

Gender and Nationalism in the Hellenic World 1836-1897

To Women

Wives and Mothers of Hellenic men,
daughters of heroes

Now the Turkish yoke is broken
and a new blessed age is beginning
So do not remain asleep:

Look forward. Try
to become worthy mothers

...

To prove, you mothers,
that you are daughters of Hellenic men,
Model yourselves on the Hellenic women
who gave birth to Leonidas

...

These customs, acts, habits,
the virtues, the morals of these women
Their achievements: these must be your
constant example

...

Those women carry the hopes of our whole *ethnos*:
The *ethnos* see an ally in you.
Become then good mothers.

...

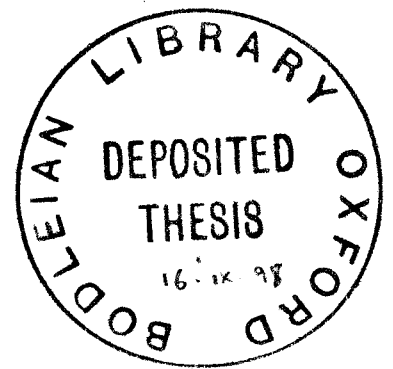
Not with fashions, and jewelry
dances, spectacles and games
But with ethos and good acts,
proper discussions and instructions.
But be on guard to speak no
Barbaric words or anecdotes,
immoral stories and villainous tales
in front of young women

...

These are topics of a despicable taste,
not the product of wisdom
but the result of ignorance

P. Zontanos (1836)

Demetra Tzanaki
St. Antony's
D. Phil
Modern History
Trinity, 1997



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For someone who had already done research in the libraries in Athens understands how difficult is the collection of such a material. However, I could never have collected it if I did not have the comfort and the environment which the Benakeios Library in Athens provided me with. For the Ladies' Journal however, I own special thanks to the kindness which the committee of the Hellenides' Lyceum showed me. Errors and excesses of this text none the less, belongs exclusively to me.

GENDER AND NATIONALISM IN THE HELLENIC WORLD 1836-1897

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Abstract

This thesis is not the history of Greek feminism as such, but rather a history of gender in the Greek context, of which feminist consciousness was just one component. Its chapters discuss the way in which gender, the cultural roles and behaviour prescribed for male and female members of the Hellenic nation by Hellenic society from 1836 and 1897, helped this population and particularly Hellenic women (*Hellenides*), to acquire a certain sense of national identity. The central question and organising principle of this thesis is the way in which women developed a certain sense of political and national identity by exploiting the overriding conceptions of the national idea in Greece.

The Greek constitution of 1844 conferred voting rights on all male citizens, giving legal sanction to a transformation that had occurred gradually: that from Christian soldier to obedient citizen. Excluded from those spheres traditionally defined as public - military service, public education, and legislation - women deconstructed this patriarchal frame of reference by composing new symbols and language, seeking legitimacy from sources of power which they had previously denied to themselves. This thesis charts these developments, making careful distinctions between the state that provided the government and administered the territory that was Greece, and the nation, namely the ethnic group that identified itself as Hellene regardless of its state of domicile. Concerned above all with the national identity which women created for themselves, this thesis does not offer a detailed explosion of the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea), a doctrine advocating the liberation and unification of the entire Hellenic *genos* (the ecumenical community of Balkan Orthodoxy as it existed under the Ottoman Empire) and the establishment of a great Greek state in the lands that had once belonged to the Byzantine Empire. Instead, it examines the cultural significance of the *Megale Idea*,

and its influence on how women began to think about themselves, gender, politics and daily life.

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Abstract

The revolt that started in the Peloponnese ended with a state that embraced the Peloponnese, southern Rumeli, and a number of islands near to the mainland, and included less than a third of the Greek inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire at the time of the outbreak of the war. This outcome of the Greek War of Independence was to create tensions that permeated the Greek kingdom throughout the nineteenth century.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, when the essential elements of pre-independence national consciousness had taken root, modern Greek national consciousness was stimulated by the French Revolution and the European Enlightenment. Western Europe, closely tied to classical thought, was the model for the Greek commercial and intellectual élite, who were found in the Aegean and Ionian Seas, the trading cities of the Ottoman Empire, and in the diaspora communities in the cities of Western and Eastern Europe, in their identification of themselves with a more inclusive community - the nation. The classical Greek world with its achievements in literature and the arts became the historical reference for the construction of their national heritage. *Hellene* (Hellenic man) and *Hellenida* (Hellenic woman), terms which until then had been reserved for non-Christians pagans, such as the classical Greeks, and, until the early years of the eighteenth century, employed in a pejorative manner, now became the terms that Greeks began to employ to designate themselves as heirs of the classical Greeks.

Yet, the type of thought that intellectuals had attempted to transmit (e.g. Western ideas of nationhood and the concepts of a sovereign government), prior to the War of Independence, to their countrymen was in many ways in direct opposition to the world in which the Greeks had lived in the Ottoman Empire. During the War of Independence and the years that preceded the struggle for liberation, cultural or ideological differences between the people who lived in mainland Greece, and the Westernised Greeks, were less pronounced. But once the war was over, the

people who found themselves enclosed in the borders of the new state were those who remained still under the cultural dominance of the Orthodox Church, and they continued to hold the same worldview as when they had been subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The *genos*, the ecumenical community of Balkan Orthodoxy as this had existed under the Ottoman Empire - under the Ottoman system all subjects were grouped according to their religion into a community (*millet*) - continued to supply the elements that the population in the Greek kingdom, even in their new life as citizens of the independent nation-state, used to assert their identity as a nation. The modern Greeks dreamed of creating a state that would encompass all the *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* in the lands that once had belonged to the Byzantine Empire. This dream, the liberation and unification of all the Hellenic *genos* in the lands that had once constituted to the Byzantine Empire, was called the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea).

This thesis is directly concerned with the ideological relation between the state (which provided the government and administered the territory that was Greece) and the nation (the ethnic group that identified themselves as *Hellenes* and *Hellenides*, regardless of the state in which they lived), and the changes which such a relation underwent after the establishment of the Greek state. A general concern of the thesis is that the division between the state and the nation made to the Hellenic population during the years from 1836 and 1897, especially the national identity that women created for themselves. In particular, the thesis will examine how, in a state that from 1836 onwards officially regarded men alone as true citizens, women developed a certain sense of political and national identity by exploiting the overriding conceptions of the 'national idea' (Great Idea) in Greece during this period, and hence assumed a set of 'public roles' that women before had denied to themselves.

Enough has been written about the Great Idea in Greece, but very little so far about its effects in private life. On the other hand, women's relations with the nation-state is generally a complex issue and has scarcely been studied anywhere. However, such questions are valuable, not only because they shed light on the kind of power that women exercised in society, but also because they assign new meanings to, and understanding of, the cultural significance of nationalism in people's lives. A great deal of the problem lies in how we define the terms *politics* and *citizenship* and what we assume to be public. This thesis attempts to show how the public and private spheres

intermingled, and how, after all, such a definition (public-private) reads as twentieth-century expectation rather than what the reality of the nineteenth century indicated. In order to trace the history of those persistent social and legal barriers that have hampered women by justifying their exclusion from the 'public' and thus from recorded history, this study attempts to show how the division of social life between public and private, men claiming the former and women the latter, reads simply as a 'privileged surface'. Roles as mother, wife and homemaker, the world of 'domesticity,' are still expressed in current Greek literature, and not only as the modes that had limited women to 'indoor activities.' This thesis ultimately attempts to show how the ideological framework of the Great Idea helped women to acquire an alternative understanding of their roles and their environment, and hence to enter public life in a different way from that understood by men.

In 1836-1837, two major educational institutions were founded in Athens: the University of Athens, named after the king, the University of Otto, and the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia* (Educational Society). The main difference between those two institutions was that while the former was founded on the state's initiative, the latter was founded by famous men of letters. Furthermore, the state founded the university, along with institutions of secondary education, exclusively for men (the first woman was admitted in university, in the Department of Philology, in 1890). However, what united these institutions was a common aim: the production of male and female teachers for the spreading of Greek language and literature in the Middle East. Therefore, the main intention of this thesis is to show how, at a time when women had been excluded from the state's power structure (army, education, legislation, the franchise), the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea) inspired various intellectuals, such as writers, historians, journalists, poets, philosophers, and many others, to help aspirant women, by providing what the state had denied: education and knowledge. Thereby, women acquired a sense of belonging to a nation-state and also assumed a set of 'public roles' as citizens of this state. Furthermore, this thesis investigates the channels and ideological changes whereby women's traditional roles such as mother, wife, and homemaker were gradually transformed from the typical context of womanhood into sources of knowledge and symbols that helped these women to acquire a sense of belonging in the nation-state and hence elaborate an alternate vision of the future as

citizens. In particular, the thesis explores how the nationalist rhetoric, known as the *Megale Idea*, through its major agents, intellectuals, provided women with a plane of subjectivity where they could meet men as equals and hence become conscious that (1) their condition of subordination was not natural or divinely ordained but socially constructed; and (2) membership of this national entity imposed particular rights and obligations. Moreover, we shall examine how the Great Idea provided women with an 'ideological free space' through which they were able to develop: (3) a sense of sisterhood and an autonomous definition of strategies and goals which *Hellenides* assumed could ameliorate their conditions as *mothers, wives, and homemakers* of this nation-state; (4) an alternate vision of what comprised female politics, history, and citizenship; (5) alternate cultural policies and acts through which *Hellenides* began to assume that, as *citizens*, they could ameliorate their condition and, by extension, their nation's and their state's condition.

Contemporary material, notably journals and books written by women, are the major sources of this thesis. Extended research in the National Library of Greece, the Benakeios Library, the Parliament Library, the Bodleian Library (Oxford), and the British Library (London) has unearthed rare and untapped archival material. However, the sources for finding out how and what women thought are the sources that survived. Within this ideological backdrop, the fact that education, for reasons that we will examine in the following chapters, was a privilege primarily of the middle and upper classes of Greek society, the urban centres of the state, and the rich Greek communities in the Ottoman Empire, such as those of Smyrna and Constantinople, limited the personal preferences, giving a more extended picture of women's lives in nineteenth-century Greek society.

In order to make this bibliography as useful as possible to the specialists, it has excluded many standard works on Greek and Balkan history, which, although indispensable for an understanding of Greek society and culture, are largely known from other studies. Instead, this bibliography includes a range of rare primary sources (i.e. documents, newspapers, diaries, periodicals) which becomes known and accessible for the first time to the reader. In Section 2, although it is not always evident, references are listed according to the problem that the latter concerned directly: education, culture, womanhood, etc. However, some

overlapping is inevitable; for example, some works that are listed in the section 'education' - although there was a strong effort to avoid it - could have also been put in the section 'culture'. The major periodicals and journals on the subject are listed separately at the end of the bibliography. Abbreviations for them and other items as well as a glossary of Greek terms are given at the beginning of the thesis.

Finally, this work does not examine the organised women's movement that emerged after the 1920s in Greece, although such research is desperately needed. In addition, this work strongly holds that the generations of writers from 1836 (the founding of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*) to 1897 (the Greco-Turkish War) and their conclusions are surely closely related to the demands of the 1920s. Thus, this work was done in the hope of inspiring further research in this era in Greek history.

Abbreviations

FE	Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia
PhSC	O En Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Filologikos Syllogos
ADHGS	O En Athinais Pros Diadosi ton Hellenikon Grammaton Syllogos

Glossary of Greek Terms

Allilodidaktiko	Primary school
Apostoli	Literally, historical mission
Didaskaleio	Teacher-training school
Dimogerontes	Elders or notables of a Greek community
Dimotiki	Popular, spoken language of Greece
Genos	The ecumenical community of Balkan Orthodoxy as this existed under the Ottoman Empire
Grammata	Literally, education
Gymnasia	Secondary schools
Helladiko	Literally, the Greek kingdom
Hellenes	Greek men
Hellenides	Greek women
Hellenika sholeia	Second level of secondary schools
Hellenismos	Literally, the Hellenic nation
Hellenoprepos	Faithful to the principles of the <i>Hellenismos</i>
Helleno-Christian civilisation	Greek-Christian civilisation
Hellinomathia	Greek erudition
Ethnos	Nation
Katharevousa	Literary and official language of Greece
Millet	Religious community
Omogeneis	Literally, of the 'same race'
Omophylo	Literally, of the 'same sex'
Omothrysko	Literally, of the 'same religion'
Paides	Children
Panellinion	Panhellenic
Parthenagogeio	School of girls. Literally, maiden's upbringing
Syllogos	Society

Key Dates

Date	General Greek History	Greek Life	Women's Education
1836	Students are obliged to start their school days with prayers. Priests in the kingdom refuse Holy Communion to parents who send their children to Protestant schools.	P. Zontanos, <i>Peri Anatrophis ton Korasion kai Peri Ekpaidevseos ton Arrenon</i> (About Women's Upbringing and Men's Education)	The founding of the <i>Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia</i> (Educational Society) by the state inspector of elementary schools, I. Kokkonis. In Athens, from 1831, the schools of the Hills and Volmerange are open.
1837	Foundation of the University of Athens. The first rector of the University, K. Schinas, declares that the institution's aim is to transmit European culture from the West to the East through the Greek language.	N. Vamvas is 60 years old, N. Farmakidis is 52, K. Asopios is 47, A. Soutsos is 33, P. Soutsos is 30, P. Kouskouri and E. Samartzidou are 17.	
1838		The publication by P. Sofianopoulo of the journal <i>O Sokrates ton Gynaikon kai tou Laou</i> (The Sokrates of Women and the Masses).	Secondary' private schools for women are considered, according the minister of education's phraseology, equivalent to primary schools. Attempt of <i>Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia</i> to introduce a level between primary and school for training teachers is abandoned.
1840	The journal <i>Aion</i> accuses the Hill's school of trying to convert young girls to Protestantism.	Report of the minister of education N. Theohari on the creation of 'secondary' schools for women by the state.	The closure of the Hill's school.
1842		M. Renieris, 'Ti Einai I Hellas; Anatoli I Dysis;' (Is Greece East or West?')	F.E. changes the title of its secondary school from <i>Anotero</i> (higher) to <i>Didaskaleio</i> (school for training teachers).
1843	Army-backed coup forces Otto to concede a constitution.	K. Paparrigopoulos, <i>Peri tis Epikoiseos tinon Slavikon Fylon eis tin Peloponneso</i> ('On Slavic Settlements in the Peloponnesse').	
1844	The conflict between <i>autochthones</i> (those born within the 1830 boundaries) and <i>heterochthones</i> (those who originated beyond the 1830 state's frontiers) over who should be considered an 'indigenous' Greek. I. Kolettis and the <i>Megale Idea</i> . Officially, Greece's role is to transmit the 'fruits of European civilisation' through the Greek language to the East, and to encompass within its borders the entire Hellenic nation.		

Key Dates

Date	General Greek History	Greek Life	Women's Education
1846	Neofytos Vamvas (dean of the University of Athens) declares the <i>F. E.</i> 's major aim: the production of teachers and the enlightenment of the Middle East through Greek education and language.	The publication by E. Samartzidou of the periodical <i>Kypseli</i> in Constantinople. The publication of the periodical <i>Euterpi</i> (-1855) in Athens.	
1848	Population of the Greek kingdom is 986, 934.	45 periodicals and journals published in Greece.	
1849		The establishment by Gr. Pappadopoulos of the <i>Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio</i> (Hellenic Educational Institution).	
1850		Publication begins of the periodical <i>Pandora</i> (-1872) in Athens.	
1852		Prohibition of mixed classes. Suppression of A. Soutsos' poems.	D. Ainian, ' <i>I Didaskalissa</i> ' (<i>The Female Teacher</i>).
1853	The Crimean War		
1854	1854-57 Anglo-French occupation of Piraeus to ensure Greek neutrality during the Crimean war.	Death of P. Kouskouri. Birth of A. Antoniadou (-1928). S. Leontias is 22 years old, and E. Kairi is 55.	D. Ainian, ' <i>Peri Ekpaidevseos ton Gynaikon</i> ' (<i>About Women's Education</i>).
1855	Two-fifths of <i>F.E.</i> 's teachers are teaching beyond the kingdom's borders.	Founding of the Amalieion orphanage in Athens. Publication of the periodical <i>Ephimeris ton Philomathon</i> (-1876) begins.	
1856		Anonymous, ' <i>I Gyni</i> ' (<i>The Woman</i>).	Inadequate number of female teachers for the newly created elementary schools for girls. Suggestion by the minister of education Ch. Christopoulos that the municipalities finance the training of female teachers.
1857	End blockade of Piraeus.		The <i>Didaskaleio</i> of <i>Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia</i> is renamed <i>Parthenagogeio</i> .
1858		L. Melas, <i>Gerostathis</i> (<i>Old Stathis</i>). J. Michelet, <i>L'Amour</i> .	
1859		C. Darwin, <i>The Origin of Species</i> .	
1860			
1861	The founding of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople.	The publication, by M. Vrettos, of <i>Ethniko Imerologio</i> (-1871). Birth of K. Parren.	Twelve <i>Parthenagogeia</i> are opened in Athens and four in Hermoupolis. The <i>Parthenagogeia</i> are considered by the state as equivalent to the first level of secondary education for men.
1862	King Otto forced from throne in army-backed revolt.		

Key Dates

Date	General Greek History	Greek Life	Women's Education
1863	The arrival of a prince of the Danish royal house, who ascended the throne as George I, King of the Hellenes, promising to transform the Greek kingdom into the prototype kingdom in the East.		Introduction of one <i>gymnasium</i> class in the municipality's school for women in Hermoupolis.
1864	Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by Britain. Greece enacts universal male franchise.	N. Saripolos, ' <i>Ypomnima peri tou Katoterou Klirou kai peri Ekpaidevseos</i> ' ('Memorandum on the Lower Clergy and Education')	State withdraws 30 scholarships from the <i>Arsakeio</i> .
1865		The founding of the <i>Etaireia tou Laou</i> (People's Association) and the Athenaion in Athens.	K. Kehayia and A. Laskaridou are directors of the Hills' <i>Parthenagogeio</i> . 1182 (male) students study at the university.
1866	Outbreak of revolt in Crete (1866-69).	Gr. Pappadopoulos, ' <i>Peri Gynaikos kai Hellenidos</i> ' ('About Woman and About the Hellenida'). Publication of <i>Artemis</i> by P. Iliopoulos. Publication of <i>Attikon Imerologion</i> (-1895) by I. Asopios.	A. Hristomanou-Laskaridou's speech to the <i>Parthenagogeio</i> Hills. The <i>gymnasia</i> in the Greek kingdom number 16. F. Oikonomidou is 17 years old, and A. Mazaraki is 28 years old. Death of E. Kairi. Birth of A. Pappadopoulou (-1906) and A. Skordeli (-1963).
1867		<i>Anatoli kai Dysis if Enos Anatolitou</i> ('East and West from an Oriental's viewpoint'). Publication of <i>Thaleia</i> by P. Lazaridou.	The name of the Hills' school is changed from <i>Parthenagogeio</i> to <i>Helleniko Parthenagogeio</i> .
1868	Suspension of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece.		
1869	Paris Conference and re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey.	The founding in Athens of the Society for the Propagation of Greek Letters (Education).	Introduction of two <i>gymnasium</i> classes in the <i>Helleniko Parthenagogeio</i> . J.S. Mill, <i>The Subjection of Women</i> .
1870	The population in the Greek kingdom is 1,457,894.		Publication of <i>Evridiki</i> in Constantinople by A. Ktena-Leontias.
1872		The founding, in Athens, of the Ladies' Association for Women's Education.	K. Xanthopoulos, ' <i>Peri Anatrophis kai Ekpaidevseos ton Koritsion</i> ' ('About Young Women's Education and Upbringing').
1874	Uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina.		

Key Dates

Date	General Greek History	Greek Life	Women's Education
1875		Publication, by E. Roidis, of the journal <i>Asmodaios</i> . Publication of the first of ten volumes of S. Leontias' <i>Female Anthology of Proper Knowledge</i> . Publication of the periodical <i>Estia</i> (-1895) in Athens.	Establishment of <i>Zappeion</i> in <i>Constantinople</i> . K. Kehayia director (-1888). The establishment of the Association Athena in Smyrna.
1879	The population in the Greek kingdom is 1,679,470.	C. Darwin, ' <i>The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex</i> .' The first Panhellenic conference of the Hellenic associations in Athens.	Recognition of <i>Zappeion</i> as equivalent to <i>Arsakeio</i> .
1881	Annexation of Thessaly and the Arta region of Epirus to Greece.		
1883		52 periodicals and journals published in Greece.	Women's committees in the <i>Parthenagogeia</i> of the <i>Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia</i> .
1885		N. Politis and D. Souris are 33 years old, G. Drosinis and K. Palamas are 26, A. Antoniadou is 31, and K. Kehayia is 46.	Recognition of the <i>Homerion</i> as equivalent to the <i>Arsakeio</i> . S. Kallisperi student at Sorbonne (Literature).
1887		Publication, by K. Parren, of <i>Ephimeris ton Kyrion</i> , in Athens. Creation of charitable societies by women in Nafplion and Patras.	
1888	Women's petition to the president of the Greek government. G. Psycharis, <i>To Taxidi Mou (My Journey)</i> .	Publication, by K. Parren, of the Women's Year Book. Creation of more charitable associations by women in Piraeus and Halkida.	K. Kehayia's tour of the U.S.A.
1889			Publication, by K. Parren, of the <i>History of Women from the Beginning of the World until Our Days</i> .
1890			I. Stephanopolis, first woman student in the University of Athens (Literature). M. Kalapothaki, student in Sorbonne (Medicine).
1893	State curriculum for women's studies established.		
1894		Participation of K. Parren in the International Council of Women in Chicago.	
1896		K. Parren is 35 years old, A. Pappadopoulou is 43, and P. Delta is 24.	

