At the same time this ideal became a subject of exploitation by nationalist aspirations within the countries of its geographical origin. Taking Greece as a case study, Morris (op.cit.: 43) argues that “over the past thirty years the Hellenist idealisation of Greece as the unique origin of the West has been widely rejected. Since Greek archaeology acted largely to defend that idealisation, its potential contribution to scholarship is open to serious question”. He suggests finally that work should orient “towards a wider archaeological audience”.

An exceptional contribution to post-processualist approaches to the classical heritage is Bernal’s *Black Athena* (1987; 1991). Bernal believes that our understanding of classical past is largely distorted by racism and ethnocentrism. He is opposed to the idea that ancient Greek civilization was exclusively or even primarily a European creation, rejecting Renfrew’s theory for an autochthonous development of Aegean cultures,

while accepting a moderate diffusionism. By analysing evidence mainly from language and mythology, he claims that in fact re-introduces the ancient Greek aspect according to which religion, philosophy, science and culture originated in the Near East and more particularly in Egypt. According to Bernal, in course of the 19th century the “ancient model” was replaced by the “Aryan model” for racial and political reasons.

Bernal’s theory raised an astonished number of responses, most of them negative (eg. Lefkowitz & Rogers 1996). Even post-processualists, while acknowledging that his work is an important contribution to the development of a more open, historical, and culturally oriented post-processual archaeology, they also stress the inadequacy of his evidence. Trigger (1992: 123), for instance, by reviewing Bernal’s theory accepts that he taught us “to pay more attention to problems relating to diffusion and migration as well as to how archaeological data can be combined with those from other fields, such as physical anthropology, linguistics, documentary and oral history, and mythology, in order to gain a more complete understanding of the past”.

Although post-processualist approaches were a result of detailed observations – such as those, for instance, which came from the ethnographic research conducted by Hodder in Kenya and elsewhere (Hodder 1982b; 1991) – they received an intense critique from many directions. Bintliff (1988: 13-19), for instance, provides in a detailed study many objections to Hodder’s theory as it is expressed in the volume of the latter on *Reading the Past* (1986). He accuses Hodder of having superficially treated a possible independence of Archaeology from the other social sciences, because Hodder himself acknowledges that his position is similar to that in other disciplines and makes systematic use of their approaches. Then, Bintliff argues that it is difficult “to relive the thought processes of historical personages” even in modern documented history because we can not be sure that the individual’s reactions “are normative enough to belong to general human types of response”. In addition, he thinks that the actors’ reactions in the past are to a great extent other-defined and unconscious and the study of short-lived symbols remains inevitably a “distanced ‘outsider’ analysis” which at its most reveals what we think they were doing. He, finally, remarks that Hodder introduces an “anarchic subjectivity” and quotes Steinberg to argue that “the past is knowable, but not all of it by the same techniques nor with the same degree of certainty”.

Making a detailed reference to recent developments in sister disciplines and taking an intermediate position between functionalism and structuralism, as Leach does, he finds it more realistic to establish a connection with history, especially with the *Annales*' approach and the "Region" as an ideal location for such unified research" (op.cit.: 31-33; cf. Idem 1991). In Braudel's short-term events (*événements*) we may identify actions and persons. Archaeologically, this could be possible in the case where we reveal a rich destruction level where we have the opportunity to follow particular aspects of private or public life and action. Braudel's *mentalités* offer a fruitful theoretical ground to match "insider" with "outsider" analysis, ie. the study of both symbols and technology reflected by material culture. The medium-term events (*conjonctures*) deal with pressures (eg. climatic, agrarian or demographic cycles) "permeating past societies" largely invisible by most contemporaries. These events "are the kind of recurrent, patterned phenomena 'New Archaeologists' pick up from their excavations and surveys". Finally, Bintliff describes Braudel's long-term events (*longue durée*) perspective, "where operate the almost timeless constraints on human behaviour set by certain properties of landscapes or by slowly-changing technologies and worldviews". What he considers to be a suitable attitude for archaeology is that the core of the discipline "must remain positivistic and scientific – all *is* structure; at the same time our discipline is immensely enriched by the addition of post-positivist, humanistic perspectives, because all *is* History. To understand any moment in the past is to see it as a unique fusion of the general and the particular".

Critiques of post-processualism went on further to support that it had set out "deliberately to obfuscate the genuine gains made in over a century of systematic work". Some scholars experienced post-processualist critique as a threat, which came from "those who seek to undermine the framework of traditional archaeological *practice* and who, at their most systematically critical, are indeed nihilists (Yoffee & Sherratt 1993: 8). Indeed, Hodder recently admitted that he and others, in earlier writings, did "toy with a naïve 'all pasts can be argued for' relativism" (quoted in Lampeter Archaeology Workshop 1998). However, as Shanks & Tilley (1994: 10) later asserted, they cannot afford yet "the essential irrationality of subjectivism and relativism", which implies that extreme relativism, at least, has been rejected.

As a drawback was considered also the lack of consensus between researchers and even in the same researcher. Yoffee & Sherratt (1993: 8) argue that the “post-processual school is no school at all” because “it does not attempt to formulate a constructive archaeological agenda, launches no coherent body of theory and method for interpreting the past”. However, Hodder argued that it was a conscious practice among researchers. Post-processualism unlike processual archaeology – to use his own words – “does not espouse one approach or argue that archaeology should develop an agreed methodology. That is why post-processual archaeology is simply ‘post-’. It develops from a criticism of that which went before, building on yet diverging from that path. It involves diversity and lack of consensus. It is characterized by debate and uncertainty about fundamental issues that may have been rarely questioned before in archaeology. It is more an asking of questions than a provision of answers” (Hodder 1991: 181).

To conclude, Archaeology brings the past into the present and tries to make it “accessible within a historical setting that affects its meaning and understanding” (Sbonias, forthcoming). So, the past constitutes an active part of the present and the present affects the reading of the past. As Lowenthal (1985: 26) says, “the past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics”. Post-processualist critique taught us to ask questions such as “who produces the past and why? For whom exactly is this production taking place? In what circumstances? Who has the right to speak and expect to have their statements considered as worthy of attention and comment?” (Shanks & Tilley 1994: 263). In spite of the limitations today trends in socio-political context and science broke down the traditional perception of the past. Modern archaeology works less and less based on established ideas. For a full assessment of historical evolution, the researcher does not stay to the traditional interpretation of the sources. He or she uses material from other fields such as Geography, History, Sociology etc. This does not guarantee objectivity but facilitates control over the procedure.

1.2. The Greek experience

Greeks are connected to their past with a strange pathological relationship, which is manifested in many reactions within the social and political life of the country. My purpose here is to explain the nature of this perception, how it was constructed just before the Greek War of Independence, how it developed the last two centuries and how it affected the options for the nation.

1.2.1. Greeks and their heritage(s)

The Greeks refer to their past both as a source of pride and of great responsibility for the nation. This past, as it is read, reproduced and “exported” in modern Greece, is primarily the classical Greek past. As Clogg (1993: 1) says, “all countries are burdened by their history, but the past weighs particularly heavily on Greece. It is still, regrettably, a commonplace to talk of ‘modern Greece’ and of ‘modern Greek’ as though ‘Greece’ and ‘Greek’ must necessarily refer to the ancient world. The burden of antiquity has been both a boon and a bane”.

However, the great importance which the Orthodox Church enjoyed and the necessity to prove continuity, led the Greeks slowly to the acceptance of the Byzantine past as well, as something which should stand equally close to the Classical Greek past. Therefore, according to Greek intellectuals, the Classical and Byzantine past constitute the two major poles of the modern conception of Greek citizenship.

For P. Leigh Fermor (1966: 106) this double heritage is expressed as a continuous internal conflict within the modern Greek people. The “Helleno-Romaic Dilemma”, as he terms it, is a kind of “a private theory” that “inside every Greek dwell two figures in opposition. Sometimes one is in the ascendant, sometimes the other; occasionally they are in concord. These are, of course, the *Romios* and the Hellene”. According to his theory, “all Greeks ... are an amalgam, in varying degrees of both; they contradict and complete each other”. Fermor proceeds to a word-game on the meaning of these two

adjectives and accepts that for the success of this game “the word ‘Hellene’ is distorted to mean only the exact antithesis to ‘*Romios*’” (op.cit.: 107)

For instance, *Romios* means the one who likes practice, the Concrete and the real, as opposed to the Hellene who loves theory, the Abstract and the ideal. Instinct, empiricism, and fatalism are some key words for *Romios*, while principle and logic, dogma, and philosophic doubt are typical for the Hellene. The *Romios* experiences the *philotimo* (honour-love) which means “honourable conduct between humans” and “sensitiveness to insult”. This often leads to “rash, violent and self-destructive acts, or enduring and implacable feud”. The Hellene also appreciates honour, but considers it as a “legacy from the ancient Greeks”, and the reaction to insult is “less violent and calling for milder sanctions” (op.cit.: 110).

Their attitude towards the past is another matter on Fermor’s discussion. He believes that the *Romios* loves the recent past and the use of the modern Greek language (demotic), though he expresses a “homesickness for Byzantine Empire”, as well. In contrast, the Hellene loves the remote past, uses an archaic language based on ancient Greek (*katharévousa*), and feels “nostalgia for the age of Pericles”. A great symbol for the former is “the Dome of St Sofia”, while for the latter are “the columns of the Parthenon” (op.cit.: 107, 113).

This attitude towards the past partly defines perceptions and evaluations of Western Europe and the European civilisation. Both of Fermor’s “figures” admire the achievements of the European thought, though for completely different reasons. The *Romios* likes the material progress in the West but does not like Western theories, “looking on Greece as outside Europe” and “Europe as the region of the alien ‘Franks’”. In contrast, the Hellene admires Western civilisation seeing it as “rooted in ancient Greek liberal ideas” but does not like Western materialism. Nonetheless, he looks on Greece as a part of Europe and Europeans as fellow-peoples (op.cit.: 107-108).

However, Fermor attributes to the Greeks a series of common characteristics. First of all comes the “emotional feeling for Greece” which is considered as “the country’s deepest conviction”. In his own words:

Affronts, threats and the danger of invasion are the things that not only fling the *Romios* and the Hellene into each other's arms – several things can do this – but reconcile all the internal differences of the country. Courage, self-sacrifice and endurance reach heroic heights. When the emergency passes, cohesion too dissolves, and political rivalries rage as fiercely as ever (no wonder the verb *stasiazo*, 'I am in a state of faction', was one of the earliest verbs one had to learn at school); parties abound and factions flourish but such is the individuality of the Greeks that the country is really made up of eight million one-man splinter-groups reluctantly forced into a series of temporary coalitions.

(op.cit.: 113)

Among other characteristics, which Fermor attributes to Greeks, are the financial acumen, hospitality and Orthodox *pietas*. According to him, "a stranger feels here that is surrounded by people of ancient and civilized descent", a feeling that "grows in force the lower one plunges in the economic scale". Last but not least comes an obscure attribute what he calls "an orientation towards virtue" (op.cit.: 114-115). It seems that Fermor in his influential discussion is deeply inspired by the Greek ideal and from this point on he uses a rather poetical approach. His great experience from travelling to Greece allows him to present its people not only through logic and History but to convey also what he calls "atavistic, subconscious and racial instincts, so deep that a foreigner cannot conceive" (Fermor 1991: 196).

Toynbee in his last book on *The Greeks and Their Heritages* (1981), published after his death, reviews the Greek claim to historical continuity from antiquity. He argues that each successive stage of the Greek civilisation was built on the foundations of the one before. Greek-speakers of every period made use of that "heritage" from the past with their own way. Thus, in the classical period they made use or exploited the "heritage" from the Minoan – Mycenaean past and during the Byzantine times they made use or exploited the classical "heritage".

However, “at each of the successive stages of the Greek people’s history, the number of their heritages from the past has increased”. Consequently, modern Greece uniquely inherited a double “heritage” from the past, both classical and Byzantine. “With the passage of time”, Toynbee concludes, “these heritages have naturally become more and more alien”, but “their increasing irrelevance has not automatically diminished their prestige or caused them to lose their grip” (op.cit.: 25).

Toynbee criticises this relationship with the past and considers that it functions rather as a handicap in what he calls people’s “momentum” towards the future. This happens because “each successive stage of Greek civilisation has been weaker and more moribund than the last” (Beaton 1991: 13). Modern Greeks should reject their double heritage that, despite any profits, drove them to disaster. The ill effects of their persistence in classical and Byzantine past are seen by Toynbee in the language question and the “Great Idea” to reconquer Anatolia, respectively (Toynbee 1981: 5-6; 268-70).

His theory, according to Beaton (1991: 14), “came into being, in part at least, as a deliberate antithesis to the claims of Koraes and others for the special and positive character of the Greek historical experience” and it is “an inversion of Koraes’ conception of the history of Greece”. Adamantios Koraes was a Greek doctor from Smyrna who settled in Montpellier, France, and displayed an admirable eagerness in the study of the ancient Greek literature (Biris 1969; Biris 1970; Dimaras 1985; Beaton 1991).

Beaton in his parallel study of Koraes’ and Toynbee’s work approaches the Greek heritage from another point of view. He follows Toynbee’s distinction of the legacy of the past in two forms. As he says, the first one consists of “the unavoidable consequences or effects of causes that have already taken place”. In this sense the past is not dubious but it “constitutes a fixed legacy with which the nations, so less than individuals or institutions, have to learn to come to terms”. This leads us to make certain paradoxes. One of them is “that the history of Hellenism is a continuous series of discontinuities” (Beaton 1991: 16). Second comes what Toynbee himself is obliged to accept that is the existence of a unique “tenacity of many generations of Greek-speakers in looking back in order to look forward”. We arrive at the conclusion that this charac-

teristic of the Greeks is first of all “a historical fact worthy of explanation and study” (op.cit.: 14).

The second form of the legacy of the past is “the conscious perception and creative use of the past”. In this sense the continuity is not fixed but desirable and pursued (op.cit.: 16; cf. op.cit.: 14). The problem lies in the assessment of this fact; Toynbee assesses it as negative whereas Koraes considers it positive (op.cit.: 14). Beaton remarks that backward-looking is not necessarily negative. On the basis that we live in the present, it is at the same time “a step into the future”. Besides, as Koraes used to say for the language question, nobody can bring the dead back to life. Beaton argues that “Greek-speakers throughout the last millenium have proved themselves adept at building anew upon a heritage with a time-depth matched by hardly any other people in the world” (op.cit.: 15). According to this theory the heritage of the modern Greeks is their own “deliberate construct” and “achievement”, a part of the global heritage. And as that, Beaton concludes, “this creation of a continuous historical tradition out of the discontinuities of the history of southeastern Europe cannot by its nature be dismissed as imaginary or disproved in the face of historical facts. It is itself a historical fact” (op.cit.: 16-17).

Literature on the use of the past in Greece has increased over the last 15 years “following those theoretical developments within western archaeology and in response to recent social and political conditions. Interest has focused on the uses/abuses of the past in constructing national identity and the ‘imagined community’ of the nation, as a consequence of the new climate of nationalism in Europe and elsewhere. Most of these studies have illustrated a feature common in most societies, the use of the past to legitimize a community’s existence” (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 117).

For instance, Kitromilides (1989) on a very well known article, by studying the Balkan nationalism on the basis of Anderson’s theory of “imagined communities”, express his doubts on two assumptions which prevail in the historiography of Eastern Europe, i.e. that “the ‘nation’, as a community of culture and social sentiments, preceded the state”, and “the Orthodox Church played a major role in preserving and cultivating the ethnic identity of the nations of south-eastern Europe under Ottoman rule and in guid-

ing their national 'awakening'" (op.cit.: 150). He claims that "the origins of the militant Balkan nationalism can be traced in the so-called period of Enlightenment and 'national awakening' in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (op.cit.: 149). To support his position he analyses first the initial construction of concepts of ethnic identity in the writings of Balkan intellectuals. "The eventual conflicting nationalisms which sprang out of this ideological transformation were the forces that brought the shared Byzantine legacy to an end in Balkan society" (op.cit.: 152). Analysis goes further to make clear the role of the modern state in the process of national definition through its mechanisms, of which army and education are considered as the most widely used and effective in the creation of the national culture that was necessary for its integration and survival. The third issue is Kitromilides' argument that an antinomy lies in the relationships between Orthodoxy and nationalism due to the patent universal character of the former. That antinomy explains the official opposition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople to the Greek War of Independence and the necessity to create an autocephalous national church in Greece in antithesis to Orthodox canon law.

In a recent article, Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996) approach the subject from a slightly different point of view. They argue that antiquities and the past in general operate as symbolic capital and authoritative resource in modern Greek society. The past, as that, "dominates Greek daily life" (op.cit.: 118) involving "not only state organizations and official bodies, but all people" (op.cit.: 121). It is often exchanged for economic capital or for political and national profit (op.cit.: 119-120), and it is "directly involved in the generation of power...subjected to manipulation by different interest groups within Greek society". The powerful past "often used to mask and to transform other forms of power" as a means to legitimate the authority of a regime or a social group and as a tool for resistance. There are, thus, "different pasts which compete, clash or co-exist". As the authors claim, "neither the official rhetoric, however, nor the discourse on the past generated by ordinary people can hide the fact that the debate is all about the present. It has to do with power, domination and resistance; it is all politics" (op.cit.: 121).

The crisis in Balkans, the Macedonian question and their aftermaths are issues of great importance among the authors and are usually selected as case-studies. Discussions on

the subject revealed another major problem, i.e. that of minorities status within the Greek state. The official Greek aspect is that there is only one minority, i.e. the Muslims of Western Thrace, which is, otherwise, protected the treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey. Therefore, as Tsitselikis & Christopoulos (1997: 418) note in their recent study of the phenomenon, the Greek position is based in a “self-evident” argument: “one minority exists that we acknowledge”. The refuse to accept the right of minorities for self-definition, though it was ever officially accepted, is well-known even to a foreign audience as a number of individual cases reached the European and International courts (Yakoumopoulos 1997: 45-59; Kourtovik 1997). The reasons for the Greek reactions were summarised by Irakleidis (1997: 226) into three points: “a) in immediate reasons, i.e. the distrust and fear for the minorities which have a historical origin, b) in wider social, political and cultural reasons, as the ethnic homogeneity, the Greek nationalism and the Greek identity, the hegemonic image of Greece and the international environment, the state and the political culture and c) in specific reasons which make difficult for Greeks the modernisation of the Greek policy on the minorities, even to think about”.

Moreover, Greece fears that a policy in favor of minorities may turn into question its own expansion in the past to the North where a mixture of population was present. This attitude led Greek policy to an impasse: although there is a shift of Greek politics towards a European – and consequently more humanitarian – perspective, Greece is obliged to follow on this subject similar policies as those of the rest of the Balkan countries. Moreover, this attitude affects the reactions of the country’s intellectual community which keep a rather apologetic or passive position. In this context, the effectiveness of a Greek, or even a Balkan, historian’s work is extremely eliminated.

Skopetea (1992: 9-15) tries to analyse the psychology (and the worries) of the Balkan historian when he/she approaches the history of Balkan peoples or that of the Ottoman Empire, and the antithesis between his/her view and that of a “western” historian (for her “West” means “the modern world” and its boundaries vary depending always where emphasis is, while the term “East” includes a vast variation of perspectives and their relations to “West”). On the first subject, she considers that the Balkan historian balanced between the denial of partiality in favour of his/her nation and the effort not

to offer arguments “to his/her opponent historian, of Balkan origin too, but of different nationality”, who will effectively use it for propaganda (op.cit. 9). She believes that identification with a particular national perspective may be found even in the international, “western”, historiography on the same subjects, when the scientific interest of a historian (e.g. access to the archives of a Balkan country) “meets the interest of his/her country and a true sympathy for the people who he/she studies”.

On the second subject, she thinks that the difference between the Balkan partialities and the “western” ones is that the latter “develop with a more unclear way, as they are usually emotion-free, and, for certain reasons, can keep more strictly any academic standards”. Therefore, although Greek historians cannot easily accuse a piece of the international bibliography for partiality in favour of the Turkish viewpoint, they have to study both sides. However, it is easy to understand that they feel alleviation when studying anything which they consider as philhellenic.

A few studies during the last five years are addressed to Archaeological Museums and exhibitions in Greece. Analysis is shown that Greek museums and exhibitions are largely conservative (Gazi 1994). A lack of a comprehensive theoretical basis of how the Greek archaeological heritage should be displayed and presented in museums led largely to a misconception of archaeology as art history. Limits to orderly and aesthetically pleasing exhibitions gave the impression that they were ideologically neutral as they presented an objective, value-free and widely recognised past. However, the message which came out from the content of those presentations was never analysed and valued though consciously reproduced as a timeless truth. The presented past has been equated for years with the classical Greek one – only recently incorporating the Byzantine and modern Greek as well – thought to be a powerful model. The majority of the state museums were built till the beginning of the 20th century and their purpose was to serve storage, education and public needs. However, most of them practically do not have a coherent educational and visiting policy.

Mouliou (1994; 1996), by studying how Greek identity is projected through travelling museum exhibitions, distinguishes them in three groups according to the countries of their destination and the particular aspects of the messages they called to serve. Exhi-

bitions to Western Europe stressed the classical Greek heritage as a potential symbol of European unity. Intercontinental exhibitions for Australian and Canadian westerners through objects' splendour emphasised cultural and ethnic Macedonian identity from the Greek viewpoint "in an attempt to confront anti-Hellenism and to re-define the dynamics of the Greek diaspora". Intercontinental exhibitions for the westerners of the USA "were promoted as supershows, with big-budget promotions and associated media events", as in the previous case. The exhibitions operated as a vehicle of the Greek argument for an unbroken continuity between ancient and modern Greek culture, occasionally reaching highly controversial statements as the *naïveté* of the "birth of democracy" in Greece implied a kind of Greek supremacy.

According to Kotsakis (1991) the wide connection of Greek archaeology with the state and its political strategies involved the discipline in the rhetoric of nationalism and prevented it from the development of any broader epistemological possibilities. As Nikolaidou & Kokkinidou (1998: 257; *cf.* Zois 1990; Kotsakis *op.cit.*) remark, "despite considerable advances after 1980, mainly under the influence of Marxism and processual archaeology, Greek archaeology" has not yet made independent steps in archaeological thought. As a consequence, not only museum policies are limited and narrow, but the national heritage is also identified "either explicitly or implicitly with notions of strength and, by extension, of masculinity" (Nikolaidou & Kokkinidou *op.cit.*: 238). Greek archaeology has not yet 'lost its innocence' in peopling the landscape either by giving gender to the past (*op.cit.*: 257) or by tracing and debating ethnicities or individual cultures in archaeological assemblages (*cf.* Sbonias forthcoming).

Archaeological practice in Greece is also problematic. Archeological Services (Ephoreiai) are organised according to a strictly bureaucratic system where "trench warfare" and lack of a systematic and effective policy for conservation, restoration, curation and analysis, are prevailed (Kardulias 1994). Bureaucracy and the traditional training of the Greek archaeologists are seen as the main reason as to why they view the work of foreign archaeologists in Greece "with a jaundiced eye" and as "an extension of foreign intervention in Greek internal affairs", though some exceptions must be also underlined (*op.cit.*: 373-379; *cf.* Morris 1994). Another consequence of that situation as well as of the abundance of material added everyday, is that the bulk of data lies in the museums

storages where often a “haphazard storage of these materials makes it nearly impossible within a few years to discern key information concerning, for example, provenience, without which the remains are worthless as aids in interpreting the past” (Kardulias 1994: 379; *cf.* Snodgrass 1987).

Some Greek archaeologists called for greater centralization in the Archaeological Service while others for a closer co-operation between its staff, the foreign schools and the Greek Universities (Zois 1990: 48-54). However, although changes in the administration system and the relationships between the people involved in the archaeological research are welcome, it is a necessity now for the Greek archaeology to change directions and re-evaluate the past and the present of the discipline as a whole. This is more necessary today as a sense of crisis in the classical disciplines and rejection of Hellenism is occurred as a result of the historical and social change since the '50s and the general collapse of intellectual attempts to define the “West” (Morris 1994: 3).

1.2.2. *The origins of the nation*

It is now time to examine when and how this strong bond of the modern Greeks with the past was created and which effective devices were mediated and promoted its emergence and development so as to constitute an integral part of the national “self” today. It is its strength which leads us to think that it must have been created at an important moment of modern Greek history, have had long and continuous development and have fed on a large reputation.

Clogg (1986: 38-41) notices a number of cases where it is firmly manifested that a “sense of the past” grew up among the Greek-speaking intelligentsia decades before the War of Independence. Publication of books “on the history, language and civilisation of the ancient world for a specifically Greek audience” increased towards the end of the 18th century. Vienna at the time of Josef II, where a strong Greek community already existed, became the main centre of production for many books and pamphlets, “the workshop of the new philology of the Greeks”, as Koraes said (Dimaras 1975: 341). Koraes started to edit his *Hellenic Library*, a series of editions of Greek classics from Homer to Hellenistic writers – actually mainly Hellenistic (Beaton 1991: 5) – “with a particular emphasis on those with a political, historical or moralistic content” (Clogg 1986: 38), in an effort to awake the interest of his compatriots. The work was published with the financial support of Zosimades, a wealthy merchant family from Ioannina.

The interest for classical studies multiplied rapidly. Study of classical Greek works dominated the curriculum of the few schools and colleges that were dispersed in the Balkans and Asia Minor at the beginning of the 19th century. Certainly this change appeared in the area of Smyrna – Kydonies – Chios first, when the programme of the schools there received influence from Koraes. In the Academy of Chios just before the War of Independence Neophytos Vamvas had formulated the teaching of language and texts in four grades: a) Grammar – Syntax – Basic elements of ancient and modern Greek, b) Chrysostom, Isocrates, Plutarch, Lucian, c) Xenophon, Lysias, Demosthenes, Homer, d) Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Sophocles, Pindar.

The shift towards classicism strengthened the study of grammar (Aggelou 1975: 325). There was a notable increase in grammars among the published books of that period. Dimaras (1975: 339) remarks that “the impressive gradual increasing of the number of [grammar] editions expresses a sudden shift of the Greeks towards studies related to the ancient Greek language. The great intellectuals of the time are the grammar experts”.

At the same time classical Greek drama, like the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, which was performed in Odessa in 1818, were revived in theatres (Clogg 1986:39). The passion for theatre and the love for antiquity led some intellectuals to write new drama on ancient characters, like Athanasios Christopoulos who published *Achilles* in 1805. The main objective of the theatrical performances was to convict the audience, more or less clearly, towards a nationalistic direction. Koraes believed that the theatre warmed “the compatriots’ heart for the resurrection of the homeland”. Konstantinos Asopios in 1817 considered that the theatre substituted for the lack of schools (Dimaras 1975: 345).

During the first decades of the 19th century some Greeks got the habit to give ancient Greek names instead of Christian ones to their children. The same habit appeared in the naming of ships. In 1813 Dionysios Pyrros, the head of an Athenian school in a prize-giving ceremony, offered to his students a branch of laurel and of olive saying: “now your name is no longer Yannis, or Pavlos, etc., but Pericles, or Themistocles, or even Xenophon etc.; then fear God, help your homeland, love philosophy as well” (quoted in Dimaras 1975: 340; Clogg 1986: 40). In 1817 the school students in Kydonies decided to cease speaking in a language other than the ancient Greek and signed on a document with a double name: Tzanos-Epaminondas, Konstantinos-Havrias, Charalambis-Pausanias etc.

Responses to the habit came from a part of the intelligentsia and the ecclesiastic authorities. Spiliadis considered this situation as a passion, which seized the Greek parents, teachers and gradually even the priests. He notes that it was so advanced as one might hear “even the porters bearing the name of Socrates”. Perdikaris in 1817 satirized this habit and remarked that some of his compatriots got the name of philoso-

phers or heroes and “thought that even without the virtue and cultivation of those eminent persons, with just a name, they are as themselves” (Dimaras 1975: 340-341). The reactions from the ecclesiastic authorities were expressed through a patriarchal circular signed by Gregorius V in 1819, where he condemned the new custom as innovative and as “a kind of contempt of the christian naming” (Dimaras 1977: 364).

The revived “sense of the past” is also traced in the increasing interest among the Greeks for ancient monuments. This had a double meaning: to protect them from the plunderings by foreigners and the selling by compatriots and then to discover and collect any ancient remains. Koraes addressed those Europeans who had stripped Greece of “all the memorials and remains of her ancient glory” and those who as the monks of monastery of St John of Patmos sold pieces of antiquities as if they were “savage peoples of Africa”. He proposed that the Patriarchate of Constantinople should take care of the manuscripts written in Greek by forbidding the sale by the clergy and building a library, to be known as the “Greek Museum” (*Ελληνικόν Μουσείον*), in order to house and catalogue them. In 1813 Greek and foreign philhellenes founded the “Society of Friends of the Muses” (*Φιλόμουσος Εταιρεία*) in Athens in order to discover antiquities and collect marble inscriptions, statues, vessels and any other precious objects. They planned to house the excavated objects in a museum but little was done in practical terms till Greek Independence. However, as Clogg (1986: 41) remarks “the rhetoric of the nationalist intelligentsia continued to resound with impassioned pleas to the Greeks to show a proper respect for the tangible memorials of their ancestral heritage”.

For the Greek-speaking people Christian Orthodox religion and language were the crucial points of their unity. Koraes believed that “language more than religion characterises and unifies and reconciles and fraternises the nations” (Biris 1969: 393). The language became a subject of strong disagreement among the intelligentsia before 1821. Dimaras (1975: 341) saw it as a consequence of the double orientation of the Greek intelligentsia towards “western civilisation on the one hand and the ancient world on the other, enhanced by a trust in the contribution of the people”. As Clogg (1986: 41) remarks “Greek intellectuals were divided into roughly three camps over the question of the language. At one extreme there were those who argued that the Greeks could

only hope to recover their ancestral greatness by reviving the supposed purity of Attic Greek. At the other were those who sought to systematise the spoken language and to give it intellectual respectability by employing the popular language for the composition of serious books. Adopting an intermediate position were those such as Adamantios Korais, who advocated taking the spoken language as the norm, but ‘purifying’ it of foreign words and constructions”.

Katartzis, one of the Greek intellectuals, favoured the use of the “natural” language, arguing that the European nations were doing the same. “Nobody”, he said, “has the authority to give to a word the passion which this does not have at people’s mouth” (quoted in Dimaras 1975: 342). Koraes thought that the current language was “Greek as a whole, except from a few Italian and Turkish words” and what the Greeks only had to do was “to care to exclude these where it is possible” (Biris 1969: 392). The intermediate position was for Koraes a democratic action through which the tyrannical use of an unclear and unnatural language for the people and the demagogic use of a language which would be disgusting to those who have received an education, would be avoided (Clogg 1986: 41). “Language”, for Koraes, “is one of the inalienable properties of the nation. In this property participate all the members of the nation with democratic, let’s say, equality”. Therefore he considered that it was necessary to create a dictionary including words as they were in the people’s mouth. His thoughts became a subject of teasing among the archaisers, such as Neophytos Doukas (Dimaras 1975: 342). The debate over the language sometimes concluded in violent actions. Doukas, for instance, was injured by “a gang of pupils of the demoticist Benjamin of Lesvos”. The debate among the intellectuals continued for long after the War of Independence and so from this point of view the language became “the most important manifestation of the Greeks’ rediscovery of their classical past” (Clogg 1986: 41).

The period between the mid 18th and the early 19th century is considered the time of the – so-called – Modern Greek Enlightenment. Despite what the term Enlightenment means in a European environment, in Greece the classical past weighted always heavily in the intelligentsia’s studies. It was the common point which joined spirits so distanced between each other as Katartzis, Koraes and Doukas (Dimaras 1985).

The messages of the European Enlightenment touched the Greek intellectuals rather late when in Europe their counterparts started to turn back to classical Greek antiquity. Clogg (1986: 36) believes that “the Greeks’ rediscovery of their past glories during the critical decades before the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821 was profoundly influenced by, and indeed largely mediated through, Western interest in the ancient heritage of Greece”. Indeed the Greek language never stopped being spoken (cf. Mango 1994: 13-31) and the large monasteries within the Ottoman Empire always held a good collection of manuscripts, but the revival of interest for Classical studies was introduced into Greece from the West.

Among the classicists there developed an interest for the country where ancient Greek people had lived. Many scholars had already the chance to visit Greece during the first two decades of the 19th century. Most of them came to travel around, admire the works of art, imagine a mythical life and write their experiences using much romantic inspiration (Simopoulos 1973; 1975a; 1975b). In the same climate must be understood also the plunderings of ancient sites. However, few of the travellers attempted to approach the local population and worked to awaken in the latter what they thought was the genuine Greek spirit. A characteristic example is Firmin Dido, a philhellene intellectual who punished some of his students in *Ellinomouseion* of Ayvalik because they made use their “coarse and vulgar vernacular” instead of their “mother tongue, the only one which befitted the descendants of the Hellenes”, and pushed them to change their names into classical ones (Clogg 1986: 40). Other intellectuals, affected by romantic ideas, risked their life fighting beside the revolutionaries. They believed they saw on the face of their fellow-fighters the true descendants of the ancient Greeks. Byron is certainly the most distinguished person among them.

The message quickly reached Greece, influenced intellectuals first and then spread among the ordinary people. The evidences of the glorious past were visible everywhere on the landscape and could easily be used by the Greeks as symbols of national ideology. During the War of Independence, Makrygiannis, a leader of the Greek army, prevented soldiers selling two statues to European visitors saying: “Do not allow them to be brought out of our country even if they give you fifty thousand drachmas. It was for them that we fought” (Makrygiannis 1977 [1907]: 351).

The development of classicism and philhellenism in Europe coincides with the national awakening of the Greek-speaking people of the Ottoman empire. Clogg (1986: 36) says that the “Greeks were the first of the Balkan peoples to articulate a recognisably modern nationalist movement”. The Greek claim for independence should be understood in the framework of the nationalist awakening of peoples all over Europe at the end of the 18th century and so their strong connection to the past. As it became obvious, from the beginning the rediscovery of the past was connected with the national aspirations. It is further known that the Greek language and civilisation deserved a principal place among the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire, and *Phanariots* (Greek-speaking intellectuals coming from the formerly byzantine aristocracy) played an important role in the framework of the ottoman state (Milios 1988: 172-5).

The revolution depended mainly on the merchant middle class which emerged in the last decades of the 17th century within the Ottoman empire in contrast to the “autochthonous landowning-cum-merchant class” (Mouzelis 1978: 13). According to Philimon, the first scholar who studied the *Philiki Etaireia* (a secret association of the Greeks which prepared the revolution), “the brave inspiration and the more brave start of realisation of the Greek unity was placed in the middle class, especially the merchant”. The national ideology grew up among the Greek-speaking living abroad as “merchants in Moscow conceived the national unity for revolution, merchants in Odessa gave birth to it and merchants in Constantinople fed it” (Philimon 1859: 3). The 242 out of 514 members of *Philiki Etaireia*, whose professions Philimon mentions, were merchants and so were its founders. The commercial activities of the middle class were reinforced after the treaty of Kioutsouk Kainartzi (1774) between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The treaty included the right of the Russians to protect the subjected Orthodox peoples of the Ottoman Empire, free navigation under the Russian flag in the Ottoman waters, granting of commercial privileges to the peoples patronised by the Russians etc. Svoronos (1999b: 181) argues that till the end of the 18th century more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the export trade of the whole Ottoman Empire was concentrated in the hands of the Greek merchants. The local Orthodox merchants used the Greek language in their commercial transactions as the Greek cultural hegemony in the Balkans and the East Mediterranean area at this time was unquestionable. Therefore,

Greek-speaking merchants as vehicles of the new socio-economic relations and ideology, found in hellenism their national identity (Milios 1988: 174-5; *cf.* Tsoukalas 1977: 31-57).

Apart from the merchant middle class there participated also in the Independence War a part of the ordinary people which was dissatisfied after the troubles of the 18th century economy, the development of the large estates (*cifliks*) and the pressure by the great landowners and the central Government (Sigalos forthcoming). Some of them had already abandoned their lands and either escaped to the towns or the mountains changing their economy to semi-pastoral (Sadat 1970: 354; Kiel forthcoming). They caused revolts, especially after the middle of the 18th century, but they did not have originally any particular political ideology (*cf.* Sigalos forthcoming). They decided to participate in the Independence War without taking account of the dangers which they might confront.

Tsoukalas (1977: 78-84) remarks that the big land-property was only a marginal phenomenon in those areas which constituted the first modern Greek state (South Greece). Therefore, it was not a revolution which broke out in the framework of a feudal state. According to him, the national awakening in the countryside is linked with the movements of the agricultural population during the 18th century. Thus, the countrymen got in touch with the great avenues of trade and the ideology of merchants. Milios (1988: 172-191) agrees at most with Tsoukalas, but remarks further that the internal migration favoured the emergence of feudal system in the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia and not the adherence to the ideology of the national revolution which took place only in the South. He considers as crucial factor the transformation of the social relations in the countryside, i.e. the decline of the communities of “asiatic type”, and at the same time the reinforcement and relative independancy of certain mountainous and coastal communities under the supervision of provincial notables (the *kodjabashis*). The state of collective possession of land tended to become state of individual possession and individual ownership of the land. At the same time the ploughmen were subjected more and more to the capital, especially to the commercial capital through the market. “Only under these conditions it became possible to be linked the liberal middle-class ideology of national substance and independence with the great

masses of the countryside. Only under these conditions it became possible to acquire all the phenomena of destabilisation of the old regime an explosive-revolutionary content”.

Finally, in the Independence War participated some members of the indigenous traditional elite and the ecclesiastical authority who aimed simply to expel the Ottomans but hold onto their social position or economic situation (Allamani 1975: 79).

Philiki Etaireia managed to bring together all the interested parties till the end of 1820 promising also that when the revolution started a foreign power would assist their struggle. The idea of a foreign intervention in favour of their plans to earn independence was not unfamiliar to the Greeks. The revolutionaries trusted Russians, French and British armies successively (Vernikos 1997). Koraes believed that Europe owed a kind of debt to Greece for the spiritual diffusion to the West after the fall of Constantinople. He pointed out that modern European civilisation stood upon the classical heritage. Therefore, “the Greeks, proud of their origin, far from closing their eyes to the lights of Europe, considered the Europeans as mere debtors, who could repay with very great interest a capital sum received by them from the Greeks’ ancestors” (quoted in Hertzfeld 1982: 16).

The intervention of the three “Great Powers” (Britain, France, Russia) in favour of the Greeks, which ended in the Navarino naval battle (1827) and the complete destruction of the Ottoman-Egyptian fleet, rather unexpected for them, was the last crucial event of the Independence War (Dakin 1973: 284-299). The reactions of the Great Powers in the face of the Greek War of Independence were shaped from different and opposed motives. The fear of one for an intervention of the others led them to be interested in a solution of the Greek question (Petsalis-Diomidis 1975b: 461). It had been a long time since Russia looked for an opportunity to be involved in a war against the Ottomans in order to get an access to the Mediterranean Sea. However, in such an operation it needed the consent of the other Powers. Britain wished to cultivate a British-Greek approach with a role for that country as a patron force and to strengthen its influence in the East Mediterranean area in the event of the creation of an independent Greek state. On the other hand it wanted to prevent a Russian-Ottoman war which would

conclude in a Russian expansion towards the Mediterranean. France, which stayed out from the British-Russian competition, tried by all means to secure a place among those Powers which were going to solve the Greek question and get rights in the East Mediterranean area (Petsalis-Diomidis 1975a: 314; 1975b: 461).

1.2.3. Forging the nation

The idea of a classical past used as an archetype to which all the national reactions should harmonise, was not developed without any contradiction. As early as the beginning of the 19th century, there were not a few who shaped a completely different image for the former ancient Greek landscape. They were disappointed confronted by the very poorness and illiteracy of the modern Greek people and disagreed with their contemporaries' approach. Ottoman Greece did not seem the land of Gods and Nymphs, nor the land of literature and arts. Fallmerayer was probably the first who had the strength to analyze the phenomenon. As early as 1830, in the introduction of his book "*Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*" (A History of the Morea Peninsula during the Middle Ages), he wrote:

The Greek nation disappeared from Europe, because not one drop of genuine and pure Greek blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of Greece.

Fallmerayer's work raised many objections in Greece and abroad. Due to the publication of his first book he failed to ensure a professor's chair at the University of Munich. Four years later the study on the "*Origin of the modern Greeks*", which he read at the Munich Academy of Sciences, was rejected and himself considered as responsible for the scandal. As a consequence he was expelled from the professor's chair at the University of Landshut. A year later, Fallmerayer was promoted to a regular member of the Munich Academy but was not allowed to teach. When he, finally, managed to get the chair of World History in 1847, political persecutions led him to lose it soon after (Fallmerayer 1835 [1984]: 133-138).

Some scholars remarked that Fallmerayer was a politician as well and probably developed his theory in the framework of his political thoughts. Indeed, he did not hesitate to express political feelings in every book that he published. In the famous “*Fragmente aus dem Orient*” he argued that “the interests of the present *status quo* are not others than the restraint and the bridling of the Russian power ... The consolidation of the present *status quo* in the Ottoman Empire is a vital problem of Europe” (Fallmerayer 1861: 268-270).

However, Greeks themselves were aware of the difficulties which the invocation of the classical past put in practice (Beaton 1991: 15). Katartzis in 1783 was dissatisfied from the predominance of the invocation “Hellenes” which, according to him, since the old times meant the pagan. He attacked mainly some intellectuals who “even despite of the grammatical rules dare to change the meaning of the word, and call themselves Hellenes, without feeling ashamed because they are christians and dishonoured because they are Romioi” (quoted in Dimaras 1975: 349). Koraes expressed his ideas in a dialogue between Kleanthes and Aristokles. “Why not Romans as we are called up to now?” Kleanthes asks. Aristokles prefers the invocation Greek (*Γραικός*): “I chose the [invocation] Greek, because all the educated nations of Europe also invoke us in this way. If you chose the [invocation] Hellenes, let’s call yourself, my friend, Hellen; but not, for God’s sake, Roman”. Then Aristokles explains to Kleanthes how the Romans enslaved the Greeks (quoted in Dimaras 1975: 349-350).

Indeed the people of the South Balkan peninsula before the Greek War of Independence were called “Romioi”, which meant the inhabitants of the formerly (Eastern) Roman empire (Kordosis 1996: 276-281). “Romioi” differed from the other peoples within the Ottoman Empire and the Western Europeans in their language and religion. Both of them were directly inherited from Byzantium. Rigas Feraios, activated by the ideas of the French Revolution, believed in an insurrection of all the enslaved peoples of the Ottoman empire which would conclude in the creation of a political system similar to that adopted in United States. One of the large united states should definitely include Balkan peoples. The same ideas were in Alexandros Ipsilantis’ mind, who started the revolution from the principalities by the Danube. The plan was drawn up by the *Philiki Etaireia*: Ipsilantis would turn the attention of the Turks to the North while

the revolution blazed up in the Peloponnese. Philimon (1859: 3-4) argued that the main objective of Philiki Etaireia was a revolution which would include all the Orthodox ethnicities of the Ottoman Empire.

Some of the intellectuals chose to parody the differences in the population. The play *Babylonia* (Babel), for instance, which was written a little later, just after Independence (1st edition 1836, 2nd edition 1840), conveys the mood of the period, though with some exaggeration. Men from different places within the country – a Peloponnesian, a Chian, an Albanian, a Cretan, a Levantine, a Cypriot – and an intellectual, speaking to each other in their own dialects, meet together in a khan (inn) where they realise that it is very difficult to communicate and on top of this the misunderstanding drives the hot-blooded among them to a quarrel.

There are other plays written at about the same period using more or less the different dialects to make people laugh, as *Korakistika* (1813) by I. Rizos-Neroulos, *Exintavlonis* (1816) by K. Oikonomos, some Eptanesian comedies, like *Hasis*, and plays written by Vyzantios himself. However, *Babylonia* is probably the most eminent document of the modern Greek theatre. Vyzantios, in the introduction of *Babylonia*, wrote that when he realised that the Greeks can not communicate, because the schools were few and the language was everywhere spoken mixed with turkish, italian and albanian words, and not wanting to turn it into a tragedy, “set as a purpose to render it comic, so as rather through the joke those who pronounce the greek language badly be instructed” (Evangelatos 1996: 2, 80).

The country which the philhellenes struggled to liberate and European scholars studied theoretically, had in the years of the War of Independence a mixture of populations, consisting of Greeks, Turks, Slavs, Albanians, Vlachs, Franks (whatever this meant), Jews and Gypsies.

Albanians, for instance, were among the people who lived within the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire. The origin of this ethnic group is obscure. Panagiotopoulos (1985: 73-74) proposes a military function of this group originally, comparable to that of Vlachs, as it is located in a mountainous area through which the Egnatia passed. Cvijic

(1918: 122, 159) argues that the Albanians were obliged to move up to the mountains because of the Slavic invasions of the 6th and 7th c. AD. They came to the light of history from the 11th c. AD: the byzantine sources place Arvanon - the 'country-beehive' (Cvijic 1917: 4) of Albanians - in the Elbasan area, though its limits are not clear (Ducellier 1968: 354). A part of them immigrated to the south in the 14th century AD, in Thessaly, a region which was claimed both by Franks and Byzantines. Then, by the 15th c. AD, they had expanded to the Greek mainland down to the Peloponnese, reaching to the east some of the remote Aegean islands (Hasluck 1908-1909: 223-228; Paschalis 1934: 263-282) and to the west through the Ionian islands to South Italy and Sicily (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 70).

Studies on Albanians tend to accept that they settled in Greece as semi-nomadic shepherds: they moved gradually to the south and, where they settled, they lived in hamlets in the plains during the winter while in the summers they moved up in the mountains (Zakythinos 1975: II, 33. Cf. Cvijic 1918: 150) but it could not be the case for long. An Ottoman *defter* for the NW Peloponnese which comes from the first years of the conquest (1461/63) mentions many Albanians families attached to the *timars* (Assenova et al. 1974; Idem 1975). They were not mixed with the "local" population, as shows the same manuscript which marks the ethnic identity of the registered families as "Greek" or "Albanian". The Greek population, as Panagiotopoulos (1985: 92-94) remarks, was concentrated in the fortified cities and in some big villages. In contrast, the Albanians lived in the country in small settlements (*cf.* Bintliff 1995: 112, who notes in the case of Erimokastro in Boeotia the occupation of a deserted fort by Albanian families) which bore the name of the family leader. He attributes the fact to the hostile feelings of the "locals" for the newcomers (*cf.* Zakythinos 1975: I, 131; II, 31, n.2) and to political restrictions - in the Venetian areas, at least (*cf.* Topping 1980: 261-271)- as to their pastoral life and their following social organisation which played a role as to why the great part of the Albanian community stayed away from big settlements.

Little or nothing is known of the Albanian life in Greece until the end of the 18th century, but we can suppose that Albanian families who lived close to areas slightly occupied by Greek population were tied through intermarriages and began to experience influence (*cf.* Bintliff 1995: 111 for Aliartos, 112 for Erimokastro, and 115 for Thisbe

and other places where intercommunication probably began earlier). The Venetian records for the Peloponnese (1698, 1700, 1708? 1711?) do not mention any discrimination in ethnicity (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 135-206), but this does not prove that assimilation was advanced. Until the end of the 18th century Albanians preserved to a great extent their own ethnic characteristics, especially their language. West European travellers, as Pouqueville, refer occasionally to them with their ethnic name (*Arvanites*). Round 1770 a new wave of Muslim Albanians, used by the Ottomans as soldiers to restrain the revolutionary movements in the Peloponnese after the Russian-Ottoman war, settled in the Greek mainland causing problems both to the *reaya* (the non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire) – including their predecessors – and the ruling class.

The old established Albanians (*Arvanites*) participated in the War of Independence on the Greek side and many of the great heroes came actually from their community (Rodakis 1975; Biris 1997). Thus, *Arvanites* enter the Greek state not as a separate ethnic group but “as a close relative to the Greek nation” (Sbonias forthcoming; cf. Marougas 1979). To that contributed the late appearance of Albanian nationalism outside of the Greek frontiers, which grew up towards the end of the 19th c. (Lugoreci 1977: 40-41). The entrance of *Arvanites* to the Greek state caused their assimilation either slowly or with pressure (Svoronos 1999a: 58; cf. Trudgill & Tzavaras 1977). War leaders hellenised their names, in order to be accepted by or to be included in the elite, or later official history did it for them. However, in 1900 most of the villages in Achaia kept their albanian population (Koryllos 1903). Metaxas’ dictatorship forced them to stop speaking their language.

The “Hellenisation” of the whole land, inscribed by the frontiers of the Greek state, and the assimilation of the local minorities has been a long process. Many of the Greek revolutionaries were introduced to the national ideology as late as the beginning of the 19th century by members of *Philiki Etaireia*. The case of Theodoros Kolokotronis, the most famous leader of the Revolution, is characteristic. He came from a Peloponnesian family of Albanian origin. His father and many of his relatives were killed by Ottomans during the massacres that followed the 1770 revolt and the expulsion of the *klefts* (Greek revolutionary bands). He himself fought against Turks in the Peloponnese and

finally fled to Zakynthos where he got involved in piratical activities. In 1808 he was one of the pioneers in the formation of a secret plan for the autonomy of the Peloponnese under French supervision. The government would consist of 12 Greeks and 12 Turks. Kolokotronis later argued that if the autonomy had succeeded, he would have got rid of the Turks in order to form a pure Greek government (Alexiou 1977: 73; Vernikos 1997), but this was rather a later opinion. The same time in Zakynthos he began to read Greek history. He said that “the books I used to read, was the Greek history, the history of Aristomenes and Gorgo and the history of Skenterbey” (Alexiou 1977: 81). In Zakynthos he was introduced to the Philiki Etaireia, but all he was interested in was the liberation of the Peloponnese.

Such a situation in Greece seems to favour Fallmerayer’s theory. However, Fallmerayer himself, as most of his opponents, had in mind an idealized image for ancient Greece: he believed that classical Greeks comprised a single *ethnos* with a more or less unified culture. This image was spread in Europe late in the period of the Enlightenment, but it had its roots in the Renaissance and in the special way that antiquity was comprehended by West Europeans. The scholars during the Renaissance approached the ancient world mainly through Roman eyes. Although after the fall of Constantinople many manuscripts, including texts written by Greek authors, reached Italy and some Byzantine philosophers became teachers of Greek literature there, few Europeans knew the Greek language so that they could study the books in the original. In their mind was a mixture from both the Greek and Roman civilisations. Later, when through J.J. Winckelmann’s (1717-1768) studies – matching the shift of political and cultural interest – the works of Greek art became known, Europeans understood to what extent Greek art influenced the Romans. Therefore, excluding the copies of the Greek prototypes, the rest, genuine Roman works appeared of rather inferior quality (Morris 1994: 15-18).

Modern scholars, for instance, have shown that the ancient Greeks were not an unbroken unity neither would they have felt so. They were divided in small states which competed with each other without hesitating to league with people outside the, so-called, Greek territory in order to isolate their enemies (Hooker 1995: 3). Herodotus, who was the first to describe the idea of the common Greek origin, in Classical times,

and exalted the common struggle of the Greeks in the Persian wars, recognised the existence of, at least, three major tribes: Ionian, Dorian and Aeolian, judging from the nature of their establishment in Asia Minor. This was an artificial distinction as well, but his work was intended to be accepted by an Ionian or an Athenian audience.

Indeed most of what we know of the ancient Greeks, even in our times, is through the books of Athenian authors. But we have certain evidence that things were not exactly as Athenians tell us and that the other states had not the same point of view. Athenian authors, for instance, considered that the people of Sparta were outsiders who came from the north, attacked and expelled the old population. When the Spartans seized Athens in 508/7 B.C. and Kleomenes, the Spartan king, entered the Acropolis, the priestess of Athena prevented him from entering the Parthenon as well, because it was not allowed to Dorians to approach the temple of the goddess. But he had another opinion: he said that he was not a Dorian but an Achaian king (Herodotus V. 72; cf. Hall 1997: 60).

Furthermore, classical arts, philosophy and democracy, which are widely considered as the main achievements of the Greek spirit, evolved in Athens and comprised – as we understand it today – a feature of the city's political status. That Athens was in many points an exception within the Greek world, is frequently noted. For instance, Thucydides (I.10, 2) comparing the panoramic view of Athens and Sparta, seems to be prophetic when he wrote that Athens was the city which concentrated the most important monuments all over Greece and, if Athens and Sparta were destroyed in the course of time, the former would seem to have been a big city and the latter a cluster of small villages. Athens, because of the special economic and political situation which was formed there, attracted all the intellectuals of this period. All these were not only Athenians but from different places as well. The democratic government allowed foreign people to be integrated in the class of *metoikoi*, to live in Attika and have their own property. Much has been said on this government, but we must not forget for the forementioned reasons that the rest of the states had their own government. What can be said about the Spartan government or, even more, that of Argos or of the Achaian federal state? Aristotle wrote about these governments but his studies have only partially survived (Lesky 1985: 783-4).

Scholars were not thoroughly aware of these matters, when studying Greek history at the end of the 18th and the early 19th century when the study of the ancient Greek civilisation was at its very beginning. A glance at the shop windows of the bookstores shows that similar ideas not only attract the wider audience nowadays but constitute the basis of education on Greek world. Thus, what kind history is “sold” and taught for Classical antiquity was basically written more than one century before our days. Readings of Classical Antiquity from Fallmerayer to Bernal need to be reviewed so as to become conscious how romanticism and hegemonic discourses such as racism and ethnocentrism have distorted them.

To conclude, the using of the invocation “Hellenes” for the people living in the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, originates from the period before the revolution of 1821. The view that the inhabitants of this area are descendants of the ancient Greeks grew up in the romantic climate of Western Europe in the late 18th/early 19th century. The myth of continuity was forged among the Greeks living abroad and was largely spread inside by the end of the Independence War, reinforced by the philhellenic current. The success of the Greek national movement partly presupposes the growing importance of the Classical heritage in Western Europe in the late 18th century and its exploitation later by the governments of the three “Great Powers” for political reasons.

1.2.4. A nation with ancient history

The modern Greek state tied its existence to what henceforward is called its past. At the beginning a small region in the South Balkans – including the Peloponnese, Central Greece and some of the Aegean islands – bearing the name of Greece gained its independence earlier than any other under the Ottoman rule (1830).

During the first years after the War of Independence it was largely spread among the intelligentsia there that the small state “was a continuation of antiquity” (Dimaras 1986: 70). This continuity was mainly racial continuity, which means continuity in people. The Greek Archaeological Society (*Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία*), which was founded in 1837, made its assemblies on the sacred rock of the Acropolis at Athens. The president Iakovos Rizos-Neroulos, in a speech held on the Acropolis in 1841, expressed the belief of his colleagues as well when he argued that Greece was neglected in Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine times. He accused the great Empires of everything having happened in Greek history, without sparing Alexander the Great himself: Philip won over the Greeks in the Chaeroneia battle but “he did something more disastrous than this victory, which was to give birth to Alexander” (quoted in Dimaras 1986: 70-71). Then Byzantine history “is a long series of foolish deeds and infamous outrages of the Roman state transferred to Byzantium. It is a disgraceful specimen of the extreme wretchedness and decline of the Greeks” (quoted in Dimaras 1985: 394).

The projection of classical antiquity matched current European cultural and political perception. Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996: 122) note that “classicism as an ideology was popular among the upper and middle classes of the major European powers who were to support Greek national independence and guarantee it a secure life”. The archaeologist Rizos-Neroulos in his speech on the Acropolis in 1838 stressed: “It is to these stones that we owe our political renaissance” (quoted in Tsigakou 1981: 11). According to the archaeological law of 1834, the antiquities became “State Property” as they constitute part of the “National Heritage” (Petrakos 1982: 19-20).

Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996: 122) believe that the favouring of classical antiquity and the exclusion at the same time of the Byzantine past has to do also with the political

choices of the modern Greek state. In their words: “at a time when the Greek state was searching for a model of political organization, the classical city-states were closer to the contemporary western ideals of government than the political system of the Byzantine multi-ethnic empire which was also too ‘authoritarian and theocratic’”.

The idea of continuity affected the selection of a capital and the establishment of the Greek monarchy. The revolutionary government assembled at Epidauros, Aegina and Nauplion. In Nauplion took place the welcome of the first King Otho in January 1833, in a very enthusiastic atmosphere. Those who organised the celebration there knew that Otho grew up in Munich, in a classicist environment. Thus they set up a triumphal arch bearing inscriptions on it, which were inspired by the Homeric poems: “He is both sovereign in wealth and powerful in arms” and “He was taking care of all those that nourish peoples”. Then, below an inscription “Long live Greece” was written: “Achaeoi achieved a lot and suffered many pains”. Another inscription inspired from the Homeric poems was written on the gate of the city: “You rule over people’s cities with safety” (Ross 1976 [1863]: 219). A reference to Homeric society was made to reconcile the classical world with that of kingship (*cf.* Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 123).

Greeks looking for the best way to prove the continuity with the past, tried to organise the public sector having in mind an ideal prototype. The social, political and cultural life of the new state ought to reflect the so-called “Golden Age” of the classical period i.e. the age of Perikles in the 5th c. BC. Athens was selected, after many discussions, as the capital of the modern Greek state. The suggestions also included Corinth, Megara, Nauplion or Argos and Peireus. The Bavarian king Ludwig I, who was a classicist, favoured the selection of Athens. Athens was the city of the great monuments, the symbol of freedom and democracy, the centre of the letters and the arts, the city which attracted all the travellers of the 18th and early 19th century. When Otho arrived in Greece, a celebration was also held in Athens and, as a symbolic fact, a drum of a Parthenon column was restored (Skopetea 1988: 197).

Next year (1834), a vigorous plan was presented to the king designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. According to Schinkel the Acropolis was to be converted into a palace-citadel with an over-sized statue of Athena Promachos (Ross 1976 [1863]: 95, 101).

The Acropolis, which dominates the city of Athens, would provide, according to Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996: 123), “a sense of continuity, permanence, historicity and authenticity; above all, it was the most striking example of classical Athens and its achievements in democracy, philosophy, sciences and arts”. Athena through its widely visible statue would become again “the powerful protector of Athens and guarantor of the new-born state’s freedom”. Actually this plan was never realised but once the capital was established in Athens, the Acropolis became the symbol of Greek national feelings and this perception was strengthened through time as a consequence of its worldwide reputation.

The Acropolis and other classical monuments as evidence of past glories should be matched with similar monumental buildings in the capital city. When Otho came to Greece, Athens was a city badly structured and extensively damaged because of the war (Kokkou 1982: 51). There did not exist suitable buildings to house the public services. The rebuilding started without delay in order to cover immediate needs. In the beginning the mansions did not follow a specific style (Ross 1976 [1863]: 78-79). However, soon after, they were harmonised with the spirit of classicist architecture, which prevailed in Europe in the 18th to 19th centuries. In this way the plan of Athens would become “equal to the ancient glory and splendour of this city and worthy to the century in which we live” (Travlos & Kokkou 1977: 515). The Neo-classical house prevailed after 1850 in the architecture of the big cities of south Greece and spread quickly outside Athens even to areas which remained under the Ottoman control. Towards the end of the 19th c. and the first half of the 20th c. “the influence of the Neo-classical style on the Greek world was so pervading that for a time it covered almost all of mainland Greece, the Aegean area and Asia Minor” (Sfikas 1991: 96). The rich bourgeoisie competed in the building of larger, more expensive and beautiful houses. Ziller, a German architect, made the plans or supervised some of the most famous buildings in Athens and the provinces (Mykoniatis 1982: 48). Many other German architects worked in Greece in an effort to improve the image of the Gods’ beloved country. During this period were built in Athens the University, the Zapion, the National Library and the Polytechnic.

A number of new architects formally-educated or not, followed the examples of the first teachers. Poor or rich, public or private, the houses presented common characteristics, such as “the pediment on the façade or over the main entrance and the windows, the decorative tiles on the eaves, and the beautiful iron balconies with their elaborate mermaids, griffons, sphinxes, swans or simpler decorative plaster bas-reliefs” (Sfikas 1991: 88-90). Where the Neo-classical style was disseminated, the traditional way to build houses, originating from the Ottoman period, was abandoned. The passion for classicism touched even the Aegean islands and changed the appearance of picturesque settlements. Where it was difficult to pull down a traditional house, it was transformed in a way to imitate partially the new style, usually with the addition of a pediment on the façade and /or terracotta roof-tiles.

The Bavarian regency worked very much for the Europeanization of the small country and this certainly meant to build on classicism. However, the Byzantine past was not thoroughly neglected because it was considered as closer to the monarchy and that byzantine christianity formed a fundamental part of the people’s cohesion (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 121-123). This can be seen in the archaeological law of 1834 which mentions Byzantine antiquities among those which were under the state’s protection. It seems that it was not enough to stop the destructive (baleful) actions because three years later a royal decree was issued for the protection of Byzantine antiquities. Otho’s circle several times expressed its antithesis to the destruction of Byzantine monuments (Kokkou 1977; Petrakos 1982). Ludwig of Bavaria, though he was a classicist, helped in the cultivation of an approach to the Orthodox clergy by rescuing the post-Byzantine Kapnikarea church of Athens (Kokkou 1977: 114). Unfortunately for Otho, the Holy Synod refused to nominate him through sacrament because he was a non-Orthodox king (Seidl 1984: 165-166). In fact, there was displeasure against the Bavarian regency because of the arbitrary act to declare the Hellenic Church independent (autocephalous) from the Mother Church in Constantinople and the break up of 412 monasteries which had less than 6 monks out of 450 in total which operated all over Greece until then (Sfyroeras 1992: 310).

The close relation which the population had with Byzantine Orthodoxy and political developments led the intelligentsia to incorporate the Byzantine past as almost of an

equal value to the classical past. The new perception is obvious in the “Great Idea” (*Μεγάλη Ιδέα*), an actually old dream with changing meanings. It was Koletis first, a former ambassador in Istanbul and later Prime Minister of Greece, who made use of the term in a speech to the National Assembly in 1844. It was not clear what exactly he meant by those two words (Hamilakis & Yalouri 1996: 123). Dimaras (1986: 95) remarks that “it was this unclear frame that allowed multiple interpretations of the slogan, and consequently its acceptance within ideological circles of various orientation”. He believes that Koletis referred both to a political renaissance which, according to his party, was necessary at that time and an education policy which, according to plans of 1835 and 1837, aimed to support the subject Greek-speaking people of Asia Minor (op.cit.: 95-96). In 1872 these plans clearly converted to a cultural propaganda as is obvious in the work of the Association for Diffusion of Greek Letters (*Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν των Ελληνικών Γραμμάτων*), which was supported by the Greek Government (Gardika-Alexandropoulou 1992: 324).

The “Great Idea” in its later meaning, as Clogg (1993: 60) terms it, is “the grandiose vision of restoring the Byzantine empire, through the incorporation within the bounds of a single state of all the areas of compact Greek settlement in the Near East, with Constantinople as a capital”. Rigas Feraios and his followers certainly thought in a similar way when they tried to alert their compatriots in Balkans, as it is evident in Feraios’ works, poems (Exarhos 1998) and maps (Zacharakis 1982: 79, 279). “Great Idea”, as Feraios would express it, was a revolutionary inspiration which attacked the Sultan’s oppression – with a special focus on the Balkan peoples – without excluding Ottoman Turks (cf. Milios 1988: 178 for a different approach). During the first decades after the War of Independence and in the face of internal problems, the idea lost its strength. It revived the fore of the revolutionary movements which took place in Crete, Thessaly and Macedonia in 1841. Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996: 213) cite Levidis’ report about the intention of Otho “to rush to Constantinople” after the death of Sultan Machmout in 1840. Otho was expecting, according to him, that “once he arrived there he would be proclaimed Emperor of the Orient”.

However, if “Great Idea” was a revived old idea in its basic content, as I argued above, the “restoration of Byzantine empire” was its old meaning, but it was not used as late

as 1875 yet with this meaning. As Kofos (1977: 317) rightly remarks “the Great Idea had gradually become limited in the conscience of most Greeks to a more concrete and tangible programme: the liberation of all Greeks and the unification of the areas where they lived in a single nation-state”. He believes that, as the Greeks lived in the Ottoman empire scattered in several points, an erroneous aspect was created among scholars that the “Great Idea” aimed at the restoration of the Byzantine empire.

A combination of both meanings, in Clogg’s sense, can be traced in a special moment of Greek-Turkish political history. Between 1870 and 1875 Greek policy shifted to cultivate a friendship with the Ottoman empire. Greece was actually obliged to do this because of the coldness which had been created in the relations between Greece and the Balkan peoples and the intense distrust of the Greeks for the objectives of Russian policy in Balkans, objectives which were opposite to the long-term Greek dreams in the same area. The Greek-Ottoman approach met its highest point in a vigorous plan, which Georgios Zarifis, the Sultan’s Greek banker, confessed to Layard, the British ambassador in Istanbul. The plan included the idea of a Greek-Ottoman unification and the foundation of an empire under the Sultan’s dominion, like the one founded by the Austrians and Hungarians (op.cit.: 316-317). The plan was never put in practice but it became clear that the reconstitution of the Byzantine empire would not be realised without Ottoman cooperation and so it was fairly utopic. However, a general orientation of the Greek dreams towards the East was inaugurated, on the basis that the Ottoman empire was gradually declining and the awakening of the Balkan peoples put a major difficult to an undisturbed Greek expansion to the north. In this meaning “Great Idea”, as an objective of Greek foreign policy, acquired a rather imperialistic character and in its pathological exaggeration reveals the effort of the political elite to draw the attention of the lower classes away from great economic and social problems (Dertilis 1985: 131, 281).

In the framework of the “Great Idea” Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, a professor in Athens University, developed the idea of “an unbroken continuity between ancient and modern Greece”. His main published work was the “History of the Greek Nation” (*Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*). It was published in five volumes between 1860 and 1874 and a preliminary version of it for school children appeared in 1853. Paparrigo-

poulos argued that “there were three main epochs in the long and glorious history of the Greek nation, interspersed with two long periods of subjugation to an alien power” (Clogg 1986: 45). The first epoch, according to him, falls in classical times followed by the Roman conquest and the second in Byzantine times followed by the Ottoman conquest. The more recent epoch started after the creation of the modern Greek state. Therefore, the Greek national consciousness continuously exists from antiquity until now. The subjugated nation always wished and fought to earn freedom, but this could only be achieved in the favourable coincidence of the first decades of the 19th century. He believed that Greeks only achieved a partial emancipation in 1830, which would be completed after the realisation of the «Great Idea» which would unite all the areas with Greek-speaking population in a single kingdom. He argued also that “the ancient Greeks had discovered the parliamentary form of government and that the modern Greeks had been able to avoid the disunity that had characterised the ancient world by adopting the monarchical forms of the Byzantine governmental system” (op.cit.).

Actually, it was Zambelios first in his “Byzantine Studies” (*Βυζαντιναί Μελέται*) published in 1857, who defended the continuity of the Greek world, resisting Fallmerayer’s theory and calling for a shift of interest of modern Greek history towards the study of Byzantium (op.cit.). However, these ideas were fully developed after 1860 when Paparrigopoulos started to edit his *History*. Even he himself proceeded gradually to his theory. In the same year when Koletis mentioned the “Great Idea” in an address to the National Assembly (1844), Paparrigopoulos published a study on “The last year of Greek freedom” (*Το τελευταίον έτος της ελληνικής ελευθερίας*) referring to the Roman conquest of Greece (Dimaras 1986: 98). In this study Paparrigopoulos proceeds to the incorporation of Macedonia, Alexander the Great and Hellenistic history into Greek history. In 1846 he did not yet consider Byzantine history as equivalent to Greek history, as is obvious in an anonymous article published in “Pandora” (*Πανδώρα*) and attributed to him by Dimaras (op.cit.: 145-169; especially 167).

Paparrigopoulos’ theory arose in the framework of the intellectual struggle against Fallmerayer’s work. Indeed the first historiographic study of Paparrigopoulos was titled “On the settlement of some Slavic tribes in the Peloponnese” (*Περί της εποικήσεως σλαβικών τινων φυλών εις την Πελοπόννησον*) where he reviews Fall-

merayer's arguments – or what he thought they were, because Fallmerayer in his later studies focused on the establishment of Albanians rather than Slavs in the Greek lands (Lithoxoou 1991b: 60-63). A great number of books and articles, of variable value, opposed to Fallmerayer's theory, came to light in Greece until the mid 20th century, when the first serious studies were published, focusing on certain points of his work. Up to then the historiographers were occupied mainly with medieval texts which they used to support their ideas. To this direction the work of Paparrigopoulos is distinguished as he had imagined a cultural continuity rather than a racial continuity.

Within the frame of the intellectual struggle against Fallmerayer's theory not only national history but also linguistics and a kind of national ethnology or folklore (*λαογραφία*) grew up and (op.cit.: 63). The main principle of Greek folklore was to prove cultural continuity with ancient Greece and, consequently, identify "certain elements of modern Greek rural culture as fossilized relics of ancient Greek culture" (Danforth 1984: 53). Therefore Greek folklore was involved in the legitimisation of Greek claims and, consequently, it was tied together with nationalism. As Hertzfeld (1982: 8) points out, "the notion of Greekness was the filter through which data passed".

The beginnings of this view can be found in the work of Nikolaos Politis who in 1871 published the book "A study on the life of the modern Greeks" (*Μελέτη περί του βίου των νεωτέρων Ελλήνων*). Folklore raised as a kind of "national science" which owes to discover the "living memorials" of the Greek past, i.e. ancient survivals in modern Greek culture, through the study of language, customs, songs, dances, stories, proverbs etc. According to folklorists (see for example, Kyriakidis-Nestor 1978), data must be primarily investigated among the rural population since peasants are considered as "pure" Greeks who saved through time the "true national soul" and the "authentic spirit" of Hellenism.

In spite of their assumptions of "authenticity" and "purity", folklorists recognise that foreign conquerors left behind them "shameful remnants" in contemporary Greek culture. Those foreign influences were manipulated in various ways. European influences were initially merely noted, then were highlighted as part of modern Greek heritage

because Greece had to prove participation in a European heritage in order to earn European membership and political/military aid. All other influences were seen as definitely “foreign”, sometimes as “barbarian”, and were simply ignored or noted but it was stressed at the same time the supreme assimilative strength of the Greek culture. When influences were of Ottoman/Turkish origin, there were attempts to “cleanse” Greek culture (language, landscape, customs etc.) from them, i.e. remove or eliminate those “polluting remnants”. Where it was possible, influences were traced well before the appearance of the Ottomans to Byzantine times, and therefore they are not truly Ottoman but Byzantine, as Ottomans borrow them from Greek Byzantines. For instance, those dances (karsilamas, tsifteteli, zeimpekikos) with a Turkish name and the shadow theatre (Karagiozis) derived from Byzantine culture and the names rather indicates a case of “spontaneous popular expression” not to be valued and trusted.

Greek irredentist nationalism which was prevailed in the years 1870-1920 fit well with folklore which emphasised on region studies (*τοπογραφία*) in order to reveal the organic unity of Hellenism (*Ελληνισμός*). That unity was understood in the level of history, geography and culture and referred to people inside Greece, as well as to those outside Greece in areas where “unredeemed brothers” lived. As Lithoxoou (1991b: 67) remarks, “the rejection of Fallmerayer and the struggle against him was a significant element of the structure of the national myth”. Fallmerayer was at a great extent an imagined enemy of the nation who “facilitated his intellectual opponents to draw the myth of the ‘origin’ of the Greeks in accordance with the needs of the growing nationalism”.

Between 1877 and 1893 particular economic conditions favoured the development of industry and the great public works. As a consequence the exclusively agricultural character of the population was gradually eliminated and financial capital developed. In the framework of these changes a middle class emerged and fought to acquire power (Dertilis 1985; cf. Aroni-Tsichli 1997). At that time the personality of Trikoupi dominated. Also in 1889 the National Archaeological Museum was completed after 25 years of work and housed antiquities from the great excavations.

Until 1922 the rest of the Balkan countries obtained their independence and fought for domination over the lands of the declining Ottoman Empire. The temporary occupation of Eastern Thrace and the area of Smyrna (1920-22) by Greek armies created an enthusiastic atmosphere and the illusion that past glories could be re-established. The culmination and the collapse at the same time of the “Great Idea” caused a great shock to national aspirations. The dream collapsed forever after the destruction of Smyrna (1922) and the facing of a huge wave of refugees from Asia Minor to Greece.

After the culmination of so many problems, Greek politics was obliged to turn inwards and shift the emphasis “from the *ethnos* to the people and from the irredentist ideals to aspirations for national economic development” (cf. Rigos 1988). A new nationalistic approach was developed which was “critical ethnocentric” (Mouliou 1996: 181). Greece accepted its frontiers and did not lay claims, at least officially, to new areas. In parallel, this change coincided with the activities of the League of Nations towards cooperation and peace among the people of the world.

Spanakou (1994: 53) remarks that “the vacuum, which leaves the collapse of the Great Idea, will challenge discussions, juxtapositions, new (and revived) explorations, through which it is looked for a new dream, a new cohesive ideology; there is attempted the articulation of a new(?) national ideology and the review of national and cultural identity”. She distinguishes three main tendencies, which are presented as strong enough to fight each other and attract the masses just after the Smyrna destruction.

The first is related to the socialist-communist ideal and was developed just one year before the Smyrna destruction. According to G. Georgiadis, a member of the Communist party, the “Great Idea” must be replaced by the ideal of the workers. That means the prevalence of socialism in the Balkans, the liberation of workers and peasants from “indigenous” and “international” exploitation and consequently “the liberation of the Greek workers, which live under foreign imperial yoke (Turkey, England, Italy)”. The national question, that is the existence of Greeks outside the country, will find a solution if the minorities living in Greece join the working class and take over power from the bourgeoisie (Georgiadis 1921: 81, 85). Thus, it is first the social question which

will find a solution. The Greek workers inside and outside Greece ought to fight against capitalism so as to create a Balkan Communist Confederation. The Confederation will include many unredeemed people except those of the North where the Bulgarian Communist party attempted to impose its plans (Papageorgiou 1992).

The second was closer to the general request of that time for inward-looking and self-criticism. It is referred to as a “civilising ideal”, that is the attempt to educate the people of the country, where illiteracy was a major problem. However, it was initially “a rather vague” attempt, as Aristos Kampanis, a Greek intellectual, would notice a few years later. For Kampanis, education becomes an ideal only as “National Education”, and “National Education” should turn to “hellenisation of Greece and the Greeks” (Kampanis 1926: 21-24). What he meant was the linguistic hellenisation of the heteroglot Greeks. Modern Greek language (demotic) would become a fundamental instrument to the realisation of these plans. Kampanis envisaged the prevalence of the demotic in the education plans of all political parties, its cultivation in all kinds of speech – artistic and scientific – and the press so that the assimilation of the heteroglots could advance. Demotic would contribute also to the development of love for the Greek land, to getting to know Greece and the Greeks, to the development of national health and wealth, and to the adaptation of the national ideal to the universal ideal of peace. Kampanis stressed the significance of his suggestion because “Greeks will be judged on the degree of their hellenicity in the modern state” (op.cit.: 24).

A third suggestion, which appeared a few years later (1930), had a similar content. Another Greek intellectual, Spyros Melas, through the journal *Idea* (Ιδέα), suggested as a new revolutionary idea, equal to the “Great Idea”, the prevalence of “demoticism” (the movement which supported the use of the modern Greek language). According to Melas (1933: 196), “demoticism” would be for Greece what fascism was for Italy.

In the Mid-War time, “Marxists, anti-Marxists, socialists and intellectuals of various perceptions” got involved in the discussions about the nation and all related values (Spanakou 1994: 56). Inward-looking resulted in a conflict between the two main political parties, which sum up many of those various perceptions. In course of time the debate was so dramatic that twice in a forty-year period (1936-1941, 1967-1974) po-

litical life fell into troubles. The two main political parties operated under the same basic terms, but were differentiated in their views regarding the intervention of the Great Powers, especially in the period of the Greek Civil War and later in the period of the Cold War. But these new foreign relations of Greece and the participation in the creation of the international balance of power, moulded the country into an “international nationalism”. In course of time “cultural identity was losing ground to political identity” (Mouliou 1996: 181).

Social and political life in contemporary Greece is characterised by a complexity of perceptions. After the end of junta domination (1967-1974), during which ethnocentric nationalism reached its apogee, many Greeks called for an opening to Europe in order to catch up with developments there and the rest of the world. Following this demand, Karamanlis signed in 1981 for the entrance of Greece into the European Community, though there were other voices stressing the dangers of such a policy and despite the strong criticism of the opposition.

Those who stressed the dangers on Karamanlis’ policy, projected forward the bad results which foreign intervention in the country had caused during the junta period. When the leader of the opposition Andreas Papandreou won the elections in 1981, one of the central signals was “Greece belongs to the Greeks”. The new prime minister had already declared, when he was in the opposition, the disagreement of his party to the entrance of Greece into the European Community and NATO. Although later he was obliged to remain in EEC and NATO, “attitudes towards the West began to harden” (Morris 1994: 38; *cf.* Clogg 1993).

In 1983, the Greek government threw itself into a struggle for the return of the so-called “Elgin marbles”. It is about a collection of sculptures in the British Museum coming mainly from the Athenian Acropolis. Among them is a Karyatis (Kore) from the Erechtheion and large parts from the marbles of the Parthenon’s facade. The marbles were removed from their initial position by Lord Elgin, a British ambassador in Istanbul, at the beginning of the 19th century. Elgin took permission from the Turkish government to send specialists in Athens in order to study works of art, to excavate and to remove some minor marbles. But he persuaded the Turkish authorities there to

let him remove 253 pieces from the Acropolis and other sites and ship them to England, where he sold them later to the British Museum.

Greeks always felt that the marbles were stolen from their monuments and should be given back to their country. On the other hand, Britain claimed that these were obtained legally with the consent of the then Ottoman Empire (Hitchens 1987). The contrast between the two sides revived when the socialist party won the elections in Greece. In this climate of enthusiasm, Melina Merkouri, the Minister of Culture, “began a vigorous campaign for the return of the Elgin marbles to Greece” (Morris 1994: 38; *cf.* Hitchens 1987). She elevated it to a major national question and took care that the publicity of the Greek request circulated to political and intellectual groups in other European countries. Many of them considered that it was a just claim and forced the British government to take the subject seriously. The first informal justification of the English specialists that Greece was not able to conserve these historical works of arts, drove Greece in a desperate effort to prove the opposite.

The operations of the government received an almost general acceptance and assistance in Greece. Large amounts of money were put at the disposal of archaeological work in this period. The main point of interest of course was the Acropolis. At the beginning, archaeologists, architects and other scientists studied the damage caused to the monuments by factors like the pollution in Athens and the oxidation of the material used in earlier restoration projects. Then they set up an ambitious project in order to conserve them. The sculptures which were in danger were transferred into the museum and were replaced by copies on the monuments. The old reconstruction material was replaced with a new durable one. Very recently a true reconstruction project was developed which at a first stage aims to put certain scattered pieces or others already fixed but wrongly, in the right order (Economides 1994). A new museum has been announced to be built in Athens to shelter the marbles from the Acropolis’ monuments, hoping to shelter the “Elgin marbles” as well (Etienne & Etienne 1992: 136-138, 154-161). The official response of the British museum was that “its trustees are expressly forbidden by British law to dispose of the objects in their charge” (Renfrew & Bahn 1991: 464). The British response was justified by the view of Council of Europe, ex-

pressed rather awkwardly, that “modern Greeks have no racial affinities with ancient Greeks” (Greenfield 1989: 91-92).

However, the Acropolis question is not exceptional because of the significance of the monument as a worldwide symbol of Greek philosophy and democracy. The reactions of the Greek Ministry of Culture, which coordinates the effort for the return of the Elgin marbles, must be understood in the framework of its general policy to project the national ideology. For instance, in our times the new branch added to the Ephoreia of Antiquities (Archaeological Service) in order to protect modern monuments, i.e. those which were erected after the Greek Independence (1830), cares mainly about Neo-classical houses in urban areas. As a consequence, a great deal of these buildings are already restored and a neo-classicist mania has appeared in contemporary architectural perception. The neo-classical style was prevailing in Greece until the World War II when the use of reinforced concrete and urbanisation led people in the cities to choose more practical solutions. The restored neo-classical buildings were converted to house public services or sold to cover individual requests.

Apart from the neo-classical mania, a “sense of the past” is obvious in some modern structures. Wealthy families spend money to build houses using ancient features both in architecture and decoration. An imitation of ancient style can also be seen in buildings with a commercial character. Hamilakis & Yalouri (1996: 119) highlight the appearance of such features in private houses, arguing that it expresses a more personal feeling and reveals that “the phenomenon is related to deep ideological constructions”.

Archaeology proved always a fruitful source for the occasional feedback of collective feeling, as happened after the end of junta domination in the revival of the Macedonian question. The unexpected discovery of the so-called tomb of Phillip II of Macedonia by Manolis Andronikos in Vergina, near Thessaloniki, in 1977 was bound to strengthen the ethnocentric tendency. Although scholars in Greece and abroad greeted his interpretation with much skepticism, Andronikos till the end of his life had no doubt that the tomb belonged to Alexander the Great's father (see for instance: Andronikos 1999). The rich and impressive finds as well as the political significance of the excava-

tion rendered Andronikos' name in Greece almost equivalent to "the archeologist" (Zois 1990).

The history of Macedonia and its political significance in modern Balkan politics has frequently been "a major source of conflict and instability" in this area. As Danforth (1993: 3) rightly remarks, the Macedonian Question in its late stage of development focussed on "two major issues: the human rights of the Macedonian minority in northern Greece and the international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia". In particular, since the mid '80s human rights groups, arguing that they express also the feelings of a minority of about 20,000 to 50,000 Slavic-speakers (United States Department of State 1991: 1172) living on the Greek-Yugoslavian border, raised claims for recognition of this minority by the Greek government. The very fact cannot be comprehensible without the presence of a Yugoslavian republic nearby, which bore the name of Macedonia, and the particular political choices of Greek Macedonians during the Greek Civil War. Regarding the latter, it is known (Kofos 1964: 186; Tsagaris 1992) that Greek governments in that period followed an oppressive policy on the Macedonian minority, identifying those having left-wing political ideas there with the whole Macedonian community, and thus considering both identities as dangerous.

The minority's status was made worse as the official Communist viewpoint on Macedonia since mid 1920's supported initially the idea of the creation of an independent nation-state (1924-25) and then that they comprised a minority deserving the rights of "full national equality" (1927-35) (Papapanagiotou 1992: 67-109; Karakasidou 1993; cf. Lithoxoou 1991a: 23-4; Kostopoulos 1992: 23-24; Papadimitropoulos 1993: 85-6). Thus, when the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) earned its independence in 1991, Greece refused to recognise it and put pressure on the European Community not to accept FYROM's demand for recognition. This was largely achieved, as the first EEC responses reflected the Greek point of view (Danforth 1993: 9-10). In order to increase the pressure Greece cut off Macedonia by blockade. As a consequence, FYROM was led to a compromise on many points but the problem as a whole has not found an accepted solution yet.

During this conflict, Archaeology was mobilised from both sides to assist their claims to exercise control over a part or the whole of the geographic area where the ancient Macedonians lived. For many Greek intellectuals, a Macedonian nation cannot exist, as just one people in history is known with that name, and this people was Greek. Moreover, “there cannot be a Macedonian nation since there has never been an independent Macedonian state” (op.cit.: 4). Greece is against the using of ancient Macedonian symbols by the newly founded nation-state of FYROM. In particular, Greeks reject not only the use of a motif discovered in Vergina as an emblem on the flag but also the use of the name Macedonia (Brown 1994). The arguments were expanded to cover the denial of the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece and of a distinct Macedonian language. As Kofos (1964: 226), a historian employed by the Greek Foreign Ministry, wrote, what exists is only a small group of “Slavophone Hellenes” or “bilingual Greeks”, who speak Greek and “a local Slavic dialect” but have a “Greek national consciousness”.

Greek arguments found their way on a vast amount of publications inside and outside the country, and in several languages. Politicians, journalists, lawyers, economists, artists etc. contributed to what they thought it was their duty to the nation (Elefantis 1992: 31-9; for reactions in the Greek press, see Armenakis et al. 1996; Panagiotopoulou 1996). Eminent historians, archaeologists and linguists supported through their work and ideas the continuity of Greek civilisation in Macedonia and consequently the shaping of a distinctive (Slavo-)Macedonian identity (eg. Sakellariou 1982). The Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Pedagogic Institute devoted a booklet to Macedonia (actually a summary of Sakellariou op.cit.) in order to immediately inform the educational community, and planned to edit further a textbook for use in the 3rd grade of Gymnasium (Ypourgeoio Ethnikis Paideias kai Thriskeumaton & Pedagogic Institute 1992). However, what is again perhaps more significant is the mobilisation of the ordinary people all over Greece during the Macedonian question crisis (Karakasidou 1994). In Thessaloniki (14.2.1992) and Athens (10.12.1992), for instance, about 1,000,000 and 1,300,000 people respectively manifested the Greek viewpoint (Sofos & Tsagarousianou 1993: 60) concentrated in slogans such as: “Macedonia was, is, and always will be Greek”. Furthermore, because Macedonian propaganda was expanded in diaspora communities in Canada and Australia, the conflict was transferred there

(Danforth 1993: 9). The Ministry of Culture had organised travelling exhibitions on Macedonian culture to Europe, Canada, Australia and the USA already since the mid '80s (Mouliou 1994; 1996).

Brown (1994: 785-790) analyzing the reactions in Greece and FYROM notices that the dispute between them in 1992-94 was concentrated on the flag, because both countries were "vying for exclusive rights to the symbol". The flag seemed "the kind of 'self conscious projection' that because of its totalizing nature cannot endure change". Therefore, "a symbol empowered by archaeology is today a token by which present regimes claim stewardship of the past and thus gain legitimacy and authority". Even if anybody could make a counter-suggestion that the flag in the light of *Realpolitik* "appears merely as a useful pretext to disguise the Greek-Serbian axis", it remains as a powerful symbol which was selected as a priority.

Then, the existence of an independent nation-state on the Greek-Yugoslavian border bearing the name of Macedonia was comprehended in Greece as a menace. Greece, argued that the use of the name implied territorial claims on the neighboring countries. Although FYROM later confirmed that it did not lay any claims, the name still irritate spirits in Greece because the right of self-determination of the former falls on the same right of the Greek Macedonians (Papadimitropoulos 1992: 80-81). Elefantis (1992: 32) stresses that the word "Macedonia" sums up the defence of Hellenism, in contrast to the word "Skopia" which sums up the fatal threat. However, he thinks that conflict is on something more than the name, because Greece by denying the existence of a distinctive slavo-macedonian nation, denies also the Macedonian state itself (op.cit 36-7). Greece urges or obliges the people of FYROM "to identify itself with other 'natural' identities" (racial, linguistic and religious), be recognised through them, and abandon its distinctive slavo-macedonian identity through which it is currently recognised and finds the elements of its national coherence (op.cit. 40). Therefore what is attempted is "the *symbolic dismemberment* of the slavo-macedonian nation", which, if it happens, will lead quickly to the dismemberment of the state (op.cit. 55). The current official Greek foreign policy is actually scornful (FYROM is referred in Greece as "artificial creation" and "inferior state"), "forbids or prevents the newly-founded state

from constituting a state, keeps it under a doubtful situation, and nurtures the internal separatist and destabilisation tendencies” (op.cit. 38-40).

Furthermore, Greece by denying to recognise the existence of a Slavic minority within its borders, refused also the slavic past as a component of its history, as happened before with the ottoman, albanian or other contested pasts. Towards the same direction goes the official effort since 1909 to change the toponyms with a foreign, non-greek root into pure greek ones (Lithoxoou 1991b: 63-4; cf. Kolokotronis 1925). Therefore, Greece’s official – and touristic – map during the second half of the 20th century depicted a new version of greek geography that reflects the faith and “loyalty” to its ancient past.

Members of the scientific community also contribute – consciously or not – to the formation of the contemporary greek landscape working in national institutions (Karakasidou 1994). However, in the margin of the official Greek position which is effectively propagated, scientific research carried out both by greeks and foreigners has begun to constitute a differentiated voice which provokes a serious “internal debate” (Cowan 1997: 263). Archaeological research of the 20th century steps on more stable ground than ever before. New trends from abroad now frequently reach Greece as young scholars choose to conclude their studies outside the country, though sometimes the dissonance to the national perception may keep certain scholars out of the country (cf. Hamilakis 1996: 978) and prove even very dangerous as in the case of Anastasia Karakasidou (*The Times Higher* 9 February 1996).

What is going further to make the difference and multiply the achievements made at the scientific level within the community itself, seems to be education. This does not mean that education is going to “deliver the goods” without making any changes to its infrastructure. How it can be so, as education operates within the same community, conveying the ideal which that community prescribes for its students?

2. CURRENT METHODOLOGY OF TEACH- ING THE PAST

The “desired” past is effectively propagated through education. As schools are, usually, national foundations or state controlled, they tend to project the national self and reproduce the dominant ideology. State officers judge which past must be taught and which must be excluded (Stone & Mackenzie 1990). Archaeology is not usually taught. Most people after graduation from schools do not choose to attend further studies in History or Archaeology so as perhaps to develop a critical view towards History. However, Universities are no less affected by nationalistic ideas. The “good” periods are reinforced. As is obvious, the circle of ideological reproduction is strong enough for any evaluation to be ignored or neglected.

2.1. The traditional Greek experience

The special reading of the past by the Greeks has inspired historical and archaeological studies and thereafter the education at all stages. In the traditional Greek education Archaeology has never been taught as an independent subject, whereas elements of archaeology were to be found primarily in History textbooks and secondarily in Geography and Language textbooks.

Therefore in this chapter I am going to examine the main educational changes in Greece compared with developments in the teaching of the Heritage, focussing on the History lesson. As we are going to see, the objectives for history teaching differ from time to time and are tied to developments in the politics, society and economy. The degree of dynamism and originality of the changes – similar to the progress in all other aspects of life – is affected by internal as well as external factors. It is known that the Greek state since the beginning of the last century has had a dependent development

reflected in education as well (Tsoukalas 1977). In due course changes are also owed to the rise of educational level.

Then I am going to examine the tendencies in history teaching today, referring to the current official aims, methodology and syllabus content. Education theory and practice may follow different paths in many points. Hence, I will conclude by studying the teaching reality, as it is manifested in history teaching in class.

2.1.1 Heritage teaching in Greece: an historical overview

The first decrees for Education in the modern Greek State were issued soon after the War of Independence by president Ioannis Kapodistrias. However the foundation of the educational system was laid in the era of king Otho. It was influenced by the German model; Greek School and Gymnasium copied their German counterparts, Lateinische Schule and Gymnasium (Bouzakis 1991: 39).

The two basic decrees, for the Primary (1834) and Secondary (1836) Education, did not include any aims in essence because the objective was simply to prepare students for the next level. However, in the decrees of 1834, 1836 and 1837 we recognise some of the basic elements that will dominate the Greek Education for a whole century, such as classicism and prejudice against manual work. Children are forced to “the study and the worship of antiquity and the archaic language at the expense of the language being spoken by the people. The philologic and archaistic ideal, rooted in the ancient Greek civilization will prevail” without maintaining its “humanitarian character”. In essence, education will become “grammar education” (op.cit.: 41; cf. Polychronopoulos 1980. A: 182-183). Koraes edited many works of ancient Greek authors, believing that these would smooth down the big differences between the people living in Greece. He also suggested the use of a “pure” language (*katharevousa*), free of foreign elements, based on ancient Greek grammar (Beaton 1991). He could not predict how his suggestion, as we are going to examine in the next chapter, was used later as an instrument to exercise pressure. Some of these elements have survived into our times.

However, Tsoukalas (1977: 503) argues that the Greek school system during the period of the Bavarian regency was better than that of the capitalistic metropoleis; it was free and early “democratic”. Bouzakis disagrees with him and remarks that only secondary education was free. Moreover, High schools were situated in big towns and had a strict internal examinations system. Yet, the fact that teachers in rural country had a lower level of knowledge and there was a high level of illiterates proves, according to him, that access was possible only for the dominating classes (Bouzakis 1991: 42-43) and that “the Bavarians” favoured Secondary Education “because they aimed at the creation of a class devoted to them” (op.cit.: 45).

The decree of 6th/18th February 1834 for Primary Education includes teaching of the following subjects: catechism (if parents want), elements of the (ancient) Greek language, reading, writing, γραμμική (linear), drawing and phonetic music. Additionally it was possible to teach geography, Greek history, and the most necessary elements of natural sciences (Dimaras 1973: 45; cf. Lefas 1942: 72). As is obvious, there was no obligatory teaching of History at the beginning. In Primary School only students attending the schools in the provincial capital towns were taught History (Coulouris 1988: 19). The mutually instructive method prevailed due to lack of teachers (Papadaki 1992).

The *Οδηγός της Αλληλοδιδασκτικής* (A Guide for Mutually Instructive Method) was published in 1850. This guide suggests that “history is best taught at the beginning with the use of short novels, biographies and narration of events especially from Greek History, in chronological sequence”. Students had to memorise those texts and write a composition. Furthermore, students learned a concise General Greek history “which highlights great achievements, virtues, evils, laws, ethics and polity, the causes of rise and decline of nations” (Abdela 1998: 19). Teaching aimed purely at instructing; the teacher “should inspire the students to love virtue, to despise evil, to respect the established, patriotism and social virtues” (quoted in Coulouris 1988: 148-149).

The same words are used to define the purpose of education in 1856, in a circular to the chiefs of prefectures. Similar ideas are reflected in the circular of 1872. A more precise circular is that of February, 15th 1880 which sets as the pursuits of the Primary

School moral and religious education and secondly the communication of necessary knowledge for practical life (Mylonas 1998: 172-173).

In September of 1880 the mutually instructive method is abandoned and a new aim is added to school; that of the education of new citizens with knowledge about nature and history, so that they become good members of the society, influenced “by national characters”, and skillful workers (op.cit.: 173). The next year (1881) Petrides’ *Στοιχειώδεις οδηγίαι περί διδασκαλίας των μαθημάτων εν τοις δημοτικοίς σχολείοις* (Rudimentary instructions for teaching in Primary Schools) is published. Due to lack of a curriculum, this work will be approved by the Ministry and will comprise the basic guide for Primary Education.

History is now an independent subject, taught at the 3rd and 4th grades of the 4-year-long Primary School and covers a time-span from the mythic past to contemporary times. Petrides’ guide refers to History as aiming at “the child’s moral education, development of national sentiment and sense of honour, as well as systematization of historical knowledge. The lesson should praise the glorious historic events and the works of peace and promote the idea that he who is hard-working, worthy and patriotic succeeds in life no matter what his social origin is” (Abdela 1998: 19). Regarding teaching methodology, the student’s comprehension is the measure while memorization is rejected.