Key Dates

Date	General Greek History	Greek Life	Women's Education
1897	Thirty-day Greek-Turkish war breaks out after Cretan revolt. Defeat of Greece and establishment of International Financial Commission.	The founding of the <i>Enosis Hellenidon</i> (<i>Hellenides</i> Union) in Athens.	

Introduction: The Antithesis Between History and Recorded History

After prolonged negotiations between the Ottoman Porte and the ambassadors of the three 'mediating' powers, Britain, Russia, and France, the emergence after the Greek War of Independence (1821) of a state (1832) which had never existed before within these boundaries and which excluded a large number of Greeks, seemed an illogical and temporary settlement. The people who found themselves enclosed within the borders of this state saw such arrangements as a betrayal of the *genos* (the ecumenical community of Balkan Orthodoxy as it existed under the Ottoman Empire). Although members of this community had fought against the Ottomans, most of them still remained under Ottoman rule.

In the Ottoman Empire, populations were grouped on the basis of religion rather than ethnic origin, and the *millets* (the ruling Muslim *millet*, the Roman Catholic *millet*, the Gregorian Armenian *millet*, the Jewish *millet* and the Orthodox *millet*) were the social mechanism through which the Ottoman sultans had tried to govern the vast mosaic of religious, linguistic and racial groups in the empire.¹ The *millet-i Rum* (Greek *millet*), as the Ottomans designated it, embraced besides the Greeks, under the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, who was the senior patriarch of the Orthodox Church and the head of the *millet* (*millet bashi*), all the Orthodox Christians whether Bulgarian, Romanian, Serb or Vlach (a nomadic people spread throughout the Balkans and speaking a form of Romanian). Thus, all Orthodox Christians belonged to the same *millet*.² Therefore, the uprising in 1821, had not simply meant the success of intellectuals - such as Rhigas Velestinlis (1757-1798), Adamantios Koraes (1748-1833), Demetrios Katartzis (1720-1807), and others during the Greek enlightenment (1774-1821), in guiding the people's revolutionary spirit into nationalist channels that led to the overthrow of the Turkish rule, - but also had upset the long-established way of life of Greeks who lived in the Ottoman Empire. However, the outcome of the War of Independence was not the creation of an Hellenic Empire, as intellectuals earlier had predicted, but a small Greek state, the

¹ G. Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor. Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth Century* (Ohio, 1992), pp. 33-54; K.H. Karpat, 'Millets and Nationality': The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1981), 2 vols., pp. 141-169; B. Braude, 'Foundations Myths of the Millet System', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), op. cit., pp. 69-88; R. Clogg, 'The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), op. cit., pp. 185-207.

² R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 10.

result of revolution rather than evolution, and essentially the product of a Greek, not an all-Balkan, movement. With the exclusion from the new state of such a large proportion of Greeks less than a third of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire were contained in the borders of the Greek kingdom. Such factors, for those Greeks who found themselves enclosed in the borders of this kingdom and who remained faithful to the Orthodox Church, simply meant that the state did not include the entire Hellenic nation. The nation was all the *Hellenes* (Hellenic men) and *Hellenides* (Hellenic women) living in the kingdom of Greece and those living in the Ottoman Empire.¹ The *Megale Idea* (Great Idea), the liberation and unification of the Hellenic *genos* and the establishment of a great Greek state in the lands that had once formed part of the Byzantine Empire with Constantinople as its capital, was the mission, according to contemporary intellectuals, that both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* had in the name of history and God to accomplish. The kingdom's mission, then, was to bring about the enlightenment, through Greek language and literature, of the East, a mission whereby intellectuals hoped to maintain the *homogeneous* culture that had survived for centuries under Ottoman rule and under the Orthodox Church. Thus, intellectuals saw themselves as preparing the ground for what they assumed was a mere question of time: the political unification of the entire *genos*. This expectation probably had been best described by the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos.²

In our times our civilisation has been transformed from polytheism to Christianity, from polyglot languages to a unified one; from multinational city-states to a unified nation. What remains for the Hellenic nation is its final political unification.³

With such a vision, the state managed eventually to weld together the disparate elements of this society and to extend its control.⁴ However, in view of the Greek state's contemporary backwardness and poverty, the introduction of institutions such as the bureaucracy, a regular army and other Western innovations

¹ C. Dimaras, *Neoellenikos Diafotismos* (Athens, 1985), pp. 1-119, here the reference in pp. 83-86; C. Dimaras, *Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. I Epohi tou-I Zoi tou- To Ergo tou* (Athens, 1986), pp. 77-91.

² M. Papadopoulos-Vretos, 'Vivliographikes Paratiriseis epi tou Sygrammatos tou Zampeliou Asmata Dimotika', *Pandora*, iii (1852), pp. 403-406; K. Asopios, 'Egathidrisis ton Arhon tou Panepistimiou', *Pandora*, xii (1861), pp. 317-318.

³ K. Paparrigopoulos, *To televtaio etos tis Hellenikis Epanastaseos* (Athens, 1844), pp. 3-4.

⁴ Th. Veremis, 'From the National State to the Stateless Nation 1821-1910', in Th. Veremis and M. Blinkhorn (eds.), *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality* (Athens, 1990), p. 9.

seemed to be a strong attack on the privileges and power of the indigenous élites. Nevertheless, the promise of a glorious future, with all *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* settled within the frontiers of an enlarged state, as the mission of this nation, could galvanise the minds of the period.¹ Moreover, such popular beliefs referred directly to a transition: from an empire (Ottoman Empire) to a national-state (Greek kingdom). Hence, the 'imaginable' Panhellenic community, as intellectuals called it, served ideally as the ideological framework within which ethnicity (as a sense of belonging on religious ground) and citizenship (determined by territory), regardless of territorial borders, could remain congruous.

The *Megale Idea*, after all, it was the ideological framework through which people could acquire a sense of themselves and evaluate their surroundings. It was because of such profound beliefs that, when it became apparent that the state was failing to fulfil its promises, particularly after the Crimean War (1853-1856), *intellectuals*, such as lawyers, doctors, teachers, writers, journalists, historians and other literary figures felt it their moral and national responsibility and their collective right to interfere directly in the political process and to liberate the nation from the trammels of an ineffectual state (government).

Two lines emerged in activities for liberating the Hellenic nation. Those were a state-directed line and a determined ideological struggle involving organisational and ideological work that emerged from the initiatives and leadership of intellectuals.² Cultural clubs, societies and schools, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, through which Greek language and literature was spread amongst the population in both the Greek kingdom and the Greek communities in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Asia Minor, obviously opened the way for the cultivation of attachment to this 'imaginable' Panhellenic community.³ However, what was less realised then was that through the initiatives and leadership of those *agencies* (e.g. societies, clubs, and schools) the state succeeded in spreading a unified national culture within and beyond the borders of this kingdom, forcing the imaginative creation of a sense of a Panhellenic community in the minds of these

¹ 'I Megale Idea', *Kolasis*, 15 May 1868; T. Karouzos, 'Tina ta kentra tis Ethnikis Enoseos', *Pandora*, v (1854), p. 66.

² G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History: Nationalist Critics of Greek Society 1897-1914* (New York, 1977), p. 3.

³ G. Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*, op. cit., p. 197.

people. In addition, a new way of thinking emerged with profound implications for women's identity.

In fact, the *Megale Idea* as a way of thinking signified that the state was not co-equal with the nation. The former was seen as the major agency for the well-being of the latter. The nation was ancient but the state had not existed for centuries. In contemporary literature this concept was transformed into a clear distinction between these two entities. The state represented the political formation of the nation since it provided the government and administered the territory of the kingdom. But the nation was conceived by contemporary intellectuals as the ecumenical entity including all the Hellenic families within and outside the state's territorial borders. Greeks had a word for their nation: *Hellenismos*, which meant the community of all the *Hellenes* and *Hellenides*, regardless of what state they happened to live within, in which all distinctions of race, class and sex were excluded. Within this ideological backdrop, the *Helleno-Christianikos politismos* (Greek-Christian civilisation), as contemporary intellectuals called this Greek civilisation, came to identify the third historical stage, as the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos termed it. According to contemporary intellectuals, modern *Hellenismos*, combining the earlier two stages i.e. the learning of classical times and the Christian heritage of Byzantium, was destined to enlighten the East through Greek language and literature, and this destiny shaped the minds of the period. The Hellenic mission originated as the highest national duty which both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* owed to their *genos*, while intellectuals preached that both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* possessed unique qualities. In this light, it is important to consider carefully the effect that this mission might have had on people's identity, and in particular that of women.

On 26 February 1870, the newspaper *Constantinoupolis*, published in the Ottoman capital, using a phrase from Aristotle, declared: 'I am fortunate. First that I am a human being and not an animal, second that I am a man and not a woman, and third that I am a *Hellene* and not a Barbarian.'¹ In addition, contemporary journals justified women's exclusion from the important areas assigned to men, such as warfare, government, administration, legislation and public secondary education, by arguments such as the following. 'Man's obligation is to govern and defend society,

¹ Aristotelis, 'Voulgarikon zitima. Hellenes kai Voulgaroi', *Constantinoupolis*, 26 February 1870.

while a woman's duty is to nurture society with her virtue, kindness and peacefulness.¹ Furthermore, the major agencies of the state, the regular army, the educational system, and the judiciary were confined to men. Women continued to be enclosed in the private world of family and home, while, in 1864 (and, with minor limitations, from 1844), the Greek state gave the general franchise to men, thus giving a legal form to what had occurred gradually: the transformation of the free Christian fighter into the obedient civilian. Women were excluded from the franchise until 1952. Against this ideological backdrop, the terms 'public man' and 'private woman' reflected the proper order of historical events, and Greek recorded history does not refer to these 'private actors'. However, women's involvement in politics and the creation amongst them of a sense of citizenship has a long history.

When intellectuals gained authority in the eyes of the people as the representatives of the nation, they tried to maintain, particularly when the state failed to fulfil its promises, the nation's cultural homogeneity by introducing a set of alternative definitions of the nation's cultural values and authenticity. The nation and its mission in daily life were conceived as not being equal with politics and the state. It is significant that among the major cultural societies of the period, the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople (*O en Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*, founded in 1861) had excluded any discussion of politics.

This thesis shows that Greek women had been politically excluded from the 'public', an exclusion that was justified as natural in the belief that women are born inferior, have a weaker mind and intellect than men, and are unstable emotionally and more subject to temptations. However, the conception of the nation as an 'apolitical' sphere and a metaphoric sum of all the Hellenic families, and the justification by contemporary intellectuals of the 'mission' as a national and moral obligation that both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* possessed as members of this national entity, introduced a new set of cultural roles that enabled women to escape the societal taboos that had deprived them of any authority and prestige.

Furthermore, the thesis shows how women developed an alternative authoritative definition of women's role in politics and in 'public'. Hence, it examines a) how they came to conceive themselves as public actors: teachers, mothers, moral

¹ 'Ti Ofelei I gyni eis tin koinonia', *Apothiki ton Ophelimon Gnoseon*, iii (1864), 64.

arbiters of society and citizens of the nation, and, b) once self-confidence was restored in their roles, how they organised themselves independently, as citizens, and c) how they took the initiatives in what they assumed to be the female 'public' sphere: the culture and the moral prosperity of the nation.

With these factors in mind, this thesis has been divided into three main parts. Part I, covering the period 1836-1869, examines how the concepts of mission, motherhood, and guardianship of morality provided women with a unified concept of female solidarity and hence authorised them to write in public on issues that women had before denied to themselves. Chapter 1 discusses the difference between the state and the nation, and particularly the channels through which, at the time when the state had excluded women from its major agencies - the army and the educational system - and from political rights - the franchise - the women's question made an irreversible entry into political discourse. The discussion then focuses on how intellectuals provided women, primarily those from the privileged classes, with what the state had denied them: vocational training and secondary education.

In his book, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, G. Mosse discusses the relation between respectability, manners, morals, sexual attitudes and nationalism.¹ His approach is an excellent way to understand how nationalism informed aesthetic sensibilities, manners, and morals and how nationalism shaped people's lives. In the Greek case, 'respectability', a term that, according to Mosse, denotes 'decent and correct manners', in relation to nationalism is embodied in the epithet *Hellenoprepos*. Therefore, the subject of Chapter 2 is the impact that nationalism had on the efforts of contemporary intellectuals to create a culturally homogeneous female population - *Hellenoprepos* (faithful to the principles of *Hellenismos*) teachers and mothers - and on women's identity and their consciousness as a group.

Chapter 3 discusses how the conception by contemporary intellectuals of the model *Hellenida*, and the definition of her characteristics, ingenuity, morality and spirituality helped exceptional women to see contemporary patriarchal gender definitions as problematic. It discusses how a consciousness that their condition was

¹ G. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality. Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (London, 1985), pp. 1-22.

societally and not naturally ordained arose among women and explores the impact of this development on the group consciousness of women.

Part II (1870-1880) deals with the Greek women's struggle for equal education. It discusses how the concept of *Hellenismos* helped women to develop a sense of sisterhood, to organise themselves in their own interests, and to attack patriarchal frames of reference on womanhood, citizenship, the 'public sphere' and politics.

Chapter 1 examines how the *Megale Idea*, whereby intellectuals appealed to *Hellenides* to follow their national mission and to enlighten their own sex *genos*, became the basis of women's collectivity. Chapter 2 discusses how women's demand for the right to learn was justified as the national right that they possessed as members of this nation. Then, it shows how Christianity, the cult of the Virgin Mary, and the nationalist rhetoric of the period helped exceptional women, particularly those who enjoyed economic independence as teachers, to advocate another view of women's roles and authority. The subject of Chapter 3 is the evaluation of private life and the autonomous construction by women of social 'national' spaces in which they could consider themselves equal to men. Once self-confident in their roles, women could struggle for the discovery of their authentic national self, simultaneously opposing the ignorance and backwardness to which men had confined them, and thus, according to contemporary intellectuals, had deprived the nation of *Hellenoprepos* teachers, mothers, wives, and homemakers. Once conscious of their identity, and the effect of their 'private' activities on the entire nation, women became conscious of the public counterpart of their 'private' roles. Their struggle against traditional patriarchal definitions of polity, citizenship and public issues, in order to legitimise for themselves public roles that before they had denied to themselves, is another theme discussed in this chapter.

However, if the *Megale Idea* provided women with a plane of subjectivity where they could meet men as equals, it simultaneously imposed particular restrictions on women's identity. Chapter 4 discusses the obstacles that women had to overcome in this process of thinking their way out of oppression, and the restraints they imposed on themselves in transmitting to succeeding generations their ideological choices.

Part III, the last part (1880-1897), explores the moment when *Hellenides*, now conscious of their national identity, began to demand of the state public access and political rights as citizens.

Chapter 1 deals with the ideological changes in the *Megale Idea* and the effects of the latter on women's consciousness. Chapter 2 discusses the publication of the *Ladies' Journal* (1887-1917) and investigates how Kalliroe Parren and her colleagues were able to lodge a series of claims on the Greek state for women, such as justice, ownership of property, custody of their children, vocational training, higher education, and employment. This chapter also focuses on how, when the state and, by extension, men failed to follow its national promises, Parren and her colleagues were able to develop an alternative authoritative concept of the 'public' and 'polity' and thereby to legitimise themselves in public roles that women had previously denied to themselves.¹ Their actions included involvement in philanthropy and leadership in women's education, provision of vocational training and basic education to paupers, research on women's history; improvement of sanitation and nutrition in prisons and schools, and the founding of hospitals.

These women saw their actions as projects through which they could correct men's and, by extension, the state's neglect. They assumed that they were citizens of the state but they developed an alternative vision of female citizenship. They defined a feminine 'political' sphere and believed that it was their national and political obligation to keep the nation beyond the world of corrupt politics, pure and morally strong. They believed that they were the guardians of the Hellenic civilisation, and this belief empowered them to participate actively in public issues and to criticise men's actions. However, the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 would show how their beliefs came dangerously close to the traditional ideal of womanhood from which they had tried so hard to escape.

¹ 'Public' refers to a variety of areas, not only the political and the legal but also the cultural and the social. 'Policy' refers to the efforts made by figures both within and outside the formal institutions of the state with the aim of affecting the course of behaviour of government or community.

I. Gender and the Nation

1.1 King of the Greeks or King of the Hellenes? Gender and the Nation (1836-1869)

The existence of the modern Greek nation-state seems so natural as to require no explanation. For modern Greeks, Athens is their indisputable capital and an essential part of their national identity. But this was not always the case. A century ago, the birth of the modern Greek state as a territorial unit, whose boundaries excluded more Greeks than they included, seemed a new and illogical settlement.

In 1830, the long struggle against the Turks ended favourably with the creation of an independent Greek state which had never existed before within these borders. In 1833, Otto, the second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, arrived in Greece as that state's first monarch. The 'protecting' powers France, Britain, and Russia pledged themselves under a vaguely defined 'guarantee' to oversee the development of this shaky edifice. But if the welcome which awaited the young king on his arrival in Nafplion in February 1833 was genuine enough, it was still not evident how, once the stage of political independence was achieved, Otto and his extensive Bavarian entourage could win the loyalty of his subjects. At this time the kingdom embraced, within its borders, less than a third of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire. The exclusion of Thessaly, Epiros, Crete, Macedonia, the Ionian Islands, and parts of Asia Minor from the newly established state created tensions that would plague Greece throughout the nineteenth century.¹

Yet, the reborn state's geographical boundaries in 1830 encompassed many of those ancient places which could satisfy those who in the 'national awakening' before the War of Independence had emphasised the historical continuity of the race from classical times.² In addition the Bavarian mission, drawing on Athens' classical glory, named the streets of this reborn capital after the gods and goddesses of ancient mythology (e.g. Athena, Aeolus, Hermes), while there were even a serious intention to build Otto's palace atop the Acropolis. Such beliefs soon found expression in the *autochthonismos* ideology of the years 1839-41, whose supporters, as the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891), an 'outside' Greek, critically explained,

¹ G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History*, op. cit., p. 13; R. Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 47-49.

² P. Kitromilides, 'Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans', in M. Blinkhorn and Th. Veremis (eds.), op. cit., pp. 22-35.

believed in the 'autochthonismos of the Hellenic race and civilisation' and 'its autonomy from the East.'¹

According to the *autochthonismos* doctrine, while Hellas geographically formed part of the Byzantine Empire, chronologically Greek history had nothing to do with Byzantine civilisation, nor with any other historical entity such as the Macedonian, Roman or Turkish empires. Greeks were the heirs of antiquity and all other historical periods were regarded as passing interruptions in the continuing stream of Greek history. Athens was seen as the symbol of the ancient times and literature, and from 1837, with the establishment of the University of Otto in Athens, the city became the exemplar of the cultivation of Greek literature and civilisation.² But, although there were serious attempts to build this new nation-state within its existing borders, with Athens as its capital, this crusade was undermined by appeals for the re-establishment of the Greek Christian Empire and the unification of the entire Hellenic *genos* (the ecumenical community of Balkan Orthodoxy as it existed under the Ottoman Empire). In 1834, King Otto announced: 'I dream of seeing my throne where the last Greek Emperor died.'³ In 1834, furthermore, the future prime minister Ioannis Kolettis, who believed that the liberation of the real capital, Constantinople - known in Greek as *Poli* (the City) - was inevitable, claimed that it was meaningless to call Athens the capital. The geographical area which constituted the Greek kingdom became known as mainland Greece in popular language, and it was commonly accepted that it was just a question of time before the rest of Hellas would free itself. The terms Great and Small Hellas became common currency: 'I told them of my desire to go to Hellas. Which one? someone asked. The Small or the Great Hellas? To the Hellenic kingdom, I replied. Poor thing, he answered, shaking his head.'⁴ As late as 1855, people joked that owls would occupy Koromila's house in Parliament Square once the capital was transferred to its permanent site in

¹ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'To en to panepistimio mathima tis istorias tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Pandora*, v (1855), p. 558; K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., pp. 325-427; J.S. Koliopoulos, *Brigands with a Cause* (Oxford, 1987), p. 308; 'I Hellas kai o Sotir', *Anagenithisa Hellas*, 20 January 1836; 'I eorti tou Vasileos', *Anagenithisa Hellas*, 19 September 1836; 'I Hellas', *Anagenithisa Hellas*, 24 September 1836; 'Oikonomiki katastasis tou kratous', *Anagenithisa Hellas*, 17 June 1836.

² Th. Karousou, 'Tina ta kentra tis ethnikes enoseos', *Pandora*, v (1854), pp. 63-66.

³ K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., pp. 336-341.

⁴ M. Papadopoulos Vrettos, 'Oi anamnisis mou. I Patris', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iii (1865), p. 22.

Constantinople.¹ Consequently, Athens, which had 1000 inhabitants in 1833, was still described in 1835 as the capital of a region (Attica) and not of a state.² From the very beginning, Athens was compared with Constantinople, not on its own merits as a city, but as a symbol of particular ideals and practices. Thus, although Athens was the ideal prototype of an Hellenistic world sharing a common culture, there had been no political nation in ancient Greece, but only a collection of city-states each of which jealously guarded its sovereignty, while the Byzantine Empire was recognised as having successfully unified the whole Hellenic race under a monarchy guided by Christianity's spirit.³

Constantinople gradually gained the ascendance in this contest of capitals among the people who found themselves inside the lands that eventually formed the Greek state. Whereas the *autochthones* - peasant warlords, local notables, and seafaring islanders - were the majority in the realm, the beliefs of *heterochthones* - prominent literary figures from Constantinople, Smyrna and both the Aegean and Ionian Islands, politicians, chieftains of the War of Independence and refugees, the Greeks who had moved to the kingdom only after independence - who held that Hellas was not Greece, that the Hellenic genos, and by implication the Orthodox world were still enslaved and that Hellenes, not Greeks, were what Greeks had to focus upon.⁴ Their ideas enjoyed wide currency among this *autochthonous* population which was unfamiliar with a secular territorial ethnic state on the French model which the Bavarian regime and a small class of educated Greeks, most of whom had lived and studied mostly outside the Ottoman Empire, tried to establish when the War of Independence was over.⁵

The Bavarian regime took good care to establish a centralised administrative machine, disregarding the demands for constitutional government. Furthermore, the *heterochthones* because of their better education

¹ M. Skaltsa, *Koinonikoi zoi kai dimosioi horoi koinonikon synathriseon stin Athina tou 19ou aiona* (Thessalonica 1983), p. 69.