The content of historical knowledge is considered wider than usual and includes every human “act”, that is not only political and military events but new fields such as “home, society, state, art, science, trade, industry, the struggles of humanity towards development and promotion of them all”. Through history children learn that societies change because of human action. For this reason some nations move forward while others remain stagnant. Human’s freedom and social goods have become possible through fights and sacrifices. What is pursued is the moral and religious education of the child, since the teacher has to teach that happiness or unhappiness of individuals, societies and nations rests on the compliance or not with moral laws and the demands of the divine Providence (op.cit.: 19-20).

Coulouris (1988: 40, 53-55) argues that the curriculum of Petridis introduces the “hellenization” of school History, whilst the formal establishment of the tripartite: antiquity-Byzantium-modern times aims further at the “reinforcement of national sentiment”. Indeed, the publication of the “History of the Greek Nation” by K. Paparrigopoulos between 1860 and 1876 exercised strong influence on History teaching. Since then History is expected not only to convey systematic knowledge for the past in accordance with the scientific notion of every period, but mainly “to form characters, to offer to children models for action and attitude and cultivate their national sentiment” (Abdela 1998: 20). Therefore, children must learn their national history, a kind of history which serves and promotes certain educational objectives that result in the formation of good citizens and patriots.

History had been taught in the High School since 1836 as a basic subject. Its aim was to impress in the students’ memory principal events, names and dates through pleasant narration, which intends “to cultivate the tendency of students to express their ideas freely” (quoted in Coulouris 1988: 102). A bill of 1840 describes the aim of History as: “not only to provide students with a general and complete overview of historical events but to stir in their hearts the sense of the true, good and beautiful which appears in every period” (quoted in Coulouris 1988: 128). Since 1886, when the first curriculum for High Schools was announced, the history of “the Greek nation” has been taught with emphasis on the three peaks: antiquity- Byzantium- modern Greece (Abdela 1998: 28).

The law of 1895 and the bill of 1899 comprise the first serious reform of the educational system after the first post-revolution years. Reform was imperative since many changes had occurred in socioeconomic circumstances. Education tried to adapt to the changing needs of the economy and school aimed at preparing students to enter social and professional life. Priority is given to Primary Education where the attendance is extended to 6 years. Emphasis is put on practical knowledge without abandoning a general classicistic orientation of the curriculum in Secondary Education (Bouzakis 1991: 47, 52). One can trace the new trends in the law of 1895 but in 1899 they become fully expressed. The aim of the Primary school according to the law of 1895 is identical to the law of 1880. In 1899 the term “National schooling” appears for the

first time and is added to the aims (Mylonas 1998: 175). Frangoudaki (1987: 22) believes that the bill of 1899 “comprises the first complete formulation of bourgeois educational reform”. In this reforming climate arises the movement of demoticism (op.cit.: 206).

History in Primary school has been incorporated in the “pragmatic subjects” along with geography, natural history, physics and art since 1894. Within the High School curriculum two trends are competing in syllabus content from 1894 to 1913: a) emphasis on biographies of “distinguished men” which is obvious in the curricula of 1894 and 1896, b) emphasis on civilization expressed in the short-lived curriculum of 1897 and that of 1906. Other characteristics of that period are the stress put on the importance of modern history and the attempt to keep the textbooks updated. Because of the defeat in the war of 1897 the teaching of History is recruited to “reinforcement of national sentiment”. The systematic teaching of Byzantine History and the History of ancient Macedonians focus on continuity and leads to hellenocentrism. Teaching History of other peoples is limited and in practice omitted. Although instructions state that other nations should not be underestimated in favour of the Greek, there are often characterizations such as “enemies of the nation” (Abdela 1998: 28-29).

During the 1910's a series of dramatic events takes place in education. The events form the background to the reforms that will follow. In 1901 the “Evangeliaka” breaks out, i.e. a conflict on the language, that started when a translation of the Bible in modern Greek language (demotic) was published. Two years later (1903) “Oresteika” gives rise to new demonstrations because Aeschylus' Oresteia was performed in demotic. The first Educational Congress takes place in 1904. In 1908 the Higher Municipal Girls School in Volos with Delmouzos as headmaster is transformed into an entrepreneurial education centre. In 1910 two educational groups are formed: the Εκπαιδευτικός Όμιλος (Educational Omilos) – with Delmouzos, Glinos and Triantaphylides among others – and the Φοιτητική Συντροφιά (Students' Company). Both of them act as the means for the study and the promotion of educational and language issues as well as their social implications. In the same year, the first progressive political programme is published by Papanastasiou.

Thus, in 1913 and 1917 the Venizelos Government made a new attempt to promote reform in order that education may adapt to the new society and novel economic factors. This attempt at reform was made easier after the urban class took over power and the favourable result of the Balkan Wars. Changes were radical, inspired mainly by the members of the Educational Omilos. The objective of school was simple and clear: to prepare children for life. The demotic language is established together with parallel technical and vocational education. The use of multiple textbooks is foreseen.

But resistance is strong, headed by the Philosophical School in Athens. This resulted in the failure of the attempts for reform at the first signs of difficulty. These plans evaporated with the fall of Venizelos (Dimaras 1973/74). The protagonists for reform were prosecuted and a return to the educational state before reform was carried through. Bouzakis argues that the “reforms of 1913 and 1917 constitute the first convincing proposal for urban-democratic glosso-educational reform in the 20th century” (Bouzakis 1991: 67). The inability to impose the urban school system is due to the fear of the urban class that it is in danger because “the opening of the school and the glosso-educational reform would raise the educational level of the people” (op.cit.: 69).

No significant change was allowed in the teaching of History in Primary School. Abдела (1998: 21) notes that the “demoticists lined up against classicism, they will defend the cultural continuation of Hellenism, the significance of Orthodoxism as a component of Hellenic identity and the emphasis on modern times as the conclusion to the historical course of the nation”. With the application of the six-year Primary School, the syllabus content is extended to the four higher grades and covers mythology, Greek antiquity, the Roman and Byzantine Periods, the Turkish Occupation period, the Revolution and modern Greece, with references to the history of the European countries that were associated with Greek history.

In Secondary education there will also be no significant changes in the subject of History. There is of course a clear preference for modern history and the history of civilisation. The subject is taught in two successive cycles: one in the so-called “Greek”

School where only Greek history is taught and one in High School where facts from European history are added (op.cit.: 29).

The return of Venizelos to power promoted a new attempt for reform in 1929. For the first time the objectives of the Primary School do not include the national and religious schooling of the pupils, but rather “their preparation for life and giving them that which is necessary for their education as honourable citizens”. In general, however, this reform was more conservative than the previous one. The Government isolates the “extreme” elements in order to avoid reactions and the risk of losing power. Bouzakis believes that “the education reform of 1929 lays the foundations of the urban school and shows a remarkable positive development since the educational system does not address itself any more to the middle and upper social classes, but also to the lower classes, who would receive more schooling in Primary School” (Bouzakis 1991: 86-87). He concludes however that the reform affected mostly the external characteristics (organisation, administration) and to a lesser degree the internal characteristics (programmes, methods) of education (op.cit.: 88). This reform is discontinued permanently in 1936 with the imposition of the Metaxas Dictatorship (Dimaras 1974: introduction).

There is no information concerning specific changes in the teaching of History in the Primary-level of Education during this reform. The emphasis on the History of Civilisation is continued in the Secondary level without ignoring the significance of the nation’s past. The programme has intense «Hellenic-orientated and Euro-orientated» characteristics (Abdela, 1998: 30; cf. Frangoudaki, 1987; Noutsos, 1979). From this point on, the syllabus from prehistory up to the modern era was distributed to all the grades of the now six-year High School - one period per grade.

This liberal policy will soon be overturned and its place taken by “nationalistic events and patriotism”, as can be seen clearly in the programme in 1935. Devotion to the homeland, unity and coherence of the Greeks are the main elements that are projected. Nevertheless, the programme in 1935 can be considered to be transitional because there are also elements that can be taken to be “innovative”. The purpose of teaching History is: a) the cultivation of historical thought, b) understanding the historical evolution of the Greek people and of other peoples and civilisations and c) understanding

the contribution of the Greek people and of other races. This historical development is considered to be somewhat optimistic as a continuous linear course that gradually leads to the improvement of civilisation. These perceptions lead “to the balanced study of Greek history and that of other races in parallel with the study of the natural environment” (Abdela 1998: 31). A special place in the study of the history of the other peoples is held by the history of the neighbouring peoples (Balkans) within the framework of political contacts that are currently being developed in order to achieve closer ties. Also, for the first time there is a study of the sources and the public and private lives of the Greeks during Prehistory (op.cit.).

During the Metaxas Dictatorship in 1939, a new analytical programme is drawn up, which contains certain changes in the educational structure while at the same time turning to more conservative forms and which exclusively emphasises the Greek Nation. This programme contains some of the basic elements that characterise the teaching of History from the 19th century onwards: “school history is presented as the only historical truth, without any reference to the different historical methodologies; the historical time period is linear, homogenous and compact, parallel with the continuity of the nation, its history and its civilisation; the contents of the teaching is Hellenic-orientated and the increased reference to European history is due to the evaluating classification of the civilisations, according to which European civilisation is superior to all others because it is a descendent of the Ancient Greek civilisation” (Abdela 1998: 32).

Additionally, there are two events in that period which must be considered. The first one is the creation of the “Organisation for the Publication of School Textbooks” in 1937. It was a public foundation charged with the publication and distribution of textbooks. Although its creation put an end to a serious problem of the Greek education, it imposed the domination of the state on schools. The second one is the foundation of National Organisation of Youth (EON) which was under the supervision of Metaxas himself. EON was founded in November 1936 and its aims were the use of youth’s free time “in the advancement of their corporal and spiritual situation, the development of the national feeling and belief to the religion, the creation of a spirit of co-operation and social cohesion”, and guidance for the proper choice of profession. However, fas-

cist salutation, uniforms, symbols, parades, ceremonies, excursions and campings aimed clearly at the integration of the young people in the organisation and the regime.

A law edited in 1939 defined, on the one hand, that "National and Moral instruction is state's work" and, on the other hand, that "state pursues this instruction through the National Education and the Greek National Organisation of Youth". As Machaira (1987: 89) remarks, the EON "substituted for the school as well as the education in general because there was a limited number of schools and a great number of illiterate persons". In spite of disagreements, Metaxas subjected all the organisations of youth under the EON and established the compulsory registration of students in the organisation, which in 1940 counted a million of members. Therefore, students and most of the young people were introduced in what is called "the creation of the third Greek civilisation", which, according to Metaxas, would be the continuation of the ancient Greek and Byzantine culture. As a consequence, discriminations, persecutions, tortures and exile were the means of exercise pressure upon whomever expressed a different opinion and refused to follow the regime's plans.

During the German Occupation Period the *Σχέδιο Λαϊκής Παιδείας* (A Popular Educational Plan) is drawn up, which in its entirety comprises a significant development in Greek educational policy. This *Σχέδιο* was never actually applied but it constitutes a reference point for the vision of a more radical reform. According to this *Σχέδιο*, the education system will inspire all children so that "their ultimate obligation will be always to work for the defence of popular conquests, for territorial integrity and for the National Freedom of Greece". Its objective will be -amongst others - to prepare citizens not to be "passive, subservient, and weak-willed" but rather "liberated, self-disciplined and the enlightened carriers of the dominating popular will" (Frangoudaki, 1987: 37-75).

The *Σχέδιο* was never implemented and it seems that the 1957 analytical programme for Primary Schools was also not implemented, in which History was mentioned in great detail. History was included in the "Native Geography lessons" and its purpose was to assist the pupil "to attain a true historical conscience"; in other words, to attain "indestructible bonds with his nation" and "to formulate in his soul a living feeling of

respect for the grand past of the Greek Homeland, a sense of responsibility for its future and a willingness to defend it” (quoted in Abdela 1998: 22). The contents of the subject remained basically the same. As for the method, one proposal among others included the organisation of visits, the dramatisation of scenes and the organisation of a school museum, while it was taken for granted that “the correlation of events, the comparison and the searching for historical truths” was imperative for the last two grades (Abdela 1998: 22).

The programme for High Schools in 1961 that now lasted three years showed some progress, without distancing itself from being national- orientated because “the Nation constitutes the main body for sensitising national relations”. The purpose for teaching History was “to help the pupil to form his own ideas of the world and of human, to learn about his homeland through its evolution through the aeons and to become aware of his obligations to his nation” (quoted in Abdela 1998: 33). The teaching of History must show that human life, as well as historical events, are complex, while it must help to comprehend political life as clashes and balances, to perceive the chronological and causative cohesions, to assess the social dimensions of the past and the present. In this manner the pupil will acquire knowledge and judgement, devotion and active participation in the historical traditions of the Greek people and contribute to the nation and to humanity in general. The material from Antiquity up to the modern era is divided among the three grades in High School, a fact that still applies today.

Thirty-five years after the last reform and three years before the colonels’ dictatorship, a new attempt was made to promote the vision of reform. According to Evangelos Papanoutsos, who was one of the protagonists in the 1964 reforms, education must “basically have a humanistic character”. He himself felt that education is “conditions and a guarantee for the economic development of the country and the intellectual prosperity of the nation” (Papanoutsos 1965: 319). The introduction of the demotic language, compulsory nine-year schooling (by breaking the six-year High School into 3 years of High School and 3 years of Lyceum), the establishment of the Pedagogic Institute and free education were all considered to be progressive actions (Imvrioti 1983: 43).

Noutsos stresses that reform arises from an alliance between the middle and lower classes. Liberal layers in the middle class “realise the necessity of these structural, economical and institutional changes”. These layers will finally be able to “express themselves politically and to contest the power structure by forming an alliance with a large section of the lower middle-class, the working class and the rural class” (Noutsos 1979: 274). The greatest opponent against reform was again the Philosophical School of the University of Athens, which will maintain that the decrees are “completely against the interests of national schooling and Greek Education”. Likewise, the Association of Greek Teachers of Classics will consider reform to be “dangerous for the nation, a regression of education and an adverse subsidence of national morale” (quoted in Dimaras 1974: 275-6).

With respect to the subject of History, reform effected changes only in the first two years of High School. The aims of the subject are “to teach children the ways in which human was able to dominate nature and to formulate ‘his social and spiritual world’ and to help them in understanding historical events by relating them to the present, analysing their deeper causes and determining how these affect historical evolution”. The legislator places more emphasis on the cultivation of the imagination and judgement and less on the enrichment of knowledge. For the third year, the aims of the 1935 programme still apply (Abdela 1998: 33-34).

The imposition of the colonels’ dictatorship in 1967 will suspend the reform work, thus causing education to revert to “its old anachronistic structure with the dominating traits being pseudo-classicism, ancestor-worship, censorship and verbosity, and a school cut off completely from the contemporary needs of society and economy” (Bouzakis 1991: 111). The six-year High School system is brought back, together with the compulsory six-year Primary Schooling.

The objective of the History lesson in Primary Education is defined as “that through which the pupils can understand the historical life of the Greek Nation, to take in the lessons of Greek history, to cultivate the feeling of patriotism and to prepare themselves spiritually and mentally to becoming useful members of the political and national community of Greeks”. Secondary aims of the subject are specified as the acquirement

of historical knowledge, the cultivation of historical thought, the understanding of causative relations that govern history and the development of a national conscience in order to prepare themselves “to become useful and willing citizens faithful to the national heritage”. The method is governed by the guidelines of 1957, but emphasis is given to local history and participation in national festivities (Abdela 1998: 23).

In the six-year High School, the syllabus is divided into two cycles. Narration refers mainly to military and political events in order to develop national beliefs and to clarify the enemies of the nation. Therefore the study of problems is introduced, such as the Cypriot conflict, the so-called North Epirus matter and the “national revolution of 1967”. Additional aims of the subject are the personal responsibilities of human as an historical being, the cultivation of historical thought, spiritual and mental capabilities, the development of sociability and convictions, the “objective” assessment of the nation’s values and those of world civilisation, the realisation of interdependence and interaction between peoples, the active participation of citizens and the cultivation of humanitarianism and optimism for the future. The programme itself specifies in a linear manner the purpose of the subject to be “the chief exponent of convictions and humanitarianism” (quoted in Abdela 1998: 34).

In 1976, after the fall of the colonel’s dictatorship, an attempt is made to continue the reform process, particularly by those layers that opposed reform in 1964. Bouzakis believes that “exogenous and endogenous factors imposed this peculiarity”: on the one hand there was the need to modernise the Greek economy and on the other hand, the obsolete education system offered insufficient tools for the new conditions in a country that needed more technicians rather than university graduates (Bouzakis, 1991: 116-119). The 1975 Constitution specified the aims of education to be “the ethical, intellectual, professional and natural education of the Greeks, the development of national and religious conscience and their evolution as free and responsible citizens” (quoted in Evagelopoulos 1984: 16). The nine-year schooling returns together with the distinction between High School and Lyceum. The demotic language is permanently established as the official language of the state. This reform, which was the vision for generations of educators dating back to the end of the last century (Dimaras 1973; 1974), now becomes reality as “an aged new-born”, as it is called by Iliou (1984: 182), and also due



to the awareness of its necessity by the overwhelming majority of the Greek people. Even though it is considered to be “an incomplete proposal” (Bouzakis 1991: 121-122), it is however the beginning of an endeavour that will continue.

In 1977 the History programme is drawn up. The aim of the subject in Primary Education is understanding political events and cultural elements that comprise the historical past and present of the nation, the development of a sense of patriotism and the preparation for conscious and free participation in the life of the Greek people and the greater community of peoples (Abdela 1998: 24). The historical negotiation in the books ends with the period of the Civil War in Greece in order to emphasise the importance of “national unity in order to progress and for the Nation’s security”. In the guidelines given to educators, the need to teach unbiased historical truths was emphasised, together with the historical continuation of the nation, the positive effects of Christianity on its course and the divergence of the Greek spirit. As Abdela (op.cit.: 25) correctly observed: “we do not find ourselves in front of a certain sector in relation to previous decades, but simply in widening of the objectives that are described to the subject of History”. The double objective that is given to it leads to the formation of the view that “knowledge of history acquires meaning only as a procedure for national awareness”.

The analytical programme that was brought out in 1977 for teaching the subject in Secondary education has not changed significantly to date and will be presented in the following chapter.

The reform in 1976 was followed by a series of reform measures during 1981-85. Many changes are made at all levels: the theoretical direction is unified with the technical-vocational direction, pedagogic departments are established at the University, the position of school counsellor is formed, new analytical programmes and school books are written. The aims of Primary and Secondary-level education are specified to be “the complete, harmonic and balanced development of the intellectual and psychosomatic powers of the pupils so that – irrespective of sex and origin – they may have the capability to evolve into integrated personalities and to live a creative life”. Special aims are also mentioned, such as that the pupils will become free, responsible and

democratic, able to defend national independence and democracy, to become aware of social values and parity between intellectual and manual work, to cultivate creative and critical thought and to develop a feeling of friendship and collaboration with all the races on Earth (Bouzakis 1991: 125-6). According to Bouzakis (op.cit.: 134), this period “tests institutions that are not copies of educational models of the capitalistic centres, nor do they heterochronologically transfer educational models that are tried and worn-out”. These changes are expanded and improved in 1997-98 with two laws that refer to the Lyceum and to entrance into Tertiary education, to the assessment of the educational work, etc. (Kotsikis 1998: 223-241).

The objectives, the method and the content of the subject of History that were formulated during this last reform basically remain the same until today and will be presented in detail later. We would just like to clarify here the fact that educators are informed through special books issued by the Pedagogic Institute, which contain guidelines as to how the lesson will be taught. There is one such book for teaching History for each grade of the Primary level, while for Secondary level (High School and Lyceum) the guidelines for teaching History are included in a volume dedicated to philological subjects.

2.1.2. Aims of History teaching in today's schools

As we have seen, the aims of teaching History have differed from period to period and reflect the tendencies that dominate in Greek society. The subject more or less always has the character of conviction. Up until the end of the last century it aspired to the moral teaching of children and constituted a part of the so-called «school of ethics» (Coulouris 1988; 1991).

From 1881 History enters into the service of the Nation and the continuity of Hellenism. On some occasions this objective even plays a decisive role which results in underestimating the contributions of other races. At yet other times, such as the period between the wars, history is called upon to serve more peaceful purposes, but it never ends in the complete history of civilisation.

We can see with surprise that the High School programme of 1935 pursues – amongst other things – the study of the natural environment. Similar tendencies are also included in the 1965 programme. This fact is related to the parallel Euro-orientation of the programmes during the same periods and political developments on the European scene. The 1931 programme for High Schools is chiefly Hellenic-orientated, with some European-orientated characteristics. In 1935 the equal study of Greek history and the history of the other nations is announced. We would have expected such announcements to have been made earlier, during the reforms of 1913 or 1917. It therefore seems that the formulation of progressive objectives for History does not keep abreast with the corresponding attempts to reform the educational system. It is characteristic that while in the 1929 programme for Primary Schools, national education is not for the first and only time its obvious objective, the subject of History remains nationally-orientated.

Let us see the current aims for the subject of history. The aims of teaching History in Primary and Secondary Education are defined in the curriculum of 1981. Since then the Pedagogic Institute has made several minor changes.

For all Primary School grades the aim of teaching History is to a great extent common. As a result, the teacher's books (Asimomytis et al. 1994: 129) state that the aim is to:

1. introduce children to the historic life of the Greek nation and their birthplace
2. give a general picture of the most important events from World History, those associated with Greek History or which played a decisive role in the fate of the world.
3. allow children to become familiar with the historical way of thinking for the understanding of causative relations which characterise historical phenomena.
4. explain the historic continuity of the Nation and its contribution to the development of civilization.
5. train children in the work and the techniques that suit the historical science (collection, classification and cross-examination of historical material, study of maps and sketches, hypothesis testing, formulation of principles etc.)
6. allow children to develop a constructive attitude towards historical learning (curiosity and interest, objectivity, eagerness to extend their historical knowledge).

7. train children to learn lessons about the past through creative acts as well as from the errors of previous generations, so as to develop their ability for conscious and free participation in our people's life and the wider community of nations.
8. develop the feeling of love towards homeland and the democratic ideals.

Minor modifications exist in the teacher's book for the 3rd grade published recently (Aktypis et al. 1995: 156-157). The sentences nr 1, 4, and 8 have become one sentence: "introduce children..., explain the historic continuity..., so as to develop the feeling...". The new formulation of the sentence makes clear the way that the "feeling" mentioned above will be developed. At the same time, the ethnocentric character of the aim is reinforced, as suggested by the fact that the unified sentence goes first.

In the same sentence the word "Nation" has become "nation" and the word "homeland" has become "Homeland" (in Greek actually, the word "homeland" is *πατρίς*, i.e. "fatherland", though grammatically feminine). Stressing homeland instead of nation is a characteristic of the socialist government that took over in 1981; it tries to avoid the stigma of nationalism but conserves ethnocentricity. This can be observed below in minor aims of the subject in Secondary Education.

Another modification, without an obvious meaning, is that the sequence of sentences nrs 5, 6, and 7 has been reversed. Nr 5 is probably a specific objective rather than aim and that is why it fits better at the end and should be dismissed as an aim. Of the remaining two sentences, the one that suits to the ethnic ideology was considered more appropriate to go first.

In nr 7 the phrase: "...to learn a lesson about the past..." is replaced with: "...understand the past through...". There was an apparent attempt to discard the negative connotation of the phrase "learn a lesson" from modern pedagogics. Nevertheless this sentence as well as others retains their previous character (see below).

Finally the second part of sentence 3 ("for the understanding of causative relations which characterise the historical phenomena") does not exist in the new edition. Probably the editors thought that students of the third grade of Primary school cannot

understand causative relations. This leads us to the question: How much of what is pursued can be understood by students not only of the 3rd grade but of all grades of Primary School?

We will try to group the sentences together and find the general ideas that characterize them. These are:

a) *Ethnocentrism or hellenocentrism*. It is true that four out of the eight sentences refer to nation, homeland and greek history. The sentences inform us that the Greek nation is the children's birthplace, that is why they must learn its history. Nation demonstrates historical continuity but it is not defined whether this meant as cultural or biological. The nation has contributed much to the development of (world) civilization. Love towards homeland is one of the desirable pursuits. The word homeland implies the children's birthplace, namely Greece and not an abstract term. Another desirable pursuit is love of democratic ideals, which again refers to Greece, since according to the theory of continuity contemporary Greeks are descendants of ancient Greeks who first introduced the idea of democracy. Sentence nr 8 refers to the Greek people since it comprises the visible society in which children will play a role as adults.

b) *Underestimation of the "other"*. Other peoples are interesting only to the extent they get in touch, as friends or enemies, with Greece. They owe many of the basic elements of their culture to the Greek nation. Very outstanding events of world history are taught since every one of us belongs to one people and the international community of nations, at the same time. This community however, seems to be very loose as it consists of members with special characteristics who fight to project them.

c) *Cognitive character of the subject*. It possesses a distinct position in the sentences. Students are subjects of learning. Through History they will develop historical knowledge, historical thought, interest for the study of History and familiarity with historical research techniques. It does not seem that they can take initiatives in class so the immediate use of the subject is not obvious. They will become complete personalities only after they understand the syllabus, that is national history.

d) *Moralistic character of the subject*. The subject intends to give a lesson to the students. The immediate use of history is clear; development of national or patriotic conscience, moral attitudes and a citizen consciousness.

Teaching History in Secondary Education, as described in the teacher's book, (Paidagogiko Institouto 1996: 30), aims at letting students conceive and gradually agree that:

1. Greek and international civilization is the work of collective human effort, struggles and sacrifices,
2. human owes a great deal to yesterday (the past) and is responsible for building today (the present) and planning tomorrow (the future),
3. historical events are linked together with creative causes and comprise a sequence of causes (human needs, motivation, ideas) and results (human actions and reactions),
4. continuous and careful search of motives for the activities of historic persons, groups, and peoples of the past leads, somehow proportionately, to safer and more appropriate decisions regarding the confrontation of problems in human society,
5. various expressions of culture of every society and era reflect variability due to the expression of a biotheory regarding people of the same society and era.

Besides these aims, the curriculum includes some specific objectives which are described below:

1. retrospection and introduction to historical sources,
2. introduction to Greek tradition and the problems of the modern Greek world,
3. awareness of Greek durability,
4. objective examination of politics and familiarisation with the democratic way of political organisation and life, and
5. cultivation of pure patriotic sentiment.

The aim and specific objectives of teaching History in Secondary Education have not changed since 1977, with the exception of a modification of the phrase “national sentiment” to “patriotic sentiment” in the 5th objective. This fact keeps up with the ideology of the new political rule and similar changes occurred in the Primary Education, as we have seen.

The ideas that are forwarded in Secondary Education are not very far from the aims of Primary Education.

a) *Ethnocentrism or hellenocentrism*. It is present here already from the beginning, too. The children will learn about Greek civilisation, as part – the most important? – of the global civilisation. This is obvious as there is a definite article for the word “Greek” but not for the word “global”. However, the ideas are more apparent in the specific objectives which are inspired by them. We are informed that students will be introduced to the “Greek tradition”. The programme does not clarify the meaning of the term but as the sentence continues there is a mention of contemporary Greece; therefore, the heritage was created before Greek Independence. There is a mention of the same period also when it is stated that the Greek world has durability. On the other hand, the modern Greek world has problems. Despite this, the last sentence tells us that Greece is our homeland and we must love it.

b) *Underestimation of the “other”*. The “others” are less visible here except for the first sentence. “Greek tradition” and “Greek durability” differentiate the Greek people from other peoples.

c) *Cognitive character of the subject*. It is prevalent in the sentences. Students are invited to learn that culture is a collective work, that human owes a great deal to yesterday and is responsible for today and tomorrow; that historical events are linked with causative relations; that looking for motives enhances decision making and that civilization expresses the “biotheory” for human of every era. They also learn about Greek history and political systems.

d) *Moralistic character of the subject*. The same as in Primary Education. It is more discernible in specific objectives.

As is obvious, the teaching aims of the Primary and Secondary Education are not identical: the better defined but limited aims for teaching in the Primary school are embodied in a very general aim for the Gymnasium and the Lyceum. This differentiation of aims is based on the dominant perception that younger students have not yet the required mental background to understand and interpret historical processes. That means that the study of history may start from specific political events and cultural elements and gradually conclude, with regard to the mental maturing of the students, with a deeper understanding, interpretation and evaluation of human action (Markianos 1986, 144-145).

An ethnocentric or hellenocentric character dominates in the aims in Primary Education and possesses a remarkable part in Secondary Education. Some sentences imply the corresponding underestimation of other peoples. Ethnocentrism or hellenocentrism define the directions of knowledge and moral guidance that are pursued in teaching History as will become more clear below, in the content. There is an attempt to abandon it in Secondary Education as is shown in the notable formulation of specific objectives and the lack of clarity of some sentences.

2.1.3. Current methodology in History teaching

The teacher's book for Primary Education offers a provisional teaching outline (Asimomytis et al. 1994: 20-22). Through this outline the ideal way of teaching at every grade is shown. At first the teacher should not confine him/herself to the textbook but take initiatives and adjust to teaching conditions. For example if he/she has to do a lesson on Byzantine art and there is a Byzantine church in the region then the lesson could be taught through the experience of visiting the monument and have a discussion on the spot.

Secondly, if the timetable does not allow loss of time, a tight organisation of the session. The proposed scheme is as follows: brief stimulation, introduction to the new subject, brief and concise discussion of the subject, precise answers. Below there is a description of the four stages, which are more or less based on the book's structure; stimulation, approach to the text, activities, accompanying texts.

In the first stage textbooks are closed and a discussion takes place. Stimulation is possible through: a) link with the previous lessons, b) mention of the heading of the lesson, c) children's experience (visits to museums or archaeological sites, use of audio-visuals etc.), d) pictures from the textbook or elsewhere, or e) any other means the teacher considers appropriate. At a second stage it is suggested to approach the text of the book. The teacher or students read it or the teacher narrates it freely, by heart. Later pupils and teacher ask questions. In this way pupils will understand the subject and the teacher will check the pupils. At a third stage it is advisable to work on the exercises and analyse the illustrations of the book. Assignments can be given as home-

work and they will prepare the ground for the next lesson. At the fourth stage the teacher may narrate either passages from the book that belong to the same unit and are linked to activities or passages that follow the unit and are not linked to activities.

The course of teaching that is suggested for History in Secondary Education is simpler, freer but more dependent on the classroom (Paidagogiko Institouto 1996: 33-34). There is no suggestion or mention of extramural work. The lesson begins with an overview of events that had been previously taught. Then a brief and clear narration of the new material follows. The teacher may at the same time use several means (board, maps, sketches, slides) The pupils are invited to put questions, convey their impressions, judge persons, events and situations. At this phase the addressed dialogue is particularly constructive. The lesson finishes with a review of the main points and a link with related topics that have been taught so far.

The guidelines book reminds us that the suggestions are only provisional and ultimate responsibility lies with the teacher. It stresses the significance of the use of sources, audiovisual means, dialogue and creative examination with emphasis put on questions of judgement. The guidelines conclude with some observations about Art as the expression of historical life and as a means of teaching History. It is claimed that works of art constitute documents of History and educators are encouraged to make use of them to reconstruct the historical moment and make historical and aesthetic analyses.

The method of teaching History that is suggested for both Primary and Secondary Education is based on the tri-partite: teaching in the class – teacher's narration – use of the textbook. The teaching plan does not require from the students any kind of preparation. They should only have understood the previous lessons. Furthermore, at the first stage children are examined as they are asked about the previous lesson, textbooks are closed and they must participate in the dialogue. The guidelines for the secondary level explicitly stipulate that every session starts with students reviewing the previous lesson.

Visits to museums, monuments or archaeological sites are considered suitable only for Primary Education pupils. However, it cannot be a common practice but the guide-

lines allow visits a couple of times per year and consider them as exceptional cases. Even then, there is no proposal for an integrated plan to approach the location where the visit will take place. Again the teacher ought to be prepared and ready to answer students' questions.

Visits to museums, monuments or archaeological sites are replaced with the use of pictures in the class in Secondary Education. Art is used more in its visual rather than its interpretative role. Not once is there a mention that monuments of art are studied by Archaeology and Art History and require an alternative approach.

2.1.4. Syllabus content

Since 1964, when the six-year Gymnasium was divided into a three-year Gymnasium and a three-year Lyceum, the articulation of the syllabus content has remained almost unchanged. History from the remote past up to our times is repeated in three overlapping cycles (Demotikon - Gymnasium - Lyceum) and the material is distributed in the three corresponding school years of every cycle (Voros 1977: 137-142; Skoulatos 1984: 160-161; Markianos 1988: 116-118). The appropriate material for every level is presented with the traditional chronological order, without paying attention, at this point, to the required mental abilities of the children.

The analytical programme in Primary Education defines the syllabus of the 3rd grade. It contains study of the progress of primitive human, Minoan Crete, "golden" Mycenae, mythology and gods of Olympus, heroic deeds, the Iliad and Odyssey. The syllabus of the 4th grade contains Greek History from the Geometric period (Dorian invasion and first colonisation) to the Roman conquest. In the 5th grade it contains the Roman and the Byzantine empire. Finally the 6th grade contains the study of hellenism after the fall of Constantinople, the revolution of 1821, the Greek state up until World War I, the Greek state up to our times, and topics from modern history.

The analytical programme in Secondary Education defines the syllabus of the 1st grade of Gymnasium as containing the History of Ancient times until 30 B.C.; The 2nd grade contains Roman and Byzantine History; the 3rd Modern History. In the 1st grade of

Lyceum the syllabus content includes a brief review of History, which was taught in the Gymnasium and the study of Modern History in the 2nd grade. In the 3rd grade of the Lyceum History has a dual role as a general and as a specialisation subject. As a general subject students are taught Contemporary History and as specialisation subject Modern and Contemporary History from the sources.

The realisation of the syllabus content, according to the curriculum, relies on textbooks. Textbooks “materialise the aims pursued and systematise the knowledge offered” (Markianos 1982: 51; 1986: 145), both of them generally mentioned in the curriculum. However, despite curriculum instructions, textbooks are focussed on Greek National History. The students start at nine in the Primary School to learn about the first men and their progress through time, life in Minoan and Mycenaean Greece, the religion of the Greeks and the achievements of great heroes. Then, in the last three grades, they learn elements of ancient Greek history, the history of Byzantine times and modern Greek history. In the secondary school the historical cycle, from prehistoric to modern times, begins all over again for a second and a third time (Papagiannopoulos forthcoming).

Nonetheless, the texts are carefully written and followed by very good pictures. At the end of every chapter, extracts from contemporary sources are cited and questions are proposed in order to make a revision in class or to be assigned these as homework. It is generally accepted that among the current history textbooks those for the Primary school are pedagogically the best structured. The same is argued for the books of the two last grades of the Lyceum, while the worst among them are the books for the two last grades of the Gymnasium (Bollas 1994).

The difficulties start at the moment when the textbooks constitute a unique source of historical information and an object for examination. The school textbook defines the amount of the historic material, which must be taught, and the way of understanding, interpreting and evaluating it (Markianos 1982: 51; 1986: 145). Special chapters are presented in class every time and must be memorised by the students. Then, twice a year and once at the end, a part and the whole of material respectively, must be examined.

Therefore textbooks are written in a way to cover these needs: they convey as much information as possible, depending on the age and the abilities of the children, codified so as to be memorised. They mainly refer to great events and big cities. Some of these stories are not updated (see for example the 4D*, 10-11 for the Dorian invasion).

The generalisations or the obscurities of the curriculum and the existence of various interpretative approaches of human action, usually give an opportunity for manipulation. Thus, what is considered to be “harmful” for the nation, is put aside. “Nationally harmful” is whatever puts in doubt or refutes the stereotype of the dominant ideology (Markianos 1982: 53).

Manipulations of the past, which are usually found in these History books, can be summarised in the followed groups:

a) The continuity of the Greek nation.

Over the years the nation survived and preserved its homogeneity (Frangoudaki 1997b: 352-358). This continuity from ancient times up to now, is primarily cultural continuity but the books imply a racial continuity as well. Reading the books you have the impression that modern Greeks are true descendants of the first men who ever settled this country. The Greek population survived even in the periods of occupation of Greece by a foreign people and was not mixed with others. The conquerors were strangers and undesirable in this country and finally went home without leaving important traces of their presence, the most impressive periods of occupation being the Roman and the Turkish. The people, the language, the customs, the culture and the passion for freedom remain unchanged (op.cit.: 347). Thus, the past belongs to the modern Greek people, so it is called a “greek past” (3G, 134). The past is “the historical tradition of the nation” (3G, 150).

* From here D= textbook for Primary Schools, G= textbook for Gymnasias, and L= textbooks for Lyceas. E.g. 4D= textbook for the 4th grade of the Primary School.

The case of the book used in the third grade of Primary School, is very characteristic. Texts of ancient Greek authors accompany the narration about the evolution of the Earth and the first steps of humankind, such as the myth of Prometheus (3D, 11) or that of Deukalion and Pyrrha (3D, 14-15) whose first child was Hellene. Of course, the revised book for the third grade of Primary School uses the past tense to mention that the Greeks' name "Hellenes" was derived from Hellene, but the idea to include these myths here, in a very general and more or less "scientific" part, and not further back in the section of myths, favours the idea of continuity. The men who lived in this place seem to be always called Greeks and the country Greece. The roots of the nation go back to the era of myth. Thus the dance of Theseus is preserved in the Tsakonikos dance in a region of the Peloponnese (3D, 68).

The same book further on (3D, 77), in a chapter about the Mycenaeans, but in a very small sentence, tells us another story, that the Achaeans were the first Greeks. The other books confirm this story (1L, 55) or say more generally that Greek tribes settled in the country 4000 years before our times (6D, 321). It is added that the Greek population of Asia Minor and the Black Sea settled there since Mycenaean times, as well (6D, 253).

In the book for the fifth grade of the Primary School students learn that "Greeks managed to surpass the terrible adversities from the defeats, the human loss, the material disasters and the robbery, which they suffered under the Romans. They preserved their Greek identity, continued their national tradition and influenced the Romans through their way of life and culture" (5D, 12). In the second grade of the Gymnasium, children read that "the roman occupation did not touch the roots of Hellenism, did not change the greek way of life, nor eliminated the great intellectual and cultural tradition" (2G, 14).

The transition to Byzantium and the disappearance of Roman civilisation seems very enigmatic. The Byzantine Empire emerged as a Greek state having problems mainly at its frontiers. However, "the Byzantine people always managed to confront the attacks" (5D, 94), even when the Franks seized Constantinople for a short period of time. We would not be surprised if we read in two other textbooks that the Byzantine Empire

was the immediate predecessor of modern Greece because their editors do not reject the idea of continuity since the ancient times. They believe that “the Turkish period coincided with the transformation of Hellenism” and “when in 1453, Mehmet seized the destroyed Polis (Constantinople), the new Hellenism was a reality” (2G, 347). To be more precise, “during the last byzantine centuries conditions allowed or enforced the hellenism of the empire to distinguish itself from the wider international unity of Byzantium. The consciousness of national identity emerged in contrast to the Frankish invaders and, later, to the then subject peoples to Byzantium, like Bulgars, Serbs and Albanians ... The gradual awakening of the greek population reinforced the national character and the mood of Greeks for resistance ... Thus the name Hellenes was revived after many centuries ... and was connected again with the idea of hellenism” (2L, 188-189).

In the Turkish period “the Greeks”, according to the editors of the book for the 6th grade of Primary School, “preserving their customs and creating new ones, organised their life differently from the conquerors. In this manner, they distinguished and preserved their national consciousness” (6D, 59). In the corresponding book for the Gymnasium it is written that “Greeks never believed that with the turkish conquest came the end of Hellenism as well... The Turkish occupation coincided with the transformation of the Hellenism. With a surprising resistance in the darkness of slavery the modern greek consciousness will grow up and in 1821 will surprise the conservatives of Europe and its ruler who will be obliged to go” (2G, 347).

The settlement of the Slavs in the South Balkans takes only a few lines in the two above mentioned books (5D, 110; 2G, 161). In the second one, the paragraph is titled “Settlement of Slavs and Bulgars in the North Balkans” and it is mentioned twice that a few Slavs managed to penetrate down to the Peloponnese where they were assimilated by the local Greek population leaving only some words in the modern language (2G, 161). On the other hand, the writers have much to inform us about the Christianisation of the North Slavs by Cyril and Methodius and the introduction of the alphabet. Additionally, one could not find a single word about the settlement of interesting peoples such as Albanians (*Arvanites*) and Gypsies. No word for the contribution of *Arvanites* to the War of Independence. Inhabitants of Souli, very well known as *Arvan-*

ites, are referred to as an example of national Greek resistance and they are praised for “never having experienced the turkish occupation” (3G, 129).

b) The superiority of the nation

The children from the Primary School learn that they belong to a distinguished nation. All the characteristics of the nation prove its superiority, which is based mainly on the ancient Greek and, to a lesser extent, on the Byzantine past. As Millas (1991: 24) says for Greek and Turkish textbooks, “such notions as equality among nations and peoples, or that civilization can derive from the interaction of different cultures, are not to be found in these textbooks”.

According to the schoolbooks, the greatest events since prehistoric times happen round the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece being the centre of the world. The idea is strengthened by the presence of related maps and carefully selected texts.

The Greeks during the 4000 years of their presence in this country “created greek civilisation known all over the world. Three times - in the Mycenaean period, in Classical times and in the period of the highest glory of the Byzantine Empire - this civilisation presented such a development that influenced all the world” (6D, 321).

In the book for the third grade of the Gymnasium, Ancient Greece is used as a measure for the evaluation of great spirits like Shakespeare, Cervantes and Michelangelo (3G, 33, 34, 378). Other classics as Rabelais (3G, 34) and Molière (3G, 75) are used to confirm the superiority of the Greek culture. In the latter must be traced even the roots of the Enlightenment (3G, 80). The idea of superiority explains the many plunderings of Greek antiquities.

This leads us to a stereotypical result which is mentioned many times in the textbooks: classical antiquity is the cultural source of Europe. However, “the contribution of the post-Byzantine ‘hellenism’ to European developments is presented equally strongly” (Frangoudaki 1997b: 350). The movement of the Renaissance owed much to the

teaching of the Byzantine intellectuals who emigrated to the West and stimulated the study of Antiquity (3G, 19-24).

But, “superiority is always relative, and requires that the other party be discredited. To enhance the claims of one nation to be civilized, the past, the ancestry and the ‘character’ of its neighbour are proclaimed barbaric. Past events are fabricated, or exaggerated, or evaluated by anachronistic modern standards, without any historical context or understanding” (Millas 1991: 25).

A good example is the case of the Romans: whatever valuable happened after the Roman conquest, and even before, was coming from or influenced by the Greeks. The known quotation from Horace that “Greece defeated the conqueror and brought the arts to uncivilised Latium” is put in italics at the middle of the page in the book for the fifth grade of the Primary School (5D, 16). In the same book it is stated that “at the beginning the Romans were farmers and shepherds. Later they got in touch with the Etruscans and the Greeks of South Italy and got to know their civilisation”. But it was “the Greek civilisation” which “influenced the life of Romans so deeply that even many educated Romans admitted its superiority”. The only things on which the Romans were proved better than Greeks were legislation and administration (5D, 29).

The name of Turks and Turkey is used more frequently than the more correct Ottomans and Ottoman Empire, even before the early 20th century. That constitutes “a kind of omission of the power and the extent of the Empire” (Frangoudaki 1997b: 355). In contrast, it is normally referred to as the Ottoman Empire when it is necessary to exaggerate Greek achievements. The textbooks cannot find anything worth mentioning that Ottoman Turks ever did. There are no works of art nor any moments of daily life pictured in the textbooks. “The Turks occupied themselves mainly with arms and did not manage to make progress in trade, science and letters” (6D, 19). However, little is said about their conquests and victories. In contrast, there is much said about the warfare of Greek armies and the consequent heavy casualties that Turks suffered from these.

c) The problematic relationships with the neighbouring nations for which Greece is not responsible.

As History teaching is ethnocentric, a reference to other nations is made only when these get in touch with the Greeks and that means usually hostile touch. The school books deal mainly with the Turks. No other nation has ever threatened the existence of the nation so deeply and no other has been more underestimated (Achlis 1983: 39-52; Millas 1991; Thomopoulos 1994; Frangoudaki 1997b: 367-370). The Turks are presented sometimes as “enemies” (see for example 3G 157, 177, 179).

The Great European Powers - a phrase used as a term without any national distinction - are responsible for many of the adversities of the Greek nation. Their actions depend on “their foreign policy which is at one time favourable and at another time opposite to Greek independence or to Greece’s demands for land. It is clear that this is a criticizable attitude” and the textbooks “many times refer to the harmful effect of these ‘interests’, the intervention in greek internal affairs, the economic dependence and exploitation of Greece” and “a policy opposite to the greek national interests” (Frangoudaki 1997b: 371). European Powers are referred to many times as “patron forces” and once as “foreigners” and their intervention as “foreign occupation” (3G, 253).

However, the place of Greece is normally in Europe, because the European nations have been influenced by ancient Greek civilisation and acknowledge the ancient Greek spirit as a predecessor of the European one. The acknowledgement of the Greek past is considered as confirmation of the continuity, superiority and nobility of the nation. In this context, events such as the introduction of Greece into the European Community, are presented as great national affairs and at the same time as a kind of historical right.

Bulgarians come soon after at the centre of interest in textbooks (Achlis 1983: 33-39; Frangoudaki 1997b: 378-381). The latter put emphasis on the role that Bulgaria played in the Macedonian Question. Bulgars, as Germans and Italians are referred to by their national names and not with the political names of those responsible for the wars or dominations. On the other hand, very little is said about the other Balkan peoples, so

that nobody can formulate a complete picture of their historical course. The same happens with other people as long as they do not seem to have any direct relation with the needs of the presentation and evaluation of the Greek nation.

It is generally thought that History textbooks are continuously being improved. However, very recently one can notice a reversion to old ideas. New textbooks, which conveyed progressive ideas, were withdrawn and replaced by others. The case of the textbook for the 1st grade of Lyceum is very characteristic. In the mid 80's students of this grade used a textbook titled "A history of humankind". The book examined the main stages of technological development (Agricultural revolution – Industrial revolution – Scientific revolution) and built on this the social, political and cultural life, always connecting present to the past.

Under the pressure of conservative circles, the Ministry of Education was obliged to replace it by another titled "A History of the ancient times". The latter was a detailed study of Greek History from the remote past to the Roman conquest. The narration towards Hellenistic and Roman times shifted to nationalistic ideas. Later this was replaced again by another book which was previously taught in the 2nd grade of Lyceum and titled "Thematic History". The approach of this textbook was very progressive but the narration frequently showed a preference for nationalistic explanations. Subjects studied in the textbook were "the Greek polis-state, the Hellenistic states, society and institutions of the Byzantine Empire and the cultural radiation of Byzantium". Finally, thematic history was replaced by the current textbook which is titled "The cultural contribution of the Greek world" and approaches Greek History from an extreme nationalistic perspective.

2.1.5. Teaching History in class

So far we have examined the official view for the teaching of history. Which history is taught behind the closed doors of the school or the classroom? There is no firm answer. The traditional method of teaching history, which is mainly applied in Greek schools, is to a great extent defined by the use of the textbooks, the teacher's personality and working conditions.

The great importance of the textbooks in school education explains the many disagreements among scholars or policies during the last three decades and the frequent replacement of them, especially in Secondary education. The first serious effort, after the junta domination, to make radical changes in the curriculum and introduce new textbooks, dates to 1981-82 (Dede 1998: 138-139). During the period 1976-1981, 48 new textbooks for Primary Education and 72 for Secondary Education were published, whilst in 1982-1988 the new textbooks were 74 and 210 respectively (op.cit.: 144). Up to now this work was entrusted to a group of teachers coming from all educational levels under the scientific guidance and supervision of the Pedagogic Institute.

It is not very pleasant for a teacher to have to change textbooks and subject of work so frequently. Most of them are not qualified to respond to their changing obligations. In the Primary Education history is taught by teachers who have no scientific specialization except for teaching. In the secondary Education, it is taught by Philologists with limited historical knowledge. Therefore, most teachers are stuck with the textbook, reproduce its content in the class and ask their students to do the same too.

History textbooks are usually attractive to juniors because they always have interesting stories and good pictures. This does not mean that History is a field of study suitable for this age. An interest for History is always present in a student's mind. However, soon they lose their enthusiasm because they have to memorise more and more details which become too numerous, and meaningless. This way of teaching does not offer occasions for interactivity and extra-mural exercises. An experimental survey in Secondary Education showed that half of the students do not like the History lesson (Papastamatiou 1984: 98-99; cf. Palla 1994: 224-236).

As a matter of fact, these ideas are not restricted to school textbooks and do not get confined to a use as a simplistic way of teaching history to young people. It has been remarked that "such understandings are accepted ... as the 'official view of history' and can be found in many history books" (Millas 1991: 25). The syllabus content reflects similar ideas advanced by scholars in most of the widespread Greek History publications. All history textbooks published after 1980 make use of the "History of the Greek

Nation” by Ekdotiki Athinon and almost all school libraries include a copy, which is a prime example of this.

The Universities are no less affected by nationalistic ideas. The study of the Greek past is limited to certain periods and topics whilst others are either omitted or underrepresented. In the Archaeology Department of Athens University, the periods which are taught in detail, are the Mycenaean, the Classical and the Byzantine. But emphasis is put on topics such as monumental architecture, frescoes, sculpture and painted pottery.

As is known, the Classics’ teachers and the Primary School teachers, who are dealing with history teaching, are University graduates and project the ideas which they are taught there into school education. This is enhanced by the role of the teacher in traditional education, which is a very important one, and usually the lesson is transformed into a teacher’s speech. Most of them consider that “it is reasonable and explicable that school history of nation-states is characterised by ethnocentrism” as “it is incumbent on the people of every specific nation to try to transmit knowledge from the experience of their historical past and cultivate the feeling of patriotism” (Georgopoulos 1994: 32). Teachers argue that a movement towards a non- or less-nationalistic perspective of History seems very dangerous and may lead to a serious damage to cultural identity. However, it cannot be a one-sided revision and presupposes a wider discussion between the interested parties.

Practically, there are many problems affecting the teaching of History at every level. In many schools of the first level, especially the small provincial schools, which have one or two teachers only, and a limited number of students, every two grades are taught History together. This means that a 10-year-old student of the fifth grade may be taught Modern Greek History together with their 11-year-old schoolmates of the sixth grade and in the sixth grade the same person may come back and be taught Byzantine History.

The presentation of human action through time in detail has proved a very vain attempt for teaching: most schools in Secondary Education hardly manage to pass through half of this material within the three years which are fixed for every cycle, let alone when

the teaching hours for history were limited to 2 per week. The children repeat some stages of historical evolution without any real connection, without the sense of continuity or discontinuities, which dominate historical phenomena. Whole chapters from the syllabus content are omitted while others are taught very briefly (Skoulatos 1984: 160-161).

In the Lyceum the situation becomes more complex: in the last year emphasis is on the preparation of those students who intend to sit for the University Entrance Exams. History, which in the Gymnasium and the two first school years in the Lyceum is of rather secondary interest, is suddenly in the last year considered as an essential subject for the 3rd (Law, Classics) and 4th (Economics) direction.

However, the Lyceum creates a wider problem. There, although it is expected, according to the curriculum editors, to fulfil the teaching aims of the lesson, a confused perception prevails about the character of this level. Some scholars consider that the Lyceum exists as a pre-level of the University, which means that emphasis must be put on the lessons required for the Exams. Others distinguish the Lyceum from the preparation for the Exams and consider this as an independent level of studies. Some believe that the separation from the old Gymnasium harmed the teaching of history, which in their opinion needs 6 years to be completed (op.cit.: 161). They claim that the dilemma whether there must be two historical cycles in Secondary Education or not, does not exist yet because after the abolition of the Lyceum Entrance Exams the majority of children continue their studies in the 3rd grade. Suggestions have come forward, for example to consider at least the syllabus of the 1st grade in the Lyceum as a continuation of that of the Gymnasium and to introduce “thematic history” in the last two years (Xanthakou-Nika 1984: 11-14).

2.2. Recent developments in theory and techniques in Europe

In this chapter I am going to present the new developments in heritage teaching in Western Europe with an emphasis on the British education system, as the new analytical programmes in Greece show an influence from the European ones and especially from the principles of the last reform in Britain. Hence, I will refer first to the history teaching debate in relation to national identity and other discriminations and also to the recent debate which took place in Britain on the occasion of the issuing of the National Curriculum. Then I am going to present modern theories, such as Intercultural Education and the pursuit for an Internal Reform of School, which fight against peoples' differences and the traditional education system.

To be sure that our aspirations are realistic I will refer to the main difficulties in history teaching in relation to children's perception and abilities. Then I am trying to show how the optimistic view of "New History" was translated into a suitable method in Local History and Environmental Education projects, which otherwise, are actuated by modern educational theories. I will finish by referring to many of those techniques which were put into practice during the realisation of these projects.

2.2.1. The debate for Heritage teaching

A part of the criticism of the content of school education concerns the teaching of History. It is based on the pedagogic theories of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Discussions have occurred on the definition of aims, the choice of the appropriate syllabus content and the way that this material is presented in school.

The subjects that have occupied scholars recently on the definition of the content and the methods of teaching history in schools, are mainly: a) the biases, omissions and hidden ideologies in shaping the curriculum, b) the structure of students' historical thought, c) their abilities in historical understanding, d) the way that historical thought

has developed, e) the possibilities to accelerate its development and, of course, f) the appropriate methods.

The conflict over the content of school History in relation to national identity and other discriminations broke out in the late 19th c. and keeps renewing ever since, especially in traumatic moments like the two world wars. The period after the wars showed that “the breaks inside Europe were so many and deep and reflected directly on the national histories of the European countries” (Ventouras & Coulouris 1994: 119-120). On behalf of private and international organisations initiatives were taken towards the peaceful symbiosis of different peoples. School history was found guilty of national fanaticism and there were suggestions for reviewing its content.

After World War I the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (1924), set up by the League of Nations, worked on the discovery of prejudicial elements in books of national countries (Chopin 1992: 176). There were also bi-partite meetings that ended up in agreements at a European and international level. For example, in 1919 northern countries founded the Norden union. One of its aims was to submit school textbooks for revision before their printing. In 1934 French and German historians met to discuss the way of presentation of the Germano-French relations in the period 1789-1925.

After World War II effort was focused on Germany where National Socialism had prevailed. The Allies forced the use of a programme of “re-education” and removed the school manuals with totalitarian and militaristic ideas. The effort continued with Unesco. Unesco designed a programme for controlling the content of school manuals. In 1949 it published the “Guide for improvement of textbooks” aiming at a pacifistic education (Schueddekopf 1967: 30).

In the same year the Council of Europe was founded. Its aim is “a tighter union of its members, in order to preserve and promote ideals and principals that structure their common heritage” (op.cit.: 36). The European idea of history as is promoted by the Council is considered as an intermediate stage between the exclusively national idea of history and the international idea. According to the Council of Europe, History should

be taught in all educational grades so that children are protected from the exclusive influence of mass media. From 1978 onwards the role of History is associated with the promotion of inter-cultural understanding and democratic principals. A European idea of History might use Local history as a starting point, since it does not depend on state frontiers. The teaching manuals should advance the efforts of non-militaristic co-operation after 1945.

All the propositions of Unesco and the Council of Europe as well as the agreements between states are of a purely consulting character and do not bind the countries that belong to them. The reaction of most of the countries against the “Declaration for the teaching of History” that the Society of Nations adopted in 1937 was characteristic. These countries claimed that it was equal to the enforcement and intervention of the state in education, which on the contrary must be characterized by freedom (op.cit.: 42). Despite that, the guidelines of Unesco and the Council of Europe are inspired by contemporary pedagogic principles and ideas for History and express political evolutions and trends.

The struggle over the content of teaching History that took place in many countries of the world is not the least interesting owing to differing causes and tensions each time. This struggle is not confined to the 20th c. as Andersson (1991) has shown in his study on *The struggle over history in Finland's schools*. The struggle in Finnish schools lasted during the whole of the second half of the last century. Aldrich (1984) and Aldrich & Dean (1991) have cited debates over the teaching of History which have occurred at various times in the twentieth century. New studies which came to light very recently refer to similar struggles in the United States (Nash, Crabtree & Dunn 1997), the emerging small nation states of the New Europe (Slater 1995), South Africa (Sieborger & Alexander quoted in Phillips 1998: 2) and other parts of the world (Dickinson et al. 1995).

A very special case is also the dispute over the content of school History in Britain because of the National Curriculum. Phillips (1998: 2) in a detailed study stresses that the National Curriculum debate in Britain achieved a particular significance. The “great

history debate”, as he calls it, evoked a “profound public, political and professional interest” and initiated a “sheer volume of printed literature”.

In Great Britain the administration and control of the education system had up to recent times been in the hands of Local Government. The aims of the school and the lessons were not specified by official government decrees, there was no uniform compulsory analytical and hourly programme, nor was the use of specific textbooks imperative. Consequently, a large degree of autonomy was given to the schools and the teachers in selecting the syllabus, textbooks and teaching methods. Of course, in practice the choices by the school and the teacher were influenced by many local, scientific and trade-union factors. Therefore, up until the decade of the '60s there was a large degree of uniformity in the teaching of History: the lesson was English-orientated, the events were presented in chronological order and traditional teaching methods dominated where the teacher played the basic role in the transference of knowledge (Aldrich & Dean 1991; *cf.* Ballard 1970: 111).

With the collapse of the British Empire by the '60s and the dramatic changes that were taking place throughout all levels of British society, the propagation of child-orientated educational theories and the new tendencies of historiography, the objectives of teaching History were transformed. Through the influences of the theories of the “New History” movement, greater emphasis was given to pupils to become more familiar with the methods for approaching knowledge through the transference of knowledge itself. The foundations are set for the application of radical educational conceptions such as the application of intercultural education in contrast to racist teaching and furthermore, the internal reform of the school that places more emphasis on cultivating new relations between teachers, pupils and the local community. Local History is also expanded while Environmental Education gradually appears. Within this context, the extension and emphasis given to English History as a cohesive national bond is gradually reduced. On the other hand, in many schools History loses its autonomy and is incorporated into the lesson of human sciences and its teaching is restricted to the first few years of Secondary Education (Lewis 1987; Phillips 1993: 14-17).

These developments have not remained without response. During the beginning of the '80s, with the continuing and increasing economic crisis, the war of the Falkland Islands and the Conservative shift in British society, the desire was expressed that the subject of History should reclaim a significant place in the school programme and that the older approaches to History and its teaching be reintroduced. It is characteristic that the education policy followed by the Thatcher Government has the teaching of History playing a central role (Joseph 1984). The Prime Minister herself maintained that the effects of leftist historians and New History on the manner in which History was taught and on the picture transmitted to the nation and to Britain, in conjunction with the pupils' ignorance of significant personalities and events in the history of the country, had had negative results (quoted in Yeo 1990: 124). In contrast to this teaching, which was thought to be useful in questioning the existing society, economic and political order, a British history with a uniform evolutionary course in time is promoted and around this the histories of other races and countries are entwined. This educational reform shows a particular double objective: on the one hand it returns to an antiquated form of perceiving History while on the other hand, it overturns traditional liberal factors such as that of the autonomy of Local Government, schools and teachers and imposes a centralised concentrated control at all levels of compulsory education (Phillips 1993: 25-37).

The criticisms that were directed at the government's position by historians and teachers disputed the ideological and political choices, objectives, priorities, methodologies, contents and ways of teaching that it had promoted (Gardiner 1990). It is noted that the emphasis on the teaching of events is problematic because it is not possible to teach all that has occurred in the past and there is no consensus as to what has taken place or what is beneficial for the new generation to learn. Every attempt to define the events that have to be learnt involves an interpretation, and in democratic societies it is unacceptable that the government's interpretation – or that of any social or political group – be imposed in the schools. There is no mutually acceptable neutral view of the past other than different historiographies and interpretations that attempt to dominate and which are always disputable.

It was also maintained that the outline of national history is continuously changing, including or excluding other populations and cultural groups during each era and also that the meaning and contents of British history are not autonomous. Also disputable is the notion of mutual heritage and common values, since each society during each period encompasses many groups who develop different systems of value, traditions and characteristics which naturally are transformed with time. There has never been only one form of living during any period, nor agreement as to which is the best form, nor have historians agreed between themselves as to the role and significance of each tradition. There are no criteria that are acceptable to all, by which an individual heritage or tradition can be defined as common.

The critics of the government's views also maintained that when pupils are taught only the results of historical knowledge, they do not learn history, because the knowledge of history presupposes the understanding of the means for acquiring historical knowledge, its relations with assumptions, and the criteria by which historians choose among conflicting positions. The pupils must learn why are there dissenting narrations and multiple interpretations and how to judge their credibility. The subject of History must contribute to the development of critical capabilities so that the young will be able to pose questions and to dispute self-evident or latent conceptions.

In 1988 the Minister of Education set up a committee, composed of university and school teachers and specialists in education, in order to draw up suggestions for the curriculum. Another committee was set up in Wales. The committee published its suggestions including the objections of the Minister. A discussion took place. The committee took back the published material and made the necessary changes. In 1990 the final document was published and discussions continued. Finally, the Minister accepted the main suggestions of the committee and they passed into gradual application between 1991-95 (Prochaska 1990).

The committee took a different view from the government's opinion who wished to stress National History (DES 1990; School Curriculum and Assessment Authority 1995; *cf.* Prochaska 1990; Phillips 1998: 67-82). Although it suggested putting the emphasis on British history because it is there that most students are going to live, it

extended the references to Britain to 40% only of the whole material and later to 50%. The rest it proposed to be covered by Local History, European History (which covers most of the non-national material) and World History. British history did not become a central value to judge the rest of material. Additionally, the committee included in British history that of the other three nations (Welsh – Scottish – Irish) and not only English history, as well as the history of the immigrants, the non-British people who live in the country and the history of British who live abroad. So, the committee excluded the word nation-state which originally was included in the text.

Then it refused to give a central place to the history of parliament in British history, as happened traditionally. However, it finally included the history of the British Empire considering that the Empire contributed to the formulation of modern British identity and the identity of those who are living in Britain but come from the former British colonies. It is also in this way that children are going to understand the place of Britain in the modern world. Nevertheless, the committee suggested to teachers to avoid value judgements.

The committee argued that history is the interpretative discourse for the past. It means that the committee rejected the perception according to which there is only one certain meaning of History, and advanced pluralism. It proposed making an integrated study of each period or subject (political, economic, technological, scientific, social, religious, cultural, aesthetic) and cultivate the necessary abilities of children to do historical research. The National Curriculum describes the aims of History teaching as follows: cultivation of national identity, understanding of heritages and traditions, knowledge and understanding of other peoples and cultures, cultivation of tolerance and respect of cultural differences, preparation for the life of the adult citizen and worker, understanding of the present through the past.

The educational reform in Britain revived the discussion, which had already started, on history, history teaching and the aims. Through this reform a radical change took place in British education, as the traditional autonomy of the local authorities, schools and teachers is subverted on the one hand and a central control of compulsory education to all levels is imposed on the other hand. At the same time the reform gave the opportu-

nity for new theories to come to light and fight against traditional ideas. Another result is the introduction of an emphasis on the European dimension next to the national during History teaching. Similar changes, which took place in other European countries, contributed to the advancement of an “open” perception of history and the development of a pluralistic teaching of the past.

2.2.2. Multi- or Inter-cultural education and School Internal Reform theory

With the development of the large migratory wave of workers towards the various developed and industrialised countries in the '70s, the conception began to form that the basic factors for educating and teaching must be formulated and processed in such a manner so as to include – other than the cultural elements of the host country – data concerning the culture of the countries of origin of these foreigners (Krivas: 1992: 196; cf. Kanakidou & Papagianni 1994: 14). These changes in the education and teaching offered up to then had the objective to allow children with another language and another culture to participate in school life. Thus intercultural views began to develop in the educational science sectors and especially that of the pedagogics.

The term “intercultural” has already been used with various meanings. There is however a common result: in all cases the term signifies “this opening towards new experiences, towards the meeting of the cultural elements of other peoples and other forms of thinking, elements that transform into contents for learning, an intercultural learning” (Krivas, 1992: 197). With the term “Intercultural Education” we mean all the pedagogic principles with which the measures and teaching that are targeted to the members of a social group are regulated, where inevitably there will be differences in mentality, in conceptions and in the way of life (Kimbeley 1989; Parekh 1997). Specifically (Kanakidou & Papagianni 1994: 16-17), the type of education that can be characterised as Intercultural Education is that which:

- ✓ Arises from the conviction that all men are equal.
- ✓ Considers that the cultural and language differences are not disruptive elements; on the contrary, they are considered to be elements of enrichment and should be included in the analytical programmes and in educational teaching.
- ✓ Orientates to equal opportunities for all.

✓ Is opposed to any form of discrimination.

Many scholars use the term “multicultural education” instead of the term “intercultural”. When the meanings are not synonymous, the term “multiculture” constitutes a simple characteristic of co-existence between different cultures, while the term “interculture” expresses the relationship and the correlation between cultures. Parekh (1997: 59) supports the view that multicultural education has as its principle respect for all cultures. This means that all cultures “have significance within their greater framework, have the right to be perceived in their own conditions and need to be explored with sensitivity and sympathy”. However, “the principle of multicultural education does not also imply that different cultures, communities and religions are equally good. A judgement like this presupposes an intercultural measure and this is simply not available”.

Intercultural learning is not restricted to one learning period, even though this has many times been forgotten. This is a demand of the times and should not be restricted to the borders of the typical school. This should also be the objective of other educational bodies, such as further education for adults, open universities, etc. (Krivas 1992: 197, 200). This is a total pedagogic proposal “for the large social problems that arise daily in the forms of movements of racist, nationalist and social violence”. Intercultural education also has applications in the former colonies, where means of improving or upgrading the local inhabitants’ self-image for the purpose of eradicating the negative stereotyping of the “primitive civilisation” and “non-operative dialect” (Kanakidou & Papagianni 1994: 14).

New theories for an integrated internal reform of the education system are also heading in the same direction (Gleeson 1979). These theories essentially recapitulate the basic pedagogic principles that were expounded by the great pedagogists of the 19th and 20th centuries. The resurgence of interest in the reform of the school is associated with new developments in the social, scientific and educational standards and especially with the attempts to modernise analytical programmes (Kelly 1988) and the introduction of free lessons, with an emphasis on local society and the environment (Watts 1969). We will mention here the basic ideas expressed by the supporters of these theories because they

are important for the formation of any modern proposal for improving the educational system and are greatly applied in the case of History. The internal reform of the school is defined by the following characteristics:

a) Change in the manner of presenting knowledge

Knowledge ceases to be offered by the teacher to the pupils through the use of static methods of teaching (e.g. lectures, monologues, etc.). In accordance with the new approach, knowledge is acquired by exploration-revelations through the use of active forms of teaching, using project methods or research actions. In this case, both the pupils and the teachers-educators co-act and co-work in order to acquire the knowledge they desire. Knowledge is acquired through revelation procedural teaching and the exercising of the capacity for critique.

b) Change in the relationships between the pupils themselves

The relationships between the pupils cease to be competitive in the school sector. Collaboration, rivalry and mutual assistance arise during the time when they all together attempt to conquer knowledge. Individual attempts give way to group attempts and the final product of the whole attempt does not constitute the achievement of any one person but rather the conquest by the whole group.

c) Change in pupil - teacher relations

Pupils do not look at teachers with fear and prejudice. They face them as equal collaborators, as co-assistants who work together to conquer the same objectives.

d) Change in the role of the teacher in school activity

The teacher ceases to be the authority. His/her role transforms into the role of equal collaborator, consultant, guider, facilitator. Together with the pupils s/he attempts to discover knowledge through the use of active teaching methods. Within operational borders of the school group s/he imparts his/her experiences but at the same time acquires experiences from the group itself.

e) Change in the structure and operationability of the analytical programmes

The contents of the traditional analytical programmes apply for many years and are not revised regularly so as to adapt to the demands of modern life. In contrast, in the curricula (new forms of analytical programmes), since an integral part of them is continuous reform, the teaching contents are renewed continuously and are adapted to present conditions and to future demands. With respect to the planning and organisation of teaching, traditional analytical programmes do not contain any – or in the best of cases

they may offer insufficient – methodological suggestions to the teacher for teaching specific contents and the achievement of specific objectives. In the curricula in contrast, the planning and organising of the teaching process do not operate independently of the contents and of the aims that they hope to achieve through them. They offer the teacher different methodological suggestions and present alternative possibilities for using teaching methods, thus assisting him in this manner to achieve specific objectives through specific teaching contents. In traditional analytical programmes, checking to see if the teaching aims were achieved is attempted through written examinations, tests and diagnostic tests, while the curriculum presents different methods and tools to check the performance of the pupils.

f) Opening the school to the community

School is not strictly confined to the four walls of the building. It opens up to the local community. It listens to its problems and carries them into the school space. There, an analysis and interpretation is attempted while solutions are suggested. The decisions and initiatives taken within the school space are announced to the community. In this way a link and a relation of constant feedback and co-operation is achieved.

g) To use the local space as a cause for learning

The subjects-problems of local space are changed into a subject of learning procedure in school space. This principle has a particular application in subjects such as Local History and Environmental Education, as they are subjects that preoccupy the local society, which become an object to be studied and they are diachronically analyzed.

h) To encourage and provide equal opportunities for the participation of all pupils in school life, regardless of their performance and their socio-economic origin

All pupils are provided equal opportunities for participation in school life, as the school class ceases to operate competitively and individually, and they are organized and function as a team and cooperatively. Within this framework, all pupils are aided to participate actively in school life, regardless of their cultural background and their socio-economic status.

2.2.3. Difficulties in Heritage education practice

It is common knowledge that the formulation of theoretical schemes does not always meet with the unhindered application in practice. Frequently in most of the studies

mentioned above the human factor and his/her capabilities are overlooked or forgotten. Despite that, a number of researchers have worked on the difficulties arising from the application of scientific and pedagogic theories in the teaching of History. Research has focussed mainly on the capabilities of students as subjects of learning. The main difficulties in history teaching, which are usually cited (Peel 1967; Coltham 1971; Hallam 1970), are: the complexity of human action, the abstract language of History, the difficult to understand historical time by students etc.

Peel (1967) examined the possibilities to overcome the difficulties which result from the nature of History, using an appropriate method of teaching. He considers that it is a basic pursuit, and problem at the same time, to enable historical sources to become more understandable for students. As Peel says, none of the available types of sources can satisfactorily help students to bridge the gap between the representative (descriptive) stage and that of abstract thoughts, because their study needs interpretation, completion and comparison with other information. He considers that the level of thinking and the degree of understanding the terms which are used in History, are beyond the powers of most students in Secondary Education.

Peel (1967) believes that the study of archives is difficult because this material is not easily understandable by students. The same happens with archaeological sources: it is possible to misinterpret them because of the lack of understanding of historical time and historical process. On the other hand, the prefabricated narrations of textbooks tend to simplify situations or their interpretation has to take account of the limited experience of students who live in the present. Finally, he proposes the use of analogy to surpass these problems.

Hallam (1970) believes that the teaching of History must not be very abstract. He supports the view that the traditional values of History will not disappear but they will be reached more easily through the study of "representative" history. He says that the work of the teacher is to try to develop the mental abilities and students' reactions to the History lesson. He accepts that progress towards the stage of formal thought can be accelerated. Shemilt in 1980 supported similar ideas.

Thompson (1972) considers that teaching methods are of vital importance: every subject from history can be presented in an imaginative and attractive way for children. His reliance on the teachers' intervention, lead us to suppose that it is possible to make important progresses in the understanding of History by students, using appropriate teaching methods.

Another optimistic and practical perspective can be found in the theory of Bruner, which Rogers (1978) applied in History teaching. According to Bruner (1966: 1): "At the beginning children learn the world through their own actions of habit (enactive mode). Then the technique of representation through images is added, which is relatively independent from the action (iconic mode). Gradually, a new and strong method of interpretation of the action and the image in language, is added (symbolic mode)". Bruner, in contrast to Piaget, claims that in children's thought the three modes of representation coexist, though in the younger ones the first two dominate. Thus, school-children can deal with all kind of meanings, according to the level of their abilities of course (Worell & Stilwel 1981: 168).

Rogers (1978) stresses that students may be introduced to research from the sources and have a permanent experience in this work. He finds very simplistic the opinion that the role of scientific work is to produce results. However, in practice there are limitations: most children cannot approach and understand scientific research. On the other hand, the criticism which is applied to school textbooks, is concentrated on their weakness to play the role which scientific work demands. Thus, according to Rogers, the only alternative solution is to try to get the children, as far as possible, to make research themselves. The teacher may use the appropriate way every time, depending on the level of development of each student. In this manner it is possible to study any subject of History, without the teaching approach being restricted by age limitations, as according to the traditional method.

This approach, which is part of the phenomenon known as "New History", has contributed to the creation of a different perception of the nature of History. Students are encouraged to proceed in a critical examination of past events and the appropriate method through which they can be studied. The students can give their own interpre-

tations of the sources so as to be introduced to the problems, the difficulties and the doubts of History and understand the possibility of the coexistence of many different perspectives. The discussions will turn round the children's work. However, as Thompson (1984: 173) remarks, there is a risk of developing in the students an extremely subjective image of the past and doubts concerning the effectiveness of their actions.

2.2.4. Local History and Environmental Education

In order to overcome the many difficulties of General History offered in schools, some authors have supported the introduction of Local History, especially in the lower grades. In European countries there is much discussion on this subject. In England (Hoskins 1966: 22) political conditions allowed the creation of many local archives, libraries and museums. Gradually schools have found a place for local history within the curriculum, as well.

Local History does not have in its academic version a purely unequivocal sense, since the perspectives regarding the landscape, social relationships, the working method and the historical time change, confusing any attempt of interpretation. However, as is usually described (Papagiannopoulos, Simoni & Fragoulis forthcoming), Local History examines:

1. The History of a small region, of which the area is determined based on the particular characteristics of its landscape. The characteristics of this region a) are distinguishable when compared to the characteristics of the directly neighbouring regions, and b) have a visible influence on the inhabitants' lives.
2. The History of a small society of people that occupy a region and have common memories, views and habits, which differ from those that people have occupying directly neighbouring regions.
3. The History of events that took place in this small region or the history of persons who relate to this small region of people (born or lived there), and influenced in one way or another their historical evolution.
4. The History of all the remains of human activity that are found in this region, which are visible by the members of a community of people that live there, re-

ardless of whether these people have a direct relation of kinship or origin or shared residence to those that had created them, and regardless of their dating or use.

However, some scholars have wondered whether the academic sense of Local History finds an application in school reality. What is the meaning of Local History in educational procedure and what are the factors defining the meaning of the term "local"? Douch (1972: 76-77; *cf.* Idem 1970: 112) observes that: a) very often, the book writers of Local History for children, in their desire to enclose enough facts and personalities, choose to examine a very extended area, b) the local material should be anything that is involved with the experience of children or anything that will be included during their work, and c) the teacher should be sure that anything meant by him/her as 'local' is also 'local' in the perspective of children. He considers that to study Local History usually means "working on a small area near school and home" (*op. cit.*: 77). Of course, pupils can visit some regions during an excursion or explore other ones, unknown to them till that moment.

It has been generally established that children nowadays have wider geographical horizons in comparison to the children of previous generations. They travel more often and sometimes to places that are many kilometers away from their home. Hence, the space of their direct interests and experiences is identified with the wider space where their school and home are found (community, quarter, neighbourhood).

Another way of approach is usually offered through Environmental Education. Environmental Education is considered to be the answer to two big problems of international significance, the ecological crisis and the traditional school crisis. Under the pressure of these problems Unesco in collaboration with PNUE (U.N. program for the environment) organised the 1st Intergovernmental Congress for Environmental Education in Tbilissi, in October 1977.

Originally Environmental Education was identical to Ecology. According to Stapp "it is the education that aims at the development of citizens with knowledge about the bionatural environment and its problems, aware of how they can help to solve the

problems and willing to contribute” (Stapp et al. 1969). Soon Environmental Education was attached to new pedagogic theories and stirred up a reformatory push at schools. Today thoughts for a re-orientation imply that Environmental Education should contribute to sustainable development and rational management (Tilbury 1995).

At the same time Environmental Education spread in schools throughout Europe, America and Australia, either incorporated in the curricula as part of existing subjects (Germany, France, Holland etc.) or with the support of the authorities (Greece, Malta etc.) (Leal Fillo 1992). After the establishment of the National Curriculum in Britain, Environmental Education is considered as one of the cross-curricular subjects and there are propositions to teachers for implementation of programmes within the existing subjects of the curriculum. However, there is no substantial support from school or external sources (Oulton 1994).

Within the programmes of Environmental Education the overlap with Local History became apparent. Schools usually select to work on subjects which need to be examined diachronically so as the causes and the development of any Environmental matter become clear. The commonalities can be even more substantial. The programmes of Environmental Education are usually spatially defined within the immediate surroundings of the students, where the students have most of their interests and experiences. Solving problem, one of the basic objectives of the educational process in relation to Environmental Education, is not unknown to Local history as the latter has a revelation character (Mainstone & Bryant 1972: 165). However, it depends on the mood and the qualifications of the teacher as well as the structure of the student group that will carry out the project in the specific area.

The introduction of Environmental Education in the educational system and the implementation of the respective programmes showed the way that similar educational procedures, not found yet in the official analytical programme, could be put into practice. A pioneer practice that has resulted from the application of programmes of Environmental Education in the school space is the use of the Empirical-Communicative teaching, which is also known as the “project method”. This method is estimated as highly important and significant, because it initiates us into an interdisciplinary ap-

proach to knowledge within the framework of open learning procedures. The term “Empirical-Communicative teaching” involves two senses: the sense of “experience” and the sense of “communication”. By saying “Empirical teaching” we mean a complex of procedures that result from proper experiences. That is, the requirements, experiences and questions of a child, which derive from his/her everyday life as well as from the experiences-anxieties developed in the pupil within his/her social surroundings, where he/she lives and is incorporated (Frey 1986; Chrysafides 1994).

All this procedure to approach reality and the surrounding world through experienced situations is implemented within the framework of a relation of equivalent communication developed between pupils and teachers. It is a relation characterized by equal exchange of views, it helps the team freely to formulate their concepts concerning the way to approach a topic as well as to proceed to decision-making regarding the way to approach it.

According to all the afore-mentioned issues, it can easily be understood that the Empirical-Communicative teaching is identified to a large extent with the project-method. Through study of the relative literature, it can easily be realized that the project-method is an “open” teaching procedure, which by having as a starting-point problems, anxieties and questioning of members of a team, aims at approaching a topic and leads to procedures for solving a specific problem. Within the context of this method, all the team participates actively in the procedures of a subject.

1. The project-method begins with practical interests and leads to practical, useful results; it does not begin with interests related to the class subject.
2. Within the framework of the project-method, the pupil learns to approach reality through team work and action.
3. He/she mobilizes aspects of his/her personality and tries to approach initially the matter to be studied through creative procedures and, consequently, reality.
4. Within the framework of the project-method, there are taken into account the interests, requirements, wishes as well as the particular characteristics of the team members. This facilitates substantially the procedure to ap-

proach knowledge and it develops at the same time conditions of substantial co-operation among the members of the educational team. The result from such a procedure for approaching a topic is obvious both for the members constituting the team that studies the topic and the approach procedure itself.

If both internal and external reform are demands of society but also of the modern school, the application of the project-method within the context of a new approach of analytical programmes comes to cover to a large extent what is called in the educational world as “internal reform”.

The project method can be put into practice successfully in those cases where there are analytical programmes of “open” type through the form of *curriculum*. The analytical programmes of this type leave wider margins for initiative, search and design, as they determine the context within which the teacher and the pupils should implement the class subject, without making a detailed recording of the action course of media and procedures required for the implementation of the training intervention.

The question raised, and to which we have to give an answer, is in what ways are we helped by the application of the project-method (Empirical method) in the approach to topics related to Local History. A one-dimensional answer to this question cannot be given. It is however certain that it helps, as its application contributes to:

- a) the activation of pupils during the implementation of educational procedure, through the application of active forms of learning,
- b) the development of creative thought in pupils, as well as the way by which he/she can learn by himself/herself,
- c) the procedure of solving problems, through active discovery processes,
- d) the co-operation among the team members, through the culture of a spirit of equal communication, mutual help and solidarity,
- e) the internal differentiation of the class subject, through the exploitation of interests, requirements, tendencies, capabilities of pupils, a fact that results in internal reform in the space of the school. Such a demand is both required by the attempted educational reform and society in general,

- f) the interdisciplinary way of learning, according to which knowledge is attempted to be approached holistically-globally as a uniform organic ensemble,
- g) the integration of school life in society and of society in school life. School ceases to be met isolated from society and, vice-versa, society stops being detached from the school. They are joined in an organic ensemble and matters concerning society are transferred into the space of the school. They become an object of study and questioning, while any solutions that are attempted to be given, are given under the spectrum of the holistic – interdisciplinary approach, interpretation and analysis of the reality.

The basic phases of the project-method are the following :

1. Search for and finding of a specific topic

This phase includes suggestions, discussions, joint determination of the topic with which pupils and the teacher are going to deal.

2. Research

There are discussions and an exchange of points of view and ideas on what the participants consider as the best approach to the topic in question (brainstorming). The discussions are made originally at plenary session of the class, and then continued by groups. Creation and collection of the relevant material.

3. Organization and presentation of data

The material is classified and the data are organized in a continuous form by each group. The groups make a presentation at a plenary session of the class with regard to the knowledge acquired through their work on the topic.

4. Application

According to the project-method, a programme remains unsuccessful if it does not lead to an activity. Such an activity can start from the discussion of results and experiences in the classroom, up to the presentation of the results in any way in public.

5. Evaluation

All this effort is evaluated. Evaluation does not occur only in the last phase of the programme (summative evaluation). It is realized during its whole implementation and has a dynamic character (formative evaluation) (see below in the paragraph “Evaluation”).

I finally would comment that Local History and Environmental Education projects put into practice the principles of a school's internal reform, especially the need to create bonds with the local community. I am going to analyze this idea further in the chapter on the aims of my project.

2.2.5. Applied techniques

«New History» showed the necessity for directing school teaching towards the study of historical and, especially, archaeological sources (Moffat 1991; Wilkinson & Webb 1991). The application of new teaching methods would attract the interest of students and transform the difficult and, usually, unattractive material for them into a ground for fruitful thought and a methodological base to develop their own representations of the past. Therefore, teachers had “to use all available resources” at their disposal “to keep them interested, alert, inquisitive, willing to investigate, to record, to discover their own talents through a multiplicity of approaches” (Mainstone & Bryant 1972: 166).

We have seen in the previous chapter how these ideas found their way into the application of Local History and Environmental Education projects at school. We will offer now a quick overview of the techniques applied in these projects (Hansen, Andersen & Vestergaard 1982; Abrose 1987; Moffat 1988; Hooper-Greenhill 1989).

Most school projects and relevant bibliography are devoted to museum education. This means that museums are structured in a way to cover the education needs and further to create more services in order to enhance normal teaching. Hooper-Greenhill (1991: 6) states that before late '80s most museums and galleries “were largely concerned with the care of their collections” whilst afterwards they “have become more outward-looking and more aware of their responsibilities to their audiences”. As a consequence, “the concept of care has been widened to include the way in which these collections could be used for the benefit of the public. This movement has been rapid and has resulted in many changes in the way in which museums operate. It has brought the educational role of museums to the fore”.

Museums and galleries exhibitions are now oriented to the development of policies and provision of opportunities for life-long learning for all people. "Education is no longer seen as an adjunct function, but as an integral and vital element of a healthy and successful museum" (op.cit.). Schoolchildren are probably the more active visitors. Changes in the educational system in Britain, for instance, caused the reorganisation of museum policies so as to fit to the new educational needs. Actually every museum can be an appropriate place to set up a project and extract information (Goodhew 1988). A vast number of pamphlets are published every year, most of which offer information to a school audience.

Museums and galleries in Britain offer many interesting and exciting education services for schools in support of their permanent displays and temporary exhibitions. There are museums offering *handling sessions with real museum objects*. The students are allowed to handle a large variety of objects, from pottery and fossils to working steam engines and oil paintings. Thus, they can have a direct experience with many things normally examined in school only on a theoretical basis. In museums "all children, regardless of ability or language skills, can respond at their own level and learn in ways not always possible in school". These objects usually come from different periods and sometimes from different cultures. Therefore, students have the opportunity to realise "how all societies are interdependent and how values vary between cultures and over time" (Museums and Galleries Commission & Group for Education in Museums n.d.). A number of museums include *handling sessions with replicas of archaeological objects*. Teachers can easily obtain such replicas to facilitate their lesson in class (Dyer 1983: 16).

Archaeological Resource Centres (ARC), like that in York, allow students to handle and identify actual finds such as pottery, shells, bones, tiles, even tiny seeds and insect remains. Children may try their hands at the ancient crafts of spinning, weaving and leatherworking using accurate replicas and traditional materials. Museum object replicas are also obtainable from small short-lived companies.

Museums offer rarely *a loan service*. Teachers can borrow objects like Medieval sherds once they have been documented and are found in large quantities in excava-

tions. Dyer concludes that “physical contact with ancient objects is one of the most important aspects of archaeology teaching”. He believes that “bridging the gap of two thousand years between the present day and the Roman who first handled a coin or made a pot can be a thrilling experience for the imaginative child”. However, he recognises that “there will always be those for whom the experience does nothing” (Dyer 1983: 16).

Most scholars stress how essential it is for the teacher to be informed on the “local museum and its collections thoroughly, including material not on public display, as well as the visible contents of national museums” (op.cit.: 41). However, big and wealthy museums dispose of *guides and interpreters* so that the teacher can rely either on starting the education visit with a quick look at the displays or be informed before taking the class there.

It is not exceptional to find even on a local basis *trained museum teachers* with considerable teaching experience. They have developed “teaching methods which promote observation, enquiry and understanding” so that “children are stimulated to pursue interests aroused by the visit back at school” (Museums and Galleries Commission & Group for Education in Museums n.d.). In the Old Fulling Mill Museum in Durham, students are trained in Roman, Greek, Anglo-saxon and Viking everyday life by museum experts. They are introduced to every subject either by watching slides or participating in an hypothetical excavation. They also have the occasion to handle real objects or replicas, try to do some weaving, put on old-fashioned clothes, answer relevant questions etc.

Certain museums offer *in-service training for school teachers* either on a specific museum collection or the appropriate methods which are going to attract children’s interest and secure the best possible results. In some cases museum experts offer *talks and seminars for examination groups* and *special facilities for school parties*. There is no need to add that every museum is ready to give *advice on organising visits* at a local or national level.

Almost every museum which offers education facilities, produces *activity packs for pupils and teachers*. The packs usually contain leaflets which present the specific museum services, a brief catalogue of objects in the collection, information on periods or people represented, worksheets with a variety of questions etc.

Many of the education-orientated museums also offer *activity based workshops*, where students may watch, or participate in, scientific work. In Roman Arbeia in South Shields students 6 to 12 years old are introduced to all stages of archaeologists' work. There children have the opportunity to dig and find their own objects in a simulated excavation trench, to watch washing, sorting and recording of pottery and other finds, to focus on small special finds, to understand weaving and the making of stone objects. The ARC in York offers work experience opportunities for volunteers and students over the age of 16.

It seems that museums in Britain cover a great range of the schools' requests and that explain why they keep a central role in heritage education practice. Carter (1984: 4) believes that "the museum visit is probably irreplaceable by any other equally effective technique". What he thinks is the special about museums from the educational viewpoint, is that they contain the "Real Thing". "The classroom is full of second hand information however it may be conveyed, whether by wall chart, film, slide, or simply teacher description. Visit to museums allow children to encounter genuine objects ie; the 'Real Thing' and from these encounters to develop a whole new set of skills". Dyer argues that museums offer not only "familiarisation with objects and materials of the past" but they enable children "to appreciate the way the object was made and used". He believes that students can go further in learning to evaluate museum exhibitions using criteria and asking questions (Dyer 1983: 41-42). Mainstone & Bryant (1972: 171) support the same view when they wrote that "children of all ages need to understand the way museums have *happened* and how they work. They must eventually learn to criticize books. Older pupils should begin to ask why certain selections are made, certain display techniques followed, etc."

Museum as a successful organisation should be able to provide a measure of service to the community in which is situated and operates. Certainly education is a great one. It

is one service which “is not difficult to provide at a basic level” and also it is “well received and most appreciated” by the local community (Carter 1984: 6). However, most museums even in Britain fail to play this broader role. As Gathercole (1983: 42) says, museums “often are repositories of immobilized received opinions”. Shanks & Tilley (1994: 68) remark that many museums “misrepresent the past, distorting it through selection and classification... as a means of legitimating present sectional interests”. By studying the aesthetic system of presentation and viewing in museums and displays, they argue (op.cit.: 68-90) that the artifact usually operates as a commodity standing solitarily in the cases with its academic price-tag, in a way to reveal its beauty and its exhibition-value, and to authenticate the social description “written” around it.

Shanks & Tilley (op. cit.: 98) support the view that museums “can allow the visitor to construct a past along with the archaeologist-curator: participation not as a means to a pre-given, pre-discovered end, but as an open process of constructing different pasts”. Although we always have to follow a careful policy, we must recognise that museums often do not involve local people in their projects in terms of objects acquisition, oral history registration and active participation. Museum education can be more profitable when museum acts as a community museum, which means that education is “implicit in the very act of creating the museum – in the historical research undertaken, in the involvement of local people in the construction and presentation of their history, in the discussion of the past, the present and the future” (Hooper-Greenhill 1991: 21).

If any normal school project includes museum education, also the mere visiting historic houses, sites and monuments is a frequent practice of typical school life. Stonehenge and Avebury are surely the most famous places in Britain, where all children and their schools wish to be. However, Stonehenge itself, as Dyer remarks, is “one of the big disappointments of archaeology for children” because they expect to find an enormous monument and to be allowed to approach, see and touch all the architectural refinements that they have heard about (Dyer 1983: 36). He believes that the best kind of sites to visit are “upstanding monuments like hillforts or castles, where the children need only a little imagination to bring them to life” and can get inside them (op.cit.: 14-15).

The *CBA Calendar of Excavations* published six times a year from April to September informs volunteers about digs where they will be welcome. Normally children are expected to be sixteen before they can participate in an excavation. Dyer again claims that children express an ambiguous feeling when they are taken to see excavations: they love to go but they rapidly become bored. "There is nothing more baffling than to stare into a muddy trench for the first time and be told that you are looking at a third-century occupation layer" (op.cit.: 15). Otherwise children who are allowed to participate in an excavation, usually expect to begin with a top job. "Turving or moving top-soil for three days may well be the prelude to less exhausting work and will kill the ardour of many budding enthusiasts in the process" (op.cit.: 54-55). Dyer proposes to overcome these difficulties with a good preparation of students by their teacher before they reach the excavation trench and the reassurance of a specialist experienced in communicating with young people.

Archaeology teachers use alternative solutions to familiarise their students with excavation. In Roman Arbeia, South Shields, as we have seen above, a simulation of an excavation trench is used. Once the children enter a room they see a diagram with a hypothesized stratum structure. The level in which the children walk belong to one stratum and is full of bumps and lumps as in real ground. Children that come across the anomalies search them and discover artifacts that the archaeologists have hidden inside. In this way they realise the meaning of stratigraphy in archaeology.

In the Old Fulling Mill a shallow box is used to place miniature replicas of ancient monuments or objects. The museum experts cover them with sand, divide the area in squares with ropes and give each square a number. Every team of 2-3 students takes over the digging of a square. They have a paintbrush and a small trowel. The excavation proceeds slowly and the participants discuss every now and then the results and the procedure. Small items (e.g. ceramics) are placed in bags with labels (number of the square and the date). Museum experts explain that items at greater depths are older than those close to the surface (*cf.* Martin 1996).

To make it clear to the students how archaeologists use different strata to date their finds, some teachers take a broad and deep glass container filled with soil in layers.

Each layer contains a different kind/colour of soil and represents a stratum. Then they explain that all finds of the same layer/stratum belong to the same chronological period. Dyer (1983: 12) again notices that the easiest way to make juniors understand stratigraphy, is to use a pile of books, each one representing a soil layer.

The most popular method, used as an alternative of excavation, and perhaps the easiest kind for approaching landscape and doing true archaeological research, is fieldwalking. Teachers organise fieldwalking projects in the area round the school in co-operation with the local archaeological unit. Projects are very well executed and scientific methods are used. The work team usually aims to collect pottery, then try to study the material and extract some results.

There are also various techniques for teaching history based on games (Molenda 1980). A common technique in the Anglo-saxon countries is a combination of narration and action. The teacher narrates a story set in a specific historical setting. When his story reaches an interesting point he stops narrating. He/she then asks his/her students to form teams and each team will make up the continuation of the story (Blyth 1982: 66-67). In this way the participants realize that events can have different epilogues and this is defined by several factors including human choices which play a central role.

Teaching is usually complemented by the theatrical performance of the past (Wigan Education Authority 1988). Role playing is the most simple form of these games (Fairclough 1994). A subject or a situation from past life is chosen and every student assumes a historical person trying to approach his/her way of thinking and acting. Students work also with their teacher to organize theatrical plays with stories from the past.

There are also simulation games (Birt & Nichol 1975; Molenda 1980). These are more complicated than role-playing. They require more standardized material and constant procedures, stricter structure and more specified rules. Emphasis is put on the process of social interaction as opposed to role playing, where the most important part concerns the unfolding of the characters and the awakening of the feelings of the actors

(see, for example, the above-mentioned simulation of an excavation, and the simulation of ploughing by Wood & Bell 1996).

Schools organise outdoor games as well (Hitt 1984). They give the opportunity to their students to take part in events that contain the element of adventure. In addition, active learning through empirical and personal involvement is more effective than “closed” learning in the classroom.

It is considered that historical games, where children assume historical persons or reconstruct historical periods, have many advantages (Birt & Nichol 1975: 5-7; Molenda 1980; Wigan Education Authority 1988). During play the participants are forced to make decisions in accordance with the roles they play and the historical period they reconstruct. Besides, students are stimulated to learn, by playing the roles of historical figures and facing the same historical problems. They are linked to the historical characters they feature and can understand the motivations of people who have been very different from them. Historical games help children to comprehend historical process as a dynamic and non-static process. As they play, they learn history from “inside” and can remember it better. Finally, historical games cultivate social skills, because children get used to co-operate, exchange opinions, ground their arguments, accept and refuse suggestions. Solving problems and taking over responsibilities at a personal and collective level contribute to personal and social development. The use of games must serve certain objectives and offer the possibility of active participation to all individuals. It is always advisable that time is set accurately not only for the implementation of games but for the evaluation, preferably at the end (Hitt 1984).