² N.G. Fardouli, *Enheiridion geographias tou N.G. Fardouli*, in Ch. Koulouri (ed.), *Istoria kai geographia sta Hellenika sholeia 1834-1914. Anthologio Keimenon. Vivliographia Sholikon Enheiridion* (Athens, 1988), p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴ J.S. Koliopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-104.

⁵ Th. Veremis, 'From the Nation State to the Stateless Nation 1821-1910', in M. Blinkhorn and Th. Veremis, *op. cit.*, p. 11; I. Dimakis, *I Politeiaki Metavoli tou 1843 kai to Zitima ton Autochthonon kai Heterochthonon* (Athens, 1991), pp. 1-79.

had occupied a disproportionate share of the high public offices, at the expense of the veterans of the War of Independence, who felt dispossessed in their own country. In September 1843, opponents (politicians and the army with extensive popular support) of the Bavarian regime staged a popular protest and demanded a constitution. Above all, this was an expression of public dissatisfaction with a system of alien attitudes, practices and beliefs. The protest reflected the gradually emerging subjective need of a growing number of people to find a new social and political identity in this new situation.¹ This quest started when in 1844 the *autochthones* tried to pass a bill in the Greek parliament providing that only those Greeks born within the 1830 boundaries could be citizens, and thus eligible for civil service posts. Thus, this bill would have refused citizenship to the Greek Christians born outside the borders of the kingdom. Although the *autochthones* temporarily achieved their exclusive claim to hold public offices, the *heterochthones* succeeded in lifting the ban and making public positions accessible to all *Hellenes*. A classical view of the idea, which became known as the *Megale Idea* (Great Idea), and was to be the dominant ideology of this emerging state, was given by the *heterochthon* Prime Minister Kolettis in 1844. During the political debate in the Greek parliament, on who should be considered citizens of this new state. Kolettis expounded an ideology of complete national unity, in which each Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian, regardless of place of birth, would be included in one and the same state. As he explained:

The Greek kingdom is not the whole Hellas [Greece] but only a small part, the smallest and poorest part. A native is not only someone who lives within this Kingdom, but also one who lives in Ioannina, in Thessaly, in Serres, Adrianople, in Constantinople, in Trepizond, in Crete, in Samos and in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race.²

The struggle did not begin in 1821; it began the day after the fall of Constantinople; fighters were not simply those of 1821; fighters were always those continuing the struggle against the crescent for 400 years.³

The theoretical underpinning of this nationalist rhetoric clearly predated 1844. It is not even clear whether the term *Megale* was coined by Kolettis or borrowed from

¹ K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., pp. 325-427; J.S. Koliopoulos, op. cit., p. 308.

² Ioannis Kolettis before the constituent assembly in 1844; here the quotation is taken from R. Clogg, op. cit., p. 48.

³ The quotation is taken from G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 14.

France, where at that time the word was in frequent use in French literature.¹ But what occurred in 1844 was the adoption of the ideology - the liberation of the unredeemed brothers and the creation of a large Greek state reminiscent of the Byzantine Empire - among the vital cultural resources of this state, reflecting the ability of Kolettis to exploit the domestic conflict between the *autochthones* and the *heterochthones* as well as to elaborate the ideological factors which became the basic premise of Hellenic nationalism.² This doctrine of unity of the whole Hellenic race and the liberation of the unredeemed brothers sanctioned a general intolerance in Greek political thought: Constantinople was the only homeland and the only acceptable ideological orthodoxy. It was both the religious centre of the entire Hellenic race and the capital on which the new Orthodox Hellenic Empire could coexist with the civilisation of Periclean Athens. The transfer of the country (Greece, Athens) to the *homeland* (Hellas, Constantinople) was just a question of time and, as the years passed, it became such a powerful doctrine that any challenge to its goals was conceived as national heresy.³ The national ideology of Panhellenic unity had gradually been transformed within Greece from a rhetorical appeal to an axiom, and the credo of unification became the crux of Hellenic national identity.⁴ In the decades that followed, this doctrine of national unity was to be elaborated and expounded on three levels. On the social level, it involved national unity and homogenisation within Greece; on the geographical level, it involved the unity of the *Hellenismos* within and outside the Greek kingdom in the lands that had once belonged to the Byzantine Empire; and, on the historical level, it stressed the unity of the Greek nation along a temporal dimension, emphasising its uninterrupted continuity from ancient through Byzantine to modern times.⁵ Within this ideological backdrop, Orthodoxy, monarchy and unification were the key theoretical components of the state's construction of nationhood, with the term *enotita* (unification) being replaced at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the word *olomeleia* (entirety), pointing to a more organic context for the nation. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that in 1863, no one would remember the domestic conflict, and the journal *Ethniko*

¹ K. Dimaras, *Tis Megalis Tautis Ideas. Shediasma Philologiko* (Athens, 1970), pp. 12-17.

² Th. Veremis, op. cit., p. 11.

³ Th. Karousou, op. cit., pp. 63-66; K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 196.

⁴ Ibid., p. 417.

⁵ P. Kitromilides, op. cit., p. 41.

Imerologio (National Chronicle) in Athens would explain that the words *autochthones* and *heterochthones* are identical, while in 1868 the newspaper *Elpis* would address its appeal to the *autochthones* of the Greek kingdom and the *autochthones* of the Great Hellas.¹ Within such a framework, the reborn modern Hellenic monarchy was expected to follow the success of the Byzantine monarchy by successfully combining those different national mosaics which shared a common inheritance: Orthodoxy.² National identity was soon exclusively defined in terms of the *Helleno-Christian* civilisation, precluding the realisation of other individual identities. Although Orthodoxy was restricted to the Hellenic *genos*, it is scarcely surprising that writers such as Grigorios Pappadopoulos defended Orthodoxy by putting it at the heart of the nation. As Pappadopoulos explained, Orthodoxy *is a system of national beliefs*, a system of religious, moral knowledge and feelings which all the *Hellenic* *genos* shared regardless of geographical borders.³ Thus, in 1860, Pappadopoulos referred to the Vlach (a nomadic people spread throughout the Balkans and speaking a form of Romanian) youth as *Hellenes*, recognising them as members of the same Orthodox entity, who shared a common system of beliefs, common past and sentiments with all other *Hellenes*.⁴ With such profound belief a missionary element was soon added to the contemporary matrix of theories and doctrines.

Greek intellectuals concluded that the mission of the Hellenic nation was the enlightenment of the East through Greek language and literature. Drawing upon this ideological foundation, the third period of Hellenic civilisation, as Paparrigopoulos called it, was under way: 'From ancient times to the present the Hellenic nation has accomplished two historical imperatives (*entoles*), and is probably about to complete a third one.'⁵ The classical times had bequeathed ideals to the race, the Byzantine

¹ G. Vitalis, 'O Politikos Vios tou Vasileiou tis Hellados 1861-1862', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iii (1863), p. 86; *Elpis*, 10 September 1868, here the quotation is taken from E. Skopetea, *To Prototypos Vasileio kai I Megale Idea* (Athens, 1988), p. 74.

² Gr. Papadopoulos, 'Logos peri tou en Vlahois Hellenismou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1859), p. 12; G. Stathopoulou, *Stoiheiodi mathimata tis Geografias*, in Ch. Coulouri, op. cit., pp. 155-60; N. Dragoumis, 'Apospasma Ipomnmaton Anekdoton', *Pandora*, v (1856), pp. 149-153; K. Freariti, 'Vivliokrisia. To mellon iti peri anatrofis kai paidevseos ypo D. Stroumpou', *Pandora*, v (1855), pp. 525-532; N. Vamvas, 'Prosphonisis', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1852), pp. 39-44.

³ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1860), pp. 3-14, 11.

⁴ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou en Vlahois Ellinismou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1859), pp. 4-37.

⁵ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'To en to panepistimio mathima tis istorias tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Pandora*, viii (1855), pp. 555-560; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Eorti. Epeteios tou panepistimiou kata tin 20 Maiou', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 110-120; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Istorikai meletai', *Hellin*, 29

Empire had saved the Christian religion, and these ideological developments had brought the elaboration of nationalism full-circle in the eyes of Paparrigopoulos and his followers. The missing link in this chain was the third phase of Greek civilisation, being the point at which ideals and Orthodoxy were embodied in the Hellenic nation, whose mission was to spread this new Helleno-Christian spirit, as contemporary Greek intellectuals called it, around the world and primarily in the East. Or, as Kolettis explained in 1844:

By its geographical position Greece is the centre of Europe having the East on its right and the West on its left it is destined to enlighten the East through its rebirth as it illuminated the West through its fall.¹

Within this framework, the historian Spyros Zabelios (1815-1881), in 1852, introduced the term *Helleno-Christianikos politismos* (Greek Christian civilisation), indicating the fundamental base upon which the *third* phase of Hellenic civilisation was to be founded.² This civilisation was seen as superior to any that had preceded it. A process of heroisation occurred, embracing all social groups who had participated in the War of Independence.³ The new Hellenic spirit, combined with classical teachings and Orthodox beliefs, was portrayed as saving the world by reintroducing the moral values of life, freedom and personal safety to society under the guidance of Orthodoxy. The Hellenic mission started to be seen as a unique and universal power.⁴ Poetry, penned in vague nationalist language, sang with great passion of heroes and religious martyrs. The romantic poet in this society was portrayed as a national hero. Public poetry competitions were a prominent forum for

September 1858; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I epeteios tou panepistimiou eortis', *Hellin*, 23 May 1858; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I Helleniki epanastasis', *Hellin*, 11 January 1858.

¹ Ioannis Kolettis before the constituent assembly in 1844. Here quoted from G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 14; K. Dimaras, *Tis Megalis taftis Ideas*, op. cit., p. 8.

² Sp. Zabelios, op. cit., p. 464. However, the introduction of the term *Hellenochristianikos* by Sp. Zabelios in Greek literature had been for the first time noted by Dimaras. K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 378; G. Vitis, 'Politikos vios tou Vasileiou tis Hellados 1861 and 1862', *Ethniko Imerologio*, i (1863), p. 83; Gr. Papadopoulos, 'Logos ekfonthis en Helliniko Ekpaidevtirio', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), pp. 1-5; M. Renieri, 'Peri tou proorismou tou Hellinikou Ethnous kai tis Hellinikis Glossis', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iii (1865), pp. 351-56; N. Dragoumi, 'Egger Diatrivi', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 139-143; T.I.F., 'Skepseis tines peri tou neoterou politismou', *Pandora*, v (1855), p. 204.

³ N. Vamvas, 'Ekthesis Hellinikou Ekpaidevtiriou 1852-53', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1853), p. 30; K. Asopios, 'Logos eisagogikos', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), pp. 739-752; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Eis to panepistimio, mathima tis Istorias tou Hellinikou Ethnous', *Pandora*, v (1855), p. 559.

⁴ K.Th. Karousos, 'Logos eisagogikos', *Pandora*, iii (1856), pp. 313-320; Ch. Christopoulos, 'Peri tis Dimosias ekpaidevseos en Helladi', *Pandora*, vii (1857), pp. 553-561; K. Paparrigopoulos, *Istoria tou Hellinikou Ethnous*, in K. Dimaras, op. cit., p. 33.

the expression of nationalist sentiment. Prize-giving fell on National Day and the winner received a hero's accolade such as that given to athletes of the classical period: hoisted up on the shoulders of the people, he would be paraded around Athens so that all should know of his victory.¹ Everything was classified as either a national virtue or a national heresy. The *Megale Idea* became such a powerful doctrine that even Zabelios, in 1852, suggested that the study and collection of folk-songs (*dimotika*) should become a national task until the *genos'* national goals were fulfilled.² This atmosphere invested old words with new meaning. *Hellas* and *Hellenes* were some of the first such philological vehicles of change, while the *Hellene* was portrayed as philanthropic, obliging, creative, ingenious and brave, and references to the power of *Hellenismos*, Orthodoxy, and *Hellinomathia* (Greek learning) were repeatedly invoked to teach the new *Hellenes* about his or her glorious inheritance and ingenuity.³ Patriotism, in its active expression, became a major focus of national identification.⁴ The journals began to assign particular qualities to the nation: the Hellenic spirit came to symbolise continuity, while the identity of the *Hellene* encompassed two worlds, East and West, and was no longer merely an ethnic definition. *Hellenismos* meant education, civilisation, and conscientiousness. 'The Hellenic spirit . . . you find it in the Ionian Islands, you follow it in Athens, in Constantinople, in Alexandria.'⁵ In fact, as early as 1852, Zabelios criticised the frequent use of the words *apostoli* (mission) and *panelleniko* (Panhellenic).⁶ From these golden ages, from idealised events and heroes, the new generation could learn of its noble heritage and of the drama of its ancient glory and regeneration. A moral

¹ Ibid., in K. Dimaras, p. 191; A. Politis, *Romantika Hronia. Ideologies kai nootropies stin Hellada tou 1830-1880* (Athens, 1993), p. 116.

² Sp. Zabelios, op. cit., pp. 474-475.

³ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), pp. 3-5; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos ekfonithis ti 24 Iouniou 1851', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1851), p. 10; N. Vamvas, 'Prosfonisis', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1851), p. 24; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou en Athinais Lysikrateiou Mnimiou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1852), p. 1; N. Vamvas, 'Prosfonisis', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1853), pp. 30-34; M. Apostolides, 'Proslalia pros tous mathites en to Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1854), pp. 35-40.

⁴ K.A. Papazafeiropoulou, 'Peri patriotismou', *Pandora*, v (1854), pp. 366-368; 'Peri tis Ithikis Anatrophis', *O Paidagogos*, i (1839), pp. 221-222; K.Th. Carousou, 'Logos eisagogikos', *Pandora*, iii (1856), pp. 313-320; Egiklios tou Ypourgeiou Paideias pros tous didaskalous gia tous skopous tis ekpaidevsis, in Ch. Choulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 291.

⁵ S. Zabelios, op. cit., pp. 13-15; K. Kostis, "Logos K. Kosti Ekfonithis kata to mnimosinon to telesthen ti 3 Fevrouariou 1874 yper Gr. Pappadopoulos", *O en Athinais Pros Diadosi ton Hellenikon Grammaton Syllogos* [thereafter abbreviated to A.D.H.S.], iii (1873-74), pp. 102-110.

⁶ Ibid., in Zabelios, p. 8; K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 363.

historicism took root, as past examples of public virtue were portrayed in order to inspire emulation in the present generation. No one would present all these changes better than Paparrigopoulos, who strove to justify the geographic continuity of Greece by proving its continuity in historical time.

Paparrigopoulos was a *heterochthon*. Born in Constantinople in 1815, he grew up in the Greek colony at Odessa. He arrived in Athens in 1830. His struggle to introduce and restore Byzantine civilisation, whose place in Greek history had been ignored by the admirers of the European Enlightenment, as an integral part of Greek history was not easy.¹ When Paparrigopoulos started writing his history, he faced an indigenous intellectual élite including Iakovos Rizos Neroulos (1778-1849), Pavlos Kalligas (1814-1896), Nikolaos Saripolos (1817-1887), Grigorios Pappadopoulos, Dimitrios Stroubos, Georgios Mistriotis (1840-1916) and Konstantinos Papaspliotis, all of whom were ardent classicists strongly opposed to his efforts. Paparrigopoulos eventually prevailed over his critics. However, until the end of his life, he preferred to use the term Middle Ages instead of Byzantium, ever mindful of the strength of his opponents' feelings.² Nevertheless, Paparrigopoulos sought to prove his theory of Greek unity through the ages by tracing the development of Greece from classical to modern times.

Published in 1853, Paparrigopoulos' one-volume of history marked a radical departure from previous histories which were largely translated from Western works and were principally concerned with the classical period.³ However, Paparrigopoulos' second innovation in Greek historiography was his attention to the history of 1821. More than half of the text of his history was devoted to the War of Independence. People were able to identify with the 'we' and the 'they' of his histories, 'we' being the victims of aggression and 'they' representing a mortal threat to the independence and civilisation which 'we' embodied.⁴ But what Paparrigopoulos also provided through his history (a multi-volume history which began to appear in the 1860s) was the historical framework within which its

¹ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Istorikai meletai', *Hellin*, 29 September 1858.

² K. Dimaras, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. *Prolegomena* (Athens, 1970), pp. 9-33; K. Paparrigopoulos, *Istoria tou Hellinikou Ethnous*. I *Proti morfi* 1853, ed. K. Dimaras (Athens, 1970), pp. 7-29; K. Dimaras, Konstantinos Papparrigopoulos. I *epohi-I zoi tou*- To ergo tou, op. cit., pp. 48-77; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'To aisthimatikon taxidion', *Mnimosyni*, 23 March 1835.

³ Ch. Coulouri, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

⁴ K. Paparrigopoulos, *Istoria tou Hellenikou Ethnous*, op. cit., pp. 33-35, 122-211.

members, whether living inside the borders of this state or not, remained, ineluctably and organically, members of this community.¹ Byzantium was described not simply as an historical period, but, above all, as an entity which encompassed the entire *Hellenismos*: 'Byzantium was the Hellenic spirit comprising Orthodoxy, language, and habits.'² With such strong beliefs, history was seen not only as a study of events but also as *magistra vitae*, the national lesson which would contribute to the development of a Helleno-Christian character, and this was the only way that intellectuals at that time, such as Paparrigopoulos, believed that they could preserve the Hellenic *genos*' memories - the communal experience that various Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire shared in the *millet* system.

Hellenes, Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, Vlachs are all members of the common chain [Byzantine], having only one feeling, one hope, one goal, one nationality and one *genos*, the Byzantine.³

As decades passed, such a view empowered further the well-entrenched belief which, prior to 1854, the majority of Greek intellectuals held, that the eventual political unification of the entire Hellenic *genos* and the creation of the Helleno-Christian Empire was simply a question of time. Passages of history that might inspire contradictory feelings among students were deliberately ignored.⁴ And the nation's youth were constantly reminded that they were a generation in captivity who should be ready to defend the homeland and the nation.⁵ 'What has happened to courage and devotion to the homeland . . . and to all those lustrous qualities displayed by the previous generation?'⁶ It was in this environment that the University of Athens was founded in 1837, aiming to serve the two symbolic

¹ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'En to panepistimio mathima tis istorias tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Pandora*, v (1855), pp. 555-560.

² K. Dimaras, op. cit., pp. 69-80; E. Skopetea, op. cit., p. 183; S. Zampelios, *Asmata Dimotika tis Hellados ekdothenta meta meletis peri messaionikou Hellenismou* (Corfu, 1852), p. 19.

³ Anonymous (probably K. Paparrigopoulos), "O Kyrios Ubcini kai oi En Tourkia Hristianoï", *Pandora*, iii (1853), p. 204.

⁴ For example, in his history published in 1853, Paparrigopoulos made no mention of the political upheaval in 1843, reporting only that at the Sixth National Assembly in 1843, in Athens, the king introduced the country's new political system. Ch. Coulouri, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

⁵ K. Dimara, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 145; I. N. Valeta, *Geographia tis Hellados arhaias kai neoteris* (Hermoupolis, 1841), ed. Ch. Coulouri, op. cit., pp. 130-131; S. Antoniadis, *Istoria tis Arhaias Hellados sygrafeisa men ypo tou Agglou Thoma Keightley*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., pp. 150-151; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Epeteios tou Panepistimiou kata tin 20 May 1857', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 110-120.

⁶ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I Orthodoxos Anatoliki Eklisia', *Pandora*, iv (1853), pp. 162-174; G. Vionis, *Logos Ekfonithis en ti eorti tis pentikoaetiridos tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias* (Athens, 1886), pp. 5-47.

centres of Greek national identity: Athens, which produced the staff for state institutions, and Constantinople, which transmitted Western culture through the medium of Greek education and language to its irredenta, known in contemporary idiom as *kath imas Anatoli* (the Greece as we see it). *Kath Imas Anatoli*, as defined by the University of Athens' first rector, Konstantinos Schinas, comprised Asia Minor, Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia and the Ionian Islands.¹ In addition, addressing Otto as the 'first Panhellenic' king, Schinas announced that the institution's mission was to transmit European culture from the West to the East through the Greek language.²

Indeed, the success of this educational programme was immense. The University of Athens became the major source of high-school teachers throughout the *kath Imas Anatoli*, and they in turn trained students who became elementary school teachers, thus creating a network of Greek schools throughout the Ottoman Empire and opening the way for the revival of the Greek language and culture. In addition, students from the *kath Imas Anatoli* were now trained in Athens rather than in Italy, France or Germany. When they returned to their native cities, they became also proponents of the transmission of the value system of Greek nationalism to the Orthodox populations in the Ottoman Empire. However, if an important consequence of this educational crusade was the Hellenization of large Orthodox groups, the significance of the crusade went even beyond that.³

The founding of the University of Athens, the first institution of its kind in the Balkans and the Middle East, and its orientation from its inauguration towards the Greek populations outside the Greek kingdom's borders was the outcome of the ideological doctrine of the unification of the entire *genos* that had been propagated since the attainment of independence. In addition, it was through such an interpretation of the university's Panhellenic role that in 1849 students defended the right of the university, or *Kentro tis Anatonis* (Hearth of the East), as they called it, to send representatives to the Greek parliament on the grounds that, as the university was a major agency through which the nation could accomplish its mission, it was

¹ K. Dimaras, *En Athinais ti 3 Maiou 1837. Meleti Istoriki kai Philologiki* (Athens, 1987), pp. 29-53, 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-54.

³ P.M. Kitromilides, 'Imagined Communities and Nationalism', in Blinkhorn and Veremis, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-60.

important for it to have political power.¹ In 1853, in response to the comment of M. A. Ubcini - a keen French observer of the Ottoman situation - that the idea of an Hellenic Empire was sponsored by the university's élite, a writer who wrote anonymously (and who is believed to be Paparrigopoulos), protested that 'Mr. Ubcini seems to forget that when he speaks about the university, he speaks about all the Hellenic race.'² Within this ideological backdrop, in the decades that followed, the University of Athens was viewed by intellectuals, such as Paparrigopoulos, as a major means of promoting the cultural (and thus indirectly the political) unification of their nation beyond the state's cultural resources of power. 'As the Hellenic name [through Greek language and literature] would be synonymous with literacy . . . it would be able to include finally under its kind and saintly mantle all the Eastern Christian populations . . . completing likewise its mission,' Paparrigopoulos declared to his compatriots.³ Culture was also a source of power, but, moreover, for intellectuals, such as Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, Spyros Zabelios, Grigorios Pappadopoulos, Alexandros Ragavis, Leon Melas, Markos Renieris, and Konstantinos Schinas, it was the main means to promote the image of a Panhellenic community within and beyond the borders of the Greek kingdom. But the expectations of this generation were perhaps best summed up by Konstantinos Asopios, rector of the University of Athens. 'From the educational institutions of the state, the clergy school and the school for girls,' Asopios stated, 'this nation expected the creation of moral citizens, the production of teachers for the spread of Greek education and language to *kath Imas Anatoli* and the regeneration of ancient glory in the following years.'⁴ It was out of such profound belief that, when women were denied access to education under the law in 1836, Ioannis Kokkonis, the state inspector of elementary schools in the country, assumed that it was *individuals' national responsibility* to undertake the task of preparing *Hellenides* (Hellenic women)

¹ 'Aitisis ton Kathigiton tou Panepistimiou. Synedriasis stin Ethnosynelevsi 22 Fevrouariou 1844. Nomos peri eklogis voulevton', in A. Dimaras (ed.), *I Metarythmisis pou den egine* (Athens, 1973), 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 104-118.

² Anonymous (probably Paparrigopoulos), 'O Ouvikinis kai en Tourkia Hristianoï', *Pandora*, iii (1853), p. 204.

³ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Helleniki Epanastasis', *Hellin*, 11 January 1858.

⁴ K. Asopios, 'Logos peri tou Helenikou Ekpaidevtiriou 29 Iouniou 1850', *Helleneniko Ekpaidevtirio*, (1850), p. 13.

for their mission: to become mothers and apostles of Greek letters and language to *kath Imas Anatoli*.

The development of a network of elementary schools in the Greek kingdom and beyond was one of the major objectives of the reborn state, leading to legislation in February 1834 which made attendance at elementary schools for boys and girls compulsory and established the first teacher-training school (*didaskaleio*) in Greece.¹ Although this legislation was originally intended to provide teachers for the education of both sexes, the mention of girls' education was restricted to an appendix, as a luxury where circumstances permitted.² Legislation introduced on 31 December 1836, modelled on German precedents, organised secondary male education on two levels: the *Helleniko* (three years of study) and the *Gymnasio* (four years). But no legislation was passed regarding women's secondary education, while it was stressed that secondary education was for the benefit of men or *paides* (children!) and not girls.³ Moreover, in September 1852, an amendment to the 1834 Education Act further prejudiced girls' chances of gaining education. Although the 1834 Act had allowed girls to attend schools with boys, where no alternative solution (e.g. single-sex schools) was possible, the 1852 amendment prohibited mixed classes.⁴

In August 1836, the same year that women had been excluded from secondary education, Kokkonis established the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* (Educational Society) in Athens, a society with a general interest in basic public education.⁵ However, within a month, Kokkonis had changed the society's objectives, making its first priority the education of girls, particularly paupers. As Alexandros Ragavis later explained, Kokkonis saw this as a necessary change of his programme since the state had taken no measures *vis-à-vis Hellenides'* education, or more importantly their vocational training as teachers.⁶ Against such an ideological background, the

¹ D. Antoniou, *Ta programmata tis mesis ekpaidevsis 1833-1921* (Athens, 1987), 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 12-21; 'Diatagma gia tis organosi ton dimotikon sholeion', ed. A. Dimara, op. cit., pp. 44-50.

² D. Antoniou, op. cit., p. 12.

³ *Diatagma* 31 December 1836, *Diatagma* 10/22 July 1835, in A. Dimaras (ed.), op. cit., pp. 50, 60-67; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, *I Mesi Ekpaidevsis ton Koritsion stin Hellada 1830-1893* (Athens, 1986), p. 54.

⁴ *Egyklios* 10 Septemvriou 1852, in A. Dimaras (ed.), op. cit., pp. 123-24.

⁵ K. Kostis, *Ekantotaetiris tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias (1836-1936). I idrysi, I Istoría tis, I drasi tis kai ai epidioxeis tis* (Athens, 1936), pp. 9-28; 'Geniki Synelevisis ton Melon tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias 16 Martiou 1858', *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* [Thereafter abbreviated to F.E.] (1858), pp. 3-12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, F.E. (1858), p. 7; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 79-104.

following year, the same year that the University of Athens was founded by the state, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* founded two schools: a primary school (*allilodidaktiko*) providing free tuition for girls in those subjects designated by state regulations as primary education, together with some free training in homecrafts, and a secondary school for training teachers (*Didaskaleio*).¹ The society, however, named its secondary school *Arsakeio*, after the Epirote physician and leading political figure in the Romanian Principalities, Apostolos Arsakis, who founded a charity in 1850 and provided the money for its construction.²

According to Kokonis, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*, acted to remedy the shortcoming that the Greek kingdom had no facilities for mass female education. Another objective was envisaged by the dean of the University of Athens and member of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*, Neofytos Vamvas (1770-1855). At the inaugural ceremony of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*, Vamvas, recalling Schinas' opening remarks at the inaugural ceremony of the university, stated that the society was open not only to Greeks in one municipality but to the whole kingdom, and likened the society to a tree whose branches would extend to embrace the Hellenic race everywhere.³

Its great, eminent and general goal . . . is the development of letters and moral upbringing for all the Hellenic *genos* . . . through the female sex both inside and outside the borders of the Greek kingdom.⁴

Likewise girls from inside and outside the kingdom . . . regardless of social class are educated to become one day good and godly (*theosevis*) citizens and mothers.⁵

In short, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* came to complete what the university had already begun, training and becoming the primary supplier of female teachers throughout the *kath Imas Anatoli*, thus achieving one of the major aims of the men

¹ Ibid., in S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, pp. 83-88; Ch. Vafas, 'Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 14 Martiou 1848', *F.E.* (1848), p. 25; G. Vionis, *Logos ekfonithis en ti Eorti tis Pentikontaetiridos tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias* (Athens, 1886), pp. 13-48; K. Kostis, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

² 'Geniki synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 24 Dekemvriou 1850', *F.E.* (1850), pp. 45-58; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 26 Octomvriou 1852', *F.E.* (1852), pp. 9-22; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 25 Ianouariou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), pp. 27-28.

³ N. Vamvas, 'Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 13 Noemvriou 1846' (1846), pp. 8-23; M. Aspostolides, *Egathidrisis tou Sholeiou ton Korasion tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias*, in E. Fournaraki (ed.), *Ekpaidevsi kai Agogi ton Koriston. Hellenikoi Provlmatismoi. Ena Anthologio* (Athens, 1987), pp. 103-106; M. Aspostolides, 'Apospasma logou', *Apothiki ton Ofelimon Gnoseon*, 1 September 1842.

⁴ Ibid., in Vamvas, p. 17.

⁵ 'Synelevis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 4 Fevrouariou 1845', *F.E.* (1845), p. 22.

who founded the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* in 1836.¹ Hardly surprisingly, these founders included major literary figures and personalities from the University of Athens. It is significant that among the 73 founders of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* were such personages as Georgios Gennadios (a very famous literary figure), Georgios Koundouriotis (a hero of 1821), Alexandros Mavrokordatos, Ioannis Kokkonis, Ioannis Kolettis, Alexandros Rangavis (later ambassador in Constantinople), Georgios Ainian, Leon Melas (a well-known man of letters), Misael Apostolides (dean of the faculty of theology) and Konstantinos Schinas (Table 1).² The last two played a prominent part in the inaugural ceremony of the university in May 1837, and Schinas was the first rector of the university. The primary aim of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* was gradually to enlighten the East through Greek literature and language via its female teachers.³ In the meantime, having stamped its existence with the distinguished seal of the mentorship of Otto's queen, Amalia, the society set about accomplishing its mission.⁴

When the society created schools for females, first in Athens, and later in Corfu (1868), Patras (1892) and Larissa (1902), it also built residences for the students. Boarding schools, although not favoured in the Greek kingdom, found great favour among the Hellenic communities in the Ottoman Empire. Students, even from the

¹ 'Ekthesis Peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias. Apo tis 8-22 Iouniou 1847', *F.E.* (1847) pp. 5-8; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 14 Martiou 1848', op. cit., pp. 18-26; 'Geniki Synelevis tis F.E. genomeni tin 9 Apriliou 1850', *F.E.* (1850), p. 12, 21; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 2 Martiou 1852', *F.E.* (1852), p. 44; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 25 Ianouariou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), pp. 33-34; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 22 Ianouariou 1856', *F.E.* (1856), pp. 62-64; 'Ekthesis Peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 3-17 Iouniou 1856', *F.E.* (1856), pp. 73-76; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tis 13 Fevrouariou 1866', *F.E.* (1866), p. 9; 'Geniki Synelevis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 26 Ianouariou 1869', *F.E.* (1869), pp. 4-9; 'Geniki Synelevis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias sygrotithisas tin 25 Ianouariou 1870', *F.E.* (1870), pp. 4-32; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 79-104.

² N. Kostis, op. cit., pp. 9, 28-29; G. Vionis, op. cit., pp. 8-15; 'Praktika ton Synedriaseon tou Dioikitikou Symvoulou kai ton Synelevseon tis En Athinais Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', *F.E.* (1844), pp. 63-87; G. Augustinos, *The Greeks in Asia Minor*, op. cit., p. 150.

³ 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 22 Martiou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), pp. 33-41; L. Melas, 'Pros tin Genikin Synelevsin tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', *F.E.* (1864), pp. 54-71, reference p. 59; L. Melas 'Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1578-1582; L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1727-1729; L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, x (1862), pp. 1959-1962, 2047-2052; 'Arsakeion Parthenagogeion. Logos L. Mela', *Pandora*, xi (1860), pp. 194-198; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias sygrotithisa tin 4 Martiou 1862', *F.E.* (1862), pp. 11, 12; L. Melas, 'Ekthesis Peri ton en Arsakeio Parthenagogeio tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias EniavSION Exetaseon Ypo tou Eisigitou tis Epi ton Sholon L. Mela', *F.E.* (1862), p. 60.

⁴ 'Tetarti Ektaktos Synedriasis Synelevseos tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 23 Noemvriou 1844', *F.E.* (1844), p. 37.

most remote areas of the empire, were thus able to attend school. Justifying its title as the model teacher-training school in the East (*Protypon Didaskaleion en Anatoli*) and Panhellenic institution (*Panellinion Kathidryma*), the *Arsakeio* sent a steady stream of women teachers to the Greek kingdom and beyond.¹ By 1853, teachers from Athens, Patras, Halkis, Mesologi, Ydra, Poros and Lamia, and from outside Greece, i.e. Smyrna, Alexandria, Ioannina, Constantinople, Crete, Lesvos, Chios, Philippoupolis, Thessalonica, Trieste, and Trebizond had graduated from the school.² Significantly, the educational society secured more economic assistance and pupils from outside the Greek kingdom than from within it.³ With such an ideological backdrop, when the conflict between the *autochthones* and the *heterochthones* erupted in 1844, the society framed its defence in nationalist language, arguing that nothing should interrupt its great mission to spread literacy in Greek to the entire Hellenic *genos*.⁴ By 1855, two-fifths of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*'s teachers were teaching beyond the Greek kingdom's borders, while, in 1870, the society reported that 92 of its 135 boarding students were from the Greek kingdom and 43 from abroad.⁵ It is significant that between 1836-1886, 2004 female teachers graduated under the society's tutelage, and new schools and dormitories were created to accommodate the growing number of female students who came particularly from the Hellenic communities of the Ottoman Empire. However, if the directors of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* aimed to provide educational opportunities from primary school to teacher-training academies for the entire female Hellenic *genos*, not only finally the society

¹ L. Melas, 'Pros tin Geniki Synelevsi tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', *F.E.* (1864), p. 53, 60; 'Geniki Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 24 Martiou 1857', *F.E.* (1857), p. 84.

² 'Ekthesis ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 8-22 Iouniou 1847', *F.E.* (1847), pp. 6-8; 'Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 14 Martiou 1848', *F.E.* (1848), pp. 18-26; 'Ekthesis ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 3-17 Iouniou 1856', *F.E.* (1856), p. 75.

³ 'Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 4 Iouniou 1844', *F.E.* (1844), p. 9; 'Geniki synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias geonomeni tin 9 Apriliou 1850', op. cit., pp. 11-15; 'Geniki Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 24 Dekemvriou 1861', *F.E.* (1861), pp. 10-11.

'Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias kata tin 4 Noemvriou 1845', *F.E.* (1845), p. 7; 'Geniki Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 22 Martiou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), pp. 29-40; 'Geniki Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 22 Ianouariou 1856', op. cit., p. 62; 'Ekthesis Peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 3-17 Iouniou 1856', op. cit., p. 75.

⁴ 'Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 4 Noemvriou 1845', op. cit., pp. 10-19; 'Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias 13 Noemvriou 1846', *F.E.* (1846), pp. 14-22; 'Ekthesis ton EniavSION Exetaseon ton Mathitron apo 8-22 Iouniou 1847', op. cit., pp. 3-10; 'Ekthesis ton EniavSION Exetaseon ton mathitron apo 13-27 Iouniou 1848', *F.E.* (1848), pp. 4-7; G. Vionis, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵ 'Geniki Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias 25 Ianouariou 1870', *F.E.* (Athens, 1870), p. 12; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 105; G. Vionis, op. cit., p. 28.

would not be able to keep its vague promises, but its objective would have an enormous impact on the *Hellenides'* secondary education and identity.

Founded in 1836, the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia* concentrated on the creation of a primary school and an *Anotero* (secondary) school, the latter was open to both those who wanted to become teachers and those who wished to receive a more complete education. An initiative in 1838, to introduce a secondary school - a level between *Allilodidaktiko* (primary) and *Didaskaleio* (school for training teachers) - to provide girls from the privileged classes with higher education without vocational training, was abandoned.¹ The production of teachers to meet the needs of the whole Hellenic nation had become the society's principal objective, an objective which was specified in 1842, when the society called its *Anotero* school a *Didaskaleio*.² In addition, the fact that the students who enrolled in the school were primarily from the privileged classes led the society to incorporate gradually in its curriculum subjects which could satisfy both its indigenous and irredentist needs.

The fact that the monthly fee to attend the *Didaskaleio* was 80 drachmas at a time when a teacher's salary was just 100 drachmas, together with the society's own need for financial support, meant in the decades that ensued that the enrolment of students was, to a large extent, restricted to families that could afford to pay such high fees. Indeed, from 1837 to 1847, among the 90 students who completed their studies in the *Didaskaleio*, 25 were on state grants, 36 were funded by the society and 29 (i.e. one-quarter of the total number of students) paid their own fees. Just a decade later, in 1847-57, among 102 students who completed their studies as teachers, seven were on state funding, 27 were on society grants and 68 (- one-half of the total number of students -) were self-financed.³ Thus, it is not surprising that the association would try to offer a curriculum that could satisfy the educational requirements of the privileged classes of society. Significantly, the term of study at

¹ 'Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 13 Noemvriou 1846', op. cit., pp. 17-22; 'Ekthesis Eniavision Exetaseon apo 8-22 Iouniou 1847', op. cit., pp. 6-7; 'Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 14 Martiou 1848', op. cit., pp. 12-18; 'Ekthesis peri ton Eniavision Exetaseon apo 13-27 Iouniou 1848', F.E. (1848), pp. 5-6; 'Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 20 Martiou 1849', F.E. (1849), pp. 9-12; 'Geniki Synelevis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 9 Apriliou 1850', op. cit., p. 15; G. Vionis, op. cit., pp. 15-21.

² 'Kanonismos tou En Athinais Didaskaleiou tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias.' F.E. (Athens, 1842), pp. 3-7.

³ Ibid., pp. 102-103.

the *Didaskaleio* of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* lengthened from two years in 1837-1839 to three years in 1840, to four years in 1842, and finally to five years in 1851, as compared with the two-year term at the official *Didaskaleio* (for men). The attention which the *Didaskaleio* of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* paid to ancient Greek, French and homemaking, in one curriculum reflected the view of the privileged classes of society of the education that a woman ought to receive. None the less, the society managed to achieve its two major goals: the training of teachers and appropriate education of housewives. Thereby, it effectively limited female secondary education to learning to become either a teacher or a mother.

In the following decades, however, public debate on primary and secondary education for girls, did not escape the attention of the respective ministers of education and religious affairs, Nikolaos Theoharis and Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, who had submitted proposals for the establishment of a public 'secondary' school for girls on 8 March 1840 and 3 March 1842 respectively.¹ Furthermore, in March 1856, when Ch. Christopoulos, minister of education from 1855 to 1859, presented his report on Greek secondary education from 1829 to 1855 to the king, he stressed that, although he had omitted reference to women's education, it was one of his future priorities to report on female secondary education.² As he explained, 'the state ought to focus upon the education of girls since society's morals depend on them.'³ But a simple admission of the need for female education did not in itself amount to much. An educational formula to implement that strategy had to be devised.⁴

The state, as we saw earlier, had been concerned very early with the establishment of a network of elementary schools throughout Greece. However, the prohibition in 1852 of mixed classes on moral grounds led the government to consider the establishment of a new network of elementary schools for girls. A portion of the municipal budget was allocated for such a purpose, while the minister of education, S. Vlahos, insisted that the municipalities also had a responsibility to supervise women's education. The municipalities responded immediately. However, in 1856, there was an inadequate supply of teachers for the newly created

¹ Ibid., p. 107.

² Ch. Christopoulos, 'Periliptiki Ekthesis tis En Helladis Mesis Ekpaidevsis', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), pp. 617-624.

³ Ibid., p. 623.

⁴ K. Karousou, 'Logos Eisagogikos', *Pandora*, vii (1856), pp. 313-320.

elementary schools. This situation led to further legislation, on 12 March 1856, obliging the municipalities, first, to highlight the importance of women's education to parents, and, second, to send one girl per municipality (at least fifteen years old and with a complete primary education), at the expense of the state, to attend the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* training school for teachers.¹ Upon completion of her studies, the girl was obliged to return to her municipality to teach there for at least three years.² The municipalities again responded immediately and, as we read in *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireias*³ report in 1859, 42 girls were financed by municipalities and only 28 by the state.³ However, changes instituted by *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* to increase the basic period of study for teachers from four to five years were opposed by the government in 1851. A year after this innovation (five-year course), S. Vlahos asked the *Arsakeio*'s state scholars to terminate their studies upon completion of the four-year course.⁴ It was at this point that the state realised that it could not leave the control of teacher education and licensing to the private sector.⁵ From 1854 to 1861, graduates of the *Arsakeio* and other private schools had to sit examinations set by a state committee - comprising *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* teachers under the supervision of the general director of Greek state elementary schools - if they wished to become teachers.⁶ However, the state's demand for teachers could not wait for the strict requirements of the *Arsakeio* committee, and, on 7 March 1856 Christopoulos pointed out once more the insufficient number of female teachers. His remarks appear to have had the desired effect. In his annual report of the following year Christopoulos indicated that the state committee, in order to make the qualification more accessible to future teachers, had been more lenient in its requirements for the teacher's diploma in the case of girls in order to satisfy the continuous demand for female teachers from all the state's municipalities of the state within and beyond the

¹ Ch. Christopoulos, 'Pros tous Nomarhas tou Kratous', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), p. 636; 'Geniki Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 2 Martiou 1852', op. cit., p. 33.

² Ch. Christopoulos, 'Pros tous Nomarhas tou Kratous', op. cit., p. 636; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 124-30.

³ 'Geniki Synelevsis ton Melon tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias, Sygrotithisa tin 31 Ianouariou 1860', *F.E* (1860), pp. 48, 42-59; 'Synelevsis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 14 Martiou 1848', op. cit., p. 25.

⁴ 'Geniki synelevsi Philekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 2 Martiou 1852', op. cit., pp. 38-43.

⁵ D. Ainian, 'Peri Ekpaidevesos ton Gynaikon', and D. Ainian, 'Pros to Symvoulion tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', in E. Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., pp. 142-151.

⁶ G. Vionis, op. cit., p. 33.

kingdom's borders.¹ Thus, the state, regardless of any innovation in the *Arsakeio* programme, was able to regulate the essential part of female education: the supply of female teachers. The numbers of teachers from the *Arsakeio* alone are particularly significant. In 1836-1856, 190 students passed their examinations and obtained the teacher's diploma, while in 1856-1866 there were 470 graduates, representing an increase of 147% (Table 2). While Christopoulos warned in 1856 of the insufficient number of teachers, just two decades later, the underemployment of teachers would be a major social issue in the Greek kingdom.