The *English Heritage Events Diary* published every year informs people about living history, entertainment, music and drama events, which take place in England between March and October. Most of the events’ re-enactors are volunteers dressed in old-fashioned costumes. It is possible for the audience to visit certain events in costumes as well, and participate in the performance (English Heritage 1997).

There are also places where villages of the past are represented in natural size, as for example in Bede’s World, Jarrow. There, an Anglo-saxon farm is reconstructed with

typical animal breeds of the period, crops and plants, two timber buildings under construction and a Grubenhaus (*cf.* Henderson 1994; 1995). In most of these rural life museums “there is an aspect of living history to complement the static exhibits. Inside many a re-furbished farmhouse there are echoes of the past – a kettle singing on a black-leaded or a costumed farmer’s wife explaining her daily round to visitors. Similarly, a dairy can be transformed by the sights, sounds and smells of butter-making as role-players go about their tasks. These staff are often seasonally employed or occasionally volunteers and they are generally well informed about the work they do” (Hill 1995: 28). There one can have the opportunity to see traditional techniques of cultivation and themed events “highlighting farm animals, with days devoted to the donkey, pig, cow and even the bee”, as part of the working farm museum interpretation of the past (*op. cit.*: 29).

Hill argues that farm and rural life museums are in danger as they proved unable to keep pace with people’s growing interest in the countryside. Some of them forced to close by mounting debts while others altered their role. Their main competitors are the countryside attractions, like historic houses, open gardens, craft centres and farm parks, which “have multiplied over the past 15 years to satisfy the public’s appetite for recreation away from the urban centres where people live and work” (*op.cit.*: 27). He thinks that the situation cannot be reversed until the role of farm and rural life museums has been redefined. Visitors are happy to feel that clear decisions are made over roles, i.e. “whether a museum is ‘working’, is one that occasionally demonstrates practices, or is a collection that relies upon more conventional methods of display and interpretation”. A combination of explanation of historic farming with modern agriculture is the ideal, leaving by no means rural traditions and local life which are the essence of these museums. In order to overcome difficulties from competitions, Hill suggests to “refocus on their collections, and maintain standards of historical accuracy – not only in their displays and exhibitions but in demonstrations and events” (*op. cit.*: 31; *cf.* Runyard 1996).

A very sophisticated representation of a Viking village using data from an excavation, which took place on the same site, can be seen in Jorvik Viking Centre, York. York Archaeological Trust decided to reconstruct a part of the settlement as it was a thou-

sand years ago, in the huge hole created by the dig. Visitors from the 20th century journey back to the 10th century using Time Cars. For a while, modern time travellers explore Coppergate and two of the house plots which run off it. The neighbourhood is full of the sights, sounds and smells of 10th century Jorvik. Townspeople are presented buying and selling, working and playing. Then modern travellers leave Jorvik and travel again forward in time to 1980, where the excavation worksite and archaeological labour in progress is reconstructed. The journey then proceeds via the museum to a highly profitable shop! Although this type of presentation is very impressive and fits well to public's demands as people's response showed, it does not allow human experience, emotion and imagination to be developed separately. Archaeologists are seen as heroes and authentic mediators who bring the past into life using science which ensures objectivity (Shanks & Tilley 1994: 86-90).

Living history has its archaeology counterpart, Experimental Archaeology. The latter is another method to interpret material remains, which replaces theoretical speculation with practice. "Experimental testing" – as Johnston puts it (1995: 92) – "takes the research data from excavations and provides the feedback necessary for a realistic interpretation of them". The interpretation proceeds as follow: "One or more hypotheses are formed from the excavated evidence; then – normally by means of an empirically replicative experiment – the hypotheses are tested, modified and tested again until satisfactory answers are forthcoming". Johnston (*op.cit.*: 93-94; *cf.* Runyard 1996) remarks that experimental archaeology is often confused with living history exercises. The latter may well be turned to fun if it does not manage to generate excitement and an enthusiasm for further study. On the contrary, "the experiment should test one or more hypotheses, it should be fully monitored and documented, it must be capable of independent repetition by others, and the results should be fully published".

The experiments could include the reconstruction and the use of a pottery kiln (Bryant 1971), living in a reconstructed ancient house, cooking, milking, weaving, making a flint axe, digging using antler and stone picks, cutting corn by hand using a metal sickle etc. (Dyer 1983). The most integrated example of an experiment in action is the Butser Ancient Farm at Hampshire. It is a "working prehistoric farm, with appropriate animals, crops and technology, and of course round-houses that serve a number of pur-

poses. The impression is one of non-stop, year-round activity, involving schools, colleges and universities, extra-mural classes and archaeological societies. An open-air classroom, in fact” (Johnston 1995: 91).

I mention finally that a vast amount of books on life in the past and related teaching methods are published in Britain in order to cover the growing education needs. Most of them try to link their material with syllabus content (see for instance the series *A Teacher's Guide to* of English Heritage). Teachers are encouraged also to use audio-visual techniques such as videotapes, colour slides etc. The expansion of media and computer science have created a great variety of products which combine images, sounds and virtual reality. Computer reconstructions of the past made radical improvements in the attempt to revive the past, which was previously done through very expensive conventional materials.

2.3. Reflections in Greece

As is to be expected, developments in theory and techniques in Western Europe influenced Greek educational thinking and practice. Most of the modern criticism of History education in Greece is on the definition of aims, the choice of appropriate syllabus, school textbooks and the method of teaching. However, in the late '80s the criticism shifted to include the study of educational problems, notably those of identity and social reproduction. Hence, in this chapter I am going to discuss first the results and the suggestions which came out until now from theoretical work.

Subsequently, I will refer to modern approaches and methodologies and how they were experienced during the application of Local History and Environmental Education projects, which confronted participants with a new perception of teaching. We are going to see how a number of active teachers gradually arose, who aspired to support more radical changes. At the end of this section, I am going to present the recent initiatives – and their limitations – of the Greek Ministry of Culture to create links between school education and monumental heritage, through developing projects in museums and on archaeological sites.

2.3.1. Theory

In the '80s a fair wind started to blow in Greek education. Isolated scholars or groups of them had been worked towards the creation of a balance to the traditional educational system, bringing into Greece new ideas from abroad. The Greek Classics' Teachers Association in Athens started to offer seminars to its members on new trends in History, inviting scholars to present papers. In one of these seminars, which took place in Athens in 1993, School and University teachers were invited to present papers on the relation between *National consciousness and History education*. Stasinopoulou-Skiada (1994: 7-8), who welcomed the audience for the Association, underlined that "it is indispensable to review the degree and the way History education, within the current curricula and history textbooks – and not only – actually serves its officially

formulated principal aim” (op.cit.). She believes that History is subjected to “expediencies” and “dangerous ideologies”, one of which is nationalism, which cause confusion and formulate citizens without opinion, “ready to fight”.

In the same seminar Kokkinos (1994: 156) supported the view that teaching History in three overlapping cycles “reflects the perceptions of traditional Greek Historiography, which in this particular case are innate to greek national ideology”. Touliatos (1994: 161) considers that school textbooks follow an immobile perception of the terms “nation” and “national consciousness”. Their authors do not think about “the appearance and rise of the nations as historical problems but as established historical truths”. He argues that it is necessary to draw up a new curriculum and textbooks. Leontsinis (1994) deals with the problem of value judgment during History teaching. He thinks that it is impossible to avoid judgment completely but it is necessary to put criteria on this process. In Greece current history textbooks use limited criteria in which the projection of ideas and beliefs onto the student prevails. Palla (1994) presents the conclusions which came up from a survey conducted by her in Greek Macedonia. She examined students’ perceptions of history, history teaching and the meaning of the nation. They tend to criticise the methodology of teaching because it favours memorisation and excludes interactivity. Textbooks are considered to have a very complicated language and the syllabus puts emphasis on the ancient History than to the modern. However, the thoughts expressed by the students reflect an influence of the historical events that they are taught and as well as the current socio-political context.

A new approach to the subject is presented in the collective work *What is our homeland?* edited in 1997 by Anna Frangoudaki and Thaleia Dragonas, who are otherwise very well known in Greek bibliography of history teaching. Scholars in the volume study the ways through which Greek and other nations are described and evaluated in the Greek school. Case study material comes first from a content analysis of history, geography and language textbooks and then from a survey of the perceptions of Primary education teachers (Frangoudaki & Dragonas 1997: 13).

According to Frangoudaki (1997b), in history textbooks the unbreakable continuity and the preservation of the same unchangeable cultural qualities from Antiquity are

combined with the attribution of superiority to Western civilisation. This attitude leads to xenophobia. In contrast, Ventoura (1997) states that geography textbooks reflect a progressive mood as they present other nations extensively, emphasise modern life and defend progress and technological development. Western Europe is used as an ideal to judge other peoples' situation. Askouni (1997) argues that in language textbooks the national self is considered as an unchangeable value. Antiquity constitutes its prevalent feature, which is used to disguise the problematic present.

Dragonas, Kouzelis & Askouni (1997), analysing the results of the survey of Greek teachers claim that they present to a great extent xenophobic reactions, show a difficulty in defining the position of Greeks in Europe and criticise modern culture and the present of Greek society in general, while they idealise Antiquity.

In the Introduction Dragonas and Frangoudaki argue that "in the modern nation-states the educational system plays an important role in the shaping and the reproduction of national identity". Teachers convey in school the official national ideology (Dragonas & Frangoudaki 1997: 15) and textbooks are locked "in the myths and contradictions of a 19th-century nationalism" (op.cit.: 16). They conclude that "the image of the national 'others', as it appears in school textbooks and the teachers' discourse, reflects the image of the national 'self'" because "the description and evaluation of the national identity get a crucial importance for the description and evaluation of the national 'others'". Then in the modern Greek education system the national 'self' is presented "as to be in an insecure and weak situation" because national identity is coming near to adulteration (op.cit.: 18).

Abdela (1997a) stresses that in textbooks we can trace the changing reproductions of the national "self" and the "others" as they are cultivated in school. She considers (Abdela 1997b) that a principal question is how the ethnocentric content of the education system is formulated historically through the official or unofficial discourses about the nation. She believes that national discourses balance between the acknowledgement of historicity (and consequently, novelty) of the nation and the appeal of its past. The forging of the national past, since the 19th century, and the attitude towards other nations is defined from the way that the present is perceived and experienced. Therefore,

it is necessary to study the historical causes which make certain perceptions of history to prevail in school today i.e. that which tends to remove the historical time and consequently leads to the idealisation of the past, the embarrassment in front of the present and the fear of the future.

Dragonas (1997), as I have already noted, proposes a social-psychologic interpretation of ethnocentricity as it is represented in the textbooks and the teachers' answers. Teachers' xenophobia is considered as a psychological reaction which comes from a necessity to protect the social national identity. The latter is believed to be in danger because of its low estimation in comparison to other groups' identity. Kouzelis (1997) considers that the national self represents a necessity for unification in modern society where its persons suffers from isolation.

Finally, Frangoudaki (1997a) believes that school textbooks include and reproduce political values indirectly. The homogeneity of national identity and the presentation of the bonds between fellow-countrymen as those of a family, favours the development of authoritative tendencies towards a non-tolerant society. Also the indirect presentation of the Greek nation as a victim of other nations, indirectly conveys the impression of an absence of responsibility by national authorities for social affairs. She concludes that the presentation of the Greek nation in schools constitutes a firm ideology rather than a chance phenomenon.

There are other Greek scholars who are occupied mainly with methodological problems. Some of them tend to reject the use of a book and call for a return to study from the sources. Vourveris (1970: 66-68) quoted Litt to argue that history teaching has a reproductive character, as the children are restricted to the acceptance of ready-made material. Papachristos (1983) believes that the lesson, in Secondary Education at least, must be based on the analysis and interpretation of the sources. Skiadaressi (1995) proposed a new method of teaching, which is based on the building and use of a dossier. According to this, when a field of study is defined in class, the teacher gives only abstract knowledge to the students. Then they are divided in groups to work on particular subjects, equipped with the appropriate bibliography by the teacher. When they finish, the teacher gives them some questions in order to manage all the information

together and make a synthesis. At the end the groups present their work in class, exchange ideas and discuss the results. Gradually, they form a dossier, which is going to be used as a manual and as material for examination. In this way, the students learn to make scientific work, judging from what the sources say.

On the other hand, many publishers and, lastly, the Ministry of Education, produce slides and videotapes for special subjects. So, every teacher, even if he follows the traditional method of teaching, can profit now and enhance his lesson (Kondis 1984). Oikonomopoulou (1991) considers that school and local libraries, which are indispensable elements for History teaching, are unable to cover needs. Therefore, it depends on the teachers' willingness to make a personal collection of suitable material.

Furthermore much discussion has occurred on the possibilities and the limits of the realisation of the aims expressed at all stages of education. Scholars observe that the content of the syllabus must respond to the needs and interests of the children and disagree with the traditional way of teaching history chronologically, especially in junior school (Vourveris 1970: 74-89).

The survey of Frangos (1985) on the perception of time amongst students of the first grade of the Gymnasium, is particularly significant. He remarked that it is almost infeasible for a 12-year-old child to understand the historical period which is taught, i.e. the ancient Greek, because the whole organisation of the historical material requires a sense of abstract time, not developed at this age. Children cannot understand the chronological point of Christ's birth and the division of history, especially the chronological descent for the events which happened before Christ. It is very hard for a child to move in time up to periods far from our days and be interested in events which may be placed in wide chronological limits.

Therefore, he proposes the application of a "regressive" method for History teaching, from the present down to past times. "In this manner, the child is going to learn the history of his father's generation and his grandfather, i.e. the specific historical period which the old people lived in and the child is interested in". Gradually, as the abilities

of the child will expand, it will manage to project itself continually down to the remote past (Frangos 1985: 424).

2.3.2. Optional lessons: Local History and Environmental Education

The study of Local history remained marginal within Greek educational reality until the 1990's. Many educationalists had proposed the introduction of Local History without substantial success (Voros 1990: 33-34; Markatatos 1996: 36-37).

Doulas (1988: 98) stresses that the teaching of Local History seems more realistic, closer to nature and the interests of the children and it also contributes to their socialisation, as this is the best way to touch the world and communicate with it. It is more natural for children to begin with their familiar things first, which they can easily observe, trace, conquer for themselves (op.cit.: 98-101). Usually, at schools nobody tells them anything about their own locality.

Voros (1990: 36-37; cf. Idem 1997) supports the view that Local History is necessary to be introduced in the Greek school. Local History deals with issues familiar to most students from their everyday social life. Unlike General History, which is taught as abstract knowledge, knowledge of Local History is presented as a natural procedure that leads to understanding the historical process, because it enables us to have a different methodological approach, i.e. from visible to non-visible. The topics that interest come from the field of the students' immediate experience. While studying such topics students learn how to comprehend more general and abstract terms of General History such as objectivity, causes etc.

The absence of official Local History teaching was balanced to a certain degree with the introduction of subjects such as Native Geography at the Primary School and the initiatives of some dedicated teachers and philologists in places with a known historical past. In these schools Local History is taught informally within the framework of General History. The introduction of Local History brought a natural embarrassment since it did not fit into the traditional school model. The approach had to be done in the

manner of open lessons but this would result in failing to keep control and especially in such a delicate subject such as History (Markatatos 1996: 36).

However, in 1990 the Pedagogic Institute sent a circular to schools and encouraged teachers to deal with Local History for four hours within the whole school year in the General History lessons. The application was characterised as “experimental” and “optional”. At the beginning, it was planned for the second grade of Gymnasium and the first grade of Lyceum, but soon after another circular allowed the expansion to all the grades of Gymnasium and, later, it was limited to the latter (Voros 1990: 33-34).

In 1995, the initiatives of Primary school teachers in Crete and Thessaloniki led the Pedagogic Institute to allow the experimental teaching of Local History in these two areas for the last three grades. The Minister of Education was obliged to accept these activities and set up a committee to elaborate appropriate guidelines and teaching material.

In one case the formation of a scientific committee was formally declared for writing a book that could be used as a pilot for teaching Local History at Secondary schools in Achaia. Although the committee finished the assignment, the contents gave rise to disputes among local agents and the book never entered the schools. The authorities from every part of Achaia complained that the role of their own district in Achaean History was either omitted or underestimated.

Fortunately, the change coincided with a general turn toward the study of Local History in Greece. More and more new books of regional histories appear in the bookshops while older ones are reprinted. This is due to the new historical circumstances that make the necessity understandable (Papagiannopoulos & Chronopoulos 1998: 13). Despite the fact that the quality of the books varies, it is not irrelevant that their authors are in the majority school teachers. From one point of view the revival of studies of Local History and its subsequent introduction in the educational system is associated with recent events in the Balkan peninsula as well as other regions of the world. Furthermore, various educational and cultural local societies, the polyphony in mass media, the rise of the financial and cultural level of the population and the school

teachers themselves have contributed as well (Markatatos 1996: 37). The turn towards Local History was reinforced because of the unification of the small communities into larger municipalities. The until now existing Organisations of Regional Government lost the power they used to have and therefore seek to discover their particular cultural profile and fight to promote it within the “new order of things” (Papagiannopoulos 1997).

If Local History is not fully introduced up to now in the curriculum and the discussions may last long, the optional addition of two hours in the timetable for Environmental Education allows the application of local studies. The teachers and the students who wish to participate in this, select a subject, usually with a local character and work on it with an interdisciplinary approach using the “project” method (YPEPTH - UNESCO 1992; Agelidis 1993; Flogaiti 1993; Georgopoulos & Tsaliki 1993; Kousouris & Athanakis 1994). Local History books and pamphlets originating from such projects are published informally and sell out.

There is a teacher in every province who is responsible for the coordination of these activities and the teachers’ assistance. In 1993, the first Environmental Education Centre was established in Kleitoria, Achaia, and up to now seven more have been added all over the country. Thus, in the last two decades “a crucial group of teachers” has formed “who insist on experimentation in the application of Environmental Education activities and search for solutions for the problems which they faced in schools. They also express a strong desire to exchange experiences between each other” (Tsaliki 1994: 13).

From the beginning, Environmental Education is considered as a wide field of study and projects were set up under its auspices which were not true to its meaning, such as theatrical plays, literature studies, projects for natural health and Local History. Then, three main categories have arisen which are now independent to a great extent: “Environmental”, “Cultural” and “Health Education” projects. Local History continues to be considered as a basic component of the above projects and not as an independent category, though school practice indicates the opposite.

In Achaia, from 1991 onwards, the Local History projects constitute on average a quarter of the total number of “Environmental” and “Cultural” projects, reaching a third between 1992 and 1995, while in 1993 to 1995 the number of schools occupied with Local History exceeded half (*Appendix I & II*). This can be explained through the presence of a seminar at this time, named “Museum-School” and organised by the Ministry of Culture, trying to persuade teachers to include Museum Education in school projects.

2.3.3. *Museum projects*

Museum education has always been a challenging matter in Greek schools. Unfortunately, the lack of teachers’ training and central educational policy on the subject drove any good will to fall in vain. Although museum visiting it is an exciting idea to spend free school time on, often it becomes a boring task for children and a completely disappointing activity for teachers in few minutes time.

Things changed dramatically in the last two decades, in the big cities at least. Many private collections and authorities now offer educational services and wish always to expand them so as to include new and individual activities. Archaeological, Historical and Folk Art Museums usually offer special projects for children, which include guidance in the museum and workshops inspired from the various sections of the collections. They also organise movable exhibitions on various topics and museum kits as aids for a special History lesson in class.

For instance, the *Museum of Cycladic Art* in Athens set up projects for children putting the emphasis on early Cycladic figurines. The projects often include trails and are directed to Primary school students (Yalouraki 1994). Specialists in ceramics at the *Centre for the Study of the Modern Pottery* set up fascinating projects on pottery production and use. Children follow a potter, who makes small objects on a foot-wheel. Then, an amount of clay is distributed to them to make any shapes they want and are impressed by. Whistles and glasses to drink water from a stamnos, all made from clay and distributed at the right time, allow children to see pottery as a game, instrument and, above all, an indispensable element of the everyday life.

The *Folk Art Museum in Athens* has developed several activities which combine knowledge and entertainment, in order to introduce students to Greek traditional art of the last two centuries. The same can be said for the *Folk Art Museum of Patras*, which developed in addition an original project for children called “a day at grandpa’s village” for children 12 to 15 years old. The everyday life in a village is the subject in similar museums, like the *Local Museum of Mileai* on the Pelion Mountain, which prepared museum kits on this (on the local architecture, the cultivation of olive trees, the making of bread, the marriage, the making of pack-saddle and the work of farrier). In the *Historical and Folk Art Museum of Corinth* projects on everyday life combine Local History with Environmental Education. The museum set up projects for the making of bread, the relationship between human and nature during the spring, and the cultivation of raisins, a major economic factor for the modern history of the North Peloponnese.

Galleries also provide useful information for the study of Greek society of the last two centuries and are visited alternatively by school classes, where is possible. The educational project is usually based on a leaflet, which includes questions of the “open” type to fill in, and a basket filled up with any suitable material to make their own structures with. A good example is the *Averof’s Gallery* at Metsovo.

A characteristic example of the new directions in Museum education is the “*Children’s Museum*” in Athens, an association of specialists who offer museum projects for Primary school students. The projects take place in different Athenian museums such as the National Archaeological Museum, the Byzantine Museum, the National Historical Museum etc. The guidance is usually of high quality and in accordance with the recent standards of Museum education.

However, almost nothing has been done officially. Recently the Ministry of Culture and the Regional Archaeological Services designed educational projects for museums, sites and monuments. The most famous among them are those for the Acropolis of Athens, supported by the Education Department of the Acropolis (Hadziaslani et al. 1994). I think that it is worthwhile here to focus on these. As Cornelia Hadziaslani,

who is in charge of Education in the Acropolis Ephoreia, explains, the Education Department of the Acropolis was founded in 1987 “in order to provide the wider public with an opportunity to enhance its understanding of classical civilisation, as well as of the scientific work currently in progress for the conservation and restoration of these unique monuments” (op.cit.: 94). She adds that “since the study of the Athenian Acropolis is part of the curriculum in the majority of schools worldwide, one of the Education Department’s main purposes is to enable the teacher, through special educational programmes, intensive seminars and specially made resource material to take initiatives and work on his/her own with the children”.

The teacher can choose from among six information leaflets, eight trails, twenty-five teachers’ packs and six museum kits and use them as aids for his lesson about the Acropolis. They are to be used by teachers at their own discretion according to how they design their lesson and the particular requirements of their pupils. All the services of the Education Department are provided free of charge and are integrated with the annual symposium “Teachers’ Programmes about the Acropolis” that the Acropolis Ephoreia organises at the Centre for the Acropolis Studies every May. Participants at these Symposiums are teachers who wish to present original projects that they worked on with their classes after the collaboration with the Education Department.

Otherwise, the Centre for the Acropolis Studies has developed projects which refer not only to the conservation and restoration of the Acropolis monuments, but also to ancient Greek music instruments, dress, the construction of a temple and the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. Work is of high quality as specialists in every subject present the education matter, wrote the texts and prepared the figures.

Beyond the Acropolis projects there are more thematic projects which the Ministry of Culture offers from time to time to children so as to help school lessons. For instance, four thematic projects which were presented between 1985 and 1991 first in Athens, then in the countryside. The first of them built upon an exhibition with the title “The emergence of writing”. It was actually based on an older exhibition which was set up with the collaboration of the National Gallery and the Cultural Activities Service of the French Museums, in the frame of “Athens, Cultural capital of Europe 1985”. As was

referred to in a leaflet, the exhibition “was set up taking into consideration the large audience of young students which approach without frequency and also awkwardly the treasures of art, thinking and culture of our museums”. The exhibition consisted of 23 tablets with texts and pictures, which placed geographically and historically the emergence of writing, explained the evolution of the characters, the techniques of writing and the society within which it had developed. The texts referred also to ancient schools, the patron gods of the writers, the historical sources where the knowledge come from, the decipherment procedures of the ancient scripts and modern scientific methods. The exhibition was articulated in four units: a) Mesopotamia and cuneiform writing, b) Egypt and hieroglyphics, c) Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation and linear writing, and d) Greek writing. There was a workshop for children in every unit in which their knowledge was tested by means of play. They became familiarised also with the materials, the tools and the techniques of the ancient writer.

The second one is devoted to Homer’s Iliad and aimed “to make known the Homeric poems, to elucidate and advance pre-existing knowledge, and mainly, to compare the narrative of the myth with the historical reality, the one brought to light by archaeological research”. In a leaflet it is stressed that the subject was selected because of the significance of the homeric text since antiquity, as “it became a reading-text for young Greeks, that is an original text which used as a basis to teach the children the language, history, mythology of the nation, as well as the social and moral principles of our culture”. The project included guidance to an exhibition and participation in a workshop. At the first stage children are guided to the exhibition to watch on 20 boards with texts and pictures, a map of the Mycenaean centres which participated in the Trojan war, and a chronological table. Then, they watched a film on Mycenaean citadels brought to light during archaeological investigations. At the second stage a scene from the Iliad was selected, the children had to read it and render into a theatrical performance.

The third one had to do with public life in ancient Athens. The project took place both in the Museum of the Stoa of Attalos and the archaeological site of the Athenian Agora. It aimed to present to children “the function of the Athenian Democratic Government, as it was founded by Solon’s laws, Kleisthenes’ reform and Perikles’ improvements” and “to explain the topography of the Ancient Agora”. Children were

first informed on the topography of the ancient Agora and the articulation of the democratic government, then guided to the museum where objects related to the Athenian government are kept. In the third stage children took a role as Athenian citizens and played lawyers and the politicians.

The last one was a project of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, called “a day in the Byzantine Museum”. The aim was “to show to students some aspects of Byzantine Civilisation which are not visible during a usual visit in the Museum”. The presentation was articulated as follows: students watched two videos which revived the society, administration, art and daily life of the byzantines and analysed the different stages of the fresco technique. They learnt how a manuscript was written, made and preserved by the specialists. Then they learnt the stages of construction of an ikon, a mosaic and relief and what was their right place in the church. At the same time they tried to experiment with the material and make their own representations. Reading the history of a byzantine painter, they had to locate any object that was mentioned in the text. A session was devoted to Byzantine coins. At the end of the project they learnt about the story of the frescoes which were relocated from the Episkopi church in Eurytania.

The projects of the Ministry of Culture are not addressed only to students, but to teachers, as well. In the early '90s the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and the ICOM (International Council of Museums) organised seminars on the topic “Museum and School” in order to persuade teachers to cope with museum education. The 3rd seminar, as already mentioned, was held in Patras in 15-17 January 1993. The presentation was organised there by the Environmental Education Office, so it took a character as never before. Despite high quality of papers and workshops, isolation of the efforts became obvious through the major part of the seminar, which concluded that collaboration of all the authorities offering museum education has to be wider and more substantial.

One can realise how difficult this is, as most of museums in Greece do not have a coherent statement of their mission and purpose and have no idea how to cope with education. Psarraki – Belesioti (1993: 18) stressed in the seminar that every year museums are overflowed by students without any preparation, acquaintance and planning. It is

now time to exercise a more careful policy and communication between museums and the more sensitive and crucial social group, the children. It is indispensable to draw up an educational policy and not just to increase museum projects. There is also a necessity to publish the museum activities for children to the wider audience which is going to support any effort. Museums have a double role, i.e. that of preservation and the other of the education. The double role of the museum must be understood not only by the teachers, who have to be trained about them, but also by those who are in charge of the museums themselves. The teachers must learn how they can use museums as educational tools and the museum officers how to acquire a wider attachment to the public and set up better educational projects. Children must get in touch with the museum in a properly formulated educational environment and feel the desire to come back for a second visit in the museum (Bereris 1993).

Unexpectedly, projects like those of the Ministry of Culture, appear to be very well organised and could be considered as equivalent to high quality museum projects set up elsewhere. However, some weaknesses are noticeable, as well. For instance those of the Acropolis, although they allowed children to see the site from a different perspective, tended to alter their meaning: emphasis is put on the monuments themselves rather than their surroundings. Now it is clear that most of the activities reflect the general tension of the government to promote the Greek request for the return of the Elgin marbles.

Furthermore, it is true that all these projects received widespread interest and participation in schools but, despite any promises and the possible combinations with the school curriculum (Hadziaslani et al. 1994), were left outside normal school activities. However, these efforts encouraged some teachers to ask for the introduction of Archaeology in schools and cause the involvement of the local Ephoreiai (peripheral divisions of the Greek Archaeological Service) in Heritage Education (Dasiou 1988).

2.4. Identifying the problem

As has been made clear, the teaching of the past through General History lessons at schools has led to an impasse. Conditions there do not allow the introduction of new ideas, officially at least. And, if there are some teachers who wish to change the situation, they are pressed by the schedule and examinations. The only place where good work has been done so far, is in the optional Environmental Education lessons. There, of course, History and Archaeology are a part of Environmental Studies, but it depends on the teacher as to what will be the content of his project.

However the lack of an adequate training and the weaknesses of the educational system, which I cited above, lead good efforts to fall in futile. The teachers work as separate units, with their own equipment. Many of them are disappointed and give up trying. Unfortunately, there are no relevant statistics at the Environmental Education Office to inform us how many schools every year leave their project without concluding it. The desire to present an increased number of projects every year, prevents the control and the evaluation of projects. In 1996-97 an effort began to put some limitations on the projects approved. But, in the end, this effort failed.

Therefore, the weaknesses are transferred to these lessons, though these are free and a number of teachers have the desire and the abilities to do good work. The projects will get better only if a support system and permanent training of the teachers take place and the communication and the co-operation among schools become indispensable. However, training of teachers must not reproduce the same values which already exist in the education system, as has happened up to now. Therefore, the aims of the projects must be reviewed and the methods become more simple and understandable.

The study of Local History topics cannot take place through the use of traditional teaching methods. It needs new, open – dynamic methods, continuously changing and developing within the framework of school action. Writing a textbook is opposed to

the active – revelational way to approach the topics which is a constant demand of our education system in the last decades, as it provides ready-made knowledge. Knowledge of Local History is acquired gradually and comprises a collective labour of the total of the pedagogic team. It is acquired not only through the study of books and other sources, but with the use of techniques (e.g. questionnaires, interviews, role-play etc), elements of which when analysed and taken advantage of offer knowledge, experiences and skills useful to the members of the pedagogic team.

The revelational character of knowledge in Local History is combined with an interdisciplinary approach of its topics. The topics and problems of Local History, according to the same perception, are studied globally and in all their dimensions. It offers a more holistic knowledge of the topic and assures at the same time the dynamic character of its approach. As Moroni states (1978: 531), “an inter-disciplinary approach of teaching is not defined in advance. It comprises a dynamic procedure that brings a course to an end, a course that set outs from monodisciplinary approaches and, thanks to an active research being carried in common on the same subject, results in multidisciplinary and, finally, in interdisciplinarity”. However, experiencing new methods of acquiring knowledge, does not mean that this is the end of the pedagogic action. We are used to seeing the students as subjects of knowledge and we ameliorate our methods to ensure knowledge acquaintance. Thinking in this way, we loose an amount of data collected every year through school projects and students’ personal work.

Lack of a coherent policy to give substantial support to schools on heritage teaching makes serious damage to isolated efforts. It is a fundamental problem that the Archaeological Service finds many difficulties in communicating with the public. Museum projects could constitute one solution. Unfortunately, museum projects in Greece have not managed to link finds with local society. A museum-oriented project in Achaia could hardly last many hours and it is very doubtful if it will add or change many things in children’s minds or attitudes. In contrast, as it became clear, even seemingly progressive examples, such as the Acropolis project, despite its promise, was used to support Greek nationalistic aspirations.

Furthermore, few of school and museum projects succeeded in addressing issues like class, gender, ethnicity and race. Cultures are seen through a monolithic perspective which is reproduced and reinforced through everyday practice in schools and local communities. Difference is seen as dangerous for traditional monoculture and as that it is better to be hidden from children eyes. History is rather understood as linear, “proving” continuity of people and legitimation of community’s existence. In course of time any cultural difference constitutes a temporary dissonance with no decisive effects in people’s cohesion so that it can be omitted without any substantial loss of knowledge. However, community as a living organism contradicts this perception and makes school’s (and official) worldview problematic so much that this view tends to isolate schools from real life. Therefore, any reviews of the current situation must be addressed towards the content of the offered knowledge first, as well as to the aims of the educational (inter)activity, both of them looking at a school “open to life and action”.

3. AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF MY PROJECT

3.1. What to teach?

In this chapter I am going to discuss the definition of a suitable syllabus taking into consideration the new theories and the Greek school reality, as both were analysed above. First I will highlight some general viewpoints in order to avoid any possible weaknesses. Then I will make a plan of an appropriate syllabus content which may be used in heritage projects. All the instructions which are going to be mentioned below, have their major strength only within the syllabus of free lessons and do not easily fit into the normal school timetable.

3.1.1. Possible weaknesses

The question we now face is what should be taught and what should be avoided as a mistake in the process of application of Local History. The syllabus content of History very frequently gives rise to disputes among pedagogues and historians. Here only the basic orientations are offered.

Members of a pedagogic team should take full consideration of the historical evidence and treat it with respect and care. Respect is needed as it comprises historical sources and a means for a dialogue with the past. Care, because for everything presented there are and there should be obvious two faces of a coin, namely the negative and the positive aspects, avoiding the “anathemas” or the “panegyrics” (Voros, 1997: 171-179; *cf.* Idem 1990: 37-38; 1991a: 29-30).

Voros (1997: 171) gives an alternative perspective for the visit to, and use of, visible monuments, the traces left through the passage of time in the landscape. He wonders

what has escaped survival, which monuments have disappeared. Even memorials placed in central places of towns and villages commemorate persons, events etc. and make us wonder about the memorials that have never been set up anywhere, about the events that did not “deserve” commemoration. It is a temptation to end up in a fragmented projection of events or personalities and a mistake not to try to include them in the wider historical, social, economic and geographical boundaries.

At this point it should be stressed that Local History, whether it refers to events of General History associated with the location of the school or to works with visible implications for the locals, does not aim at promoting localism. On the contrary, it serves pedagogic aims by integrating the otherwise abstract historical knowledge into tangible, visible traces or monuments that can be visited.

It is usually claimed that teaching historical lessons aims to shape the national consciousness of the students, so Local History projects should be orientated to this direction (*cf. op. cit.* 173-178). This is not a reason to lead the educational process to extreme (nationalistic) directions. While executing Local History projects we have to acknowledge the existence of differences in mentality, perceptions and life style of social, geographical, religious and other groups so that the educational activity catches up with the principles of Inter-cultural Education.

3.1.2. Thematology

Subjects are unlimited and inexhaustible, given that the approach of any studied object can be either vertical (with regards to exhaustive details and observations in depth), or horizontal (with references to relevant objects from the same or other cultural backgrounds and comparative elaborations). So, the criteria of choice and the factors on which they depend are highly important. Here we should mention the following factors:

1. *The age and the maturity of pupils.* It is natural that the younger the pupils are, the more difficult it is to perceive themselves and their direct family environment as a part of Local History, and as a part of a wider social ensemble which has been

forming the cultural identity of their region. For this reason, therefore, it is preferable to start searching matters to be examined through their family. In this way, they have fast results and guaranteed success. This satisfies pupils and it encourages them to go gradually onto more sophisticated researches.

The gradual development of their maturity allows them to expand their horizons and to dare to exit the feeling of security in their family towards a wider society. Besides their own self-confidence that they can achieve this, the increasing reliance on them by the family plays a significant role. Therefore, they attain the right to get out for some time from the house and deal with matters in general more openly.

Apart from mental maturity, a great part is also played by the physical development of the child. So, the activities set by the teacher and undertaken by the pupil should keep up with his/her stage of physical development, so that in any case his/her life or integrity should not be jeopardized.

2. *The interests of pupils and the priorities they give to values.* It is obvious that the subjects should present a remarkably great flexibility and variety, in order to satisfy individual differences and the interests of all the members of the pupils' teams. There are pupils who prefer working by themselves, and others who perform better within the framework of team action. Others like arts, others like fieldwalking, others are fond of bibliographical research, and others are keen on activities related to specific technical skills (such as instruments construction, photography etc.).
3. *Timeliness and daily routine.* By studying something that is a commonplace as a subject of discussion among grown-ups, pupils get the confidence and the feeling that they can participate actively, supportively or preventively, regarding a question that preoccupies everyone, and in this way they will be able, through the conclusions reached and the suggestions made by them, to relate their own attitude to the attitude of the grown-ups, who usually take the final decisions. Besides, the ordinary subjects allow pupils to move with relative easiness, without serious obstructions in the search for material.

4. *The training of educators of all specialities in the design and the implementation of Local History programmes.* The subjects depend on the interpretation, therefore the approach of educators in class, and on the way they initiate their pupils in it. A starting-point for the establishment of a Local History programme could be a local event, a festival, an anniversary or a regular subject of the analytical programme. In any case, the breadth of the interpretation and the emphasis given on the term "Local History" change. Therefore :

- through *Mathematics*, one can develop a subject regarding the measurement and creation of a monument (i.e. scheduled buildings, ancient temples etc.) ;
- through *Modern Greek Literature*, one can develop a subject regarding the personality of a man of letters who is descended from the specific region (i.e. Palamas in Patras, Sikelianos on the island of Lefkas, etc.);
- through *Arts*, one can develop a subject regarding the recording and representation of scheduled monuments (i.e. painting, rough drawing, photography) ;
- through *Religious Science*, one can develop a subject regarding the examination of native customs related to a feast (i.e. festivities, merry-making) ;
- through *Biology*, one can develop a subject regarding the structure of the genealogical tree;
- through *Domestic Economics*, one can develop a subject regarding the recording of the dietary habits of the ancestors;
- through *General History*, one can develop a subject regarding the consequences of a national or international event on Local Society (i.e. World War II, Olympic Games);
- through *Geography*, one can develop a subject regarding the kind of financial activity of the region throughout the ages (i.e. fishery on islands, cattle-raising in mountainous areas);
- through *Ancient Hellenic Literature*, one can develop a subject concerning the reports of ancient references with regard to the specific region (i.e. what is written about Boeotia by Homer, Pausanias, Hesiod etc.);
- through *Physics*, one can develop a subject regarding the water supply in the past and nowadays;

- through *Information Science*, one can develop a subject regarding the structure of a database or a CD-ROM or an INTERNET page for all information that can have been gathered within the framework of the programme;

5. *The place where the school is found* (i.e. village, city, quarter, neighbourhood, downtown). The content of a project differs a lot, on whether it was made by children of a village, of a town, of a big urban centre or of Athens. The bigger the place of reference of pupils is, the more necessary is the specification and the shrinkage of the matter towards an explicitly defined direction. That is because the excess of information that can be gathered by a pupil coming from a big urban centre disorients him/her, therefore he/she runs the risk of straying finally from the subject, of being disappointed from his failure and of losing his/her interest.

Example A: The study of churches of the region for a pupil of a village may require the research of 2-3 churches within the margins of his/her Community and the questioning of 1-2 priests who are in service every time. In contrast, if the study concerns Thessaloniki (Greece's second city), there should be determined explicitly the action limits of each student, but also the period of time during which the afore-mentioned data should be examined, because obviously the numbers of the churches and the priests are vastly greater.

Example B: If the subject covers the function of the Local Authority, obviously the records of a Municipality are more voluminous and more extensive than a record of a Community. Therefore, in the first case the pupil should undertake specific duties and clear instructions to find the particular data required.

6. *Familiarization of pupils and educators in Local History.* There is a great difference in the approach of Local History by a class that contacts for the first time this subject, than a class that has also worked on it in the past and has had the respective experience. A more experienced team tends to specify its interests, which can thus be investigated in greater depth and with more maturity. It is better, however, to avoid this kind of vertical approach because of its difficulty in more inexperienced working groups. In the second case, it is more preferable that the subjects

should be extended and expanded horizontally, including various questions/matters and searches, until all pupils learn to observe and discover new things.

7. *Saving time*: A school year lasts in a specific and a finite period. Whatever starts in the beginning of the school year should come to a natural end, that coincides with the end of the school year, in June. For this reason, regardless of how interesting a subject may be, it should not be selected if its complexity and the deadlines that the team wants to give, do not allow it to be finished completely as a programme within the given period of time. Of course, nobody should reach the complete opposite, that is to choose something that will be completed very fast, and will therefore develop embarrassment and a feeling of a gap for the participants. A good solution is to choose subjects with flexibility; that is, subjects which can evolve during the school year and allow teams to make use of the available time at any stage for this purpose.

Local History becomes more comprehensible for the pupil, who until that moment was used and habituated in the examination of General History, if he/she begins by studying the history of his/her family, in order to be aware that Local History constitutes in its simplest form the ensemble of many family histories.

For this reason, the pupil should begin with the following:

- 1) the persons consisting of his family tree as long as possible into the past. He/she collects the names, first names and surnames, (that indicate descent, origin, quality etc.) and their course from place to place. Furthermore, he/she gathers data about language, native accent, peculiarities etc.

SUBJECTS:

Family tree

Population transfers - displacements

Human names

Language peculiarities

- 2) Material remainders from habits of the past as well as from objects indispensable for everyday life, which could be described by him/her.

SUBJECTS:

Objects for professional / domestic use

Structures and constructions for professional / domestic use

- 3) Professional, economic occupations and activities of family members, distribution of duties per sex and age

SUBJECTS:

- Traditional and modern jobs
- Domestic Economics
- Manners and customs, habits

- 4) Collection of all evidence documenting history

SUBJECTS:

- Photos, Maps, Drawings
- Audio-Visual Evidence (video and other type of recordings)
- Contracts, Testimonies, other legal act documents
- Letters

The same subjects in analytical tables can be the basis for the examination of Local History of a wider ensemble, such as a neighbourhood, a quarter, a town / village etc.

Therefore there are the following factors:

- 1) the profile of the region's habitants, that is : their surnames (language, meaning), their professions (traditional and modern ones), their origin (*Arvanites*, Gypsies, people from Epirus etc.), their nicknames;
- 2) their activities (professional, economic, religious)

At a second stage, the subjects are enriched by elements that probably have not been attributed to or do not belong to one or more people, but they are common for all, they have a public / common use character and concern all the region, by giving emphasis on its particularity.

- Buildings-monuments of historic, archaeological value
 - Buildings-facilities of professional occupations
 - Public works and constructions
- Objects of archaeological / historic / folklore value
 - Pieces of art

Records, photographic evidence, recordings.

3.2. Aims

Syllabus content will become more clear through the definition of equivalent aims and specific objectives. This is what I am going to discuss below, starting from the aims and specific objectives usually proposed in Environmental Education projects which are related to heritage teaching. I will also make reference to the aims recently proposed by the Greek Pedagogic Institute in the guidelines for Local History lessons. Although most of these aims and specific objectives reflect and intermingle both new and traditional ideas, I am going to highlight some good points. Finally I will analyse how difficult it is to define general accepted aims and specific objectives and I will try to describe and justify the aims I have used in my project in Achaia, Greece.

3.2.1. Aims and specific objectives usually proposed in school projects

An idea of the aims and specific objectives, which are usually proposed in school projects, can be given by the application forms of the teachers who wish to do Local History projects in Achaia within the Environmental Education syllabus. The aims and the specific objectives are defined by the teachers, though some of them mention the participation of students in their formulation. It can be argued that the teachers do not follow in practice their original plan, but, certainly, the application forms depict their intentions and preferences.

Their aims could be grouped as follow:

a) The 'local' aims. 'The acquaintance with the area' is one of the aims usually proposed. The Local History project is considered as part of a wider plan of the school to introduce students to the study of their environment. Some schools analyse this general aim further. Thus, they state that the aim of their project will be 'the acquaintance with the cultural heritage of the area' or, simply, 'the recording of any historic information about it'. Other, less clear, aims such as 'the affective approach to the area' or 'the projection' and 'the development of it', can be found in the same school application forms.

b) The 'pedagogic' aims. These constitute the greater number and they are the most frequent. Through the project students must 'become sensitive in Local History subjects' and 'acquire knowledge on the specific subject which is studied'. Furthermore, it is expected that involvement in the project will aid students to 'develop relations' between them, 'initiatives' and 'abilities' either through 'cooperation' or through 'competition'. It will also advance the 'acknowledgement and solution of problems'. In these projects students will have the opportunity to 'build values' and ameliorate their 'way of thinking'. Generally, the students will try 'the experience of a better pedagogic method', which will give them the possibility 'to express themselves', i.e. 'to make constructions' or 'pictures', 'to visit places' and 'to learn how to publish a pamphlet'. Beyond this, the aim of a project could be 'the opening of the school to the local community' and 'the involvement of the latter in children's activities'. Through the projects 'children will understand their possibilities to intervene in the problems of their locality' and, so, the project will contribute to their 'socialisation'.

c) The 'environmental' aims. Because of the linking of Local History with Environmental Education, some of the aims the schools propose for their projects are environmental. Therefore, aims of the projects may be generally 'the aims of Environmental Education' or, more specifically, 'the recording of human activities in relation to the environment' and 'the acquisition of knowledge and experience for the interaction between man and landscape through time'.

d) The 'scientific' or 'academic' aims. Common expressions are: "contribution to the preservation of the historical landscape and historical memory", 'survey of relations between different areas' and 'familiarity of students with scientific research, generally or through the study of the area'. Many schools argue that they aim 'to make a comparison between past and the present' or, at least, 'to link past events and situations somehow with the present'.

e) The 'national' aims. Sometimes schools propose 'national' aims for their projects. According to them, Local History is considered as a part of National History and must be understood in this way. Thus, one of the aims of the project is 'to include Local

History, which the children will study, in the History of the Greek Nation'. Other schools use expressions which include the words 'tradition', 'cultural continuity', 'national' or 'cultural heritage'. The 'tradition' must 'be marked out' and the students 'got in touch' and 'connected with it'. 'Cultural continuity' must 'be also marked out'. The projects aim 'to cultivate and perpetuate our national heritage' and 'reinforce national sentiment'. The students must 'get to know cultural heritage' and 'become familiar with it' and through projects contribute to its conservation, preservation, protection, and exploitation. Another very vague aim, which is sometimes proposed, could be included in the same group i.e. 'the experience of the historic way of life'. We can replace the word 'historic' with the word 'traditional', as it appears from the tenor of the whole application.

Specific objectives do not differ much from aims and can be divided into five groups, too:

a) The 'local' objectives. Apart from the above mentioned, we may add 'mapping the landscape of the study area', 'recording and dating of the buildings in an area' and 'study of the use of an area or a building'.

b) The 'pedagogic' objectives. We can add: 'acquisition of knowledge in general' or 'application of information already taught from school lessons' and 'exploitation of all information'. The students must 'become sensitive and active on the specific subject which is studied'. The aim of one project was 'the development of the students' personality through acquaintance with cultural heritage". Some teachers describe their pursuit as 'the introduction of Local History in the curriculum', without explaining how this can be achieved.

c) The 'environmental' objectives. There are no important differences from the corresponding aims.

d) The 'scientific' or 'academic' objectives. The contribution of the project 'to the preservation of the historical landscape and the historical memory' is omitted.

e) The ‘national’ objectives. We can add that ‘through the study of cultural heritage’ the students must ‘learn the history of the race and ensure its perpetuation’.

As is obvious, the aims and the specific objectives which schools propose, are almost identical. This reflects the confusion which dominates in education on the distinction between aims and specific objectives. Although the proposed aims and specific objectives are very brief, so as to understand the full meaning of the sentences, some general remarks can be expressed here.

Regarding the aims of the Environmental Education projects which are related to Local History, two tendencies are at odds: on the one hand the modern perception for pedagogic action which, however, is often shifted to a method-loving or a romantic ecology and on the other hand the traditional perception which limits Local History to a “localised” History. The modern perception is obvious in the ‘pedagogic’ aims, as the students during the application of Local History project must develop knowledge, attitudes and abilities through the experience of a new method, which combines interactivity and amusement. However, the link with Environmental Education and the fascination of its method lead some teachers to put thoughtlessly the aims of Environmental Education as aims of their Local History project. As a result, visiting places or approaching the area through the romantic eyes of a traveller or an ecologist, are considered as aims of the project. Furthermore, it is not clear which values students are going to develop. These are probably related to “application of information already taught from school lessons” and “development of the students’ personality through acquaintance with cultural heritage”.

Traditional perception is obvious in “national” aims. Here, the aims and the problems of General History are conveyed to Local History and the embarrassment in front of the autonomous content of Local History is manifested. Local History is expected to serve the nation which possesses a “tradition”, a “cultural continuity” and an “national or cultural heritage”. Sometimes the attachment to “national” aims leads to extremes, as the students have to “learn the history of the race and ensure its perpetuation”.

3.2.2. Aims of Local History: propositions of the Greek Pedagogic Institute

According to the initial circular of the Ministry of Education (Γ2/299/29-1-1990) the study of Local History aims at “contributing to the better adjustment of students in the complex social, economic, cultural and structured (buildings – houses) reality of present”. In the same circular it is cited that: “The intention of the study of Local history is to:

a) shape conscious citizens, interested in preserving cultural identity and improving the quality of life that suffers from the degradation of the social environment and the deterioration of the cultural heritage.

b) cultivate a critical visual approach to the environment.

c) create motives and stimulations for individual and collective action inside and outside school.

d) let students acquire knowledge from the environment combined with History as described in the related curriculum.

e) cultivate skills for collecting information and verifying data”. Later on, further interpretation of the last sentence is given: “while studying local history, certain skills develop, since students have the opportunity to observe, collect, accumulate information and material, record by keeping notes or producing graphs, diagrams, maps, sketches, organise, assume, predict, and conclude”.

The aims of the Pedagogic Institute are not free of the syndromes which I have already noticed in school aims. The circular of 1990 set the shaping of “conscious citizens” as the first pursuit of the study of Local History. As “conscious citizens” are considered those who are interested “in preserving cultural identity and improving the quality of life” which are in danger. Cultural identity and quality of life are in danger because of “the degradation of the social environment and the deterioration of cultural heritage”. Therefore, here national “self” – to recall Frangoudaki & Dragonas (1997: 18) – is presented again “as being in an insecure and weak situation”. The 4th aim attaches the study of Local History to General History, though not just any General History but the one “described in the related curriculum”. So the cultivation of skills in order to verify data, which follows in the 5th sentence, does not mean other than to learn a method which will contribute to the confirmation of what school History says.

3.2.3. Aims of my project

Generally accepted aims and specific objectives, which will be valid for any school or project, are very difficult to formulate. Aims and specific objectives are directly linked with expected results. An explicit definition of them presupposes the secure obtaining of the results pursued. But the results of a pedagogic process cannot be estimated in detail as there are many factors affecting the transmission and the assimilation of teaching material (Parker & Rubin 1966).

Naming aims and specific objectives is to many a meaningless process because nothing or very few from those proclaimed are put into action. Teachers are usually unable to understand aims and specific objectives and how these can be translated into a suitable method, so that they either improvise using their experience or apply the instructions literally, without taking into consideration the needs and interests of students (Jackson 1968; Patrick 1987). As a result, the possibilities of teachers and students become limited, and control at every stage of the work is impeded (Sockett 1976).

Aims and specific objectives that teachers try to achieve are defined by various factors. An unconscious pattern of roles and rules affects and shapes the pedagogic action, sometimes more drastically than conscious ones. This is more understandable if we consider that teachers do not get involved as a mere mechanism for the achievement of aims. Rather they act according to certain rules and values, which they have developed within their socio-cultural evolution as individuals and members of one or more social groups. Within these social groups they play a particular role and their behaviour is influenced by prevailing rules. They have reached a level of education and have specific interests. They are informed on issues related to their specialisation but most probably they fail to keep up with progress in other disciplines.

Teachers are influenced by the school environment in which they attempt to apply the educational project. The geographic location of the school, the school tradition and the degree of co-operation among the members shape the school atmosphere. Students, on the other hand, come from various social strata, and this is obvious at school through

the creation of informal groups. This fact contradicts with school aims, such as communication among students.

As we have seen, teaching Local Heritage does not comprise an autonomous school subject but belongs to the free subjects. Consequently Local History is implemented within the framework of Environmental Education, the aims of which direct the teacher. The teaching methods however, along with the time available within the school timetable comprise limitations for the shaping of aims and specific objectives. These subjects are free but not unsupervised.

Aims and specific objectives differ, similar to the general aims of education according to periods and stages of social evolution. They are linked to the intellectual ideals of society and to a certain picture for man. However, within society there exist disputes and opposite approaches regarding the formulation and legitimation of aims. The formulation of aims is to a great extent the result of the ideas of the ruling groups or derive through compromise between different social groups. Whatever the aims of an educational activity, they lead to the acquisition of positive attitudes towards established values of the specific society. These values are included in the aims and are present during their implementation so that values define the aims and orientate them.

Thus, each time teachers are expected to function on a very unsafe ground. However, the definition of some general aims will facilitate the organisation of the whole project and will make communication easier between the researcher and the teachers (Marcinkowski, Volk & Hungerford 1990). Although there are clear weaknesses in the aims and specific objectives expressed by schools, some good points can be highlighted and discussed. Everybody accepts that the role of local society in education is very important. Students must know the place where they live and must get in touch with the local population. There, they will “discover” different approaches to historical phenomena and will get information about their own history, which has been neglected at school. Local History must be recorded, preserved and understood because it is a part of the General History, which they are taught. But most schools believe that the children’s work has mainly an educational value and students cannot carry out any scien-

tific work. Finally, the past is considered to be linked with the present, otherwise no work has any meaning.

Therefore:

1. The aims of my project are linked first to the idea of internal reform of school and especially to the request for the school's opening to the community.

Finberg (1952: 9) argues that “the business of the local historian” is “to re-enact in his own mind, and to portray for his readers, the Origin, Growth, Decline, and Fall of a Local Community”. The term “community” is basic for Local History. General or special topics of Local History are examined within the whole of the operation of one community. The term “community” has several meanings nowadays, so it must be clarified. In everyday language it means the 1st degree of Regional Government. The community has specific boundaries, defined according to the land that belongs to the inhabitants of a village or a hamlet. Of course, the delineation of the boundaries is not arbitrary. Natural features (rivers, gullies, hills etc) mark the maximum of land that the inhabitants of a place can use, while on the other hand, the population of a place depends on the land available. The tract of land occupied by the inhabitants' activities constitutes the vital space. The administrative along with the vital space of a community becomes problematic after the establishment of additional entities (industries, show-rooms along highways etc).

Community is the school society, too (for a modern analysis see: Merz & Furman 1997). We use the term “community” or “students' community” to denote the students' society as compared to that of teachers or parents. The “students' community” has the right to elect their representatives and participate in the decision-making of issues that concern students. School and society have always had problematic relations especially in earlier times. The school operated and to a great extent still operates irrespective of the society. Social problems have hardly entered school. Students have felt that local society and school society were two things unrelated to each other. Earlier pedagogic ideas had an academic orientation and did not encourage interaction between members of the two organisms. Their pursuit was to transfer knowledge to the students which students could use later, after their graduation.

At the beginning of our century a critique of pedagogics, that developed as a reaction to traditional currents and was more recently mainly expressed by Habermas, has attempted to bring the problems of society into the school space and make them an object of study. Unfortunately, social and pedagogic conditions were not mature enough for such an attempt. Lately, within the framework of “emancipated pedagogics” in our country as well as in others, the study of the problems of the local society at school is possible, because it promotes the individual’s emancipation, a turn towards action and the individual’s confrontation of issues and problems of the community (Krivas 1992: 69-80).

Today, in the era of international markets and tele-mass media explosion, the meaning of “community” has widened and that results in it losing its original meaning, i.e. a small society of people, their relationships and their location. We use the term to identify wider formations such as the European Union and World Union. This fact is not unrelated to the effort to avoid localism and put forward the idea of peoples coming together and of inter-cultural communication.

The community, beyond any perceptions or administrative regulations that consolidate a certain shape of it in time, remains a living cell that contains the elements of differentiation and antagonism. Weight shifts from humans to human relationships.

Finally, I believe that a careful method must be followed to introduce the student to this new approach. The idea is: children start the research from their family. Then the research expands to their villages. They learn to use the methods of a historian to collect bibliography, take interviews from the locals and extract the truth. Sometimes they are lucky enough to participate in an archaeological survey and can touch the same things as a person in the same area in the past. Gradually the whole local community is involved in the activities of the children. At the end of the school year they present their work to the public.

Taking all these into consideration I put the following aims for my project:

- ✓ **Opening of the school to the local community:** Add to the school worldview that of the local community – study of the pupils’ own history which has been neglected at school.
- ✓ **Involvement of the local community to the children’s activities:** The children’s activities cause the involvement of the whole community in the study and the preservation of the past. This will enhance the understanding of its historical identity.

2. Apart from pedagogic aims there are academic aims to be pursued.

We usually ignore or doubt that children can contribute to the research of the History of their place. Modern pedagogic theories put the child in the centre of interest. “New History” made clear that children are not only subservient to learning but with appropriate instruction can be creators of learning. Therefore children can undertake a small scale rescue survey in the area where they live and create an original database. The results of their survey may prove valuable to any academic research of the area if children are properly guided to a methodical recording of data.

Children’s contribution does not stop just in the creation of a database. They can and they should try to interpret the material which they have collected, and to understand the interaction between man and landscape through time. Landscape is the place where human action took place in the past. This action is not just limited to a sequence of battles and invasions. It primarily consists of slow and “almost imperceptible” (Bintliff 1991: 7) changes in the course of time (*longue durée*), as the Annales School proposes, emphasising peaceful human living and its relics. A modern subdivision of Archaeology, Landscape Archaeology, puts the emphasis in regional history diverging from traditional methodologies. According to this theory, human settlement, population movement, agricultural economy, environmental changes etc. determine the choices of the inhabitants within a community and are examined in order that a profile of this community be constructed (Barker 1996).

Into this slowly changing landscape man plays an important role. His/her action often is not limited to a small area. He/she puts his/her own stamp on the “great” historical

changes. He/she understands history by his/her own individual way. Human psychology and reactions through time now become the subject of many modern human sciences like Social Anthropology etc.

Therefore, I also suggest the following aim:

- ✓ **Contribution to the preservation of the historical landscape and the historical memory: Collect and preserve the history of communities, memories, ways of life through children's projects.**

3. The linking of Local history and Environmental Education leads to the further pursuit of aims associated with environmental problems and sustainable development.

The occupation with the past is related by no means to the preservation of the “old” at the expense of the “new”. Education should be directed towards preservation, protection and the improvement of the human environment in harmony with development. This axiom leads us to think carefully about what should be preserved, in what levels, in what timescale etc. (Redclift 1987; Redclift 1990). As Orr (1992: 24) says “it is necessary to rethink agriculture, residence, city-planning, use of energy, transport, economics, community patterns, use of the natural resources, forests, the importance of wild life, our fundamental values”. According to the theory of sustainable development, the exploitation of resources should not “deprive the future generations of the right to fulfil their needs” and, consequently, to have access to the same resources (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 43). Sustainable development means responsibility for the future (Smith 1992: 74). For example, I usually ask my students “what should we propose to substitute for an old building if we were going to demolish it?”.

However, it is not possible to change the situation without changing our education at the same time. Education should “support integrated approaches and methodologies which encourage a unified thought, abilities of a critical thought and the development of an integrated system of values” (Sterling 1993: 91). Therefore, sustainable devel-

opment tends to function as an umbrella under which a variety of modern educational movements exist and are related to it, like environmental education, development education, peace education, human rights education, multicultural education, conservative education, global education, political education etc. Such educational approaches do not fit into the current educational systems and curricula (Unesco 1997: 25). Tilbury (1995: 195) argues that the “Environmental Education for Sustainability” – as she calls it – “differs greatly from the apolitical, naturalistic and scientific work, which took place under the auspices of the Environmental Education in ‘70s and early ‘80s”.

Therefore I put an additional aim, as follows:

- ✓ **Definition of the parameters of the present development process:** The proper understanding of the past results in a rational and balanced development.

At this point we must remember that aims are usually general whilst specific objectives are more explicit and can be measurable. The latter refer to the three domains of human behaviour, according to the taxonomy of Bloom: **a) cognitive**, which includes knowledge, perceptions and thoughts (Bloom et al. 1956; *cf.* Metfessel, Michael & Kirsner 1969), **b) affective**, which is associated with attitudes, intentions and values (Krathwohl, Bloom & Masia 1964; Gribble 1970), and **c) psychomotor**, which refers to skills and abilities (Kibler, Barks & Miler 1970; *cf.* Simpson 1966; Harrow 1972). Some add a fourth domain, which is called “perceptual” and refers mainly to activities associated with sense stimuli, i.e. ability of receiving, codifying, storing and recalling data offered while teaching (Moore 1967).

I do not intend to define specific objectives. Nonetheless, scholars are now reserved on the formulation of specific objectives and many of them proceed to a strong critique on their usefulness. Indeed, the insistence on the expression of objectives in detail, on the basis of the external behaviour (Behaviourism), was exaggerated and it is doubtful if the expressed objectives managed to effectively improve learning (Venable 1981). Therefore, I think that every school and teacher can formulate their own objectives

depending on the particular subject and the individual place which they are going to study, the working conditions, the children's reactions, the available time and many other factors that it is impossible to define properly in advance. However, any specific objective which is going to be selected ought to match the above described aims.

3.3. Choice of the appropriate methodology

The definition of an appropriate method for History teaching in Primary and Secondary Education must fulfil these requirements:

- a) Firstly, it is vain to consider that it is possible to define a method which will cover all levels and all possible subjects of study. Only some general guidelines can be given to teachers, provided that these guidelines correspond to modern educational and research perceptions.
- b) Every school and teacher has a different, but immediate communication with the children, the specific place and the material, which is going to be studied. The children's background and their attitudes are built from their school knowledge as a whole and from their contacts with the community in which they live.
- c) The application of modern educational methods cannot be very profitable within the narrow limits of the History lesson at school. However, there must not be omitted the planning of specific contributions at this point, as well. The most appropriate field to develop new educational methods seems to be Environmental Education. In my case, the latter was the only way to apply my methods because I am not teaching History in my school.
- d) The guidelines which will be chosen as the most appropriate for alerting and helping the teachers, must be clear and applicable in the time available, which usually is less than a whole school year.

3.3.1. Setting up a project

1. ***Preparing the class or the work-group.*** I believe that it is indispensable to brief in detail the students who will participate in the project, because Local History is a new activity, the dimensions of which (teaching, pedagogic and psychological) are not usual in Greek schools. In this manner, the participant students will become aware of the necessity to set up the project. The degree of participation and interaction between the members of each group depends heavily on good information and understanding

One of the chapters of General History or a recent event could constitute a stimulus for a first discussion with the students, in order to trace their knowledge and attitudes concerning the search and study of the history of their familiar environment (of their family, their village, their community).

A part of this research meeting with the students could take the form of a written test (pre-test), which must be given tactfully so that it will not be considered as another expression of the “suppressive” school process. The test will include: a) General questions, which will refer to the knowledge, perceptions, attitudes and wishes of the students for Local History (see, *Appendix III: “Questionnaire for the schoolchildren 1”*), and b) special questions, which will be related with the area and the subject of study (see, *Appendix III: “Questionnaire for the schoolchildren 2”*).

In the same meeting, the teacher will find out, either through the pre-test or through a brief discussion with the students, their knowledge on the related terms (e.g. Local History, General History, History of Greece, European History, Global History, Landscape Archaeology, excavations, Heritage Museums etc.).

In this way, the teacher could talk to the students about the intentions of the Ministry of Education, in agreement with the local authorities, to introduce Local History in schools; what the causes of such a decision were; and what the philosophy and the aims of this decision are.

2. *Selecting a subject – setting the aims – methodology.* After the first communication with the students and if we judge that the class is properly prepared, we try to define the subject which we are going to cope with. We write on the blackboard a catalogue of suggested subjects for research. The subjects may also result from the analysis of the pre-test, where we can trace their needs, tendencies and interests.

A discussion will follow, in order to make clear the extent of the subjects which are proposed and the degree of difficulty in the approach to each section which must be studied (*cf.* Ferguson 1970: 184-6).

Then, the aims and the specific objectives of the individual school project, in which the students are called to participate, must be set. Aims and specific objectives must be clear and attainable in the available time (see, above “Aims of my Project” and *Appendix III: “Aims – Specific Objectives”*).

It must be stressed to the children that a good and modern historical research needs constant efforts in groups. Each one will regularly announce and discuss with the others the results which come up, the problems and the new plans. In this manner the students will be introduced to understanding the two main working methods: “action-research” and “project”.

Some examples of work from other schools can be presented and discussed with the teachers. A rough working plan can be proposed, which may be expanded, improved and even replaced with the co-operation of teachers and students by another plan that will probably fit better with the specific profile of each school.

The next step is to define the sections for study. Based on these sections the students will separate into groups depending on their inclinations and interests. It is not necessary for all the groups to occupy themselves with the research and collection of material for the study of the subject. One or two groups can be occupied with other activities e.g. taking pictures, writing a scenario for happenings, typing and processing texts, making maps and organising the material exhibitions.

3. ***The teacher’s role.*** However, beyond the knowledge of the philosophy, aims and methodology of this pedagogic activity, the teachers, in order to be rightly prepared, must be conscious of the necessity to change their role and adopt co-operation and co-action, inside and outside school.

In the framework of the experimental approach, the teacher’s role is not undervalued, but it is differentiated, leaving traditional forms. The teacher ceases to be the sole carrier of knowledge and ideas. He ceases to be the authority. He becomes the coordinator of the whole pedagogic activity, assistant and co-operator of the group in the

effort to find out knowledge. He is altered to a co-ordinator of action (*cf.* Ferguson 1970: 182).

Additionally, the model teacher is not merely a sensitive and knowledgeable pedagogue but it is necessary for him to be trained so as to manage the questions which result in the class. Otherwise, every new approach of the pedagogic process tends not to be easily accepted by the pedagogic community. Thus, any cases of doubt, hesitation and self-criticism are not avoided. The participation of more than one teacher will contribute to the best results and advance the idea of co-operation. The co-operation with other teachers, occupied with different fields of study, will further the idea of multi-disciplinarity.

The tri-partite goal, at which finally the teacher aims and which bounds his/her role in the school action, is: knowledge – awareness – action (*cf.* op.cit. 183). The teacher addresses to his/her students: 1) to the cognitive stage in order to force them to occupy themselves with community history and acquire knowledge, perceptions and thoughts for the interaction of man and landscape through time, 2) to the affective stage in order to help them to construct values and encourage them to develop attitudes and intentions for the preservation of the historical landscape and historical memory, and 3) to the stage of action in order to develop skills and abilities so as to become active participants in the research for knowledge and the realisation of their actions.

3.3.2. Organising presuppositions during the realisation of the project

In choosing the project method to work with in the realisation of a Community History project, it is indispensable to have in mind the required presuppositions, which will allow us to reach the best possible aims. Involved in such a process we become aware of the fact that the application of a project with this method requires us to make a plan and a course schedule.

The teacher's role is particularly important during the first steps. He/she is the "architect" of planning and the animator of the whole attempt.

The realisation of every project is based on organising questions, which is absolutely necessary to be occupied with from the beginning. This is judged as much more necessary in the framework of the suffocating and inflexible “closed-type” curriculum of the Greek school.

The planning must take into consideration the three fundamental elements of the project method: a) the members’ freedom to propose subjects, b) the formation of project in common, c) the realisation in common. Thus, every plan must be opened to development, the only competent people to decide this being the group members.

Breaks also must be planned in the course of every project, so as to give the opportunity to the members to readjust, reverse, modify, change roles and cope with problems amongst them. These breaks are usually separated into two categories:

1. Information breaks. These can last from a few minutes to as much as the work-group judges that it is necessary. The aim of this break is information exchange, the control of the work progress and the organisation of the next steps.
2. Breaks for feedback and discussion of interpersonal relations:
 - ✓ the members’ actions are critically examined, the success of the function is judged, and whether and how much the communication and behaviour rules between the members have worked, is carefully thought about.
 - ✓ the reasons (pedagogic, psychological and organising), which impose this kind of breaks, are easily understandable. When and why is a group’s matter.

Organising questions, which must be thought about, are:

1. **The time.** It is considered as of decisive importance. The first fundamental reason is the necessity to know the available chronological limits, so that a possibility for its right division be given. In this manner the students will have the responsibility for the self disposition of their time in an effort to organise their work by themselves, since they will have decided the chronological limits together.

The second fundamental reason is the strict organisation of school life. Taking advantage of the possibilities given is the only realistic solution. Therefore, it is necessary not to waste time without planning. With the chronological limits are also directly tied the information and feedback breaks, as I already discussed above.

The time question must be taken into consideration from the beginning and especially the starting point and the deadline. The definition of the chronological limits is of vital importance. The chronological limits of every project are defined from the study-group in the framework of its possibilities and the project requirements. Thus, a project can last from a few days to a few months. In Greek schools projects usually are of long duration and develop through the whole school year.

The available time for Local History teaching in school is defined by the initial circular of the Ministry of Education (Γ2/299/29-1-1990) in four teaching hours in total, which are divided as follows: two hours at the beginning and two at the end of the school year. Expecting the current situation to alter and to achieve more time to teach Local History, we are presently obliged to move through these chronological limits.

However, the teacher who is interested in organising a Local History project, should not be discouraged. The solution might be a well thought out allocation of time available and above all a good layout from the beginning. The successful outcome is possible when students devote more hours, provided that their teachers can guide them effectively. The meetings do not necessarily occupy the whole time of a General History lesson (45 min). 10-15 minutes may be sufficient to make a plan for the following activities. It is common knowledge that teachers very often work overtime in order to help workgroups and solve problems.

2. ***The Place.*** The group will determine where action takes place. It may be the school or the neighborhood, village or town where the school is located. It depends on the subject as well as the time available. For example, visits to monuments, museums, neighborhoods are associated with time commitments. It is essential to define the work area while organizing the project.

The class-room as a work area is the starting point. The teacher must not be confined in it. He/she will encourage the students to expand their work in the surrounding area, to observe, record monuments, watch an excavation, and with a bit of luck, to touch the same objects that a person who lived there in the past touched, to visit the local museum, the library etc.

3. ***Relation with the local community.*** Local History and the “project” method carry the perspective of a school that is open, extrovert; a school in direct connection with its surroundings. The implementation of every project requires co-operation with non-school agents. These can be individuals (specialized in a subject) or institutions (e.g. Municipalities), the neighborhood, inhabitants and so on depending on the needs of the project. In general, the outline of the course is as follows: The students start their investigation from their own families. Then, the investigation expands into their village or neighborhood. Their activities become immediately acknowledged and people talk about them. They contact the locals, explain the objectives of their project, record their reactions and collect their evidence. Gradually the whole community gets involved.

The significance of such contacts has already been described (*cf.* Aims and Specific Objectives). It is necessary to organize those which are linked to time and space availability. The team makes plans in advance concerning contacts so that they can be more creative and rewarding. Here are some points to be kept in mind:

- ✓ Who do we want to alert the outside world
- ✓ Who gets influenced directly or indirectly from this project
- ✓ Who should be informed
- ✓ Who can help

4. ***Funding.*** Sometimes the implementation of a project demands funding aid for expenses (e.g. photocopies, visits, exhibition). The amount of financial expenses is relevant to the needs of the project. A budget is essential for the implementation of the project and the search for money from local agents (Municipalities, Society of Parents and Guardians etc) on the condition that no intervention from them is accepted.

5. **Administration.** During the project there will be a need for contacts with the places that the students need to visit (museums, galleries, houses etc.), directors of public services (Archaeological Service, State General Records, Library etc.) and chairmen of local societies (municipal, agricultural etc.). The teacher's intervention is necessary so that the people are prepared for such visits and students feel welcome. If, e.g., students plan to visit the archaeological museum, the teacher should inform the curator, explain the goals of the project and the number of students who are expected to attend, arrange the guidance and set the suitable date and time.

3.3.3. Techniques – Activities

1. **Diary of the Pedagogic team.** The diary comprises an important tool for the teacher and the students. Whilst its utility depends on the type of recordings, undoubtedly the fact that one can record one's thoughts and remarks about one's research topic on a daily basis allow one to retain very detailed pieces of information that would be forgotten the following day as trivial. Different aspects of an action survive in a diary as well as the stages of realisation, the thoughts, remarks and feelings of the writer and his colleagues. Such a diary comprises a precious source and a means of documentation of procedures, self-critique and decision making.

The format of such a diary is open to the writer who makes the final decision. Besides it may not be written by a sole writer. There is not only one kind of diary for every team. All participants may have individual (the teacher, each student separately) as well as collective ones (each study/work group).

In the second case particularly the co-writers will have agreed in advance as to the format. A model is given below:

At the beginning we write:

- Date of action
- Place of action
- Type of action

Then the sheet is divided into three columns (see, *Appendix III: "Diary of the Pedagogic team"*). There should be space left for complementary material such as pictures, drawings, maps etc. The first time, it may be somehow disappointing because it will seem difficult to express ideas and describe facts clearly. Gradually it will become routine, especially if it becomes a daily habit performed very soon after thoughts, activities, remarks, feelings etc. take place. Experience has proved that the diary is mostly useful when time has passed and many things have disappeared from our memory.

2. *Choice of techniques - activities* The students according to their needs, desires, interests and the topic they are going to study will choose with the help of their teacher the type of techniques to access the topic. These techniques have been used elsewhere successfully and some of them have been applied in projects of Museums and Environmental Education in Greece either copied from similar projects abroad or invented by Greek teachers. The objective of these techniques is to cultivate the imagination, to allow students to develop initiatives, and to experience different roles in interpreting themes from the past.

Interviewing is a fundamental technique for accessing the landscape. Information is collected via questionnaires that contain "open" and "closed" questions according to the needs of the project (Breakwell 1995: 99-110) (see, the questionnaire in *Appendix III: "Essential points of the interview with the Locals, the Mayor or the President of a village council"*). Information is recorded in tapes and processed by team members. In this way a great deal of material is accumulated, big enough to comprise a small archive of Oral History.

We may also wander around the villages or the neighborhoods of the community and observe the different modes of constructing buildings that belong to different time periods (modern ones of cement, older ones of stone and raw bricks, mansions etc.). Next the students with our help may record the most significant among them, draw the elevation and the ground plan, and take pictures of characteristic points of the villages or quarters which reveal their own profile. Where it is possible a videocamera can be

used. It is many times stressed how profitable is the use of images in History teaching (see for instance: Voros 1991b).

Children can produce also a map with the location of houses. They may use different colours to depict buildings of different decades. In this way they will find out about habitation shifts through time and propose possible interpretations (see for instance the odyssey of Haliartos in Boeotia in Snodgrass & Bintliff 1991: 91-93). Research in the villages may include study of churches and graveyards to acquire information for history, demography, art and religion (Hill & Mays 1987).

Similar work can be done with monuments and workshops of the pre-industrial and industrial era (*cf.* to filling forms of the Ministry of Culture in an edition titled: *Industrial Archaeology*, 1989). The study not only will bring together Local History and Environmental Education but also will demonstrate how the Industrial Revolution completely altered both landscape and society. On the one hand, as Mainstone & Bryant (1972: 166) believe, “agricultural implements and articles of small craft and domestic industry and housecraft throw a clearer light on the style of living in former communities than the treasures piled up in palaces”. On the other hand, as Alderton (1995) showed, physical evidence of past industrial sites and artefacts constitutes both a stimulus and a learning tool for almost every subject in the curriculum.

We ought to encourage our students to watch and participate, when possible, in the major works performed within the circle of traditional activities and make an experimental use of tools (e.g. plough, sickle, loom) which they will have collected or constructed. In addition they may record Folk Art objects (see, *Appendix III: “Recording Objects of Folk Art”*).

Moreover, we can encourage them to record anthroponymics (names and surnames) and place names (see, *Appendix III: “People’s Names” and “Toponyms”*). Then we should discuss their significance in understanding population shifts and relocations. If we are not experienced enough we may ask for help.

Likewise, we may seek old maps and invite students to trace old settlements and place-names. In case they cannot find anything familiar to them, they will wonder and this is a good opportunity for us to talk about the establishment of the settlements, the changes in place-names, and problems associated with cartography. We may ask for help in the local library or from a local historian to see more maps. The students themselves can construct their own maps according to their abilities and the means which they dispose. Probably they won't reach the best but this is not the aim. Children must get familiar first with data that exist in their own minds and in everybody else's and be able to recognize it. Since everything they do and watch others doing is linked to a specific location on the ground and is associated with the use of space, they can think of the kinds of conventional maps that correspond to the mental maps, the ones they keep in their minds. Awareness of that will strengthen their comprehension of the geographical dimension and will contribute to the amelioration of drawing abilities. The use of modern technology and especially of Geographical Information Systems is also now possible as most of the Greek schools have the necessary equipment to support such applications (Simoni & Papagiannopoulos forthcoming).

We may also present to children old registers like Ottoman and Venetian archives. Students will try to trace their village or town and compare demographic elements of that time with today's. Archives which are locally accessible will refresh work in schools and will demonstrate that understanding and interpretation of history is rooted in documents (*cf.* Davies & Webb 1995). It is further essential to have a bibliography related to the subject. Students can visit local libraries and look for books. In certain cases we distribute photocopies of rare articles. Many Local History books are not a product of critical study. So, the students must use books that contain reliable and cross-checked information. Such books will provide them with further literature of interest. At this stage, the teacher's role is central.

Afterwards, students may visit museums and historical sites, enter buildings of the past, contact with raw material, participate in the research activities and develop a critical view on Heritage management. Mainstone & Bryant (1972: 168-171; *cf.* English Heritage Education Service n.d.: 3-5) made a list of practical suggestions for the planning of such visits. In any case, it would be better to contact the persons in charge

there and inform the students on whatever they are going to see in advance. In this way children will know how to behave in such places, whether they are allowed to touch the artefacts and take pictures. Whoever shows the children round must know about the class profile and avoid giving too many details. In contrast, it is better for teachers to prepare sets of worksheets in collaboration with persons in charge and enrich a guidance in a straight lecture form, wherever this is possible, with other activities.

- Visit ancient, medieval or modern monuments in their region. The more complex the structure of monument the more aged children must be driven there. Castles probably can be an ideal place for Primary school children because mystery and power excite their imagination (Field 1996; Copeland 1993). Teachers must make children familiar with the ground plan of the buildings and put things in their chronological context so as they can understand their structure or function and imagine the original appearance of past relics.
- Participate in a surface survey. It is not usual in Greece, but from my experience it is not impossible to arrange it with local archaeologists or other researchers (see section 4.1).
- Visit and watch an excavation in their region (prior arrangement with the archaeologists is needed). If they do not have the chance of taking part in an excavation, we can play the “garbage game” so that the students can get to experiment on the methodology and the way of thinking of archaeologists. The game proceeds as follows: A litter bag is buried in the ground full of various things. We ask our students who pretend to be archaeologists of A.D. 2100, to discover the bag and interpret the finds, suggest the identity of their owners, their way of life and their cultural level (Kamarinou 1995; *cf.* Planel 1994: 274). There is an alternative as well. We use a shallow box or the schoolyard to place miniature replicas of ancient monuments or objects (see section 2.2.5). The structure of the subsoil can be seen in a section by the road or in a pit.

- Visit the nearest Archaeological Museum. It is essential to perform an educational project there which will include various activities of cognitive, affective and psychomotor type (games of knowledge, simulation, role-play). It is expected that students will consolidate the things they learned and will pay greater attention to the details. By playing, students will learn easier than by listening to the teacher.
- Visit the Folk Art museum and examine the mode of life and production in pre-Industrial society. Such museums usually allow photographing, so students could bring their cameras and take pictures of anything that impresses them or is useful for their project. They can also perform an educational project at the end.

Finally, teachers must not hesitate to use “game” and role-play. For example, students might search and discover a local myth that can be dramatized. They could work in groups on the script, the direction, costumes etc. We have to talk with them often and help them when they need it.

3.3.4. Data organisation and presentation

1. *Discussion and writing of activities.* When the work of the groups is concluded, the material will be collected and different points of view will be discussed in class. There the teacher will try to make the linking of Local History, which the students studied, with National and World History, so that the students can understand that History comes out of the joining and the co-estimation of events and situations, many of which are usually considered as of inferior or secondary importance, but they function as pieces of a big jigsaw.

In this meeting, the idea of the creation of a booklet can be proposed by a committee of students which will come from all the workgroups. This booklet can include the results of the work in groups, proposals or thoughts of the students, pictures etc. It may be a good opportunity for the students, if the school has a computer, to practise the typing of texts and the editing of the booklet.

2. ***Presentation of the project.*** When the material is ready, the students will present it in school and in local society. This can be done in co-operation with the staff of teachers, the association of parents and guardians and the local authorities. The publicity of their work will offer them not only the enthusiasm of the acknowledgement of their efforts, but the experience of a completed task linking school with their society.

The school timetable allows that 1-2 days by the end of May be devoted to the presentation of projects and other activities that have taken place throughout the school year. The presentation is realised with the help of the Parents and Guardians Association and the local authorities.

It is essential for those who worked on it and for the audience that the presentation be successful. Success adds to the fulfilment of our objectives. Therefore the presentation must be organised in a way that not only advances the main conclusions but also the method of work of the children. Finally care should be taken that it won't tire the audience and the presenters.

A good idea might be the organisation of a theatrical performance. The conclusions could be performed so that words and play will be interwoven.

3.3.5. Evaluation of the project

This is a procedure of assessment of the degree of achieving the objectives of the project on the one hand and the pedagogic process. It takes place throughout the year (formative evaluation) and not only at the end (summative evaluation). It possesses a dynamic character, which allows the continuous shaping of the whole educational approach (Scriven 1967; Wentling & Lawson 1975). This approach provides a continuous feedback to the members of the pedagogic team and the research procedure itself. If any problems arise at various stages they can be dealt with on time without blocking the final performance and fulfilment of the objectives of the project.

Step 1: what do we evaluate?

1. *Objectives:*

The extent to which specific objectives (cognitive, affective, psychomotor) set at the beginning of the project have been implemented, that is, how realistic and feasible they were.

2. *Values and attitudes:*

Their estimation is necessary because they demonstrate the degree of respect for the historical landscape, historical memory and their position in the evaluation scale of each person. It is not easy to estimate values and attitudes since it is a matter of subjectivity and there is a distance between the acknowledgement of a value and its realisation. The use of multiple techniques (questionnaire, interview etc.) is advisable.

3. *Knowledge and understanding:*

They can be more easily measured than values and attitudes. They are calculated by means of a questionnaire (pre-test, meta-test), of multiple choice questions and by the assignments of the members of the pedagogic team.

4. *Criticising skills:*

Their estimation takes place throughout the project and particularly at the closing stage and during the final presentation of the project.

5. *Abilities for action:*

How convinced were the children about the necessity and significance of their project and how willing they are to persuade the others.

Step 2: Design of the Evaluation

The following questions can be used:

1. *What questions should we ask so that they can be close to the content of the project and allow the achievement of its objectives?*

Such questions should refer to: the amount of project material, the degree to which the school project and the educational context were integrated or not.

2. *Which is the most appropriate design for evaluation?*

Should we start with working on the project and finish when it is over? Or should the students first take a pre-test so that we can testify to their knowledge, attitudes, experiences, ideas as regards the subject before the project begins; then should we proceed with the project and have a meta-test so as to discover whether their knowledge, atti-

tudes, experiences, ideas as regards the subject have changed in between? This second case is considered to be the most appropriate. That is:

Pre-test – Project – Meta-test

3. *Which techniques and what tools shall we use?*

This refers to the tools (questionnaire, observation, interview etc.) we shall use for the collection of all the necessary data for the evaluation.

Step 3: Data Collection and Analysis

1. *Data collection*

2. *Data analysis*: It includes organisation, concise presentation of the results and their interpretation using graphs and numbers (histograms, frequency distribution etc.)

Step 4: Use of the results

At this step the following are evaluated:

1. Who will comprise the audience-recipient of the results of the project?
2. What will be told from the whole procedure and how?
3. Who are we to write a final report of the program for and what are we to write?
4. What are the necessary modifications needed during the execution of different stages of the project so that we can achieve the objectives to the highest degree possible?

3.3.6. Collecting and interpreting the material from the projects

The researcher will arrange some final meetings with teachers to discuss and record their opinions of the project, to collect the action diaries, the tests, which were given to the students, the pamphlets and whatever related material exists. He will classify all the material from each school, analyse the content of the action diaries and make the final evaluation of the pre-test and meta-test and the remarks which are recorded and discussed with the teachers.

Then the data interpretation process will follow, taking into consideration the profile of every school and other organisations involved e.g. local authorities or associations and the new-appearance of this activity in school. The researcher will write a report on the results and the evaluation of the project. It may include ideas for future action, more extensive so as to cover as many as possible schools of the prefecture.

4. CASE - STUDY: THE SCHOOLS OF GREECE

4.1. Testing the method

Once I decided to put theory into practice, I considered that a period of testing the method in different schools was first necessary. I started my work with school projects within the Environmental Education syllabus. Schools in the Prefectures of Elis and Achaia in NW Peloponnese were the places where I chose to apply the method. More specifically, the projects started with the study of two monuments, i.e. the monastery of Eleousa and the Dimeon wall. Then, my students worked on the history of the Kato Achaia region which was also the study place for the next two projects on the agricultural cultivations and the landscape archaeology. In the meantime, I had the opportunity to set up one-day projects, like the one I set up for the local scout troop.

4.1.1. Project 1: The historical monastery of Eleousa

In 1994, when I was teaching at the Gymnasium in Vartholomio in Elis, I implemented an educational project for the pupils in the 3rd year of Gymnasium, in collaboration with my colleague and literature teacher, Maria Parisi. The theme of the project was the monastery of Agia Eleousa.

Agia Eleousa is a 17th century monastery falling under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch built at the exit of a forest-covered gorge, near the village of Lygia in Elis. Today it has been converted into a monastery for women, subject to the Metropolis of Elis and Oleni. Of the initial monastery complex, only the precinct and the gate with the “zematistra”, the tower in the centre and the church universal have been preserved. A small distance away from the monastery is a cave with stalagmites and stalactites, where tradition has it that the icon of the Virgin Mary in the form of Eleousa was discovered.

Vartholomio, where the school is, is a prosperous town situated in the western corner of the Peloponnese. It lies in an agricultural region but is also very near the sea. The school already has a successful tradition in implementing Environmental Educational projects, in which my afore-mentioned colleague had participated in. The topic was selected after discussion with our 15-year old pupils. The criteria for selecting this subject are self-evident. We will mention as an example the significance of the monastery in local history and traditions, the emotional feelings of the local residents and the easy and close access to the monument.

Initially, the pupils were given a questionnaire (pre-test) in order to ascertain the level of their knowledge of the subject in question and the era (*see, Questionnaire for schoolchildren 2, in Appendix III*). It was thus determined for example that out of 37 pupils, 54% had visited the monastery several times, and of these only 32% knew certain facts, either from their parents or from their fellow residents. Thirty percent (30%) guessed that the monastery had been built during the post-Byzantine times, but 76% however knew that it was named the monastery of Eleousa after the icon that was discovered there and 54% knew that the icon depicted the Virgin Mary and Christ. Forty-one percent (41%) had learnt that the church was called the “katholikon” (church universal). In addition, 68% were able to discern the different construction materials of the structures and 35% knew the names of the trees in the forest. Finally, only 22% knew that the Divine Service was performed at the monastery by one of the priests from the nearby parishes.

During the second stage the pupils used a brief questionnaire to check the knowledge and experiences of the eldest residents in the surrounding area. Of the 11 people asked, 3 could not answer any of the questions, 2 had something to say about the fortifications and the tower, the building materials, the more recent structures, the traditions, the fauna and the cave. Only 1 person had knowledge about the other buildings that were situated in the precinct of the monastery, the iconography, the selection of its site, the chronological period, the economy and the vegetation.

Thus, the objectives of the project were set as follows:

1. Stimulating the pupils in their contact with the monument.

2. Getting to know about a significant part of local history and traditions.
3. Understanding the factors that comprise a specific historical period.
4. Arousing the pupils to matters concerning the protection and promotion of the cultural heritage and surrounding areas.
5. Exercising the pupils in describing and recording architecture in toto.
6. Understanding the way of life of the monastic community.

The following step is to separate the pupils into 7 work groups that would examine on the one hand the history of the monastery, popular faith, life in the monastery and its economics, and on the other hand, the surrounding area, the architecture of the monastery and iconography. Supervision of the first 4 groups was undertaken by Ms. Parisi, while I monitored the remaining 3 groups, and I also co-ordinated all the various activities. Before realising their individual targets, the pupils had the opportunity to discuss them in class with their teachers, so as to participate in the problems of the matter in question and in the planning of specific action formats during each of the three visits that were carried out.

This was followed by the visits to the monastery. During the first visit the pupils were free to wander around the architectural structures and the surrounding area. They then had the opportunity to be shown around by the nuns, to ask them questions concerning the spoken traditions of the monastery and its economics and to understand their own viable experiences in this area. In the third phase they had the opportunity to discuss certain general and more specific matters with their teachers that concerned the selection of the area in question, the architectural style, the uses of each individual architectural structure, the materials used in their construction, the construction methods that were used, the means of defence, the more recent additions, etc. Discussions were continued in class. In this manner the pupils were introduced to the concepts of Christian worshipping, local architecture and Middle Aged ecclesiastical architecture.

Before the second visit, each one of the groups gathered information from the existing bibliography. For this reason we had the opportunity to use the new library of the Municipality of Vartholomio.

The pupils in the architectural group learnt how to record and make the plan of an architectural complex with the use of only a compass and a tape measure (*fig. 1*). There-

The pupils that were involved with the monastery's iconography studied the iconographies on the walls, the iconostasis, the roof, the apse and the remaining parts of the katholikon, as well as in the cave (*fig. 3*). Learning from the bibliography what was the invariable Byzantine iconographic program, they examined whether this was adhered to in this specific case. It should be noted that the monastery has only small icons and not frescos.



Fig. 3

The group studying the environment of the monastery made an indicative but intensive recording (*fig. 4*) of the flora, insects and reptiles, the architectural and ceramic



Fig. 4

remains and whatever else was observed on the surface of the grounds surrounding the monastery. All the findings were recorded on-site or at school in special logs.

The history group continued to work on-site in order to observe data that conveyed information on the history of the monastery. After returning back to the school, the pupils collected and studied all the data and published documents referring to the matter in question.

The groups studying popular faith and life in the monastery continued to record the monastic life and other verbal witnesses. More specifically, the first group interviewed the nuns and local inhabitants, asking about the traditions and legends that substantiate the founding of the monastery, the first monks, the finding of the icon of the Virgin Mary and her miracles.

The pupils in the second group interviewed the nuns with respect to their life in the monastery, their daily activities, and the equipment that they have to assist them in their work from the dawn of one day up to the sunrise of the next day. They also recorded the nuns' preparations for Christmas and the participation of "outsiders" who either assisted in the running of the monastery or who just came to visit.

Finally, the pupils who had undertaken to study the economy of the monastery determined -either from oral witnesses or by checking various sources- the extent that the monasterial wealth reached at various periods of time and how it differentiated with the passing of time, especially during times of great national crises (1922, 1940-45, etc.). They examined past and current methods of economical management, they made comparisons and comments and set out their own proposals as to the prospects that are available for the monastery and the ways to increase its income.

During this visit they also made use of their cameras and video cameras to record all that which impressed them and which would be useful in their further studies. More specifically, they took photographs both of the various sections of the monastery and the people that they met and spoke to, as well as their own activities and preparations. They video-recorded various scenes from the daily life in the monastery, the various structures and their own activities and recorded all the interviews that they took.

During their last visit and applying what they had learnt, some of the pupils dressed up as monks and pirates and re-enacted a siege of the monastery (*figs. 5, 6 & 7*), which was also video-recorded. The pupils themselves searched for the suitable clothing that they needed for the re-enactment. They contacted the Municipality of Vartholomio and sought permission to use the pirates' clothes used earlier in the year in the local carnival parade. They also contacted the nuns and priests of the local parishes, seeking clerical attire.



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

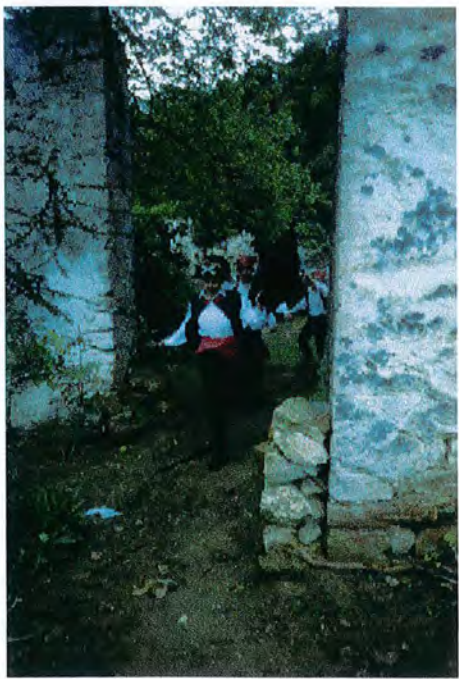


Fig. 7

Through this game the pupils benefited at various levels. Firstly, they “lived” an especially historical moment in time in a manner that could not be better understood. They savoured their participation (*fig. 8*) in an activity that surpassed school limits and the traditional ways of transferring knowledge. They came into contact with the local community and made it a participant in the production of this knowledge, a knowledge that was derived from the heart of the community itself, its daily routines and the special manner in which it has learnt to approach matters in general.



Fig. 8

Within the framework of the final evaluation, the pupils were asked to answer the same questionnaire (post-test). The answers that were given now were correct in all instances, a fact that shows the degree of understanding the subject in question. The same was also ascertained by the individual and group discussions carried out at the study place and the school.

Afterwards the pupils involved themselves with the planning and organisation of an event dedicated to the theme of the project. This was held in the events hall of the school and those invited were all their fellow-pupils, teachers, parents and local dignitaries from the community. Representatives from each work group presented their research work in the form of oral reports, images (slides, videos, etc.) and sound. At the same time the pupils from the various groups had created an exhibition with the material that had been gathered, including plans, designs, photographs and tables.

Finally, a self-planned booklet (*fig. 9*) was printed with text, tables and photographs formulated by the pupils during their project at the monastery, the methods utilised to carry out the project and their final impressions. This booklet was distributed to all the pupils and teachers at the school. Copies were also given to members of the local community who had either assisted in the research of the project or who had special interest in the subject matter.