Hence, the state via the private sector and the municipalities managed to continue its pursuits undisturbed, supervising and intervening to prevent any innovation that might go against its interests. For the ruling class of the period, the issue was the production of a sufficient number of teachers.² In addition, after the Greek state's defeat in the Crimean War in 1853, the perception that mothers were the main means to instil national values in their children's hearts forced statesmen to re-examine the education that was provided to women within the kingdom. It is significant that elementary schools rose in number from 30 in 1854 to 54 in 1856. However, such measures were temporary and symptomatic of the contemporary fears of national deterioration. The state's ineffective contribution to female education is seen in its failure to propose a basic curriculum of female education for secondary education until 1893.³

However, what was new in the 1850s and, particularly after the Crimean War, was the recognition by statesmen and intellectuals of the urgent need for the mass education of girls at primary and secondary levels. Once the glorification of motherhood was ensured in the Greek kingdom in the 1850s, particularly after the Crimean War, as we will see in the following chapter, the initial interest in the question soon became a preoccupation, and a new body of thought grew around the concept of female education. It is indicative that until 1851 there was no regulation of secondary school diplomas for women. In 1853, an official report on the country's

¹ Ch. Christopoulos, 'Ekthesis peri tis Dimotikis Ekpaidevseos en Helladi 16 Martiou 1857', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, v (1857), pp. 1-10; 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 8 Fevrouariou 1859', *F.E.* (1859), pp. 27-30; 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 31 Ianouariou 1860', *F.E.* (1860), pp. 47-48; D. Antoniou, op. cit., p. 34.

² K. Karousou, 'Logos Eisagogikos', *Pandora*, vii (1856), pp. 313-320.

³ S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 131.

educational system mentioned three levels of study. The first level, dealing with education for men, comprised university, *gymnasia* and *Hellenika* schools. The second level, elementary education included boy's elementary schools and the public *Didaskaleio* for men. The last level, dealing with the education of the female sex (*thileo genos*), included the *Arsakeio* and the other public (*dimosyntirita*) or private (*idiosyntirita*) schools for girls. Clearly, the state still considered female education a separate category in 1853.¹ In 1854, however, the minister of education, P. Argyropoulos, referred to the girls' schools which offered classes beyond elementary level as *Parthenagogeion* (maidens' school). In 1855, Christopoulos likewise referred to 'Anotera sholeia ton korasion' (higher young girls' schools) as *Hellenika* schools, thereby including them in a category which until then had exclusively comprised boys' secondary schools. In 1858, however, Christopoulos coined a more precise term for girls' secondary schools, 'private *Parthenagogeia* of secondary education' (*parthenagogeia idiotika mesis ekpaidevsis*).² On 28 January 1861, the ministry of education introduced legislation requiring all private secondary schools for men and women to follow the same programme of studies as the equivalent public *Hellenika* schools and *Gymnasia*.³ Five years later, the minister of education, D. Drosos, in his report on education, referred to private institutions of secondary education for both boys and girls (*Idiotika Didaktiria Mesis Ekpaidevseos Arrenon kai Korasion*).⁴ For the first time, the state had recognised secondary female education as equivalent to men's, at least in ministerial phraseology.

None the less, until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, female education and the length of study in Greece was controlled by one institution, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*, which provided the prototype for all other private schools of the period and no alternative was offered to its own teacher-training syllabus. Interruptions in 1854-1861 and 1864-1867 did not eliminate the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* control over the granting of diplomas for teachers. It was not until 1881 that the ministry of education regulated the context of studies, by laying down a standard which the *Didaskaleio* of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* was henceforth obliged to follow.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 126.

² Ibid., pp. 124-129.

³ Ibid., p. 200.

⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

⁵ Ibid., p. 161; G. Vionis, op. cit, p. 33.

But, the fact that primary and secondary female education depended on private means and municipal budgets meant that education was provided primarily to the privileged classes in the major urban centres of the Greek kingdom. In 1879, 93% of women, as opposed 69% of men, were still illiterate.¹ It was in response to this anomaly that one member of the Greek parliament commented, on 26 June 1855:

Even though we are glad to hear that we have sent teachers to Trebizond [Asia Minor], we forget that we do not have a female school even in Megara [Attica].²

However, although the majority of women in the Greek kingdom had been excluded from public primary education, while secondary education for women, mostly those from the privileged classes, had been effectively limited to training for either motherhood or teaching, what was less understood at the time was the impact of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* and the nationalist rhetoric of the period on *Hellenides'* identity. In fact, as we will see in the following pages, the councils which supervised the schools of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* and the other schools that arose after the 1850s continued to impose a curriculum that reflected traditional views of womanhood. At the same time that the state had declared that it would provide secondary education when circumstances would permit, it was through the initiatives in education of intellectuals such as Ioannis Kokonis, Misael Apostolides, Konstantinos Robotis, Leon Melas, and many others that women primarily from the privileged classes achieved access to secondary education. After the political upheaval of 1843, the constitution of 1844 gave voting rights to all male citizens with only minor limitations (in 1864, Greece became the first European country to enact universal male suffrage), thus communicating a powerful cultural message that reinforced the division of roles and activities between the sexes. But, although the state had excluded women from its major agencies (i.e. the army, the education system and the judiciary as well as the franchise,) women continued to share the same symbolic system of the Hellenic nation and its mission.

It was within this ideological frame that male intellectuals subsumed all gender differentiation under forms of nationalist rhetoric, foremost among which

¹ Ibid., pp. 230-242.

² *Synedriasis tis 26 Iouniou 1855*, in A. Dimaras (ed.), op. cit., p. 130.

were patriotism and a shared devotion to the homeland.¹ As V. Lesvios explained in 1813 and 1820 'there were no natural limits to the Hellenic race'. In 1828, K. Oikonomos spoke of the 'ingenuity of the Hellenic race and G. Serouios, in Smyrna, tried to explain the mystery 'of Hellenic racial superiority'.² But women, primarily those of the privileged classes, succeeded in gaining access to what the state had denied them: secondary education. Moreover, beyond the state's cultural resources and policies, women, through the nationalist rhetoric of the period, were able to evoke a new understanding of their roles in this 'imaginable' Panhellenic community and therefore to achieve a new meaning for themselves.³

¹ K. Papazaphiropoulou, 'Peri Patriotismou', *Pandora*, v (1854), pp. 366-368; Ch. Christopoulos, 'Peri tis Dimosias Ekpaidevseos en Elladi', *Pandora* ix (1857), pp. 553-555; K. Papazaphiropoulos, 'Apospasma peri Anatrofis ton Neoteron Hellinon', *Pandora*, vi (1855), pp. 213-215.

² K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 385.

³ On the term 'imaginable', see B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991), pp. 6-7; 'Ekthesis EniavSION Exetaseon ton korasion apo 10-24 Iouniou 1851', *F.E.* (1851), pp. 24-28; 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 4 Iouliou 1854', *F.E.* (1854), p. 25; L. Melas, 'Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1861), pp. 1578-1582, reference p. 1579; 'Ekthesis epi tou Eisigitou epi ton Sholeion L. Mela', *F.E.* (1863), pp. 59-62.

1.2 *Morality and Female Authority*

By the second half of the nineteenth century Greece had still not acquired any new territory since the creation of the Greek state in 1830. Politicians constantly blamed the slow and shaky development of this reborn state on the country's small borders.¹ Greek society saw little change between the year of independence and mid-century, while irredentist politics had blocked any other vision of internal development, and the Hellenic world blocked any *Helladico* (Greek) concept of thought. Within such a framework, the first liberal slogans reached Athens in 1848 from the revolutionary capitals of Europe and were transformed from a matter of interest only to the Greek élite into a constant feature of social discourse.²

However, the political turmoil of the late 1840s was soon followed by new public excitement.³ The 400th anniversary of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in May 1453 gave Greeks a further chance to express their irredentist feelings. The years 1850-54 saw an abundance of newspaper articles defending the role of a future Orthodox Empire. Playing to a Western audience proponents of this empire embraced ideas in harmony with Western values, such as justice, Christianity and commerce.⁴ Looking eastward to the dynasty of the Ottoman Empire and its reforms, Greek nationalists argued that constitutional change alone would not suffice to endow a future empire with peace, equality, commerce, justice and morality. Christianity was needed to cement these changes.⁵ The Hellenic Empire appeared to be the only model capable of both introducing a European-style administration and at the same time reasserting an Eastern identity.⁶ However, the outbreak of hostilities

¹ E. Skopetea, *To Megalo Vasileio kai I Megale Idea* (Athens, 1988), pp. 292-296.

² D. Fotiadis, *Othonas kai I Exosis* (Athens, 1988), p. 383; Ch. Lytt, *Mia Daneza stin Avli tou Othona*, ed. A. Christensen-Papanikolaou (Athens, 1988), pp. 99-111; G. Flaubert, *To taxidi stin Hellada. Decemvrios 1850-Februarios 1851* (Athens, 1991), pp. 68-89; E. About, *La Grèce contemporaine* (Paris, 1872), pp. 108-9, 160; K. Xiradaki, *I Athina prin ekato hronia* (Athens, 1982), pp. 8-19; M. Skaltsa, op. cit., pp. 43-209.

³ Th. Makrygiannis, *Apomnimonevmata* (Athens, 1992), p. 414; Ch. Lytt, *Stin Athina tou 1847-1848*, ed. A. Kristensen-Papanikolaou (Athens, 1991), pp. 169-173; T. Vournas, *To Helleniko 1848* (Athens, 1983), pp. 42-53; E. Deligiorgis, *Politika Imerologia*, iv (Athens, 1896), p. 9; J. Koliopoulos, op. cit., p. 126.

⁴ Anonymous, 'Dimosiographia. I Phileliniki simaia. O anatolikos Astir', *Pandora*, iv (1853), p. 204.

⁵ G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 17; J. Lemoine, 'De l'Intégrité de l'Empire Ottoman', *Pandora*, i (1853), pp. 229-231.

⁶ P.R.O., Foreign Office Papers, Series 421 vol 4: Wyse to East Clarendon, 7 June 1853. [Thereafter abbreviated to 'F.O.421/74'], P.R.O., Foreign Office Papers Series 421 vol. 9: Wyse to Earl of Clarendon, 2 June 1853 [Thereafter contracted to 'F.O 421/69'].

between Russia and Turkey in the autumn of 1853 seemed to offer Greece a possibility to exploit the discomfiture of the Ottoman Empire and thus, a chance of building a Greek Empire, as foreseen by the Greek nationalists.¹ 'Enthusiasm the Hellenic *genos* masters and all the fantasy unbridled goes, and each of us on Vosporos' beautiful beaches, a Greek kingdom's sovereignty regards,' the poet Alexandros Soutsos wrote in 1854.² In the same year, Greek nationalists fomented revolt in Epirus and Thessaly and sent some thousands of volunteers across the borders to support the rebels. 'Empire or Death!', the message from Spyros Karaiskakis, son of the hero of the War of Independence Georgios Karaiskakis, seemed to be the key in order to open 'the cage of the Greek borders which enclose the country' as a song of this period put it. At last the glorious future seemed close at hand.³ But, in fact, Greek efforts to assist Russia in the Crimean War were ended in disillusion.⁴ In May 1854, English and French forces landed in Piraeus, the port of Athens, thus preventing Greece from stirring up trouble across the frontier. And it was not until February 1857, a year after the war had ended, that the allies withdrew from Piraeus.⁵

Thus, the initial euphoria of 1854, gave way to grave disappointment at the collapse of the Epirus and Thessaly uprisings, the humiliation of the allied blockade, and the suffering caused by the epidemic spread by the first foreign troops brought to Piraeus. Cholera scourged the population for five months, taking a particularly heavy toll in Athens and Piraeus. Out of a population of 7000 in Piraeus and 30,000 in Athens in 1854, 3000 lost their lives.⁶ The poetry of Soutsos offered much-needed comfort: 'Courage! Oh, brothers, courage! There is God in the sky. The earth is not left to tyrants, as the sea is abandoned to the British.'⁷ This sober picture gave rise to a new brand of introspection, while from 1854 to 1857 the allies forced Greece to

¹ 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias 22 Martiou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), p. 34; K. Dimaras, *En Athinais ti 3 May 1837*, op. cit., p. 145.

² Al. Soutsos, *Apanta* (Athens, 1963), p. 424.

³ A. Politis, op. cit., p. 61; E. Skopetea, op. cit., p. 279; D. Fotiadis, op. cit., p. 334.

⁴ J.S. Koliopoulos, op. cit., pp. 12, 134-66.

⁵ N. Dragoumis, *Istorikai Anamnis* (Athens, 1973), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 165.

⁶ Ibid., in Dragoumis, p. 169; 'Geniki Synelevisis Fikekpaidevtikis Etaireias sugrotithisa tin 1 Maiou 1855', *F.E.* (1855), p. 43; M. Skaltsa, op. cit., p. 69; D. Fotiadis, op. cit., p. 383.

⁷ A. Soutsos, *Ai Agglikai Anosiourgiai* (Patra, 1850), p. 1.

remain a passive spectator in the East.¹ But the war and occupation had more significant repercussions on the people. With the completion of Piraeus' occupation by the great powers, the old 'British', 'French', and 'Russian' political parties that arose at the end of the War of Independence and took their name from the particular power to which they looked for help and advice, faded away, and in their place emerged a new intelligentsia strongly concerned with the growth of a *Helladic* (indigenous) national identity and ideology.

'Where did this nation come from and what is its future?' asked the periodical *Philistor* (1861-63) in 1861, tapping into the nascent thirst of Greeks to learn more about themselves and their nation's destiny.² In 1856, the rector of the University of Athens, Irinaios Asopios (1825-1905), exemplified this internal frustration by urging the youth of the period, in the name of this 'humiliated homeland', to follow their consciousness and their education, these being 'the only remaining weapons' to return this homeland to its former glory.³ The present *Hellenes* seemed unworthy of their glorious name because of their internal weakness, self-seeking and dissension. No one in 1854 could carry the name *Hellene*, Captain Georgios Zohios asserted, because 'no one could be named *Hellene*, before exceeding the ancestors' glory and fame.'⁴ Coupled with the romantic theory that a people's inner nature is determined by their achievements, the humiliation of 1854 illustrated for many journalists of the period this generation's *cachexia* (stuntedness), making them unworthy of anything but 'collecting the martyrs' bones over the land.'⁵ Throughout this period, the crisis in Greek culture dominated philosophical discourse among intellectuals, making them gradually realise that they needed above all to single out the factors which had led to humiliation in 1854 instead of the widely predicted victory.⁶ In the meantime, the West increasingly came to be seen as ungrateful, not only because it supported a

¹ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'En Athinais ti 22 Maiou 1853', *Hellin*, 23 May 1858; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I Helleniki Epanastasis', *Hellin*, 11 January 1858.

² *Philistor* I (1861), p. 1, here the quotation is taken from G. Veloudis, *O Jacob Philip Fallmerayer kai I Genesis tou Hellenikou Istorismou* (Athens, 1982), p. 7.

³ K. Asopios, 'Logos K. Asopiou Eis tin Devteri Pritaneia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), pp. 739-52.

⁴ G. Zohios, 'Ekthesis peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou kata to etos 1854-55', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio*, v (1855), pp. 1-26.

⁵ 'I epidrasi tou Garibaldi kai tis Italias', *To mellon tis Hellados*, 21 July 1861.

⁶ Ch. Filadelfevs, *Logos stis 25 Martiou 1855* (Athens, 1856), p. 6; 'Athinisi 21 Iouliou 1861', *To Mellon tis Hellados*, 21 July 1861.

non-Christian power but because it neglected the nation which was the cradle of its civilisation.¹ In 1860, Soutsos wrote the following poem about a hero of 1821 to articulate this inner distress:

In vain, I am trying to find a friend from the old times. The old heroic period. Some have already died, and others are neglected. Wherever I stand, foreigners push and laugh at me. But foreigners do not laugh at my lost eyes, my broken leg, because I was the first *pallikar* [warrior] of Botzari the Great [a hero of the War of Independence].²

At a time when notions of identity were in turmoil, such appeals reasserted the virtues of indigenous tradition and ended with the conclusion that 'Athenian descendants are going to bring back the glory.'³ The *Helladico* (Greek) concept began to exert its fascination over intellectuals. Athens and Greece were seen as the cultural cathedral of the *Hellenismos*, and the pure symbols of nation were to be discovered within the Greek kingdom's borders. Within such a background, the claim of the Austrian historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) that the modern Greeks were a mixture of various stocks, most notably Slavic, could not go unchallenged in the Greek society of the 1850s.⁴ For the Greeks, this assertion took on a political character, because any European acceptance of such a theory could further cramp *Helladic* (Greek) expansion and destroy the image that Greeks had already formed of their identity.⁵ Furthermore, such assertions forced Greeks to search more into and to define publicly the character of modern *Hellenismos* and its national creed. 'What are we now and where we are heading?' asked a title piece in a contemporary journal.⁶ The perfect illustration of this ideological puzzlement is that after 1844 only a few Greeks remembered that it was Ioannis Kolettis who had entitled the national idea the *Megalē Idea*. People even apologised because although they knew what this idea was, specific answers on the future of the Hellenic Empire foreseen could not be furnished. In 1866, Emmanouil Roidis (1836-1904), a prominent figure in literary

¹ Ch. Filadelfevs, *Oi gamoi tou Megalou Alexandrou* (Athens, 1856), pp. 1-23.

² Al. Soutsos, 'O psomozitis stratiotis', *Pandora*, xi (1860), pp. 406-407.

³ K. Asopios, 'Logos', op. cit., pp. 739-752.

⁴ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Epeteios tou Panepistimiou kata tis 20 Maiou 1857', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 110-120.

⁵ K. Paparrigopoulos, *Peri epikiseos slavikon tinon fylon eis tin Peloponiso. Athens 1843*, ed. D. Contos (Athens, 1986), pp. 5-16; G. Veloudis, op. cit., pp. 7-80; G. Tertsetis, 'Eorti epeteios tou Panepistimiou kata tin 20 May', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 127-130.

⁶ M. Apostolides, 'Proslalia tou Sevasmiotatou Arhiepiskopou Patron kai Ileias Kyriou Misail', *Helleniko Ekpaideutirio*, iv (1854), pp. 35-40.

circles in Athens, defined the *Megale Idea* as the liberation of Epirus and Thessaly.¹ A conflicting definition was given in 1877 by Nikolaos Saripolos (1817-1887), professor of law at the university of Athens, who spoke of the Hellenic Empire combined with Constantinople as its centre, including Epirus, Thrace, Macedonian, Trebizond, Asia Minor, all the Aegean Islands and Cyprus.² Nevertheless, Roidis and Saripolos did have something in common: they both called their national dream the *Megale Idea*.

Against this ideological backdrop, Greeks condemned themselves and the Western influences on the modern Hellenic character and devoted themselves to reviving pre-1821 values in order to furnish the new Hellenic national culture, to identify and locate the differences between 'us' and the 'others'.³ In 1858, Paparrigopoulos asked in his newspaper *Hellin*, 'What does fake or real *Hellenismos* mean?'⁴ A year earlier, the librarian of the Greek Assembly, Georgios Tertsetis, had asserted that *Hellenismos* is 'language, religion, legislation, philology, national poetry'.⁵ *Hellenismos* became a more complex term than just a racial definition. *Hellenismos* had an ideology and a culture in short, it encompassed all these factors which the entire *genos* had shared prior to 1821. Drawing upon this foundation, intellectuals concluded that they had to discover the factors which had given rise to this pure form of the national culture of 1821, namely devotion to the homeland, religion and morals untainted by foreign influence, because they believed that these were the factors and vital difference which had led *Hellenismos* to victory in 1821.⁶ This shift in historical focus was reflected in the saying of Ch. Nikolaidis Filadelfevs, a literary figure in Athens and adviser to *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* from 1864 to 1880. His saying 'Leave the antiquities to the archives' inaugurated the period when people

¹ E. Roidis, *Apanta Papissa Ioanna*, ed. A. Aggelou (Athens, 1978), 5 vols. in vol. 1., p. 75.

² N. Saripolos, *Avtovographika Apomnimonevmata* here quoted from A. Politis, op. cit., p. 63.

³ G. Tertsetis, *Logos tis 20 Maiou 1860. Logos peri kratous* (Athens, 1860), pp. 1-15; N. Dragoumis, 'Diatrivi ypo Egger', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 139-143; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Logos K. Paparrigopoulou. Epeteios tou Panepistimiou', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 110-120; N. Vamvas, 'Prosfinitis tou N. Vamva', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio*, iii (1853), pp. 30-34; K. Asopios, op. cit., pp. 739-752.

⁴ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I Helleniki Epanastasis', *Hellin*, 11 January 1858; K. Paparrigopoulos, "Istorikai Meletai", *Hellin*, 29 September 1858.

⁵ G. Tertsetis, 'Eorti, Epeteios tou Panepistimiou. Logos ekfonithis ti 20 May 1857', *Pandora*, viii (1857), pp. 127-130.

⁶ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'En Athinais ti 29 Ianouariou 1858', *Hellin*, 30 January 1858.

thirsted for the history of the achievements of 1821 rather than a history dominated by the glories of the Periclean age.¹

The years 1853-1862 saw a new trend of research in the history, language, folklore and social circumstances of the everyday life of modern Greeks. Thus, three Greek collections of demotic songs (folk-songs) were published from 1850 to 1852; in 1863, the *Ethniko Imerologio* (National Chronicle) published a competition on Greek words in the vernacular idiom; and, in 1864, *Pandora* announced a competition for the collection of words, phrases and proverbs.² By discovering a number of ancient customs preserved in folklore, Greek intellectuals believed that they could prove to the West the uninterrupted continuity of the nation from ancient times to the present. On the domestic level, they believed that consciousness of these vital national values would stamp the next generation with the morals of the generation of 1821, thereby preserving the authentic qualities of Helleno-Christian civilisation.³ It was during this period that the nationalist movement started to become, to use E. Hobsbawm's definition, political, as the educated élites first began to identify themselves with the common people.⁴ The new Greek ought to learn his folklore, his national history ought to be simple and modest, excluding any foreign superfluity since; 'any foreign habit or idea which does not belong to the indigenous characteristics could ruin the whole nation.'⁵

To distinguish 'us' from the 'others' and to keep 'our' morals pure, intellectuals began to advocate the avoidance of foreign mores.⁶ In 1859, students

¹ Ch. Filadelfeys, *Logos tis 25 Martiou 1855* (Athens, 1856), p. 6.

² A.K. Nestoros, *I Theoria tis Neoellinikis Laographias* (Athens, 1986), pp. 69-85; A. Politis, op. cit., pp. 48-60; Ph. Ioannou, 'Peri tis neoteras Hellinikis glossis', *Ethniko Imerologio*, ii (1863), pp. 108-117; 'Syllogi Lexion kai Paroimion', *Pandora*, xiv (1864), pp. 565-566; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Programma diagonismou peri tis Hellenikis paideias', *Pandora*, xix (1869), pp. 179-180; N. Dragoumis, 'Apospasma ypomnimaton anakdoton', *Pandora*, v (1855), pp. 149-453; 'Voutsinaios. Krisis', *Hrysallis*, iii (1865), pp. 305-312.

³ 'Thema Diagonismatos 4 Augustou 1856. Istoria tis Neoteras Hellinikis glossas', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), p. 704; 'Koinoniki kai ithiki katastasis tou Hellinikou Ethnous epi ton iroikon tis arhaiotitos hronon', *Pandora*, vi (1855), pp. 17-23, 41-25, 119-159.

⁴ E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital* (London, 1975), pp. 112, 103-122; E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 14-45.

⁵ N. Vamvas, 'Prosphonisis pros tous Mathitas Ypo N. Vamva', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1853), pp. 30-34; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), pp. 3-12; K. Asopios, 'Prosphonisis pros tous Mathitas ypo K. Asopiou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), p. 13; Ar. Tsatsos, 'Agelia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, v (1857), pp. 102-103.

⁶ G. Papasliotou, 'Ekthesis Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1854), p. 23; 'Geniki Synelevisis ton Melon tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias sygrotithisa ti 25 Ianouariou 1870',

criticised the Bavarian dynasty for its unlimited foreign imitation. Words such as *xenomania* (mania for foreign habits) and *xenoferta* (imports) appeared in *Pandora* and *Ephimeris ton Philomathon* in the 1860s, reflecting these ideological changes.¹ In 1859, Antonios Fatseas, a literary figure from the Ionian Islands, noted 'We imitate the West like monkeys.'² Two years later, Pavlos Halkiopoulos (1805-1886), a literary figure in Athens, added 'The battle is still not over. Do not accept foreign morals.'³ But such reactions were not attacks on European civilisation. On the contrary, Greek intellectuals could not oppose European civilisation, as it was regarded as a child of ancient Greece. As a professor at the university and one of the editors of the journal *Spectateur de l'Orient*, Markos Renieris (1815-1890), wrote in 1842, in his article, 'Is Greece East or West?' (*Ti einai I Hellas: Anatoli I Dysis*), Greece was in the process of perfecting its civilisation by reclaiming and reasserting the ancient heritage which the West had adopted from it centuries ago.⁴ He explained that Hellenic authenticity and uniqueness could not be compromised by Western influence, since all good Western influences were born of Greece in a bygone era.⁵ According to Renieris' flexible framework, Greece could remain truly national in character while continuing to import the fruits of the West, such as legislation, modern administration, social freedom, philosophy and science, and at the same time accommodate Hellenic ethnocentrism. Such an understanding allowed the continued use of the French language in female education, while, similarly, *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* could continue to follow the curricula of other European schools.⁶

F.E. (1870), pp. 49-55; Ch. Coulouri, *Istoria kai Geographia sta Hellenika Sholeia 1839-1914* (Athens, 1988), p. 83.

¹ 'Xenomania. Ex Athinon 7 Iouliou 1860. Epistoli S. Leontias 16 Iouliou 1860', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, viii (1860), p. 921; R. Ragavi, 'Vivliografia. Metafraseis Hellenikon Dramaton', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1551-1552; 'I Xenylasia', *To Mellon*, 16 July 1860; K. Frearitis, 'Vivliokrisia. Ti Estin Simeron o Ethnikos Haraktir tou Hellenos', *Pandora*, iii (1855), pp. 522-532.

² A. Fatseas, *Skepseis epi tis Dimosias kai Idiotikis Ekpaidevseos ton Neon Hellenon*, here quoted from K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 356; K. Dimaras, 'I Hellas', *Istoria tou Hellinikou Ethnous*, xii (Athens, 1977), pp. 455-484.

³ Ibid.

⁴ M. Renieris, 'Ti Einai I Hellas; Anatoli I Dysis', *Eranistis*, ii (1842), pp. 189-191; N. Dragoumis, 'Krisis peri Pandoras', *Pandora*, viii (1856), p. 139.

⁵ N. Vamvas, *Enarktirios logos eis Dimosion Gymnasion Hermoupoleos*, ed. C. Tsatsos. *Neoelliniki Ritoria* (Athens, 1960), pp. 61-65.

⁶ 'Geniki Synelevsi Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias tin 4 Martiou 1862', F.E. (1862), pp. 4-35; Gr. Pappadopoulos 'Logos Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), p. 3.

The primary concern of Greek nationalists was the new ethnic definition of the modern Hellene: in terms of *morality*. In their view, morality constituted the pivotal point of *Hellenismos*, leaving no room for other identifications. It is to this ideology that we must now turn, in order to understand the significance of the term 'morality' as related to the concept of Greek womanhood and ethnic definition. Moral ethnic unification had guided ancient Greece to glory, while moral decline had led to the ruin of the ancient civilisation and the Roman conquest. During the second stage of Greek civilisation in Byzantium, *Hellenismos* was once more defeated by the Ottoman Turks, because of the absence of morality. Following this line of reasoning, intellectuals began to argue that in consonance with its ethnic morality and domestic homogeneity modern Greek civilisation could succeed where the two previous stages of Greek civilisation had failed because: 'Morals and patriotism raised the glory of ancient years. Luxury and immorality brought its decline.'¹ Increasingly, the development of a moral Greek civilisation was seen as the only guarantee of the eternity of the new Greek civilisation.

In 1839, the historian Georgios Kozakis Typaldos (1790-1867) defined the subject of history as the study of morality and *ethnos in toto*.² Typaldos characterised the religious and political unity of the nation as 'a moral and ethnic identity'.³ In 1860, Tertsetis, in his pamphlet 'About the State' (*Peri Kratous*), portraying the society of 1821, asked: 'where was the state in 1821?' and concluded: 'We have to understand that the state is us, is our morality.'⁴ In 1858 and 1860, Pappadopoulos emphasised that Orthodoxy was a system of national beliefs which were in turn a system of religious and moral knowledge and feelings.⁵ Morality thus became one more identity tag, following Pappadopoulos' definition, in which morals, religion and national beliefs constituted the *Hellenismos* national belief system, from which *Hellenes* acquired their distinct identity.⁶ Drawing upon this foundation, Greek intellectuals wanted 'to surround our homeland citizens with the *Hellenismos* helmet:

¹ L. Melas, 'Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, vii (1860), pp. 1343-1344.

² G. Kozakis Typaldos, *Filosofikon dokimion peri tis ptoseos tis Palaias Hellados*, here quoted from G. Veloudis, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

³ G. Kozakis Typaldos, in Veloudis, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

⁴ G. Tertsetis, op. cit., pp. 1-15, reference p. 3.

⁵ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1860), p. 11.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-23; T.I.F., 'Skepseis tines peri tou neoterou politismou', *Pandora*, vi (1855), p. 204.

literacy is inseparable from moral upbringing.¹ Within this ideological background, it does not come as a surprise that, in 1856, Nikolaos Dragoumis, one of the editors of the journal *Pandora*, had to defend the decision to publish in the journal foreign novels. For these were considered subversive by most intellectuals at that time, who held that the portrayal of an alien system of beliefs and behavioural norms could influence women, seen to be the main readers of such novels, to imitate a foreign system of moral values.² Against such accusations, Dragoumis argued that his periodical published only novels which portrayed values such as devotion to one's homeland and attachment to religion. In a similar vein, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* tried to defend its role by proving that in its schools 'the development of morals is magnificent.'³

'So, are we ruined now?' Zampelios asked in 1856, and replied: 'No, not as long as women and the common people exist.'⁴ The conclusion was simple and immediate for most Greek intellectuals of the period.⁵ Since the courage and the intelligence of the nation were unquestionable, intellectuals soon blamed the failure of 1854 on the absence of patriotic and brave men due to failings in upbringing and education.⁶ For many, mothers, teachers and clergy became the living sources of Greek society's backwardness.⁷ The umbilical cord connecting national development with motherhood gave the women's question urgency and relevance. Suddenly,

¹ 'Ekthesis Peri ton Eniavsvion Exetaseon apo 10-24 Iouniou 1851', *F.E.* (1851), p. 27; 'Ekthesis Peri ton Eniavsvion Exetaseon apo 7-21 Iouniou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), pp. 7-13; L. Melas, 'Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, vii (1860), pp. 1343-1344; L. Melas, 'Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1578-1582; L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1727-1729; L. Melas, 'Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, x (1862), pp. 1959-1962.

² N. Dragoumis, 'Krisis peri Pandoras', *Pandora*, vi (1856), pp. 136-146.

³ L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio 19 Iouniou 1860', *Pandora*, xi (1860), pp. 194-198; L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Filomathon*, x (1860), pp. 2047-2052; L. Melas, 'Ekthesis', *F.E.* (1864), pp. 54-71.

⁴ Sp. Zampelios, 'Logioi kai glossai tis ID ekatontaetiridos', *Pandora*, vii (1856), p. 157.

⁵ G. Mantzavinou, *O proorismos tou Anthropinou Viou* (Athens, 1860), pp. 1-23; P. Zontanos, 'Anatrofi ton Korasion', *Pandora*, viii (1858), p. 350.

⁶ 'Ekthesis Peri ton Eniavsvion Exetaseon apo 10-24 Iouniou 1851', *F.E.* (Athens, 1851), pp. 27-28; 'Geniki Synelevsis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni ti 24 Dekemvriou 1861', *F.E.* (1861), p. 14; 'Ekthesis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias Genomeni ti 16 Fevrouariou 1864', *F.E.* (1864), p. 54; 'Ekthesis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias Genomei ti 14 Martiou 1865', *F.E.* (1865), p. 53; 'Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia 19 Iouniou 1866', *F.E.* (1866), p. 53.

⁷ 'Ai Gynaikes, o Kliros kai oi Didaskaloi', *Astir tis Anatolis*, 13 December 1858; anonymous, '11 Apriliou 1860. I Gyni', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), p. 640; N. Saripolos, 'Ypomnima Peri tou Katoterou Klirou kai Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Pandora*, xvi (1865), pp. 74-76, 110-114, 156-160, 257-259.

intellectuals lit on a new source of the nation's misfortunes and their own weakness: the absence of a pure national upbringing.¹ The realisation that mothers could inculcate supposedly national characteristics - language, religion, historical tradition, morals and ethnic loyalties - in a community beyond the reach of intellectuals and the ruling class became a vital issue. Opinion now took the form of reaction to specific events and reforms. The first of these was the reform of primary and secondary education for girls. Meanwhile concern about women's education centered on the *Arsakeio's* inability to meet the demands of a mass educational programme for females. Dimitrios Ainian's pamphlets of 1852-55 were part of a wider debate about the direction that Greek education should take.

Ainian, a prominent figure in literary circles of Athens, was opposed to the all-embracing nature of the curriculum for women in secondary schools, which made no distinction between the class background of pupils, forcing both teacher-training and general knowledge suitable to the upper classes into one curriculum. In 1852, he published an article entitled '*I Didaskalissa*' ('Female Teacher') and a report intended for *Filekpaideotiki Etaireia's* committee. Both publications stressed the inadequacy of *Fikekpaidevtiki Etaireia's* programme *vis-à-vis* the educational demands of agrarian Greek society. The author claimed that the five-year term of studies, combined with the *Filekpaideotiki Etaireia's* curriculum, which was heavily dominated by the study of the classical language and general literature, was designed for middle- and upper-class women and retarded the society's original goal of developing female education through its graduates across the whole Hellenic nation. Ainian further explained that no teacher returning to her homeland upon completion of her studies could transmit such alien teachings to girls in her municipality because socially disadvantaged girls would undoubtedly abandon such studies after a few weeks, without even having gained the benefit of proficiency in modern Greek, a result which could only undermine any moves toward truly national, mass-based female education.

Ainian advocated alternative policies to remedy these shortcomings. In order to prepare teachers for the entire nation, girls should be streamed into two grades of schools which would provide two types of 'secondary' education: one for the upper and middle classes and one for the lower class. The curriculum would differ

¹ Ibid., 'I Gyni', p. 640.

according to domestic needs and individual schools. Designed for lower-class girls, the first level would teach Greek, thereby providing the most essential tool for the nation's linguistic homogenisation and also practical knowledge deemed necessary for rural women. At the second level, middle- and upper-class girls would learn ancient Greek and the rudiments of a more general literature. A different network of *Didaskaleio* would have to be established in each municipality, aimed at training teachers in basic literacy and homecrafts. As a result of such measures, the author believed that all the municipalities would have a sufficient number of teachers and therefore primary schools for girls within a period of ten years. However, *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* rejected Ainian's proposals.¹ The events of 1854 inspired Ainian to write another article entitled, '*Peri Ekpaidevseos ton Gynaikon*' ('About Women's Education') which once again warned that the education of women was an urgent national issue. 'If we want national education we have to start from women' Ainian wrote, and angrily added, 'How can we possibly ask them to learn the language of Plato, while one-fifth of the Greek population speak Albanian and three-quarters are completely illiterate?'. The spread of linguistic homogeneity and the need to divide education between housewife and teacher remained Ainian's central concern.

Ainian's realistic goals and his practical proposals, namely a modern language rather than an ancient one and a training according to the Greek agrarian society's needs combined with a particular curriculum were rejected by *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* and by the ruling class in 1854, as in 1852. Similarly, the voices of leading male literary figures, such as Grigorios Genadios, Dimitrios Stroumpos, and Alexandros Ragavis and other intellectuals had also been rejected from the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* and the Greek government. The voices of those intellectuals who had also urged in the 1850s the provision of mass female education, the development of a curriculum suitable to the Greek kingdom's agrarian needs, the creation of *anotera* schools in large metropolitan centres of the Greek kingdom and the division between curriculum of the *parthenagogeia* and *didaskaleia*.² In a society

¹ Such recommendations regarding variations in secondary education were not a novelty or a peculiarly Greek issue in this period. See S.G. Bell and K.M. Offen, 'New Controversies over education', in S.G. Bell and K.M. Offen (eds.), *Women, Family and Freedom 1750-1880* (Stanford, 1993), pp. 417-446.

² A. Ragavis, '*Peri Ekpaidevseos*', D. Stroumpos, *To Mellon itoi Peri anatrophis kai paidevseos*, here quoted from S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 141-144.

that, as Zabelios sensibly had observed 'our poet adores the abstract Greece [the Great Hellas], the Greece of his fantasy, while, like us, he simply recognises the sick, ragged, present Greece [the Greek kingdom] with her everyday vulgar reality,' the introduction of any realistic plans could not have priority.¹ The organisation of Greek education for both men and women was predicated on the duality of the Greek kingdom or the entire *Hellenismos*, and this society had already decided between those two concepts. Measures concerning female education within the borders of the Greek kingdom were thus sporadic and partial. Since the state in the 1850s, as we saw earlier, responded efficiently to the constant demand, from both within and outside the Greek kingdom, for female teachers, the issue of women's education, at least for the ministers of education, had been resolved. Furthermore, even in the 1850s, when the state, for the first time, legislated for women's secondary education, the latter was considered a separate category from men's. A simple comparison between the curriculum of the *Hellenika* schools in 1836 and 1855 and the *didaskaleio* of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* in 1842, with the latter's disproportionate emphasis on Greek, religion, French, singing, sewing, and drawing, also reflects the view of Greek society of the role that *Hellenides* were supposed to play still in the 1850s (Table 3 and 4). For both the ruling class and intellectuals of the period the issue was not how to advance the knowledge of women but, instead, how to produce a sufficient number of teachers and (more appropriately) literate mothers. As indicated by *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireias'* general secretary, Leon Melas, the purpose of female education was 'not literacy for literacy's sake, but through literacy and religion we hope to see the moral uplifting of the entire Hellenic race.'² It was no accident that intellectuals, while advocating the expansion of female education, at the same time accepted a renewed emphasis on the physical, intellectual, emotional and functional differences between men and women, reminding women that their need for education detracted from their principal task as homemakers and indeed as mothers.³ Moreover, as Melas asserted in 1861, women's education should focus on the key female duties of frugality and modesty, while study programmes for women should place equal emphasis on the hearts and minds of their students, for

¹ S. Zampelios, 'O K. Ioulios Typaldos', *Pandora*, x (1860), pp. 464-465.

² L. Melas, 'Logos stis 19 Iouniou 1860', *Pandora*, viii (1860), pp. 1343-1344.

³ 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon 10-24 Iouniou 1851', *F.E.* (1851), pp. 27-28.

If we focus only upon the advancement of women's minds, neglecting the heart's parallel improvement, this, according to medicine, could have harmful consequences, resulting in the congestion of the mind, body spasms and, finally, death.¹

The expectations of this generation are probably best summarised in the report of the *Lykeion kai Parthenagogeion* (Lyceum and Parthenagogeion) by V. Gennimata: 'to educate *paides* [*paides* means 'children', but here only boys] as useful citizens and girls as obedient mademoiselles and successful mothers.'² However, what was less realised then was that women continued to be cast in their traditional roles of mothers, wives and homemakers, and it was taken for granted that women were 'naturally' weaker than men and inferior in intellect capacities. Moreover, as we will see in the following chapters, by the 1850s and 1860s and henceforth, the burden of woman and her assigned sphere, the home, became vulnerable to attack. Woman had been man's enigma, his hell and his paradise, while popular belief in a feminine nature held that objective analysis was redundant where women were concerned. But the events of 1854 revealed dramatically for most intellectuals the responsibility that women, beyond their maternal capacities, had for the recent national failure. Intellectuals now realised that they must ensure that the future (male) citizens' upbringing was nourished with nationalist and religious thought.³ For most male intellectuals, these were the days when *Hellenides* should become extensively involved beyond their maternal experience in the nation's affairs. Education, thus, ought to include only those lessons that could inspire strong loyalties in women to Helleno-Christian society. Women ought to follow a particular programme of studies designed to cultivate the nation's authentic voice in their psyche. Such an outlook would have profound implications for women's identity.

Since the early nineteenth century, female education had combined cursory attention to history, mathematics, geography and mythology with an overriding emphasis on homecrafts, piano, French and ancient Greek, in line with preferences of the Western-leaning upper classes.⁴ However, such a curriculum could no longer

¹ 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias 24 Dekemvriou 1861', *F.E.* (1861), p. 14.

² The quotation is taken from S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³ Ar. Tsatsos, 'Aggelia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, v (1857), pp. 102-103; P. Kouskouri, 'Peri tis ekpaidevseos tou Gynaikείου fylou', *Pandora*, iii (1853), p. 520; 'Synelevisis Filekpaidevtikis etaireias genomēni 11-25 Iouniou 1850', *F.E.* (1850), p. 43.

⁴ P. Kitromilides, 'The Enlightenment and Womanhood. Cultural Changes and the Politics of Exclusion', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, i (October, 1983), pp. 38-61.

satisfy the nationalist requirements of the period.¹ The once acclaimed voices of Neofytos Vamvas and Panayiotis Zontanos in Ermoupolis (Syros) in 1835 inspired by the works of Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu, d'Alembert, Voltaire and the other Encyclopédistes could not have a place in a society which was reconstructing its language and symbols according to the principles of the *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy.² The natural right of all to an education, which Zontanos and Vamvas stressed appealing to female students to follow the enlightened West, could not respond ideologically to contemporary needs. According to contemporary intellectuals, the *Hellenida* ought to develop her national qualities and disregard any foreign 'moral' influence. In the years, when the *Megale Idea* became an obsession, *Hellenides* had to learn only one lesson, as the author and director of a public school, Polytimi Kouskouri (1820-1854), explained in her book *Geographia tis Arhaias Hellados* (*Geography of Ancient Greece*). It was important to nurture in the hearts of students those essential patriotic feelings and desire to bring the Muses back to the Parthenon and to rebuild Greece as it had been in the reign of Alexander the Great. Through her book, she taught the young generation that only a small part of the Hellenic lands was included in the present Greek state. Addressing young girls, she urged them to realise their national duties.³ In this Helleno-Christian civilisation, according to Kouskouri and other contemporary intellectuals, women's primary function was to watch over the future of the nation, as apostles of the Greek civilisation, while within their family, through their intrinsic qualities as mothers, they would instil the values of *Hellenismos* into their children.⁴ Thus, learning was considered by intellectuals to be the means to reveal the authentic character of each *Hellenida*. 'Do not imitate foreigners, avoid their embellishments and cultivate modesty, be concerned for the clear and intact Hellenic character; this is the most glorious inheritance that you can transmit to your children.'⁵

¹ P. Zontanos, *Peri Anatrofis ton Korasion kai tis Dimosiou Ekpaidevseos ton Arrenon* (Hermoupolis, 1836), pp. 58-60.

² Ibid., Zontanos, pp. 58-60; N. Vamvas, *Avtoshedios Omilia tou Kyriou N. Vamva genomeni en Ermoupoli ti z' Martiou 1834* (Hermoupolis, 1836), pp. 58-60.