Fig. 9

4.1.2. Project 2: The Dimeon wall

During the same year I supervised and conducted a project at the Gymnasium of Lakopetra in Achaia. Even though this is a small school, it is very active, implementing many Environmental Educational projects in the past that related to cultural movements and books, as well as projects for studying the architecture of the buildings in the region. After the matter was discussed between the pupils and the teachers, this specific topic was selected among other topics that were proposed but which could not be chosen due to practical difficulties.

The theme of the project was the Dimeon wall. The Dimeon wall, also known as Kalogria's wall, is located in the frontiers of the prefectures of Elis and Achaia, in the

southern end of Mavra Vouna. According to tradition, Hercules built it while battling the troops of Avgia's sent against him. The wall surrounded the dwelling of a local lord who, from that position, oversaw all roads, both on land and sea, watched over trade and commerce, gathered the crops from the fields below and kept his people safe. Prokopos' salt-lake joined up with Papas' salt-lake in Mycenaean times, making Mavra Vouna look like an island. Today, there are archaeological digs in progress in order to further research and promote the site. Up to date research has shown that the rock upon which the wall was built has always been a crucial point for defence from prehistoric times to our day.

At the beginning of the project a questionnaire was given, containing basic questions on knowledge of the castle and Greek archaeology. It was of course found that their knowledge was limited since they had not heard much on this subject from the school and from their parents. However, all the pupils wanted to continue the project in order to learn more. Many articles had been written about this monument and therefore a great part of the project was devoted to reading the relevant bibliography. The functional and practical usability of the castle throughout the historical periods were pointed out and its existence was linked to the social, economical and political conditions that existed in the region. This was followed by a visit to the site where the excavated sections of the castle were identified through the archaeological reports. The pupils made notes and took photographs, and all the relevant data –together with the photographic material- was used at school to survey and to chart the castle. The preliminary plans were corrected and supplemented on-site. The present state of the restored castle was compared with older photographs taken at various periods of time in the past. Finally, they tried to portray the castle and surrounding area at different periods of time.

Their concerns as to the preservation of the castle and the slow progress of the excavations was very creative. In one of their visits to the castle they came across the paradox that a stockbreeder from the neighbouring village had usurped the archaeological site and on many occasions would not allow anyone to enter the site! When they visited the Museum in Patras to see the findings from the Dimeon wall that are exhibited there, they asked to see the archaeologist in charge, who assured them that

the castle had been inducted into a program which would allow restoration work to continue and thus promote the castle.

When the research phase was completed and its form and functions were now understood in great detail, the pupils then visited the region for the last time. By applying all that they had learnt up to that time, they portrayed warriors from the Mycenaean era, some attacking and some defending, and through this game they experienced a hypothetical besiegement of the castle (*fig. 10*). The success of this endeavour was helped in part by the pupils understanding certain matters, such as the military technology at that time and the important sections of the castle that gave the defenders the advantage, thus allowing them to weaken the enemy. It was verified through this game how difficult it was for an attacker to conquer the castle when he had to run a long distance up to the peak of the hill while being attacked by the defenders of the castle.



Fig. 10

The project closed with a presentation to the public, which did not include only oral reports, but also the exhibiting of material that included plans, designs, mock-ups and photographs. This presentation was paralleled by informing the residents of the greater surrounding area as to the value of the castle and its correct promotion. The castle could then be easily visited and also be a source for cultural-economic interests for local residents. When the project was completed, the pupils were again given the questionnaire that had been given to them at the beginning of the project. The results

showed a change in their knowledge since most of their replies were correct. Over and above this however, they were left with the satisfaction arising from their participation in the activities of the project, which could not of course be described in any questionnaire.

4.1.3. Project 3: The history of the Kato Achaia region

The next year we tried to improve the methodology in the school I was transferred to in Achaia. There we have been working at two projects with the students of the 2nd and 3rd grade of Gymnasium of Kato Achaia. The first project had to do with the history of the local communities round the school area and the title was: “Understanding national history through the knowledge of the history of our villages”. In this project I was collaborated with my colleague C. Tsaroucha, who is a teacher of Classics.

Kato Achaia is situated on the western side of the Prefecture of Achaia and it is the capital of the Municipality of Dimi. Ancient Dimi, which was one of the cities of the Achaian Federal State, was situated on the site where the present town is. The town-planning format of Dimi was revealed gradually after the systematic examination of the plots of land that were destined to be built and the carrying out of rescue excavations. At the end of the Greek Revolution, families came here as grape labourers from the mountains of Northern Peloponnese (Kalavryta, Arkadia, Corinthia), as well as from the Ionian Islands, and ended up staying here permanently. Kato Achaia has become the centre of the lowlands of Western Achaia, a town with a multi-cultural character. Twenty years ago many Gypsy families -who were involved in trading- settled along the SW side of the town.

This school also had a good tradition in realising Environmental Educational projects in the past. The specific topic was chosen in collaboration with our pupils. More specifically, I asked the children to write on a piece of paper whatever they know about the history of their villages (name, location, description, activities of the locals, history, population, economy, customs, tradition, superstitions etc.). Later, I gave a lesson about the importance of the project (*fig. 11*).

Those who did want to participate, were asked to write down their family tree, so as to detect their response and make a practice regarding the work methods. Their results weren't very exciting but they are interesting in that they depict their understanding of the historical process and who are the persons and which the things and situations, that are important for this process. Pupils' study of their genealogy constituted a cause for an initial discussion, aiming to verify their knowledge and their attitude towards the research and study of the history of their familiar environment, as well as their perspective concerning related concepts.



Fig. 11

Thus, the objectives of the project were set as follows:

1. To allow the pupils to learn the history of their region.
2. To allow them to understand the specific characteristics of the community in their region, with respect to the remaining part of Achaia.
3. To involve themselves systematically in the studying of the historical lands of the region.
4. To record the occupations and professions of all the residents in the region.
5. To involve themselves with the ethnological aspects of the region.

In continuation, the pupils were divided in 8 groups depending on their place of origin in order to study the history of the city of Kato Achaia and the communities round it. They had to:

1. Interview their co-villagers (*fig. 12*). Using a more detailed questionnaire which we drew up especially for this purpose, the pupils interviewed the older residents of Kato Achaia and nearby villages. They even interviewed those who were descended from other regions, as well as members of the gypsy community in Kato Achaia. During the course of their work, they determined the different cultural factors that characterised the families that they had selected and the degree of their induction into the ways of life of the local community. They also recorded the people's names and the place-names of the region and created a small database. All their interpretations were later discussed with us, together with the significance in understanding the synthesis of the installations and population migration from region to region.



Fig. 12

2. Collect old photographs and take new ones. The pupils collected old black-and-white photographs that depicted the landscape at different periods of time, characteristic scenes of daily life and scenes of significant events. They supplemented their collection with new photographs taken during the course of their visits.
3. Study the bibliography and the archives about every village. They studied the bibliography in the Municipal Library of Kato Achaia and the Municipal Library of Patras. Old maps – as those of the Expedition Scientifique de Moree and C. Koryllos – helped the pupils to seek in them settlements and toponyms of their region

and wonder about the time of development of settlements, the change of names during the different periods of time, as well as the problems of cartography. Old censuses, such as those made during the Ottoman and the Venetian period helped in the same direction. Children looked there for their village or town and compared the population during that time to the one nowadays. In collaboration with a local historian, they visited the archive of the Municipality of Kato Achaia and were informed on the content of the documents and their significance, and saw some of the documents which refer to important events of different times and enlighten instances of the local history.



Fig. 13

4. Visit archaeological sites. The pupils visited an excavation site (*fig. 13*) that is being restored in the town of Kato Achaia, where the chief archaeologist explained to them that the ruins of the building that had been discovered belonged to the SE suburb of the town during the Roman times and that dating was carried out based on ceramic technology. He went on to give them a first interpretation of the functions of the individual rooms of the building. The pupils also visited ancient monuments as well as other monuments dating back to the Middle Ages that had been found in the region and recorded their observations of the architecture and degree of preservation.

5. Study old and new buildings, take pictures or make drawings of them. The pupils wandered around the villages of the community or the suburbs of the town and observed the different methods used for the construction of the buildings that

belonged to different periods of time. They recorded the more important data, drew view and ground plans and photographed characteristic parts of the village or suburbs that depicted the physiognomy of every aspect. On one occasion they also used a video camera.



Fig. 14

6. Study the traditional work of the inhabitants. They uncovered old technicians who still carried out their professions that had declined, such as ironmongers, shoemakers, horseshoers, tailors, masons, fishmans/fishwomen (*fig. 14*) etc. These technicians were interviewed, they discussed the tools they used, their customers and the especial difficulties of their trade, and the craftsmen ended by expressing their complaints about the modern times.

All these were realised by the children with great seriousness and satisfaction. Most of the expeditions to the villages were organised by the children. In some of them we participated, as well, in order to give advice and encourage their work. All the data was classified, evaluated and entered into the computer (*fig. 15*).

In the last lesson I tried to link local history with national and international history, evaluating their progress by repeating the questionnaire I had given them at the beginning and emphasising the significance of the whole project. This time in all instances they gave the correct answers. The presentation of the project (*fig. 16*) was the excuse for informal discussions between the local residents, the local newspaper pub-

lished the works of the pupils in instalments and local bodies became interested in the compilation of books on the history of the settlements.



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

It should be noted at this point that the topic “negotiated” by the pupils is very broad and covers a great spectrum of other topics that will be discussed later. During these “negotiations” the pupils had the opportunity to understand the fundamental importance of the “community” in local history. This project -with the proper adaptation- constituted the core for the compilation of the “Local History Dossier”, a lendable packet used by the Prefecture of Achaia for the guidance of teachers in the “Local History Network”. This will also be expanded on later.

4.1.4. Project 4: The agricultural cultivations

The second subject was the study of “the traditional ways of cultivation in the area”. After I had introduced the children to the crucial points in the history of agriculture, I divided them in 4 groups in order to:

1. Read ancient sources on the agricultural activities and comment on. One of the children of that group studied the book “Works and days” of Hesiod. He made a summary of the content and codified the advice which Hesiod gives to his brother. Another student had to comment on the “Oikonomikos” of Xenophon, while the third had to study copies of some Byzantine manuscripts which include information on and drawings of the tools used by the peasants of that period to cultivate the land.



Fig. 17

2. Visit local communities and interview the locals, asking how is the land utilised in their community today as opposed to previous years and which agricultural products were produced during the different periods of time. It was discovered that there were long periods where cultivations such as raisins, citrus fruits, cereals, olives, grapes, etc. were preferred. This choice was governed by various economical, political and social factors. Also the fact that the quest for lands and cultivations caused population reclassifications that changed the map of the region, and which in turn brought about new transitions at all levels. The pupils also examined

the breakdown of labour according to gender and age and commented on the participation of the whole family in the production cycle. In certain cases they observed the work involved in the collecting of olives and they also went on to record the remaining work required during the course of the year.

3. Mark the field boundaries (*fig. 17*). In order to understand the land use in ancient times, I collected maps and aerial photographs of the region and showed the pupils the demarcation lines that indicate the boundaries of the fields. I explained to them that when many lines together are in parallel, this may mean that the borders of these fields were determined during a specific period of time. Later I showed them how research to date on identifying ancient land registries has managed to pinpoint the extent of the ancient Roman land registries in Achaia. Therefore, based on this information I asked them to recreate on paper the boundaries of the lands of the Roman Era (*fig. 18*) and to comment on the sites of the monuments dating back to and before the same era, and also to make comparisons with the current boundaries of the fields.

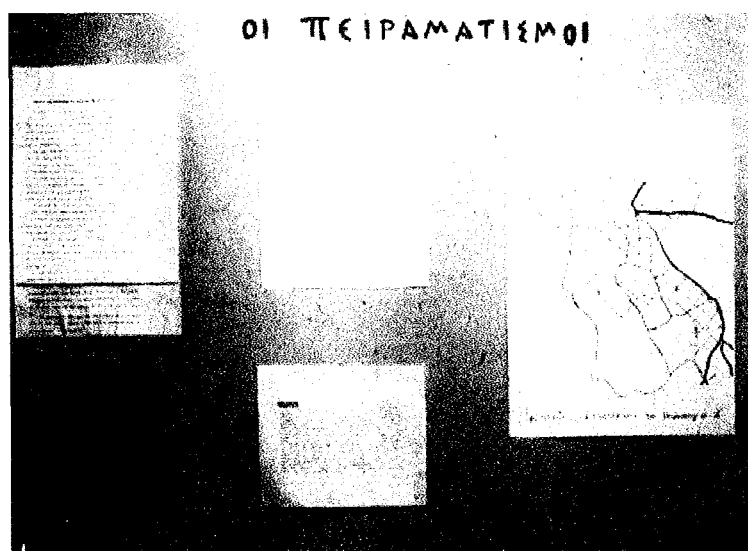


Fig. 18

4. Study the settlement pattern of the area from the results of a surface survey (see also, *fig. 18*). The students studied the settlement pattern of all periods through the results of the intensive survey of Achaia. As it is known, the survey of Achaia is a collaboration between the Ephorates of Classical and Byzantine Antiquities and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity/N.R.F. The project includes extensive

and intensive survey. The pupils learnt how people during the various periods of time chose the areas where they stayed and built their homes, how their residential preferences gradually changed, what factors influenced this, where were the fields that they cultivated, where were the forests and cemeteries, etc.

During their work on the project, we visited the museum of folk art in Patras and the children had the opportunity to be guided by somebody there. The Museum of Folk Art of Patras includes objects showing the lifestyle and the way of production in the pre-industrial society. The students took pictures of what impressed them and was useful for their work. After the end of the guidance, they participated in a game which is called: “A day in the grandpa’s village”. Through the game they learnt much on the use of the tools, the construction materials and the way of life of the elder people.



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

At the same time, they occupied with the experimental use of tools, like the loom, the plough, the sickle, etc., which they had collected or, in some instances, made them themselves. More specifically, a girl made a model of a Neolithic axe of bone, stone and wood (*fig. 19*) and tried to dig. Another girl made a model of a Mycenaean tablet (*fig. 20*), which referred to an agricultural matter of that time. The student, who studied the text of Hesiod, made also a wooden model of Hesiod’s plough (*figs. 21 & 22*). Two girls who collected many old agricultural tools demonstrated to their school-mates how they were used by the peasants and, finally, cut corn by hand using a metal

sickle (*fig. 23*). The children enjoyed very much these exercises and at the same time understood in a vivid way what they studied theoretically. At the end of the year they presented in the public the basic points on the progress of the agricultural cultivation, and showed the old agricultural tools which they had collected and the models of the tools that they had made and used.

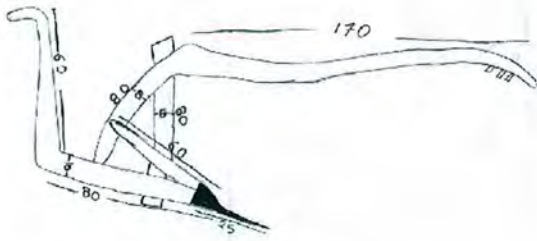


Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

4.1.5. Project 5: The archaeologist’s land

The same year I had another occasion to work for a day with a group of children belonging to a local scout troop. They have visited my village as “the archaeologist’s land”. In collaboration with my colleague Helene Simoni I set up an one-day project for them. Firstly, we have shown them around the village for a while. They had to

find whatever they believed constituted an historical object. Only a few of them have written down some houses as old (some of them are new actually!) but they didn't pay any attention to small objects or the parts of these houses (walls, tiles etc.). They were understanding the old as worn out, rotten, ruined (*fig. 24*). But they have also written down, as old, features of the natural environment. Then we have presented to them our experience in three stages:

a) Tour of the village. Remarking, recording and drawing old and new buildings. Interviewing the villagers.

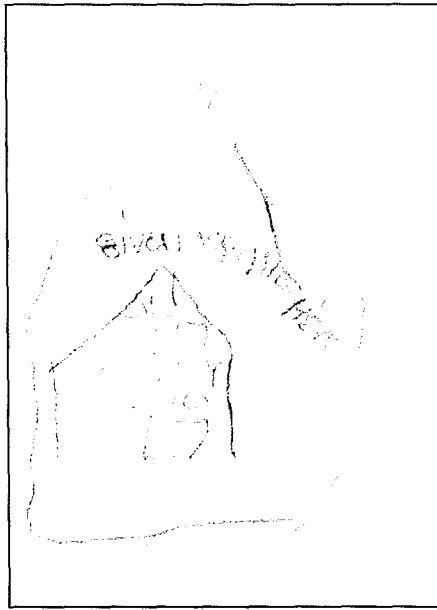


Fig. 24

They understood the way that we judge the chronology of a building and have started to distinguish the old buildings from the new ones by paying attention to the structure of a building and the materials such as stones, bricks, tiles. Through the interviews they approached the way that peasants experience the past. They understood that there is incomplete information on the matter, but this is not translated into embarrassment and inaction. In contrast, there is an interest for learning and dynamic intervention in many matters which have to do with the use of the past.

b) Trying to find more information about the history of the village using intensive survey techniques. Analysing the results.

We have explained to them in simple words what follows after the collapse of buildings and how traces may remain on the surface. A part of the material can be re-used for new buildings in the area. The rest is buried gradually and later some parts may be exposed during ploughing. Afterwards, they participated in a mini intensive

survey. At this stage they understood which material is important for archaeological work and how we can manipulate it.

c) They washed the collected sherds (*fig. 25*), classified and recorded them. They also used plasticine to make models of whole vases.



Fig. 25

We felt that this was the most difficult part of the project, but the children however managed to cope quite well under our guidance. Of course the classification of the potsherds was very broad, such as grooved, decorated, rims, bases, etc. The same was true with the chronology of the potsherds; they were given certain general rules concerning the chronological limits of the potsherds that have certain characteristics, such as the black-coloured, combed, glazed, etc.

Our working together with the scout troop showed that interest in archaeology and the past in general can be developed in children of differing ages, irrespective of how advanced is their knowledge of history and their sense of time. Short-term projects that are concluded are in many ways preferable to those that last the full school year, provided they are well organised, they are offered at regular periods and they basically follow a predetermined plan. The reactions of the children should not surprise us, they should rather be the impetus for us to examine the degree of understanding of the data, the validity of the plan that we drew up and consequently to implement necessary improvements.

4.1.6. Project 6: The landscape archaeology of the Kato Achaia region

Early last year some of my students approached me and told me that they had already formed a team to study the archaeology of the area. We named our project “Landscape archaeology of the Kato Achaia region”. I gave them a questionnaire not only to find out their knowledge about the area of study but also to trace their attitudes and wishes. It included questions like: ‘Is the history of my family a part of Greek history’, ‘Has my village as important a history as Athens, Sparta and Macedonia’, ‘Where can we get information about the history of my locality’, ‘Did any historical or archaeological projects take place in my area’, ‘What will I do if I find an object of historical value’, ‘How will the society be more sensitive to its past’ and so on.



Fig. 26

Then, the children were divided in 4 groups to study the bibliography, the archaeological techniques, the museum exhibitions and the old houses. A fifth group was added later.

1. The children who worked on the bibliography had to extract all the historical information on the area that is verified by archaeological research. The basis of this study was the text by the traveller Pausanias. The pupils tried to identify the cities and monuments that he refers to -based on data gathered from recent research- and then to try and visualise the landscape that he came across in his travels. They

tery kilns that were discovered recently, a part of the wall of ancient Dimi, etc.) that are situated in the region. It noted on the topographical map of the town the classification of the more significant findings in the region into time periods, and based on this data the group attempted to colour in the residential areas (*fig. 27*). In this manner the movement of interests through time and place was understood and ways in which to interpret this phenomenon were proposed.

3. Another group prepared a visit to the museum of Patras and guided their schoolmates. They enjoyed this visit because I had the opportunity to enrich it with several games. The members of that group collected information on the Museum at Patras and arranged the guided tour for their fellow-pupils. Through this playing the pupils came to understand the format of the exhibition at the museum and the usages of the objects. They managed to approach the way of thinking of the people that inhabited the various periods of time and went on to make comparisons with today's way of life.



Fig. 28

4. Some others studied the old houses writing down a detailed description and taking pictures. The objective of this group was the old suburb of the town, where it discovered houses dating back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The group observed the evolvement of the art of building, it differentiated the large stone workshops and recorded all the details. At the same time the pupils inter-

viewed their owners and searched for old ownership titles or photographic material.

5. The last group found a local ancient myth about Hercules and the Centaurs and tried to dramatise it (*fig. 28*). This group was created during the course of the project and was comprised of those pupils who had hesitated to join one of the above-mentioned groups. After discussing the matter with them, I encouraged them to realise their thoughts. I asked a colleague of mine who had been involved with theatrical presentations at school to help them discreetly. The true is that the pupils wrote the scenario themselves, they decided what costumes they would wear and they parcelled out the roles. This theatrical show was incorporated into the more general presentation of the project, as it is described below.



Fig. 29

With the same enthusiasm was set up the presentation of their work to the public (*figs. 29, 30 & 31*). All the works became part of a play. The scenario was as follows: an object with archaeological value gives reason for discussion in a class where the children present their work. With the aid of their teacher they are initiated into archaeological method and starting from the present become transferred through time and entered the sphere of myth. I gave them the same questionnaire at the end of the project to evaluate their progress.

As is obvious, in these projects several methods were tested and the performance of the students was examined. Indeed, they enjoyed all the activities, which did not remind them of the usual pressure at school. The inclination of every child defined the method followed and was decisive for the final success. Their attempts were remarkable. In fact a great part of their work can be valuable for enlightening the history of their communities and it is not a game for educational purposes.



Fig. 30



Fig. 31

4.2. Expanding the projects

The success of the first projects encouraged me to make a strenuous effort, so as to ameliorate the method, expand the ideas and cover more geographic regions. Schools in Achaia and, then, Arcadia were the places where more systematic work was done on Local History and Archaeology through the Environmental Education syllabus. I will present the basic points of study and results that came out of the projects that I supervised there. I will take the Gymnasium of Vrachneika as a specific case-study and I will present it in detail. I will conclude with some general remarks on special points of my work with the teachers, the students and the local community.

4.2.1. *The Local History project*

During the school years 1996-97 and 1997-98, I set up a project in Achaia aiming to cover the whole of the prefecture and based on my previous experience. The project operated within the Environmental Education syllabus. The first year the reaction was limited (*Appendix I & II*). From the 24 schools which applied to set up a Local His-

tory project, only 4 asked for support from the Environmental Education Office. From these, one was a Primary School, two were Gymnasias and one was a Lyceum. The Lyceum and the Primary School lie in the western Achaean plain - the Primary School belongs to the same community as the village where I live - but in previous years had not carried out any Local History projects, whereas in the Environmental Education they had made good progress. The two Gymnasias lie in the Patras periphery and had a good tradition in Local History projects. The limited acceptance for support must be explained not only because of the new-appearance of the project but mostly because information of the schools and teachers possibly interested arrived late.

Next year, the project expanded to cover schools over almost all the prefecture. From the 24 schools which applied to set up a Local History project, 18 asked for support from the Environmental Education Office. The schools which did not ask for any support, were 3 Lycea, 2 Technical and Vocational Schools and 1 Evening School. But one of the three Lycea left the project without finishing it, and the other two continued their own projects from the previous year. Finally, in the projects of the remaining three schools, despite the title, Local History was of secondary interest.

The first year, for the projects' support a portfolio for the teachers was prepared, which contained instructions, information, bibliography, museum projects etc. to begin with. It was named "The Local History Portfolio" and reproduced in seven copies. The teachers could borrow a copy of it for a week or ten days time at maximum from the Environmental Education Office in Patras and from the two Environmental Centres in Akrata and in Kleitoria. By the end of the year ten teachers from different schools had borrowed this portfolio, but only 2 or 3 schools actually used it. It seems that the vast amount of information included in it and its moderate appearance did not make it really useful. During individual communication with teachers who used this, it became clear that what was needed better organised material.

Therefore, during the second year, I withdrew it and I left only one copy in each of the above three places for further help. To replace it, I made a dossier, named 'The Local History Dossier', with a more systematic and simpler structure (*Appendix III*). Its parts were clearly discernible and it included some forms which could be completed during the work in the field or in the *kafeneia* (coffee-shops) interviews. The

main point was that it included a proposed schedule so that the teacher be ready to propose the next step during the few meetings with the students every month. In the end, twenty four schools borrowed this dossier, the teachers asserted that they found it very interesting and they used it, more or less, to build their projects.

Fig. 32



Fig. 33

In 1996-97, there also took place two training meetings in Akrata (*figs. 32 & 33*) and Patras, which 40 teachers from the whole prefecture participated in. In these meetings the teachers reported on the development of the Local History projects up to then and their link with Environmental Education. Then, my project was presented and some of

the best projects of the previous years. In the meetings it became clear that a network should be formulated for a better communication between the schools and better operation of the projects. In the second meeting all the teachers expressed a desire to participate in such a network.

The network was realised next year and the meetings limited to the teachers who already belonged in it. Three main meetings took place by the end of the year with the whole group of the teachers, but at the same time I had many other individual meetings with them in the Environmental Education Office and in the schools. A network was realised also by two of the Primary Schools I was supervising. Lastly, the experimental entry of some of the projects' results on the Internet opened a new window for our network (*Appendix IV*).

4.2.2. The school projects

Some of the basic points of those projects which were supervised by me are the following (see also, *Appendix I*):

1. Primary Schools

2nd Primary School of Aigion

“ Getting to know the cultural treasures of our area ”

Teachers: Barba Fotini

Students: 20 of the 3rd grade

The basic objective of the project was for the pupils to become acquainted with the cultural treasures found in the region and to approach the historical magnitude of the monuments. The individual objectives were: (1) The acquiring of systematic knowledge and experience in the interactions of man and landscape through time, (2) Making pupils aware of the problems of the town, (3) Learning the town through the intimate environment, (4) Historical flashback and (5) Understanding the position and the significance of the town with respect to the Prefecture and the rest of Greece.

There was limited time to apply the project because the work cycle began in March 1998. At first, written material and old photographs relating to the town were collected with the help of parents. At the same time the pupils were given topographical maps on which they located their neighbourhood, their school and their houses. This map was also used during the visits.

The pupils were then divided into groups that then visited the lower town, the port, the raisin storage areas, the upper town, the market, the Monastery of Taxiarches, the Hermitage of the Holy Louka, the Metropolis and the Town Hall, where they discussed matters with local bodies. During these visits the pupils took photographs of the monuments, recorded the professions of the residents and their viewpoints, and also recorded the fauna and flora. They also encountered various problems at the monuments such as pollution, noise, etc.

At school all the information was processed and presented by the groups. The pupils approached the subject in question systematically, pointing out historical and folkloric information, discussing the effects of the environment on the monuments and compiling proposals that could be included in future plans for preserving the existing environment. They constructed a board with comparative photographs of the monuments and a herbarium of the flora in the region. Finally, they read out the poems of Aigiot poets and they sang and danced the well-known song “Orea Aigiotissa” (=Beautiful Aigiot Woman). The project was presented in June at an event given by the Environment Education Office in Aigio.

Primary School of Achaikon

“ The Peiros river and the surroundings: history through centuries”

Teachers: Ladas Panagiotis

Students: 7 of all grades

The interest of the teacher and pupils and the easy access to the neighbouring river lead to the choice of this project at the small school in Achaia. Getting to know and recording the local cultural heritage, acquiring knowledge and experience in the interactions of man and landscape through time and the linkage of local history with environmental education were set as the objectives of the project. The school collaborated

with the school at Kato Alissos that was implementing a similar topic the same year. Thus, a network was created.



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

At first the pupils collected existing bibliography (*fig. 34*) on the history of their village and the Piros river. With my assistance they compiled their family tree and searched for mention of their village in censuses ranging from the First Ottoman period to today. They twice visited the village under study, photographed characteristic sites and video-recorded monuments and environmentally downgraded regions. In continuation, they visited the Archaeological Museum and the Museum of Folk Art in Patras (*fig. 35*). At the former an archaeologist from the Eforeia of Antiquities acted as their guide, giving them a brief outline of the region's history. At the Museum of Folk Art their interest was focused on the artefacts that were exhibited, depicting the objects used by their grandparents. The pupils presented their project to the public at the end of the school year.

Primary School of Aigeira

"Our roots"

Teachers: Papachristopoulos A.

Students: 20 of the 2nd grade

The project concerned the local and environmental history of Aigira. It began as an attempt to help the children learn about their ancestors and through this knowledge to observe and understand the different changes that have taken place with the passing of time: (a) in the environment, (b) in the professions, (c) in habits and the way of dressing, (d) in the landscape due to building activities and (e) to detect the depopulation of the highland villages due to internal migration to the coastal regions.

The pupils were informed as to these objectives and in continuation, they were given a knowledge evaluation test before the commencement of the project. In this manner pre-existing knowledge of the history of their families and their region was evaluated. This initial test in conjunction with a corresponding one given at the end of the project, helped in the final evaluation of the success of the project and the knowledge acquired by the pupils.

This was followed by the gradual issuance of a series of questionnaires concerning the origins and professional activities of the father, the mother, the mother's parents and the great-grandparents of the children. Photographs of the children's ancestors and the

villages of their origins - as they were then and as they are today - were collected. The interviews that were carried out gave information on the life in general and accounts concerning events that took place during the period of their grandparents. The children worked individually as well as together with their fellow-pupils and their teachers. Information gained mainly from their family environment was exchanged and then classified and evaluated in the class. During the course of the project, it was linked to corresponding lessons in various chapters in the school books; for example, the lessons on “the village” and “the weaver” (mill-girl) in Language and the chapter on “settlements” in History.

The children verified: (1) the change of the farming occupation to other professions and a desertion of the fields. More specifically, the population involved today in farming activities as their major occupation is approximately 1/3 of those involved during the time of their grandparents. In addition, women are also working in jobs outside the house and personal property, (2) Few of today’s residents of Aigira are involved in the land. The majority hail from the highland villages or even from other parts of Greece such as Agrinio, Iraklio, Manolada and Evros, (3) Since Aigira developed relatively recently from small settlements into a village, it is natural that in recent years there has been active construction work. This was verified by the comparison of old photographs that were presented. It was stressed that the decline of the agricultural population and its conversion to that of semi-urban, together with the development of built-up areas and tourism, had a direct effect on the environment, both in Aigira as well as in other regions.

In presenting their project, the children explained their family tree that they themselves had constructed on a large poster, together with notes on their places of origin, the dates when each person arrived in Aigira and other relevant information. On a map of Greece and the Prefecture and on a schematic diagram they presented the movement of their families, linking their places of origin to Aigira with lines. Old tools and other objects such as clothes, oil-lamps, irons, coffee grinders, were also exhibited. At the same time there was a re-enactment of the occupations associated with these objects.

“Our roots”

Teachers: Mamona C.

Students: 20 of the 3rd grade

Teacher and students of this project were co-operated with those of the previous project and have formulated a network. Therefore, the reasons of choosing the subject, the specific objectives and the operated techniques-activities of this project were the same as the above mentioned.

Primary School of Ano Alissos

“ Local History and Environmental Education: Population and occupations”

Teachers: Kotsina-Misiakouli Katerina & Niaros Spyros

Students: 25 of the 3rd-6th grade

The project began as a result of the chapters from the books “Environmental Study” and “History”, which refer to how settlements were created (in its broadest sense) and to local history. The objective was for every child to learn the history of his/her family, the route of his/her ancestors through both inside and outside Greek sovereign land and finally to process this information in order to see how the settlement of Alissos was formed.

During the first phase the children collected data for their family tree. This phase took quite some time because the majority of the parents could not help the children, who then had to resort to their grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc., most of who lived some distance away. With respect to time, a significant aspect was the fact that this was the first time that the teachers and pupils were participating in an Environmental Educational project.

After about two months the pupils gathered all the information they could find and compiled their family tree on a cardboard poster. During this phase the children also collected information on the birthplaces of their ancestors, their professions, where they carried out their professions, as well as the reasons why these persons migrated from place to place. A rudimentary questionnaire was drawn up to assist in the collection of this information.

At the end of this phase each child recorded in chronological order all the important data relating to the history of its parents. In addition, the pupils from the two higher classes prepared a map of Greece on which they depicted with coloured lines the course of their ancestors that terminated at Alissos.

The next phase of the project was its presentation to the other pupils of the school and to members of the local community of Alissos. This took place at a special event in June with the participation of many residents, the president of the Community, local officials from the Environmental Education Office and the School Board. Each child dressed appropriately and depicted an ancestor of his, re-enacting the ancestor's occupation with the use of old utensils and tools, and also reciting the history of this person (*fig. 36*). At the same time there was an exhibition in the school hall of memoirs



Fig. 36

of the ancestors, with various utensils and tools brought from their homes by the pupils. Other than the significant success of the event and the happiness of the children, of equal significance was also the fact that the children learnt much about their families and their village.

Primary School of Kato Alissos

"The Peiros river and the surroundings"

Teachers: Stefanopoulos Stefanos

Students: 30 of the 4th-6th grade

Teacher and students of this project were cooperated with those of the Primary School of Achaikon and have formulated a network. Therefore, the reasons of choosing the subject and the specific objectives were the same as the above mentioned. The operated techniques-activities were almost the same, as well. However, there was given the opportunity for more systematic work, as this school is bigger and I managed to guide the workgroup intensively. Some points of their work are the followed:

1. Completion by the pupils of a questionnaire concerning historical details from their own environment (their family, their village, their community, their prefecture) as well as their perception of local history.
2. Compilation of the family tree of the pupils in order to realise the above objectives.
3. Visiting the Archaeological Museum (*fig. 37*) and the Museum of Folk Art in Patras with my participation, where the pupils acquainted themselves with objects that present the way of life and production cycle of the pre-industrial society. After their visit the pupils played an educational game that was linked to everything they has seen during the tour.



Fig. 37

4. Wandering around the streets of the village -again with my participation- and observing the architecture of the houses, reading the map and finding the position of the village and the taking of photographs and slides (*fig. 38*).



Fig. 38

5. Visiting and walking around the old bridge on the Piros river at Panagitsa, where the church of the same name is also situated (*fig. 39*). The pupils here separated into groups and studied the following with the aid of their teachers and my



Fig. 39

contribution: The first group examined and studied the Piros river; the second group the new bridge in contrast to the old one, remnants of which can still be seen in the river; the third group the area surrounding the river; the fourth group the church; and the fifth group the village of Kato Alissos. At the end the leader of each group recorded their observations.

6. Visiting and walking along the estuaries of the Piros river in Bouka (*fig. 40*). The pupils observed the flora and fauna around the river, and they were amazed to see dolphins in the sea a short distance from the estuaries. Fishing with the use of “bizovolos” by local fishermen impressed the pupils, while “fishing with dynamite” by an unscrupulous fisherman was an unpleasant experience for them. The pupils then visited the country church of Agios Nikolaos situated on a hill next to the estuaries of the river. After reading an inscription on a marble plaque that informed them as to when the church was built, they toured the adjacent village and learnt about its traditions and history, as well as the history of the little harbour that existed at the estuaries of the river. The river trip from Achaiko to the estuaries was also video-recorded.



Fig. 40

7. Interviewing L. Spiliotopoulos, an elderly resident, with the pupils taking on the role of the reporter. The questions put to him concerned the name of the village, the places of origin of its residents, the river and its surroundings, the country churches of “Panagitsa” and “Agios Nikolaos” and in general, whatever else was related to the history of the region. The complete interview was taped.

8. Presenting the local history project by the pupils within the school. The project was evaluated and it was deduced that the above-mentioned objectives had been achieved.

2. Gymnasia

4th Gymnasium of Patras

“ The castle of Patras and the surroundings ”

Teachers: Betti Klio – Bolieraki Konstantina

Students: 32 of the 3rd grade

Involvement with the Castle of Patras by the same school in previous projects and the desire of the pupils to involve themselves with this specific theme were the factors that lead to its selection. The objectives were to make the children aware of matters that concerned their local history, allow them to communicate with adults and to use expressive means to make the understanding of the structure of the castle more effective.

The project began with studying the results of a previous project on the castle that had been carried out by pupils of the school. The pupils presented their results in class and drew up a work plan. The activities were allotted to groups in accordance with the interests, inclinations and capabilities of each child.

In continuation, the pupils visited the study site, looked for the characteristic points in the castle that they had studied and set targets for “negotiating” the allotted topic that they had undertaken. They did not limit themselves to information that they had already collected, they sought additional data through interviews with expert archaeologists and architects as to the functions of the buildings, when they were constructed, what materials were used in their construction, etc. These interviews were carried out at the study site. In this manner they had the opportunity to identify, compare and discuss construction details and matters of tactics and defence. Interviews were also continued along neighbouring roads, their names, the customs and habits of the people that resided there. These people gave another dimension to the region that was completely different from the purely scientific one. The past for them was not the way of life, the dimensions, the construction materials or the defence purposes of the castle. To them the castle was their neighbourhood encompassed with memories of factual events that had occurred in the recent past. The castle was the symbol that brought back these memories.

The information derived from the interviews were supplemented with new material collected from examination of the bibliography found in local libraries. All the data was classified and entered into a computer. The pupils also bought a topographical map and noted on it the toponyms, and they named the various sections of the castle. But the project did not stop here. They planned and executed a small role-play based on local traditions. A significant factor that affected the direction of the project was also played by one of the women teachers who had experience in the artistic sector. Some pupils erected their palettes opposite the castle and began to paint various aspects of the wall. Others sketched and constructed a model of the castle, while the remaining pupils photographed the wall and the architectural structures. All this was presented to the public at the end of the project, who were visibly impressed. The children displayed the methods they utilised and excerpts of their work, while at the same time there was an exhibition of their construction works, tables and photographic materials.

4th Gymnasium of Patras

“Vineyards and Achaia: a historical, folklore and economic approach”

Teachers: Kapageridou Elissavet – Betti Klio – Papamichalopoulou Ageliki – Lazou Xenia

Students: 40 of the 1st-3rd grade

The aim of the project was the study of the diachronic course of viticulture in the area of Achaia and the correlation of the past to the present. Myth and History are encountered in Achaia through the roads of the wine, by giving the possibility of knowledge and communication concerning the region. Studying the subject in question gave the pupils the opportunity to communicate not only with the production sites and the means that are used, but also with local producers and consumers, with the organs that are involved with the procedure and with their fellow-pupils with whom they collaborated and had fun. Local history was therefore the pretext for them to learn about their region as well as to love it.

Students approached with multiple means the natural environment and local history, by searching:

1. The tradition of the region. The students collected proverbs and toponyms related with the cultivation of vineyards by interviewing the locals. They also recorded food habits where grapes and vine take a central place.
2. The geography of viticulture in the prefecture of Achaia. They made a map where they put the main centres of the wine production and the different trees.
3. The production of other products. They recorded all the subproducts of grape, such as vinegar, ouzo, raisins, the way of their production and the tools which are used in this process.
4. The role of Chemistry in wine processes. In collaboration with the University of Patras they studied the process of change the must into wine.
5. The economic role of the vineyards in the wider region of Patras. The significance of viniculture for the economy and in extension, for the social and demographic mobilisation in the Patras region, was studied. As is known, many residents of the highland villages migrated to the lowlands as a result of the increase in the price of raisins after the Revolution, thus creating coastal villages. Certain families became wealthy and powerful and played an important role in the social and political spheres of Greece.
6. The contribution of *Achaia Clauss* in the economic and social development of the area. The history of the renowned factory built by the German Gustav Clauss near the city of Patras, which for centuries has commanded a large share in Achaian production and has dominated the exports sector. The activities of Clauss have become a part of local mythology. One such myth recounts that Mavrodafni, the name of one of the most palatable wines in Achaia, was a Greek daughter that Clauss fell in love with. The pupils created a dramatic play based on the tale of their love and presented it to the public at the end of the project.

Interviews with structured questionnaires, visits to sites relating to the subject under study (the University, Achaia Clauss, other wineries) and research of the bibliography were again some of the basic means of approaching and studying the topic. During the work, they contacted with the *Liceo Classico-Gimnasio* of Gaglari, which studied a relevant subject and they formulated a network within the framework of interdisciplinary students' mobility programmes.

1. *“Upper city: A contribution to the development of the urban landscape of Patras”*
2. *“The castle of Patras and its neighborhood”*

Teacher: Dimogli Margarita

Students: 17 of the 3rd grade

18 of the 1st grade

Lack of knowledge of the local cultural heritage led teachers and students to choose working on two Local History projects. Main objective of the projects were to make pupils aware of the town and the understanding of spatial development. The method was the same as in previous projects and proceeded as follows:

- 1) Gathering evidence-information. The pupils collected all the existing bibliography relating to the topic. They then visited the site armed with maps supplied by Topographical Department of the Municipality that showed the sites of the monuments and traditional buildings. They were guided around the castle by an archaeologist from the local Archaeology Department, followed by interviews with local inhabitants and photographs of the monuments that had been studied.
- 2) Classification of evidence-information.
- 3) Announcement-Report
- 4) Evaluation

21st Gymnasium of Patras

“Local History and Environment”

Teachers: Tseregounis Dimitrios – Spyratou Efrosyni – Kokkinou Aggeliki

Students: 29 of the 2nd grade

With the same objectives as in the previous projects, teachers and students chose to work on a Local History project, which covered the area around their home and school. The work was implemented in three levels:

1. Editing their family tree (*fig. 41*). Pupils of this group have searched data of their family tree, the roots of which in some pupils reach the year 1777. The work has gathered in the form of an outline, and it has written in descriptive presentation through computers.

2. Collecting historical evidence. With the perspective from today towards the past, the group has preoccupied regarding the region of the 21st Gymnasium. There is

made a recording and presentation of squares, religious buildings and roads of the region.



Fig. 41

3. History of the 21st Gymnasium. Gathering evidence since the foundation of the school up to our days.



Fig. 42

During the project the students took pictures of the monuments of the area (*fig. 42*) and visited the archaeological museum. Finally, they presented their work to the school, the local authorities and the parents' association.

Experimental Gymnasium of Patras (Lagoura)

“ Study of the cultural environment of Patras ”

Teachers: Kolintiri Georgia

Students: 32 of the 3rd grade

The students interest to study the cultural environment of the city of Patras led their school to choose this subject in order to help them learning about cultural heritage, the interaction of man and landscape through time, linking today and tomorrow, and

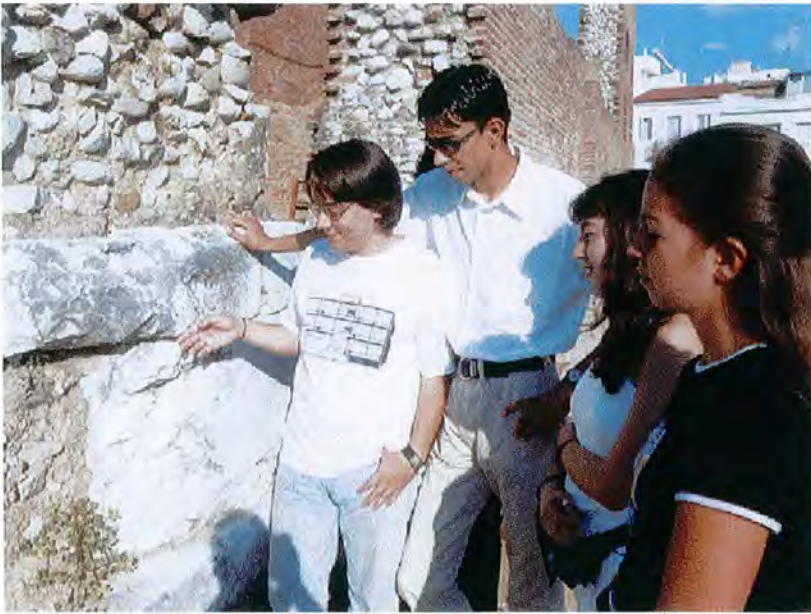


Fig. 43

alerting them on today's way of living. At the beginning of the project a questionnaire was given to determine the level of knowledge, the inclinations and the interests of the pupils. Based on the results of the questionnaire and the profile of each pupil, they were inducted into groups using the project method. Each group adopted a large monument in the city and in the region (Ancient Odeum [fig. 43], Castle, Museums) in order to study it. At the same time the pupils visited a restorative excavation site in the centre of Patras, where they learnt that the archaeologists -with the systematic discovery of ancient artefacts under the modern city- will be able to reconstruct the street layout of the ancient city. Other museums and archaeological sites situated in the suburbs of the city were also visited, as was the Archaeological Department, where the pupils interviewed the Departmental Head and asked him about the progress of the excavations. Comparative visits were also carried out to the Museum of Ancient

Olympia and the Museum of the Greek Parliament. The data that was collected constituted the material for the publication of an album and for the presentation of the project at the school.

2nd Gymnasium of Aigion

“History, culture and customs of our city”

Teachers: Sora Mariana – Tarnari Fotini

Students: 20 of the 2nd grade

The project focused on the accumulation of historical and folkloric material from the region, with the main objectives of the project being exposure of the pupils to their cultural past and reinforcement of their love for the region. The pupils –in collaboration with other persons or bodies that maintain private files, the Folkloric Society, the Municipal Library and the bookstores- collected informational and photographic material which they enriched with interviews of the local residents. This material was the basis for the publication of a calendar.

Gymnasium of Diakopton

“Local History – History of Diakopton”

Teachers: Efthimiou Odysseas – Vidalis Michalis

Students: 23 of the 3rd grade

After seeing the interest expressed by the children, the above-mentioned teachers chose the familiarisation of the pupils with scientific research and methodology as the objective of the project. Local history was considered to be a suitable field for the development of mental collaboration between the children and the strengthening of knowledge derived from school lessons. The projects of the children were based to a large degree on their personal and group research since there are no books that refer to the history of Diakopto. The implementation of the project was assisted by the fact that one of the teachers had specialised in archaeology.

Gymnasium of Ovría

“Environmental Education and Local History”

Teachers: Tseregounis Dimitrios

Students: 8 of the 3rd grade

Information was collected on the history and ethnology of the region where the pupils resided and where the school was situated, from reading the relevant bibliography and on-site interviews with local residents. The project method was utilised. A large part of the project was linked to the Environmental Study.

Gymnasium of Vrachneika

“Vrachneika: In search of the roots of our place”

Teachers: Lagou Gely – Petsa Eleni

Students: 35 of the 2nd grade

The group explored the history of the village. *See, below.*

3. Gymnasias and Lycea

Gymnasium of Aigeira + Lyceum of Aigeira

“The old churches of the area”

Teachers: Bogri-Oikonomou Maria – Vernikos Stylianos – Xatzimanoli Eirini

Students: 25 of the 1st-3rd grade



Fig. 44

The existence of many old and remarkable churches in the region that need to be recorded and promoted was the impetus that led the teachers and pupils of the school to choose this specific topic. Amongst the hoped for objectives was not only to record and to study the churches but also to promote their special characteristics and their importance for the region so as to mobilise the local population to pro-

mote them and preserve them. For this reason the monuments were visited many times during which they were studied (*fig. 44*), photographed and videoed. All existing bibliography on each church was collected and entered into a database. Additional information was supplied by the Archaeological Museum and the churches, while selective interviews of the villagers were also carried out. At the end of the project brochures and albums containing an analysis of the method used, a brief report on each monument and proposals for its utilisation and protection were printed.