³ P. Kouskouri, 'Peri ekpaidevseos tou gynaikeiou phylou', *Pandora*, iii (1853), p. 520; F. Fountoukli, 'Polytimi Ili Kouskouri', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 March 1890; K. Xiradaki, *To feministiko kinima stin Hellada. Prototypes Hellenides 1830-1936* (Athens, 1988), p. 52.

⁴ Ibid., p. 520; P. Kouskouri, *Geographia tis Arhaias Hellados*, Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., pp. 170-71; D. Apostolides, 'Agellia', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, 5 May 1857.

⁵ *Anatrosfi ton Korasion. Anthologia ton Koinophelon Gnoseon*, Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 83.

This was the other objective which the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia* aimed to achieve in 1836: the creation of women Hellenic-Orthodox in character.¹ In the same year, priests in the kingdom refused Holy Communion to parents who sent their children to Protestant schools, and the Patriarchate ordered the confiscation of Protestant pamphlets.² Alexandros Ragavis commented on Kokkonis' initiative to switch the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireias'* primary aim from general to female education as follows: 'Kokkonis . . . did not like the influence of other churches and dogmas, especially, those of the Protestant missionaries.'³ This remark reflected a powerful feeling among Greek intellectuals, such as Kokkonis, who could not bear the fact that the *Hellenidas'* education was influenced by foreign religious and cultural beliefs.

Until 1836, the only schools to provide both primary and secondary female education, and thus satisfy the demands of the upper and middle classes, had been founded by Protestant missionaries sent from Britain and the United States as part of a campaign to reach those countries where Christianity had first developed. Prominent among them were the schools of John and Frances Hill (1831) in Athens, G. Volmerange in Nafplion (1831) and Hermoupolis (Syros) municipality, which had placed children's education under the direction of Ludwig Korck who had arrived in Hermoupolis in 1828 under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. In 1831, Fr. Hildner, taking over from Korck, had founded the *Philelliniko Paidagogeio* (Philhellenic Pedagogic School) in Hermoupolis, which provided secondary education to girls. Furthermore, from 1834, both the Hill and Volmerange schools aimed to train good housewives, and teachers, a goal which was widely accepted by both the ruling and the privileged classes of Greek society.⁴ Significantly, in 1834, the state awarded to Volmerange and the Hills twelve scholarships each, to enable Greek girls to train as teachers. It, thus, appears that even in 1834 these schools were regarded primarily as educational institutions, and not as non-Orthodox

¹ 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 7-21 Iouniou 1853', *F.E.* (1853), p. 9; 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 5-19 Iouniou 1855', *F.E.* (1855), p. 57; 'Logodosia tou Eisigitou eis epi ton Sholeion Epitropis', *F.E.* (1865), p. 53.

² J. Petropoulos, *Politiki kai sygrotisi kratous sto Elliniko Vasilio* (Athens, 1986), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 348.

³ Al. Ragavis, *Apomnimonevmata* (Athens, 1930), 2 vols, vol. 2, p. 25; C.D. Schinas, *Peri ton Ekklesiastikon* (Athens, 1863), p. 9.

⁴ G. Augustinos, 'Enlightened Christians and the Oriental Churches: Protestant Missions to the Greeks in Asia Minor, 1820-1860', *Journal of Modern Greek studies*, iv (May 1986), pp. 129-142; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 50-79.

establishments alien - and even opposed - to the national culture. But the years from 1836 to 1849 saw a hardening of attitudes. On 23 July 1833, the Greek Church was declared independent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The independence of the Greek Church was proclaimed unilaterally by a local synod of Greek bishops in 1836 at the prompting of the Bavarian regime.¹ By drawing nation and church together as integral parts of the same symbolic system, the state adopted a formula with considerable concessions to local sentiments. Helleno-Christian civilisation was on its way, and religious practices became an essential part of the state's ideological practices and another way to ensure its subjects' loyalty. In 1836, Soutsos commented, 'It is quite a year since the show of religious respect became the fashion (*syrmos*) in Greece.'² Greek society, although not to be the embodiment of a folk-religious tradition, was to be the product of a formal, secular ideology. The Helleno-Christian civilisation indicated the basis upon which this secular ideology had to be constructed.

The ministry that was granted the sole responsibility for Greek education was entitled the ministry of education and *religious* affairs.³ In 1834, religious catechism became a compulsory part of Greek education and in 1836 students were forced to start their school day with prayers.⁴ In 1848, the minister of education and religious affairs commented on the insufficiency of religious lessons and demanded the immediate introduction of greater emphasis on religious catechism.⁵ Furthermore, in 1855, the minister of education stressed the need for more religious and patriotic examples to inspire Greek students, while a year later teachers assumed responsibility for their students' regular attendance at church.⁶ It was within this ideological framework that, in 1840, the newspaper *Aion* accused the Hills' school of trying to convert young Orthodox Greek girls to Protestantism.⁷ Although many intellectuals defended the Hills, the state proceeded to restrict their school curricula in an attempt to calm popular feelings, leading Frances and John Hill to close their

¹ Ch. Frazee, *Orthodoxos Eklisia kai Helleniki Anexartisia 1821-1852* (Athens, 1987); 'Peri Thriskias', *Pandora* (1865), pp. 361-368, 385-390.

² The quotation here is taken from K. Dimaras, *Hellenikos Romantismos*, op. cit., p. 375.

³ A. Dimaras, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

⁵ D. Antoniou, *Ta programmata tis Mesis Ekpaidevsis 1833-1929* (Athens, 1987), 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 114-123.

⁷ J. Petropoulos, op. cit., p. 563.

school. Ten years later, the Hills reopened their school in Athens (1853), but now an Orthodox priest was charged with the religious catechism of the girls.¹ In the meantime, the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia* had emerged as the leading educational institution for women, while in the decade that followed, any school for girls that was founded aimed primarily at the maintenance of *Hellenoprepos* (faithful to the principles of the *Hellenismos*) upbringing of mothers and teachers.

However, the climate of the 1850s and the urgent appeal of intellectuals for mothers grounded in morality and literacy significantly affected *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia*'s vocabulary. In 1854, the *Arsakeio* focused on instruction in homecrafts for the needs of the future *oikodespoina* (homemaker), a term that first appeared in *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia*'s reports.² Furthermore, in 1857, *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia* changed the name of its 'secondary' school from *Didaskaleio* to *Parthenagogeion* (maiden's upbringing), indicating once more the school's aim to promote its image as producer of both mothers and teachers.³ But a more powerful aspect of such arguments applied to the way that both men and women began to understand the meaning of such roles. Maternal responsibility and teaching gave to *Hellenides* a special role in society. Indeed, still in the 1850s, intellectuals continued to argue that nature favoured men, but consciousness of the fact that a mother's open display of power possessed a private as well as public relevance, forced intellectuals to view mothers' ignorance beyond the rudimentary level of knowledge of national history, national geography, and compulsory religious lessons, as the source of the nation's misfortunes. It was the recognition of the importance of motherhood which led to the creation of more *Parthenagogeia* in the 1850s (Table 5) aimed at producing *Hellenides* mothers, wives and homemakers, instead of teachers, such as the *Parthenagogeion* of Aspasia and Daniil Sourmeli established in Athens in 1856, which offered education without vocational training. However, although the *Parthenagogeion* Sourmelis' primary aim, according to its founders, was the moral and religious upbringing of

¹ 'Parthenagogeio tis kirias Hill', *Pandora*, viii (1856), p. 117; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 116; Ch. Christopoulos, 'Pros ton aidesimotato K. Hill', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), p. 659; Gr. Papadopoulos, 'Peri tis En Elladi dimotikis Ekpaidevsis', *Pandora*, xv (1864), pp. 149-156, 161-167; 'Amerikanoi Ierapostoloi en Helladi', *Mellon*, 16 May 1872.

² 'Ekthesis Peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon Apo 6-20 Iouliou 1854', *F.E.* (1854), pp. 21-22; 'Ekthesis EniavSION Exetaseon 5-19 Iouniou 1855', *F.E.* (1855), p. 77.

³ 'Logodosia tou eisigiti epi ton sholeion epitropis P. Rompotou meta tas exetaseis tou Arsakeiou', *F.E.* (1866), pp. 53-56.

girls, it created a highly significant and far-reaching precedent as the first 'secondary' school for girls, providing general education.¹ In addition, as we saw earlier, the recognition of *Parthenagogeia* as *Hellenika* schools, according to the ministerial classification, opened the door, in the decade that followed, to the next level of secondary female education: the *gymnasia*.

None the less, the preparation of *Hellenides* mothers became one of the major issues of Greek society in the period from 1854 to 1862 and this outlook significantly reflected the *Arsakeio's* curriculum. Each part of women's education had to reflect the values of this nationalist culture and, even if women were too intellectually inferior to attend a complete programme of studies, 'female' education had still to be based on Helleno-Christian cultural values. Thus, according to the *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireias'* curriculum, the *Hellenida* homemaker, in contrast to Western models, had to learn how to be modest and decorous and to love beauty, truth and work.² In addition, although for most male intellectuals the challenges to women's rights were seen as a need to repair women's wrongs and were read in a strictly national context, women who deserted their assigned sphere were still regarded as freaks and 'men-women.' It was then that intellectuals tried to mould the contemporary national mother and teacher, by defining the characteristics that they assumed to constitute the authentic character of the *Hellenida* mother, wife, and homemaker. Therefore, *Hellenides* were able, for the first time, to think of themselves as a group, and, beyond their shared common experience as teachers and mothers, to legitimise themselves as sources of knowledge and experience which before they had denied to themselves. Since authority was assumed for men, while for women it had been hitherto denied, the justification of women's authority beyond their particular experience as teachers, mothers, and, as we will examine in the following chapter, moral arbiters of society, gave to women the chance to challenge a patriarchal frame of reference which had deprived them of any authority and authenticity.³ Moreover, since 1836, in their reports to the Panhellenic female institution (*Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia*), the advisers of

¹ 'Aggelia Hellenikou Korasiou Ekpaidevtirion Daniil kai Aspasia Sourmelis', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, iv (1856), p. 778; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 117; For the secondary schools that existed in Greece in the academic years 1836 to 1859, see Table 5.

² L. Melas, 'Logos', *Pandora*, xi (1860), pp. 194-198.

³ 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 13-17 Iouniou 1848', op. cit., pp. 3-7, reference p. 5; 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon apo 10-24 Iouniou 1851', *F.E.* (1851), p. 28.

the society, such as Misael Apostolides, Neofytos Vamvas, Leon Melas, and many others, discussed the *power* which women had to ameliorate the status of their *omophylo* (same sex) *genos*, and *omothrysko* (same religion) *genos*.¹ The *Arsakeio* was the 'living female bond' between East and West from which the still enslaved 'groaning Hellenic race', as Melas explained, awaited its female 'apostles of Christian virtue and Hellenist values' who could comfort the nation's pain and raise the 'moral and literal progress of the whole female race'.² In the decades that followed, such nationalist rhetoric helped *Hellenides* to develop a sense of sisterhood and to become conscious of the *power* and national obligation that they had, as a group, to change the conditions of life of their *omophylo* and *omothrysko* *genos* and, by extension, to ameliorate their entire Hellenic *genos*' condition.

¹ N. Vamvas, 'Synelevisis tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni tin 13 Noemvriou 1846', op. cit., p. 22; L. Melas, 'Ekthesis tou epi ton Sholeion Epitropis Eisigiti L. Melas', *F.E.* (1860), p. 48; L. Melas, 'Pros tin Synelevsin tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', *F.E.* (1862), p. 11.

² L. Melas, 'Logos sto Arsakeio', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, ix (1861), pp. 1727-1729, reference p. 1727; Ch. Filadelfevs, 'Ekthesis peri ton EniavSION Exetaseon tin 20 Iouniou 1865', *F.E.* (1865), p. 86; L. Melas, 'Ekthesis Eisigitou tis Epi ton Sholon Epitropis L. Mela', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, i (1862), pp. 2047-2050, reference p. 2048; L. Melas, 'Yper tis Mnimis tou Aeimnistou Proedrou tis Etaireias A. Mavrokordatou', *F.E.* (1865), pp. 39-41; 'Ekthesis peti ton en Arsakeio Parthenagogeio EniavSION exetaseon ypo tou Eisigitou G.P. Rompoti genomeni ti 18 Iouniou 1867', *F.E.* (1867), p. 53.

1.3 The Prototype Kingdom. What Kind of Woman?

In 1862, boasting fifteen oil lamps, no more than 10,000 inhabitants and one carriage way to Piraeus Athens was more reminiscent of a Turkish village than the capital of a country. Twenty-five years later, Athens had 42,972 inhabitants and was being portrayed in an increasingly favourable light by Western travellers, who marvelled at the gas lamps in the city centre and the plethora of cafés, beer halls, bazaars, squares and theatres.¹ Athenian society was a mixture of Occident and Orient. Turkish style shops stood alongside French cafés, and people in folk costume rubbed shoulders with those who had adopted French fashions.² This was the city that gave the final blow to Otto's regime on 10 October 1862, expressing its national frustration at a form of government seen as inharmonious, and an obstacle to social and national progress.

Proponents of the 1862 upheaval defined it as a *social revolution* in which people, militants, intellectuals and youths acted against the king and his style of rule. They did not demand the introduction of further constitutional guarantees, as the political parties had in 1843, but rather the reconstruction of Greek society and more guarantees from the ruling class for the advancement of the *Megale Idea*.³ On 11 November 1862, the liberal strata of the period founded the *Rhigas Pheraios* Society, challenging this declaration and asserting that, since no liberal culture had been established, the revolution had not realised its aims.⁴ Constitutional change gave no guarantee of future control of the government, in the absence of a liberal culture, the society argued. It explained that liberal culture required the organisation of a series of public lectures, which would teach society and the ruling class how to respect the right to disagree. As defined by the rector of the university at that time, Petros Paparrigopoulos, liberal culture was 'the freedom of conscience'.⁵

¹ M. Skaltsa, op. cit., p. 53; E. About, op. cit., p. 53, 359; 'Ai neai Athinai', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iv (1864), pp. 57-77.

² M. Skaltsa, op. cit., p. 73.

³ 'To Mellon tis Patridos', *To mellon tis Hellados*, 6 July 1861; 'En Athinai ti 12 Iouliou 1861', *To Mellon tis Hellados*, 13 July 1861; G. Vitalis, 'Politiki tou Vasileiou', *Ethniko Imerologio*, vi (1886), p. 86.

⁴ Al. Vyzantios, 'Ekthesis ton en elladi symvanton apo Iouniou 1862-Iouniou 1865', *Ethniko Imerologio*, vi (1866), p. 283; G. Vitalis, op. cit., pp. 84-98.

⁵ A. Liakos, 'Oi Filelevtheroi stin Epanastasi tou 1862. O Politikos Syllogos Rigas Pheraios', *Mnimon*, viii (1980-1982), pp. 21-32; G. Giannaris, *Foittitika Koinimata kai Helleniki Paideia* (Athens, 1993), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 229.

The teaching of the ideas of Lamartine, Lamennais, Michelet, Louis Blanc, Mazzini, Macaulay, Darwin and Mignet at the university inspired intellectual disputes through which this generation envisioned another world. It was the period when the triumph of the 'common people' was identified with national pursuits, as demonstrated by the Italian example, which led Greeks to compare their kingdom to that of the Italian Piedmont.¹ People had become gradually tired of the intrigues, internal social immorality, violence and obstacles to national progress of Otto's regime.² Ballot-rigging in the 1861 national election once again pushed people to the brink. At the same time, continental Europe's passage from the individual immoral world of aristocracy to popular sovereignty and democracy was transplanted into the kingdom's borders.³ Greek society became an open window to all the new liberal messages, introducing subtle cultural changes in the ways that members of this society related to each other. By adopting the Italian example, Greek intellectuals translated the Italian *fare da se* to a Greek context. It was hoped that from the people and through the people, 'Hellas through Hellenes', and 'East through East', the nation could succeed where the state had failed in fulfilling the *Megale Idea*.⁴

1862-64 were years of open aspirations, while days of symposia and public lectures expressed strong hopes that a reconstruction of everyday reality was still possible.⁵ A new set of counter arguments came to highlight the idea that only a powerful and commercial *Helladic* (Greek) world could in turn fulfil the dream of the great *Hellas*.⁶ 'No Panslavist propaganda or proselytism could succeed if we, the *Hellenes* [in the Greek kingdom], the newspaper *Mellon* stated, 'work together for industry, commerce and social progress instead of dwelling on all these passions and

¹ Al. Vyzantios, op. cit., p. 278.

² A. Liakos, op. cit., p. 16.

³ E. Deligeorgis, 'To Epi tis Dimosias Ekpaidevseos Ypourgeion', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, x (1862), pp. 2144-2145; 'Sfatera Dievthinsis tis Kyverniseos', *To Mellon tis Hellados*, 13 August 1861.

⁴ 'To Proton Vima', *To Mellon*, 1 October 1863; 'Oi Hellenes Dia ton Hellenon', *To Mellon*, 26 August 1866.

⁵ 'Athinisi', *To Mellon tis Anatolis*, 25 July 1862; 'Athinisi', *To Mellon tis Anatolis*, 8 August 1862; '15 Augustu 1862', *To Mellon tis Anatolis*, 15 August 1862; M. Vrettos, 'Parisina anamnisis epi tis epohis tou Krimaikou', *Ethniko Imerologio*, vii (1867), pp. 70-90; 'Mi pepoithate ep' Arhontas', *To Mellon*, 19 August 1866; 'Oi Hellenes dia ton Hellenon', *Mellon*, 26 August 1866; I. Typaldos, 'I enosis ton Ionion nison', *Hrysallis*, iv (1863), p. 513.

⁶ 'Stili. Alexandreia 27 Octomvriou 1865', *To Mellon*, 2 November 1865; 'En Zotiko Thema', *To Mellon*, 5 January 1865; 'Programma tis Ephimeridos', *To Mellon*, 1 October 1863; 'To Proto Vima', *To Mellon*, 1 October 1863.

intrigues which ruin our society.'¹ From 1860 onward, petty artisans and merchants, alongside a rising number of professional people, such as lawyers, doctors, teachers and the growing bureaucracy, gradually elevated the status of the indigenous bourgeoisie to a more important group in Greek society.² From 1862 to 1864, more realistic plans began to be designed. The new urban class demanded internal progress more conducive to commercial and industrial development. It was the period when academics, journalists and poets widely held that the progress of the *Helladikos* world signified the peaceful enlightenment of the *Megale Idea*. As the newspaper *Mellon* explained in 1863,³

Through our social process, in commerce, industry and literature we will be the centre of the East's civilisation, teaching the Orient's peoples all the values and the new understanding of life.⁴

On 18 March 1864, Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George of the Danish Glucksbourg dynasty arrived in Greece as king. He ascended the throne with the title King George I of the *Hellenes*, in contrast to Otto's title, Otto King of Greece. Britain yielded the Ionian Islands to Greece as a concession to curb future irredentist fever. However, in opposition to Britain's attempts to dampen Greek irredentism, George I of the Hellenes declared: 'My goal is to establish the Greek kingdom as the prototype in the Orient.' In order to do so, he concluded, he would respect his people's (indigenous) mores: 'I will respect your laws, the Constitution which is the core of this new Greek political system . . . your morals, and your language.'⁵ Nevertheless, George I's kingdom was obviously more accessible to the popular imagination. In adopting the title King of the *Hellenes*, he stressed that his right to rule extended across the entire Hellenic nation and was not limited by simple state boundaries, while his promise to respect indigenous symbols and to found a

¹ 'I eso kai exo Hellas', *To Mellon*, 23 December 1864; 'O Notioslavismos kai i Anatoli', *To Mellon*, 23 June 1864; '2 Iouliou 1864', *To Mellon*, 2 July 1864; 'Diaphora', *To Mellon*, 2 November 1865; 'Neon Etos', *To Mellon*, 1 January 1865; 'En Zotiko Thema', *To Mellon*, 5 January 1865.

² G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 18.

³ A. Goudas, 'Peri tis Megales Ideas', *Melissa Athinon*, ii (1864), p. 96; 'To Proto Vima', *To Mellon*, 1 October 1863; 'Mia Symvouli', *To Mellon*, 18 February 1866; 'I eso kai exo Hellas', *To Mellon*, 23 December 1864; 'O Notioslavismos kai i Anatoli', *To Mellon*, 23 June 1864; 'Vraheia tina peri Proxenor', *To Mellon*, 12 June 1864; 'Ai Kravgai', *To Mellon*, 2 August 1866.

⁴ 'Programma', *To Mellon*, 1 October 1863.

⁵ 'Georgios ton Hellenon. Elevis tou Vasileos', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, xi (1863), pp. 217-220.

new prototype Greek kingdom under his authority galvanised the minds and the hearts of the period, ending a long era of ideological impasse.¹

But although such changes fulfilled nationalist dreams, they also brought tremendous problems of reorganisation and unification.² Writers assumed that a glorious future was attainable. For the first time in Greek history, Orthodoxy, *ethnos*, a unified political will and national morality co-existed, offering a vision of a bright future which brought a new sense of pride in being Greek, and introduced new values to the Greek kingdom.³ Every aspect of this civilisation, habits, ideas, beliefs - in sum, all the components of society's outlook - began to assume a new importance and gained new meaning. Intellectuals believed that the rebirth and the progress of Hellenic society could be achieved by joining 'religious morality to Helleno-Christian civilisation'.⁴ Civilisation came to be seen as the only force through which Greeks could achieve their final Hellenic dream, the unification of their nation behind shared geographical borders. Hence, a new investigation engaged the attention of intellectuals, who had participated less actively in defining the nation hitherto. A nation becomes eternal not through its politicians, nor its army, but only through what it has thought, discovered and created. It was in this light that Alexandros Soutsos, Aggelos Vlahos, Kharilaos Trikoupis (later prime minister), Theodoros N. Deligiannis (later prime minister), Markos Dragoumis, and Nikolaos Mavrokordatos founded the *Etaireia tou Laou* (People's Association) on 23 December 1865, for the education of the working class through public lectures, books, and libraries.⁵

If the *Megale Idea* was an historic force that was recognised by politicians and intellectuals in 1864, the growing role of the common man in the affairs of state was another.⁶ Although most intellectuals and politicians in the 1860s aimed to create a strong national polity, economy and culture, all agreed that even the largest reform projects should start from the smallest social nucleus - the family and the individual.⁷

¹ 'Logos tou Vasileos Georgiou', *To Mellon*, 22 October 1863.