Gymnasium of Chalandritsa + Lyceum of Chalandritsa

“ A contribution to the local history of Chalandritsa ”

Teachers: Sereti Eleni

Students: 35 of 1st-2nd grade of Gymnasium & 1st-2nd grade of Lyceum

The intention to record, study and promote local history played a significant role in the guidance of this project. More specifically, the object under study was the history of the village, the monuments and the customs of the residents. The greater part of the material was derived from on-site research. The efforts by the pupils, especially in researching the customs, brought to light data concerning the social life of the residents over the past 100 years. That which stood out in this project was the role of the various social groups and their contribution to the formation of viewpoints that predominate even today. For example, the role of the monks from the nearby Monastery of Panagia Chrysopodaritissa in formulating popular religious sentiments. The presentation of the project was accompanied by local songs and dances and the reading of poems relating to local history and traditions.

4. Lycea

Lyceum of Kamares

“Archaeological sites of our area”

Teacher: Polychronopoulos Panos

Students: 15 of the 1st-2nd grade

The aim of the project was to shift the interest of children towards the history and the monumental past of the region, as it has been inhabited since ancient times almost

uninterruptedly up to now, and has its own share in the Greek history and tradition. Reference points are the well-known saying by Pausanias: Port of Erineos, Wall of Athena and the ancient city of Rypes, as well as the Medieval Castle of Orgia and the site of Hellenika.

They began with the ordinary organising procedures that have not been of course committing for their further turns. By discovering that every pupil sees better his/her village and the wider natural environment, when he/she sees it along with his/her schoolmates, they began walks, going firstly to the Castle of Orgia, which lies within more than three hours of walking distance. The enthusiasm of pupils and the great participation in walks, contrary to the small participation in looking for bibliography and in studying the relevant texts, led to the choice of making excursions to archaeological sites (e.g. to Ancient Odeion in Patras [fig. 45]), that, unfortunately, in that region are not particularly revealed. Therefore, they continued by a three-day excursion to exceptional organised archaeological sites (the Royal Tombs in Vergina, the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, the White Tower, and the Archaeological Park of Dion, as well as the related Museum) which took place in March within the framework of the project. The results of the afore-mentioned showed to the public at the end of the year, along with the full presentation of the project.



Fig. 45

A very interesting project that had begun the previous school year with the studying of local history. The objectives of this new project was the use of scientific methods by the pupils to interpret and to familiarise themselves with linguistic creations through local myths, local history and lingual-linguistic formulations.

The project method was also utilised here in order to organise the work. The search for information was implemented through interviews, existing bibliography and on-site visits. Certain basic elements of the project were:

- 1) Completing questionnaires.
- 2) Finding the family tree of the pupils. This was not just a mechanical procedure but rather an attempt to link the family history with the history of local population migrations over the past 200 years.
- 3) Trying to systematically create an oral history archive derived mainly from personal interviews with local residents. A photographic archive containing old and new photographs taken by the pupils was also formed.
- 4) Recording of toponyms and idioms. This project lasted the longest period of time. The pupils collected toponyms from the Prefectures of Achaia and Arkadia, which they then included on a detailed map of the region. They also accumulated many idioms from the same areas.
- 5) Interpreting the information. With the help of their teachers, the pupils categorised the toponyms into macro-toponyms and micro-toponyms, they searched for the linguistic origins of the toponyms and idioms and went on to interpret them. They were surprised to find out that the majority of the names were derived from the old Slavic and Albanian languages, a fact that implies that during a certain pe-

riod of time Slavic and Albanian families settled in the region, and were therefore the carriers of this linguistic data. The pupils themselves had already recorded the interpretations of the toponyms given by local residents, clouded in the majority of cases by myth and legends, and in this manner they were able to test the degree of historical awareness of their fellow villagers. The same occurred with the idioms. The correct guidance by their teachers played an important role in the normal acceptance of the historical past, which had a more pluralistic and human aspect as opposed to the standard school interpretation. While the project moved in this direction, it also at the same time provided the pupil with the tools (method, know-how) to seek his special cultural identity and his survival within the family, its role in the close as well as the more broader environment in the village and the history of the land.

- 6) Its presentation to the general public was the cause for many discussions concerning the forgotten cultural identity of the residents in the greater region.

Lyceum of Lappa

“History, culture, geography, inhabitants and customs of the West Achaia”

Teachers: Avrantinis Ioannis – Marsi Despoina

Students: 22 of the 1st-3rd grade

Wishing to know the landscape and the inhabitants of the villages round the school, the teachers and the students of that school chose a local history project among others themes which were proposed to be studied. Their objectives were to familiarise students with scientific research and methodology and alert them on the local history and the cultural heritage of the area. To complete their study pupils went through the bibliography, found detailed maps and commented on, interviewed members of the local authorities, the elder residents and the priests of their villages, and visited special monuments. They also took pictures of that monuments, the villages and the landscape. Thus, a mini photo file with aspects of their current situation created by the students.

Noticeable was the work of the pupils on the ethnology of the area. They recorded agricultural tools which are not today in use, professions, products and customs. Of

special interest is their work in the village of Apideon where a community of refugees from the Black Sea was established since 1922. Interviewing the elder persons of the community of Apideon, the pupils created a valuable oral history file, let alone that three of the eldest persons died soon after. Traces of medieval albanian settlements identified both in the related bibliography and the landscape. They also approached the small community of Gypsies in the village of Sageika. The pupils during their work in the above-mentioned communities, recorded personal stories, distinctive customs and aspects of the modern life of the inhabitants. They recalled a part of the Medieval and Modern Greek history, which had been taught at school, and, at the same time, they enriched their knowledge both by going through the related bibliography and by recording individual views of the events as the members of the communities had experienced them. The presentation in school and the creation of a booklet made impression and challenged a discussion among the inhabitants of the area.

Lyceum of Paralia

“The port of Patras: Sea roads of communication, history”

Teachers: Vamvaka Kyriaki – Nikolopoulou Aikaterini – Kanellopoulou Maria

Students: 44 of the 1st-2nd grades

The project was worked out for a second continuous year and it was involved within the framework of the European programme Socrates-Comenius, in a multidisciplinary co-operation with the schools: Rice College Westport [Ireland], Central Skolan Svedala [Sweden], Farvangskole, Farvang [Denmark], and Thisted Gymnasium from Thisted [Denmark]. The project method was followed. The first year, pupils worked on the influence of the port upon the economy of the town, whereas the second year they worked on the history of the port of Patras. More specifically, the students collected the related bibliography and interviewed the families which lived near the port and the old labourers of the port. They found in the local agencies printed matter, photographs and statistics for the traffic. They visited the archaeological site of the Bouboulinas street, where remains of the Roman port were discovered. They depicted the old light-house of the port which was demolished in the '70s but it is alive in historical memory.

EPL of Patras

“The Gerokomeion area through time”

Teacher: Ataloglou Theodora

Students: 18 of the 2nd grade

Wishing to know the development of the area of Gerokomeion, near Patras, that is considered one of the most beautiful places of Greece because of its forests; wishing also to know its history, as it starts at least from the Byzantine times and concludes in the refugees who came from Asia Minor, teacher and students of that school decided to work on this project. One of the study topics of the project was the Girokomio Monastery itself, with its rich Byzantine and Post-Byzantine history. The contribution of the Monastery during the Greek Revolution was also emphasised.

Of interest was the study on the settlement of the refugees from Asia Minor during the decade of the '20s. The pupils interviewed old refugees and recorded their recollections. In this way, they learned how it was aforetime in the region, how people lived at that time, how they live nowadays, what evolution may take place in the area, at which newcomers bought building plots and farms.

4.2.3. Vrachneika project: an example

My collaboration with the Gymnasium of Vrachneika began during the school year 1997-98 and continues until today. In 1998 the Landscape Archaeology Group began research -which is still in progress- to record the natural environment, history and civilisation of Vrachneika and Monodendri in Achaia on behalf of the Municipality of Vrachneika. The research carried out by the scientific group -of which I am a founding member- included pupils from the school within the framework of the Environmental Educational projects.

Landscape Archaeology Group draws its origin from the Young Archaeologists Group, formed by undergraduates and graduates of the Athens University in 1991. The first members were young people with enthusiasm and love for archaeology and archaeological research in Greece. The earliest experiences at the intensive archaeo-

logical survey in Achaia, organised by the National Hellenic Foundation of Research and the local Archaeological Service, inspired them. Gradually, members increased and people from other universities (Thessaloniki, Ioannina) joined. The group's first paper was given at the 1st Panhellenic Conference of Students of Archaeology in Rethymno, in October 1991.

In January 31st, 1995 the Young Archaeologists Group along with other colleagues founded the Landscape Archaeology Group (LAG). At the end of the same year the Landscape Archaeology Group had already had 31 members coming from all disciplines (archaeology, history, geology, topography, education, information systems etc.) and possessed sufficient technical equipment for the implementation of archaeological and geophysics surveys.

The goals of our Group are the following:

1. Contribution to the preservation of the historical landscape and the historical memory.
2. The awakening of the historical memory and the consciousness of the native population.
3. The encouragement of interdisciplinary co-operation not only among the Group members but also in the wider research field, for the advancement of the archaeological research.
4. The exploration, promotion and support of modern techniques and in general of a new strategy that will correspond to the research notion of our times.

The group has been involved in the development of interdisciplinary programs at a regional level, as a response to a general demand of regional authorities to promote their local history. The work plan includes study of data from the natural environment, archaeological survey, study of community archives and creation of new archive divisions (oral witness file, photographic file, etc.), creation of data-bases for anthroponyms and toponyms, all types of statistical tables, social anthropology research and study of modern economical, social and cultural life. From the material collected to date, two books have been written on the history of the former communities of Agiovlasitika and Kareika, a book on the settlement of Alykes, various studies on individual matters that emanated from the research, articles, announcements at

conventions, lectures, exhibitions, etc. There is also a large volume of unpublished material and databases have been created.

The research program in Vrachneika is in its final stages and there was a first presentation of the work method and materials gathered. Vrachneika is a progressive town in the Prefecture of Achaia with 5000 inhabitants and is the municipal seat. The town was formed after the Revolution by families from the highlands who migrated to the lowlands to be involved in the cultivation of raisins that was at that time on the upward trend. Many of the inhabitants of Vrachneika became wealthy from the raisin trade and from other enterprises that they became involved in, and in continuation, became benefactors in the region by offering large monetary amounts for cultural purposes. The Municipality of Vrachneika is well-organised and very active. There is a remarkable cultural team, library, choir, two theatrical groups, an Open University and a blood bank.

In Vrachneika there are both primary and secondary level schools with pupils, who come from all the settlements of the Municipality. Being situated in an area with remarkable cultural activity, the school has undoubtedly helped the pupils to show a marked increase in their behaviour, their interests and their performances. The school is planning to carry out various activities at different levels every year (field studies, sports and cultural events, social activities, etc.).

The co-ordinator of this specific project was Ms. Gely Lagou, a literature teacher. Her archaeological studies provided on the one hand a satisfactory explanation for her special interest in the project and on the other hand, they give the basis for the beginning of a continuing collaboration in this subject as well as a guarantee for the successful running of the project and subsequent comprehension. Over and above her scientific training, Ms. Lagou is a very active colleague, as can be seen by her participation in Environmental Educational projects in previous years and the affection shown to her by the pupils.

Stimulated therefore by the facts that quite a few pupils preferred her History class, their especial love for their village and their interest in learning its history, she proposed at the start of the new school year (1997-98) the drawing up of a new Local

History project. The Environmental Group was formed with 22 pupils from the 2nd year of the Gymnasium (9 girls & 13 boys). At the first few meetings they discussed and defined the topic of the project which is entitled «In search of the roots of our area», a somewhat broad topic that required the research to be allocated. Thus one group of 5 pupils undertook to review the bibliography on the olden years. The remaining pupils compiled a detailed questionnaire on the recent years that will be directed to the residents of the village. The objective was to formulate through the answers the clearest possible picture of the village and life here during the middle of the previous century. The questions therefore sought details concerning the village (settlements, roads, churches, houses) as well as life in the village (occupations, festivals, societies and relations between the residents). The pupils addressed themselves to as many of the oldest residents as possible in order to salvage their reminiscences and precious information. This project lasted 2 months.

In the meantime, the first group announced the conclusions of their research to the remaining pupils. In order to make the information that was processed more simpler and more understandable, the pupils visited the Archaeological Museum in Patras where they saw exhibits from the region of Vrachneika-Roitika dating back to the Mycenaean period. With my guidance they also visited archaeological sites around Vrachneika where they verified the existence of certain ancient remains (mainly Roman).



Fig. 46

But a more interesting experience was undoubtedly the archaeological survey (*fig. 46*) carried out on a hill near the school, again under my guidance and that of my archae-

ologist colleague and member of the scientific group, V. Tsakirakis. The pupils discovered ceramic remnants that verify the presence of man in the region in the distant past and they came to understand that with systematic cartography we can understand what were the uses of the village during the various periods of time.

When the completed questionnaires were collected, they were then processed. The pupils were again divided into groups and each group recorded its information for each separate subject (houses, temples, roads, schools, occupations, societies) that was derived from the residents' answers. At the same time many toponyms were collected, which were then carefully "placed" onto a map of the village and surrounding area with a scale of 1/5000.

The divided groups of pupils took photographs of the buildings and areas around the village, while they joined together to interview the former President of the Community, P. Gritsonis, who informed them as to the state of the village and the activities of the Community. The project was completed with the writing up of their notes and presenting them to the pupils in the school.

The next school year (1998-1999) the same environmental group wanted to focus its interest on the study of old houses, some of which are truly 'ornamental' for Vrachneika. The group also wanted to announce to the pupils the more important conclusions of the research carried out the previous year.

Beginning with the second objective, the pupils compiled a questionnaire for all their fellow-pupils in order to ascertain the level of their knowledge of the history of their region. They collected all the answers, processed them with the aid of a computer and then constructed a notice-board at the entrance to the school with all their findings and correct answers, so as to impress this information with the children.

As for the first objective –the study of the old houses- that would constitute the main topic of the research project, they began by observing quite a few of these houses, guided by the architect and member of the Archaeology Landscape Group, Ms. T. Stampouli (*fig. 47*). The pupils learnt how to observe the special characteristics of each house, the construction material used, the arrangement of its rooms and the deco-

rative aspects, and to draw out their own conclusions. They also learnt how to discern the interventions made through the ravages of time suffered by these houses that adulterated their initial design and form.



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49

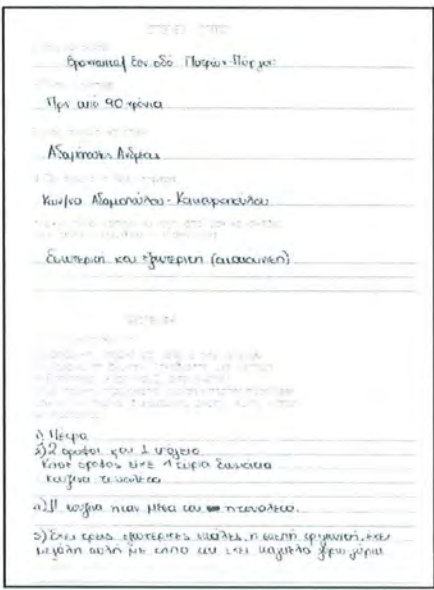


Fig. 50

In continuation, they selected several houses that were representative of the epoch and economical state of their owners and undertook to study them in more detail in smaller groups of 2-3 pupils (*figs. 48 & 49*). Having in their hands a new questionnaire that they had all together compiled at school, they visited the current owners and asked them to complete the questionnaire. At the same time they described in detail the exterior as well as the interior of the houses (*fig. 50*), noting always the interventions and additions to the initial plans. Other than the valuable information that was collected, the pupils also assessed the especial affection the owners felt and the care they showed in order to save and preserve the beautiful characteristic houses of Vrachneika.

Finally they photographed the houses both inside and outside. Later at the school the pupils processed their data and wrote up their work. In this manner they had 10 sheets with the full description of 10 old houses in the village. This was followed by a fruitful discussion on their personal conclusions and feelings brought about by this project. All the pupils had been enthralled and touched by the austere beauty of these old homes while they were troubled by the unbecoming interventions made to them.

At the end of the project the pupils visited the Mayor, V. Togantzis, in order to be informed as to the present status of the village. The Mayor willingly expounded his plans and aspirations and replied to many of the questions put to him by the children. He even accepted their objections and discord to the Municipal departments being installed in the Railway Station, a fact that would mean an increase in pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the surrounding areas, which in turn would be detrimental to their school lessons given in their classes on the ground floor of the Gymnasium and situated right next door to the Station. This reaction is just a token of their interest and affection for their land, as well as an awareness of their responsibilities for everything and anything that occurs to it.

The project was completed, followed by the writing up of the material, its collating with the work from the previous year and the publishment of a brochure that was distributed to the pupils of the Environmental Group and to the Gymnasium teachers. Finally, the projects of both years were presented as a whole to the pupils of the school at the Stavropoulio Cultural Centre.

As you may realise, the benefits for the pupils that participated in the project were priceless. For the first time in their young lives they approached knowledge by experiencing it, utilising other “tools” to acquire it other than from the blackboard, the chalk and the schoolbooks. They learnt another way of teaching that was different to the anachronistic and outmoded teacher-centred format followed by the school. They also showed initiative, cultivated inclinations and adeptness, they collaborated with other scientists, they spoke to persons in the local community, they visited various sites, they developed responsibility and teamwork and they lived unforgettable experiences. They became young historians following on-site examinations, collecting and cross-checking information, seeking sources of information themselves -living or not-observing, comparing and recording the history of the land where they were born, lived and grew-up. Without a doubt, after this experience their love for their land was reinforced and their sense of responsibility for its progress was strengthened.

Over and above this facet, the pupils that participated in these two projects realised that history is not something remote, inaccessible and forgotten, that has already taken place and that they themselves play no part in its formulation, but rather something alive that formulates at every instance and that they themselves constitute a part of it. The difficult lesson that is taught at school, that requires the memorisation of military and political facts, dates and names, has become in their eyes something close, familiar and accessible and is nothing but the life of their grandparents, their parents and their own lives.

The pupils that participated in these projects constituted a so-called “yeast” of children who are especially interested in History. They created yet another tradition in the Gymnasium and they challenged all other pupils to show interest in participating in Local History projects.

Thus, in the following school year (1999-2000) 12 pupils from the 2nd and 3rd years of Gymnasium participated in the new project with the following topic: “The Peloponnese Railway Line – The Vrachneika Railway Station”. They began with the compilation of a lengthy questionnaire addressed to the residents of Vrachneika, asking them to remember the period when the Station was open and to comment on the train

timetables, the cost of the tickets, the uses of the Station, a significant moment in time that they themselves had experienced (e.g. welcoming a VIP), to describe the old trains, their views on the closing of the Station and also their opinion as to its exploitation today. After the answers from the questionnaire were collected, they were processed and the information was recorded.

The pupils continued with a questionnaire for their fellow-pupils at school, seeking their opinion as to the state of the Station as well as their views as to its future usage. It should be noted here that the overwhelming majority of the pupils replied that they would want to utilise the building as a Youth Centre and not as the Town Hall that it finally became.

A visit to the Railway Station in Patras then ensued, where the Stationmaster willingly met with them and answered their questions concerning the state of the Peloponnese line and the future of the train in our country. They also visited the Eforeia for the Modern Monuments where they were given a study on the existing state of the Station at Vrachneika as well as the decisions by which the Station has been characterised as a work of art that requires special government protection and is being renovated to house the various departments of the Municipality of Vrachneika.

Continuing their project, the pupils processed the material, collected additional information from various books and wandered around the building and the area of the Station many times, observing the architectural elements, the construction materials and other details. They completed their project by collating their information, issuing a brochure and presenting their research work to the pupils and teachers of the school. This time they constructed a tasteful notice-board with many photographs and brief texts hung at the entrance to the school, and which remained there for quite a few days.

In the brief discussion they had with their teacher -evaluating and completing the project- all the pupils declared that probably for the first time in their school life they felt creative because not once did they copy or repeat information, they collected it themselves. They were enthusiastic because they worked together as a team outside the school. They felt free but also responsible for what they had undertaken to do. But

they felt more responsible from that moment on for the future of their land, for every change and intervention that was inflicted on it.

The collaboration of the pupils with scholars of the Landscape Archaeology Group (*fig. 51*) was creative in many ways. The pupils worked side-by-side with the archaeologists, the historians, the social anthropologist and the architect. They were inducted into the scientific research method and they learnt how important it was to record accurately all data collected in the area. At the same time they saw the data from their own research being taken seriously and being the object for discussion by the scholars, and also being used to complete the writing of the history of Vrachneika. In fact the work completed by the pupils on the houses of the settlement of Vrachneika proved to be especially useful since they had easier access to the interior of the houses than an architect, who was just a stranger. They also saw their work being included in a special chapter in the book that will be published, their names next to the names of the scholars of the Landscape Archaeology Group.



Fig. 51

The project also brought the pupils face-to-face with many matters that are evolving in the small local society they live in. From the small social anthropological research work they carried out in collaboration with the study members of Landscape Archaeology Group, it can be seen that there is undoubtedly a core of ideas and actions that as we say recommend the community of the population that resides in Vrachneika and neighbouring villages. The common origins of a large portion of the population, the mainly mutual historical course during the 19th and 20th centuries that was based to a large degree on the economic prosperity brought about by the trading in raisins, the

higher educational and cultural levels and the good infrastructure brought about by local benefactors, constitute the basic characteristics of this community.

The past therefore operates as a significant cohesive link for those persons who comprise this community. Beyond this cohesive link however there is a variety of viewpoints and actions -not only at the individual level but also at the family level- the individual settlements, the community functions, the economical, social, political and town-planning interests, etc., that also advocate for the opposite. The past does not seem only to unite, it also separates.

The pupils realised this paradox during certain instances in their research. In the interviews for example, the historical roles of the two genders in the family became discernible. The women were the guardians of the past and the carriers to the future. They were responsible for their households and the raising of their children. The men were correspondingly the representatives of the household in public, they entertained themselves at the kafeneio (=coffee shop) and were involved in common matters. In work however the two genders united and together cultivated the fields and assured the income while at the same time they tried to create or maintain their assets. These roles have been maintained to a large degree even today in the more traditional families. They determined and they still determine the manner in which every person lives the past and prepares the future.

A similar case could also be the different approach at the local level to the historical developments by the representatives of the two political parties in the Municipality with whom the pupils met. More specifically, during their interview with the current Mayor the pupils learnt about his plans and aspirations to convert the region into a modern Municipality. In contrast, in their interview with the old President of the Community they learnt about his activities when he was in power and they heard his criticisms of the current state of the Municipality and of the problems that it faces.

In addition, the pupils also involved themselves with the Gypsy community at a certain point in their research work. The Gypsy settlement is situated on the borders of the settlement complex of the former Vrachneika Community. The first appearance and naturalisation of Gypsies in Vrachneika dates back to 1962. Today a total of 32

families live in their settlement and each family is comprised of between 4 and 14 members.

The Gypsies in Vrachneika live below the poverty line and in conditions we can only describe as unacceptable. In certain cases even ordinary hygiene conditions are lacking. They have their own different customs, they live relatively far and somewhat remote –especially in the past- from the remaining human environment, they speak their own language between themselves, they are confronted with the prejudices of others and many of them move continuously for professional reasons, thus conveying and their children with them. This results in the majority of the Gypsies being illiterate and many being without work. The Municipality of Vrachneika, in collaboration with the Social Work Department of the TEI University in Patras, has made remarkable efforts to promote the educating of the children and the social induction of the Gypsies.

During the project the children from the school came into contact with the residents of the Gypsy community, became aware of their living conditions and their customs and began to understand the problems relating to their education and communication with the residents of the other settlements. From the experts involved in the Municipal programs for the Gypsies they learnt what has been achieved in this sector to date, they were inducted into the significance of the terms multicultural and intercultural education and they recorded their observations.

During the project the children came face-to-face with another social group, the people living in the coastal settlement of Vrachneika and Mondendri. Private property all along the length of the coastal axis –both residential as well as plots and land- have been transformed into food and recreational establishments (cafeterias, tavernas, night-clubs, etc.). The use-abuse of the coastal axis in the region for the entertainment and pleasures of the masses from the urban centre of Patras has been carried out in an uncontrolled manner without any provisions and planning for the circulation and parking of cars or for the searching and creating of green zones and other necessities. Therefore we have the phenomenon of an excessive population concentration during very specific time periods, especially during the summer months.

In both cases -i.e. the Gypsies and the coastal residents- this concerns two different social groups that have little contact with the compact community of Vrachneika. Beside, everyone admits that the inhabitants of Vrachneika are not especially open-hearted with strangers. Even when they seek social contact with strangers, they still keep their distance and place limits. They like to stand out and to be first in everything. However, the children found out in their research that this is not the case with the refugees from Asia Minor, who as is well-known settled here at the beginning of the '20s and were inducted normally into the Vrachneika society. Both parties today attribute this smooth induction to the character of the refugees. They maintain that the refugees proved to be industrious, smart and creative, and for this reason they were quickly assimilated. Therefore, the students through the project got in touch with people's different worldviews and contested pasts. Thus, they understood that the idea of a unified and generally accepted culture, which prevails in education, does not really exist.

4.2.4. Some more remarks

Let us see now some more remarks from the work with the teachers and the students, and the local community reactions. Among the above-mentioned schools which asked for support, some followed my instructions literally, while others enhanced through them their projects. As was expected, most of these teachers were literature teachers. So, the subject was familiar to them and they could help the children much more. This was also reflected in the way that they organised their method, i.e. the persistence of bibliography. Sometimes this endless task became very hard for their students so that their responses were very low. Unfortunately, the existing bibliography for the places that they studied is usually limited to books of local historians, in which History is confused with myths and traditions and many mistakes and inaccuracies are recorded. Although I included in the Dossier a list of books, which mainly convey accurate information, some "book-lover" teachers found out others and considered their absence from my list as my weakness.

This problem was obvious in the presentation of their projects at the end of the year: the whole organisation was not very exciting. Sometimes the recitation of texts, which

are announced to be children's work - the teacher's work actually - undermined the whole effort. The problem became worse where lack of teacher's experience, of time available and co-operation with other teachers were added. In these cases I advised the teachers to reduce their pursuits so as to catch the time and prepare the presentation of the project which will offer to their students the experience of a completed task linking school with the society and the enthusiasm of the acknowledgement of their work.

I concentrated my efforts also on another point: to keep the projects away from the perceptions which dominate in school lessons. It should be made clear that the local community is constituted of persons, everyone having his/her own history. The schools which followed my instructions to begin with the family tree of the students, were very satisfied with the results. The first weeks they communicated with me to express their achievements. In some schools I faced with another problem: the teachers waited until the last student brought them the perfect work.

Normally, the family name analysis and the first interviews on the origin of the inhabitants should follow. Unfortunately, the information about family names is scattered in many books and systematic work needs to be done on this subject. Certainly, we tried every time to overcome this lack of information and the teachers were very interested in the subject.

The interviews with the locals did not cover only their origin but other questions for the history of the community were also included. Where a systematic registration of the inhabitants' origin took place, the children were faced with a great variety. They discovered that the inhabitants of their community came from different places of Greece, from different ethnic groups or even from different countries. After that, some of the students approached their teachers and asked for permission to deal with the place of their origin and not with that of their residence.

The problem was intensified when the survey expanded to place-names, especially the old names of the villages. Here the Slavic and Albanian place-names were sometimes more than the Greek in number. One of my best students approached me and complained that their schoolmates mocked him because he found that the inhabitants of

his village were of Albanian origin. He added: "What are we going to do? Are we digging our graves?". At the beginning, some of the teachers were also very hesitant to follow my instructions on this point. In the second meeting, in Patras, a teacher disagreed with me on the value of teaching children their different origins. Fortunately all the others supported my explanation.

Lastly, one of the central schools in the Kalavryta region, where the majority of the place-names are Slavic, decided to deal with the idioms and place-names of the area. The project continued next year because the students showed an increasing interest in the subject. The teachers also always asked for more information. A mini survey which I have done showed that most of the teachers now wish to know more about the origin of the inhabitants of the province.

But, if the schools are used to taking interviews or collecting bibliography, it does not happen the same way with going on an excavation or, generally, participating in archaeological research. On this point, the local Ephoreiai (Archaeological Services) are also responsible for not encouraging such initiatives. Moreover, local Museums are very small and their exhibitions are not well structured. I tried to familiarize both sides firstly with the idea of an organised visit to a local Museum and then in archaeological research. In 1997-98 three schools selected true archaeological projects. Few schools managed to visit the Museums of Patras. In two cases the children had the opportunity to be guided by an archaeologist of the local Ephoreia.

It is true that the children of the Primary schools understood less than the older children and, certainly, they could not make the distinction between the objects of the Archaeological and the Folk Art Museums. The objects of the Folk Art Museum seemed more interesting than others, because they were closer to their interests, gave less the sense of the 'forbidden' and the guidance was concentrated more on their use. Those of the Archaeological Museum looked rather like jewels, works of art and less the work of common people. The same preference were shown by students in the objects and the designs which they made. In some cases the visit to the museum rather confused some children and could be excluded without posing a serious problem for the project (for a similar observation see: Gathercole 1983).

The visit to archaeological sites or places where an excavation had occurred, presented less problems. Through existing representations the teachers tried to help their students to understand whatever they saw. The bad situation which most of the excavated sites present and the fences, did not allow them to plan small role-plays *in situ* in order to make more clear to the students the use of the site and the buildings.

In many cases students did original research and the data were collected by the schools. The students' research was mainly both in groups and individual. However, the teachers argued that sometimes few children participated in the workgroups. Where problems of participation and co-operation occurred, teachers tried to solve them by separating the groups into smaller ones or using discussion. In a case, a teacher had a serious problem with children's participation. Later, following my instructions she chose another class and continued the project not only without any problem, but with enthusiasm, as children of her new class did make a very good work.

Teachers tried to achieve the active participation of their students using methods that are not familiar in the modern Greek school, i.e. co-operation and extra-mural activities, opening of school to the local community and self-criticism. For teachers, students' participation in work usually means participation in research, in action, and the activities of the class. Most of the teachers were co-operated with their students in all stages of the project. However, there was a minority who considered that participation of students is more significant in the choice of the project than in the planning.

In an other case, a teacher answered in my questionnaire that schoolchildren cannot contribute to the study of the history of their community. We had a brief discussion on this and asked her to keep working with children patiently and tactfully. I also advised her to stop working so much on bibliography and start with the students making their the family tree. After a week she could say that things went better. At the end of the year, when I asked her to fill again the same questionnaire, I was happy to find that she had totally changed her mind on children capabilities.

I had a similar experience in 1994, during my experimental projects at the Gymnasium of Kato Achaia. There, I found out that a part of my students did not seem very

satisfied with the project's course and they were expecting something else. So, I had the idea to take a local myth and propose that they dramatise it. Suddenly, their "eyes opened" and they got to work. In two days, they brought me the scenario and, at the end of the week, they had selected the person for every role and they started the first rehearsals. Sometimes, a "find" may save the whole project from disaster. In the above-mentioned case, the "find" helped the students to communicate with their schoolmates and not to waste their time.

However, a project cannot be based on the "find". It must have its own structure and present interest for the inclinations of all the students who participate in every group. Students wish to follow a project and complete their tasks when they are convinced that it is worthy to participate in the activities. But, what can we expect from a child? We tend usually to underestimate children's efforts and so I should spend some time discussing this. Through such projects the subject that usually emerges is whether children can contribute to the research of their regions' past. At first we can answer "yes". Children can carry out research and have the ability and the knowledge to compute it and convert it to computerized formats, create databases and manipulate it further.

In addition there are cases that children can do more than researchers do. Children discover information with greater ease and speed than researchers, provided they are instructed properly. A great deal of information regarding a landscape depends on the availability and good will of the locals who agree to collaborate and give information either orally through interviews or written through archives and other documentation. As a rule the inhabitants open up easier before children who may be their sons and daughters, nephews, nieces, grandchildren and so on, rather than to strangers who are curious and ask indiscreet questions. Besides, unlike external researchers who tend to acquire an overview of a wider region at a minimum cost of time (otherwise they will not get their grants) children tend to limit their researches to a small area, like their village or neighborhood, exploring and clarifying matters that belong to the micro-scale rather than the macro-scale.

The projects could not be completed without the aid of the local authorities and the inhabitants. The information which was registered by the students, may be difficult to

be collected by another way, not only because a child has the naiveté of approach which older people do not have, but because many working hours are needed to collect this data. Most of the teachers were obliged to be present even on weekends and holidays. Many schools published their work in pamphlets and a small archive started to accumulate.

However can we be so optimistic as to what extent a pupil or a group of pupils can process their finds and proceed to interpreting them in particular, and their past in general? “*New History*” is rather positive on this point, as we explained above. Even more at the age of 15 when children have developed fully the concepts of time, space and cause, and can pose complex problems and suggest solutions. But is this satisfactory? I think that there are multi-complex problems which can complicate and torture qualified researchers, let alone students.

What then should we do? Certainly not discourage children from studying their history and using modern tools for it. So it is a matter of how knowledge and science are confronted by researchers in general. The answer is very simple: we keep on testing out our findings again and again, doubting previous interpretations. This is a common practice in our work and something I encourage and teach to my pupils as well. I believe that we must understand that knowledge at the end is rather constructed by the scientific community as a whole and not by individual researchers, whose contribution partially is acknowledged. Then knowledge is tested within the wider society. Part of both of those levels are students at every grade who may contribute to intensify and systematise the research and the results of our efforts, and enhance our “scientific” worldview with their own perspective.

5. CONCLUSIONS – FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

As we have seen, the past is not merely of academic importance but plays a decisive role in community life. The development of the heritage industry in our times has made clear that humans have had an almost religious attachment to the past, which has been subsequently satisfied through the upsurge of modern technology. The latter is filled with the spirit of capitalism, which distorts the meaning of the past. The use of the past in socio-politic conflicts as a strong weapon has further shown to what extent Archaeology has been involved in the preservation and the development of ideologies, among which nationalism takes a special place. The national past has saturated education as a deliberate monodimensional and often dangerous occupation which has set fire to the approach and mutual understanding between peoples. The monodimensional occupation with the past has its roots in the fact that Archaeology as an institution belongs to and depends on the state, and therefore is expected to contribute to the preservation of national myth.

The attachment to the past seems to be exaggerated in the Greek reality. The burden (and the refuge) of Antiquity – partly as a national and partly as a West-European creation of the imagination of the romantic 19th century – persecutes the Greeks since the creation of the modern Greek state and prevents procedures which would allow the development of a pluralist perception in the present. Most of the national reactions are harmonised and referred to an ideal prototype which is first identified with the classical Greek past and secondly with the Byzantine past. The classicist spirit created an insoluble problem in Greek education, in which is reproduced and reassured the national self.

However, during the last two decades an effort to change the situation has been undertaken by Greek intellectuals. Taking into consideration new developments and their colleagues' work abroad, they analysed the phenomenon, criticised the traditional view and exercised pressure on state officers, so as to give a start to an integrated reform

process. At the same time Primary and Secondary education teachers all over Greece set up Local History projects in schools through the Environmental Education optional lessons. These projects allow students to approach the past in a more natural way, that is through the study of the sources and first hand material. The community itself is involved in the projects either as a geographical place where the children's activities are located and referred to or as a source of a different perspective which enhances the school's worldview. Museum projects are not everywhere equally profitable in Greece, especially where they do not combine with other activities in general school planning.

Being a teacher in a Greek school I started to set up similar projects within Environmental Education, in order to articulate a syllabus which might work as a model for my colleagues in Achaia and Elis, and, then, all over Greece. My project put emphasis – as New History did – on the ability of (and the necessity for) children to undertake small-scale academic research including Archaeology. It emphasised also the interaction between the community and schools, and the advance of long-term education for sustainable development. At its greatest extent, the project covered most of the schools which had already set up individual projects and added some new ones. The diffusion of the ideas was ensured through the use of a dossier, the organisation of many seminars and the formulation of a network, in all cases but one at the teachers' level.

Teachers' and students' reactions, as well as those of the local communities, were various and perhaps it is too early to comment in detail on the results of these activities. It will take some years to overcome some weak points. First of all the school-teachers and especially the teachers of Classics who usually teach History at High Schools need to be persuaded that it is worthwhile. Until more specialised staff take over the subject of History, either national or local at schools, such projects will depend on the good will and the qualifications with which individual teachers are equipped.

However, what is now clear is that in the framework of the optional lessons a forum of teachers was already formulated which have an open ear to new developments and may support the application of more radical changes. Children's contribution is not less profitable for community education. As Stone (1994: 202) puts it, "children are not

only the adult public of tomorrow, they also have a direct influence, through their parents and teachers, on the adult public of today. A school-based archaeological project is probably the most effective way of influencing a large section of the population with the limited funds available”.

In any case, the Greek educational system could not be isolated for so long. The entrance of Greece into the European Union in 1981 involved the Greek education in new data and perceptions. Certainly, the response to and the coordination with the rapid developments in Western Europe could have been better, but there is progress in an attempt to harmonize the educational system to those of the strong members in the Union. As recently as 1998, for instance, in the frame of the 2nd Community Support Framework, the Greek Pedagogic Institute worked out a new curriculum for Primary and Secondary education and planned the writing of comparable books as well. Archaeology did not find again any position in this plan, except that in the framework of the History lesson it is as a discipline which produces material suitable for History textbook illustrations. However, the curriculum for History lesson presents, as we are going to see, some progressive aspects.

In particular, the editors of the curriculum worked out first a theoretical framework on which every change in the curriculum should be based. They admit, on the one hand, that for a long time the development of a technocratic perception led to a declining trend of humanistic studies, the great value of which is now widely recognised. History includes, on the other hand, high level abstract meanings which require different teaching methods. Thus, the choice of the appropriate material for every grade should follow the results of Cognitive Psychology and, so take into consideration the mental abilities of the students. This led the editors to defend the traditional spiral development of the curriculum as the most suitable for the children. They emphasised also economic, social and political structures in the study of the historical events, and the necessity to present to students a unified picture of the past. The latter will be achieved through the good knowledge of the whole school curriculum, so that History becomes the link connecting the different school experiences, and the editing of an “open”-type and flexible curriculum, so as to give an opportunity for revision and continuous reform in the future. In this framework the scientific adequacy and honesty requires the

release from dogmatic and chauvinistic perceptions, a principle which is extremely important in the case of History.

The aims of the History teaching, according to the editors of the new curriculum, are summarised in the development of historical thought and historical conscience. By the first they mean the understanding of historical events and the link between causes and effects. By the second they mean the understanding of human behaviour in particular situations and the secure presuppositions for the manifestation of responsible behaviour in the present and the future. Thus, with History teaching the student may equally comprehend the modern world as a continuation of the past and the modern historical experience as thoroughly connected with present life. It is in this meaning that the cultivation of historical thought and conscience is connected with the general aim of education, that is the preparation of conscious citizens.

The general description of the aims of History teaching is subsequently analyzed in detail for every education level. What one may highlight there is that it is considered that History teaching starts not from the third or the fourth grade of the Primary school, as traditionally believed, but since the first grade at the age of six, through Environmental Studies and the teaching of the Greek mythology. Following this perception, the editors of the curriculum developed some special aims for History teaching which they believed are suitable for those students. Moreover, the traditional strong ethnocentric orientation of the curriculum is reduced even more in the Lyceum, where any “national” aim is totally absent.

The same ideas are reflected in the organisation of the teaching material which will be realised in the new textbooks. The teaching of History in a European perspective is reinforced, though by no means excluding the traditional ethnocentrism of the previous curricula. In particular, the curriculum retains basically the same structure in Primary education, but it is in many points differentiated in Secondary education. The Eurocentrism is very obvious in the Lyceum, especially in the History textbooks which are planned to be written for the optional courses.

New ideas are introduced in the description of method, where a greater emphasis is put on the handling, use and study of the historical and archaeological sources. The lesson must be enriched even with extra-mural activities and the students must be encouraged to carry out small and large-scale individual or collective research. In agreement with the current educational thought is also the proposed system for evaluation of the teaching and the lesson in general.

The new curriculum in general matches, in theory at least, those which have been developed in other countries since the late '80s and early '90s. However, it is characterised by a hesitation to introduce more radical changes because it is in part merely copied from its prototypes and any wider philosophy, which would bind together its sections, is lacking. The hesitation, for example, is evident in the wording of the aims of History teaching in the three or four higher grades of the Primary school. The 7th aim is for the students "to be informed on the social, cultural, religious and national differences of the communities which they study". In the 8th aim the editors of the curriculum argue that students through History teaching will learn "to understand and accept the cultural, religious or other differences", avoiding the citation by name of the "social" and "national" differences, as in the above sentence. However, the great responsibility for this hesitation comes from the burden of Antiquity in Greek historiography, which is reflected in the syllabus, as I have already explained above.

The lack of a wider philosophy in the curriculum is evident in the method, because there is no way to realise it within the History teaching courses if we take into consideration the present nature of teaching in Greek schools. As I already mentioned, History teaching is almost, if not totally, based on textbook analysis in class, partly because there are not enough specialised staff in schools nor enough opportunities available for extra-mural activities at the local community level. In Achaia, for example, there is only one very well organised library in Patras, a very small archaeological museum and a few preserved archaeological sites or restored buildings. Therefore, most of the propositions cited in the curriculum are groundless.

More reasonable, and far from the traditional school practice, appears to be the curriculum in the case of Local History teaching. The editors argue that through the study of Local History students will:

1. come into contact with historical elements that can be searched for and understood.
2. understand that History is a human activity with human motives, within the human scale.
3. get used to observation, research, and interpretation of specific historical monuments starting from traces and first hand material.
4. get used to listening to contradictory evidence and opinions about the same topic and feel the need and responsibility to decide.
5. be aware of the problems of the local community and of the need to participate in the search for solutions.
6. be prepared and facilitated to better understand general history and wider society.

The curriculum editors rightly decided not to add Local History in the timetable as another lesson accompanied by a textbook for the children. They announced the writing of three books for the teachers which will be divided in three sections each: the theory of Local History, methodology and case-studies. The selection of three books for the teachers instead of one textbook for the students is understandable in the framework of the wish to advance pluralism in education and the realisation of how difficult it is to teach Local History through the traditional method.

One of the three books for Local History which are prepared and approved by the Pedagogic Institute is mine, written in collaboration with my colleagues Helene Simoni and Sifis Fragoulis (fig. 52). In the Introduction of our book we state that: “what is reasonable and it is attempted in the present work, is the writing of a book which covers the methodology for approaching Local History subjects, and includes representative instances from all parts of Greece. We believe that thus the revelational character of knowledge is not betrayed”. This book consists of two parts. The first part contains an analysis of modern theory for Local History and its teaching. The second part presents examples of projects from all over Greece. At the end there are appendices where

more detailed analysis of special subjects as well as examples of recording data both in the field and the school are given. The book includes most of our theoretical instruction as well as our experience from school projects.

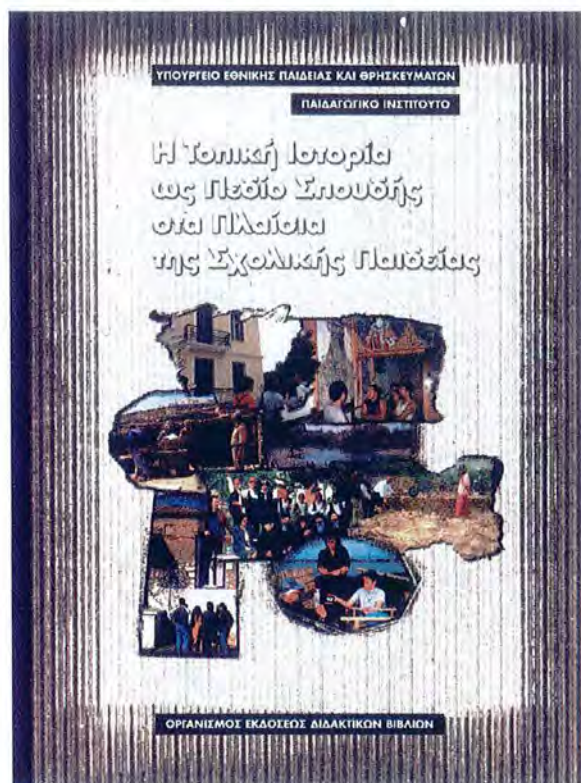


Fig. 52

In continuation of our efforts, we had the chance to present our thoughts and activities to our colleagues at the Panhellenic Congress for Education that took place in Thessaloniki in 2001. We stressed particularly the need of the teachers for further training within the framework of Open and Distance Learning which can be offered by the Greek Open University.

More specifically, we argued that the decision of the Ministry of Education and the Pedagogic Institute to introduce Local History to Secondary Education can be put into action only after the teachers have received proper training. To this direction the conventional courses of the Universities cannot satisfy the increased demand, while Open and Distance Learning seems to be a more feasible solution for the great number of the interested teachers, let alone in optional and “free” lessons as Environmental Education and Local History.

Our involvement encouraged many school teachers from several parts of Greece to approach us and ask for consultation and support. Two examples are worth giving. During school year 1997-98 I was invited by the Head of the Environmental Education Office in Boeotia to present the Local History Dossier, the book for the Pedagogic Institute and the new perspectives at a meeting of teachers in Theves. Few months later I had the chance to make another presentation at a similar meeting in Aetoloakarnania. Interest to our work was expressed by the local society of Patras and indeed we gave a lecture there as well.

In all cases both our colleagues and the public were very interested. The problem is how far the central government, the school environment and the local communities could, and wish to, support the development of these projects. From my experience up to now I believe that we can be optimistic. In this direction local authorities could play an essential role. Recently they have been very actively involved in the recording of historical resources at the community level and are willing to provide us with funds in order to conduct research and write books on local history. However, it is necessary for us everytime to be careful where political decisions or localism attempt to manipulate our scientific work.

In this framework I proposed with my colleagues the foundation of a Local History Centre in Western Achaia (*Appendix V*), similar to the Archaeological Resource Centres in Britain. This Centre aims to:

- a) give support and scientific knowledge for the community level for the recording of the existing, and the creation of new, archive units, consisting of archaeological survey data, public and private documents, old pictures, oral history testimonies etc.
- b) create databases, care for the diffusion of related material (books, albums, periodicals, pamphlets) and the interconnections with other information units.
- c) sensitise the local population and the youth, awaken historical memory and contribute to the preservation of the cultural heritage through the implementation of educational projects for students of Primary and Secondary education and the organisation of lectures, colloquia and conferences for adults.

- d) create historical trails based on the acquired experience, that is to experiment with and represent activities in selected places, settlements, individual buildings of historic – touristic importance and traditional rural units in order to provide the experience of the traditional ways of life.

The Local History Centre will be an ideal place for community education in Archaeology. It will offer many opportunities for local populations and schoolchildren to experience the past, profit from or enjoy it. For the former it is very important to refresh their memory by being in touch with a place where historical memory is systematically recorded, and for the latter, beyond the environment of the school, to understand past times in a more vivid way through more effective and exciting methods of teaching.

The success of our efforts depends greatly on the community itself. The community won't only be the receiver of our plans, but it will be the inspirer and the animator in our work, as well. Any activity will take place within the community. Therefore, it is very important to take its members' reactions seriously, make any suitable adjustments and through our suggestions try to ameliorate and enhance the community's understanding. Some scholars believe that our society exercises pressure on real scientific work and it is necessary to make radical changes in our culture and its system of values in order to resist political, cultural, economic and environmental crisis. It is further necessary for the archaeologists and historians to develop "a self-critical eye" to keep their work outside of any influences which tend to falsify their work and drive it to alter its meaning.

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