² 'En Zotiko Thema', *To Mellon*, 5 January 1865.

³ M. Renieris, 'Peri tou proorismou tou Hellenikou Ethnous', *Ethniko Imerologio*, v (1865), pp. 351-56.

⁴ '18 Iouniou 1864', *To Mellon*, 18 June 1864; 'En Vlema epi tis Politikis mas', *To Mellon*, 6 October 1864.

⁵ 'Etaireia ton Filon tou Laou. Parigoria', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, xiv (1866), pp. 881-882; 'Etaireia ton Filon tou Laou', *Pandora*, xi (1871), pp. 457-461.

⁶ 'Oi Politikoi, oi Oikokyraioi kai o Laos', *To Mellon*, 9 March 1865.

⁷ G. Vitalis, 'Politikos vios tou vasileiou tis Hellados', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iii (1863), pp. 84-107.

Soon, journals and newspapers of the period focused on family life and its members' attitudes (*oikogeneiakos vios*).¹ In the same tone, a spate of articles on marital relationships appeared in contemporary journals, and men's attitude to their wives attracted serious criticism. Portraits of individual characters were given unprecedented public attention, as social 'types' began to be criticised and socially stigmatised, such as old maids and bachelors.² Being unmarried came to be seen as a sign of personal failure and social uselessness and even as an injury of social homogeneity. At the same time, anecdotes came to the fore portraying the spiritual poverty of this unfortunate population. Old maids became the most prominent figures in such stories, leading intellectuals to further medical conclusions about the disabling consequences of celibacy.³ At the same time, individuals were defined by authors as the heirs of their country, nation, family and tradition who ought to continue to bear a particular national heritage. There were many pamphlets on issues concerning parents and their attitude to their children, and a new set of approaches was formulated.⁴ Domestic relations were thus brought into the public sphere. Intellectuals predicated their criticism of parents' attitudes to their children on the equal rights of nation and society, as Konstantinos Levkaditis explained in 1863:

Parents should not consider their children as their own property, but instead as a part of the nation's heritage, a continuance of their ancestral glory. Children were designed by history and God to fulfil their national obligations in the future.⁵

It is indicative that, although pamphlets described the way to personal fulfilment, the main theme from 1862 to 1864 was predicated on the right of freedom of thought and consciousness, with the life of individuals becoming part of this 'imaginable' enlarged Panhellenic community. In this context, individuals were seen as the heritage of their *patria* (indigenous characteristics), nation and ancestral tradition who ought to continue to bear this particular heritage that was involved in every function of daily life. It was from this vague point of view that Marinos

¹ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou thriskevtikou aisthoimatos', *Pandora*, xviii (1868), pp. 162-70.

² P. Vrailas Armenis, 'Orismos tou kalou', *Pandora*, xviii (1868), pp. 25-30; N.I. Saripolos, 'Skepsis hristianikon meleton pros morfosis hristianikon areton ypo St. Simitriou', *Pandora*, xv (1864), p. 217; 'Peri kalis symperiforas', *Oikogeneiakon Imerologion*, i (1869), pp. 27-30.

³ M.P. Vrettos, 'Oi neoterai Hellenes', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iv (1864), pp. 185-95; D. Iliopoulos, 'Peri Agamias', *Artemis*, i (1866), p. 43; 'Hronika Gerontokoris', *Hrysallis*, ii (1864), p. 725.

⁴ K. Levkaditis, 'To meros ton goneon en ti anatrophē', *Pandora*, xiv (1863), pp. 233-240, 257-265, 289-296.

⁵ K. Levkaditis, op. cit., p. 234.

Pappadopoulos Vrettos portrayed the characteristics of the modern *Hellene* in an article, 'Oi neoterai Hellenes' ('Modern Hellenes'), in his journal *Ethniko Imerologio* (*National Chronicle*) explained:

If ever a trader marries a foreigner he does not leave the large Hellenic family, but if a trader's daughter marries a non-*Hellene* man, then she becomes an anti-patriot. And the damage to her country is estimated according to the amount of her dowry. For this reason parents do not permit such engagements while they unconsciously perceive their fortune not as their own but as national property.¹

In the 1860s, intellectuals recognised that the family and the individual were indisputably the underlying force behind the growth of the society and nation. The ruling class recognised that to bolster its own legitimacy and reinforce the loyalty of its subjects it had to turn to the smallest social nucleus - the family. In the end, both intellectuals and ruling class arrived at the same conclusion, agreeing that the family and, most importantly, maternal responsibilities had the most effect in moulding *Hellenoprepos* men. Moreover, they realised that the morality of this society depended on women. 'Mothers constitute the core of the family, the family constitutes the core of this society . . . Therefore, this society's morals depend on them.'²

It was in this context that, in an attempt to review a variety of themes that referred overtly to the identity of Greeks, the minister of education in 1864 demanded that the university's professor of law, Nikolaos Saripolos (1817-1887), report on the origins of Greek education and thus the entire society's vulnerability. Saripolos, professor of constitutional law, opponent of Otto's regime and member of the *Rhigas Pheraios*, had been elected with Emmanouil Kokkinos for the two university seats in the National Assembly in 1863. He was the principal proposer of the 1864 constitution.

In 1864, Saripolos was 45 years old, living with his generation's frustration that the national dream, the *raison d'être* for his generation, could not be fulfilled under the current leadership. Saripolos' generation had commonly assumed that, although 1854 (the Crimean War and occupation of Piraeus) was a national humiliation caused by the Bavarian monarchy's weakness, the people themselves

¹ M.P. Vrettos, 'Oi Neoterai Hellenes', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iv (1864), pp. 185-195.

² 'Tois Anagnostais', *Artemis* (1866), p. 1; D. Paparrigopoulos, *Peri kathikonton tou Anthropolou os hristianou kai os politou* (Athens, 1871), pp. 11-12.

were also to blame for having failed to respond effectively to their generation's national call. Rather than dwell on past failings, Saripolos looked to the future to relieve the impasse, arguing that although 'probably we will not live to see the results of these new morals and the nation's success, the least that we can do is to prepare for this glorious future'. According to Saripolos, the ruling class and intellectuals ought to devote their attention to the level of family, school and society. But his major concern, like other contemporary intellectuals, such as Pappadopoulos, was to stabilise through such efforts this new political ethos which simple people, intellectuals, and the army had fought for in 1864.

In line with the national spirit of the period, Saripolos, responded to the minister of Education's demand with an article entitled '*Ypomnima peri tou Katoterou Klirou kai peri Ekpaidevseos*' ('Memorandum on the Lower Clergy and Education'), arguing that the weakness of the society stemmed from its moral decline, caused by the clergy's illiteracy, women's backwardness and a generally inappropriate education. In this context he was preoccupied with women's education. He believed that *Hellenides* mothers had the vital role of guiding their children into the authentic virtues of the *Hellenismos*, the 'religious morals' which *Hellenes* had lost in their blind adoption of habits, customs and norms of behaviour from the West. According to Saripolos, the moral upbringing of this generation ought to start with the major social agency: women. 'On women depends the whole society. . . . It is fruitless to mould good citizens before moral and virtuous citizens [women] are educated,' Saripolos declared. He was so preoccupied with what he called social purity that he believed it had led the nation to success in 1821. He tried to find alternatives to bringing back the pre-1821 nation's values, in order to prepare brave succeeding generations. 'Due to our king's youth, we have to prepare for him men who after some years would follow the adult king in his mission of building up this kingdom as the prototype in the East.'¹ Therefore, Saripolos turned to women as, along with the lower clergy and education, the major inspirers of such an achievement. In this ideological context, women's upbringing became a major issue in his analysis.²

¹ N. Saripolos, '*Peri tou Katoterou Klirou kai Peri Ekpaidevseos*', *Pandora*, xvi (1865), pp. 110-114, reference, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*

According to Saripolos, inculcation of women with the pre-1821 values was now obviously a more difficult task, because since the establishment of the kingdom, Greek society had introduced blindly a set of Western habits and ideas that had undermined the *Hellenida's* authentic character. By this line of thought, he concluded that compulsory education for both girls and boys from six to ten years old was necessary. In addition, according to Saripolos, in order to return to the previous stage of purity and simplicity, as this existed before 1821, secondary education based on the *Arsakeio's* curriculum, with overemphasis on French, homemaking and sewing, was not only fruitless, but even harmful to women's nature and mind. He was particularly aware of the fact that women, from both the lower and upper classes of society, continued to share a unified curriculum of studies. He believed that such an education would lead pauper girls lose their sense of their social place and obligation with deleterious moral consequences. Such paupers, according to Saripolos, after completing their studies, instead of returning to their place of birth, where illiteracy, ignorance and poverty still reigned, would try to continue to enjoy the privileges they had shared, in the *Arsakeio's* dormitories with upper-class girls. In one of the most influential contemporary journals, *Pandora*, Saripolos stated that, according to a police officer, lower-class girls became prostitutes after graduation, in order to be able to stay in Athens. Even this could not do more than simply shock the Athenian society of this period. However, after such serious allegations, Saripolos informed his readers that, none the less there was a solution to the moral problem of women of both the lower and upper classes and therefore of the entire nation's moral training. In the memorandum in which he analysed the *gynaikeio genos'* (female sex) upbringing and men's education, he suggested that as women's major role was male comfort and the moral upbringing of children, the remoteness of women from public life was necessary and beneficial. The house under the mother's direction in homemaking and baby care was the golden formula, according to Saripolos, so that *Hellenides*, except those who were destined to follow a teacher's career, could complete their upbringing and could rediscover the purity that *Hellenides* wives, mothers, and homemakers had shared before 1821.

Of course, Saripolos' thinking was neither beneficial to women's education nor new, and his memorandum would have direct consequences on women's

secondary education. Although intellectuals such as Nikolaos Dragoumis (one of the editors of *Pandora* and a major political and literary figure of the period) opposed Saripolos' ideas, the latter's conclusions resulted in the state's withdrawal of 30 scholarships from the *Arsakeio* for the year 1864.¹ However, despite such direct effects on women's secondary education, Saripolos' thinking was rather favourable in the long term to women's self-identification. In fact, Saripolos' belief that women could stop Greek society's moral decline, drove him, in 1864, to demand the exclusion of *Hellenides* from mass secondary education because what was required were moral mothers with essential *hellenoprepos* feminine knowledge, and not highly educated mothers. In these years, the strength of Greek society's morality was regarded by contemporary intellectuals as one of the major forces for the achievement of the nation's political unification. Saripolos not only advocated a vague public role for women as moral arbiters of society. By publishing his view of the effects that women's moral authority had on the entire nation, he made *Hellenides* aware, even when he did not intend it, of the effects that their moral authority, beyond their maternal experience, had on the entire nation.

In addition, Saripolos, because of his belief that women were less rational and more emotional than men and, therefore more vulnerable to alien ideas and morals, continued to advocate the remoteness of *Hellenides* from public life and their exclusion from secondary education as the only way to control feminine nature and therefore their vague authority over the entire nation. In the decade that followed, the fact that many writers interpreted to the outside world the benefits of the Helleno-Christian civilisation (as opposed to Islamic civilisation) in the Orient, in terms of women's condition, obviously contradicted Saripolos' fears and conclusions, and a new interpretation of the *Hellenida's* inherent potentials emerged in contemporary literary circles, in both Athens and Constantinople.²

In 1856, an article entitled '*I Gyni*' ('The Woman') opposed the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The anonymous author tried to justify the Hellenic Christian Empire's sovereignty over the East by opposing the present Islamic

¹ Ch. Filadelfeys, 'Ekthesis peti ton en Arsakeio Parthenagogeio tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias', F.E. (1864), pp. 81-88.

² Ibid., in Saripolos, pp. 74-76, 110-114, 156-160, 257-259; 'Ekthesis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias genomeni ti 20 Iouniou 1865', F.E. (1865), p. 396.

Ottoman Empire.¹ There was nothing new in this thesis: articles promising much territorial gain for the West and a missionary role for the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire had appeared earlier. But the article introduced a new line of argument. The author portrayed women's position in the Ottoman Empire in very sombre terms: 'In this uncivilised East, women are simply men's servants,' and the author contrasted this cruel reality with that of Christianity. 'Only in Christian countries are women equal to men, only in the Christian household is a woman mother, wife and friend.' The logical conclusion of this train of thought was (as Melas had already argued in 1853) that only a Christian throne could save the East.²

Even if Europe wanted to close her ears to the Ottoman Turks' death-knell and ignore the Islamic threat that Christian women lived under, assuming that with the introduction of a number of Western reforms women's condition could improve, the author argued that there was an impassable obstacle to such changes in the Ottoman Empire's Islamic culture. Turning back to Greece, the author clarified the new role of women in this third stage of civilisation. By drawing upon the two previous stages of the Greek civilisation, the new *Hellenida*, the author maintained, is neither an Athenian enclosed in her *gynaikoniti* (women's quarters) nor, as in Roman times, enjoying the total freedom which made women immoral. By following an education designed for her feminine needs and in accordance with Christian dogma, the author argued, the 'Hellenida was qualitatively different but possessed the same value as a man.'³ In 1867, however, another pamphlet entitled '*Anatoli kai Dysi yf enos Anatolitou*' ('East and West from an Oriental') was circulated in Athens. The author argued that only Christian sovereignty could lead to the Orient's rebirth and save Christian women from Islamic culture, reminding readers that it was from his own realisations, as an Oriental himself, that he came to such conclusions.⁴ Greeks had already made practical efforts, the author added, such as *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia*, and the spread of *Parthenagogeia*.

Both authors' primary concern was obviously not women's status, but the elevation of arguments which could oppose any Ottoman reforms and theories of

¹ Anonymous, '11 Apriliou 1856. I Gyni', *Ephimeris ton Filomathon*, iv (1856), p. 640.

² G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 17.

³ Anonymous, 'I Gyni', op. cit., p. 640; Anonymous, 'Ek tou Viou ton Palai Hellenon Oliga', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, viii (1860), p. 1175.

⁴ Anonymous, *Anatoli kai Dysi. Yf Enos Anatolitou* (Athens, 1867), pp. 1-77.

Ottoman territorial integrity. However, the fact that both authors used *Hellenides* in order to point out the benefits which an Helleno-Christian empire could bring to the East was of significant importance.¹ If there was a single burning question which plagued male intellectuals at the outset of the 1860s, it was the uneasy relationship between the Helleno-Christian kingdom, the image which Greeks wanted to pass to the West, and the *Hellenides'* illiteracy and backwardness.² The level of education which women were able to follow without harm to them (to the feminine nature) engaged the attention of journalists, authors, priests and statesmen, a debate which was another expression of male fears for their own authority. 'It is true we fear making our women better educated.'³ In 1853, Gavriil Sophoklis' translations of German literature appeared simultaneously with the acknowledgement of female moral superiority, for the first time in Greek letters, an explanation linking female subjugation to social and historical factors and to those of feminine nature itself.⁴ But the first serious discussion of the 'women question' in Greece was undertaken by the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople (*O en Konstantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*), founded in 1861, which established in a series of public lectures from August until October 1861 women's rights and, particularly, women's national education and the role of the mother in the domestic and national spheres as major items in the ideological constellation of the Greek intelligentsia.

The 1860s marked a watershed in Greek research in history, anthropology, sociology and physiology, the fields through which journalists, academics, and writers hoped to shed more light on the women's question. The main theme in *L'Amour* (1858), by Jules Michelet (1798-1874), that women, by infusing societies with love, could save societies from being pulled apart by the atomistic egoism of urbanisation and materialism, and Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) theory of natural selection, expounded in his book *The Origin of Species* (1859), opened another door for

¹ Anonymous, 'I Gyni', op. cit., p. 640; N. Dragoumis, 'Ypo Egger diatrivi', op. cit., pp. 139-143.

² S. K., 'Gynaikēiai fysiognomiai', *Pandora*, viii (1858), pp. 74, 140-141, 175; anonymous, 'Ek tou Viou ton Palai Hellenon Oliga', op. cit., p. 1175; D. Kandiyoti, 'Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?', in N.Y. Davis and F. Anthias (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State* (London, 1989), pp. 126-147; D. Kandiyoti, 'From Empire to Nation State: Transformation of the Woman Question in Turkey', in S. Jay Kleinberg (ed.), *Retrieving Women's History. Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society* (Paris, 1992), pp. 219-40; Al. Carr, 'Peri Gynaikos', *Hrysallis*, iv (1866), p. 610.

³ P. Zontanos, '13 Septemvriou 1858. Poikila. Anatrophi ton Korasion', *Pandora*, ix (1858), p. 350.

⁴ G. Sophoklis, 'Peri gynaikon', *Pandora*, iv (1853), pp. 309-12.

Greek intellectuals. Appeals for women's national education had appeared earlier in Constantinople and Smyrna, but not until 1860 had these appeals solidified into a specific set of arguments in support of women's emancipation in the domestic and national sphere. M. Vlado's *Peri ton anatomikon* ('About Anatomic Characteristics') concluded that female physiology and anatomy disqualified women from becoming actively engaged in the men's world (nation or society), and broadly defined the women's world as the home. I. Zographou's *Peri tis apostolis tis gynaikos en ti koinonia* ('On the Mission of Women in Society'), N. Vegleri's *Peri tis axias tis gynaikos* ('On the Value of Women'), S. Mavrogenis' *Omoiotites kai diaphores* ('Similarities and Differences'), and A. Dalaporta's *Peri gynaikos* ('About Woman') disputed this popular cliché of 'a special feminine nature', arguing that there was no biological basis for claims that women were inherently weaker than men, or that the two sexes should be unequal in any respect, least of all in the need for national education.¹ These three months of debate centred on the notion of women's 'equality-in-difference', conceding women's right to education, which, as defined by Zographos, meant instruction in Greek language, indigenous customs and the national ethos.²

Such was the ideological climate when Pappadopoulos spoke to the *Athenaio* association in May 1866, calling it, in keeping with contemporary phraseology, a national institution, and tried to introduce a new discussion of the woman's question compatible with the *Hellenismos* context and beliefs. No newcomer to the Greek literati, Pappadopoulos joined forces with Stephanos Coumanoudis, E. Derrou, I. Pappadaki, D. Caragiannaki, and S. Stathopoulo to found the *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (Hellenic Educational Institution) in 1849. Pappadopoulos headed this private primary and secondary school for boys until his resignation in 1860.³ He referred to his school as a national institution, calling it *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio*, and thus stressing from the outset that the school's design was the cultivation of *Hellenoprepi* morals and thought in his young students.⁴ However, although Pappadopoulos was galvanised

¹ 'Synedriasis tis 21 Septemvriou 1861', *O En Constantinople Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos* [hereafter abbreviated to *Ph.S.C.*], i (1861-63), pp. 13, 37-41.

² P. Zographos, 'Peri tis Apostolis tis Gynaikos en ti Koinonia', *Ph.S.C.*, i (1861-1863), p. 37.

³ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos peri Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1860), pp. 4-15.

⁴ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos Peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou. Ekfonithis ti 29 Iouniou 1850', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1850), pp. 1-5; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos Ekfonithis ti 24 Iouniou 1851', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1851), p. 10; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Programma tou Hellenikou

by the nationalist appeal of the period, by contrast to Paparrigopoulos, his vision was framed in dreams of a golden era of ancient civilisation and culture, and he hoped one day to see among his students another Thucydides, Demosthenes or Themistocles.¹ He was obsessed with the idea of raising a neo-Hellenic civilisation in which the *Hellene* could bear his ancestral heritage with pride. This obsession may have found its origins in Pappadopoulos' own search for identity at a time when contemporary Hellas and thus the achievements of his generation were held in scorn by European admirers of Greek antiquity. However, Pappadopoulos belonged to the generation of Greek intellectuals who believed that the reconstruction of this civilisation was their personal responsibility and one which would be judged and criticised by future generations.² Many of his articles attacked the Western contempt for modern Greek civilisation, whose failings he saw as analogous to personal failure.³ He believed that modern European civilisation, as a combination of Hellenic civilisation and Christianity, represented the highest stage of civilisation, but he was convinced that only the Hellenic nation could further extend humanity's progress.⁴ In consequence, he shared with Saripolos a fear of the introduction of foreign morals and habits, which he felt would ultimately falsify Greek society's morality, with negative repercussions for the population's character and national goals.⁵

The *Athenaion* was one of many cultural associations founded by Greeks from 1860 to 1870 in attempts to educate the populace. Before long, these associations would play a special role in the development of the national idea. The *Athenaion* was founded in Athens on 20 June 1865 by leading intellectuals of the period such as Konstantinos Papparrigopoulos, Grigorios Pappadopoulos and Nikolaos Dragoumis. Its goal was to introduce this period's new ideas and beliefs to people who could not

Ekpaidevtiriou kata to 1851-52', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1852), pp. 34-35; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Ekthesis peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou kata to Sholikon Etos 1852-53', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1853), p. 22.

¹ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Ai paideiai ton paidon Para tis Arhaiois Hellisin', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1854), p. 5.

² Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos 24 Iouniou 1860', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1860), pp. 4-15; N. Vamvas, 'Prosfonisis N. Vamva epi ti 20 Iouniou 1853', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1853), pp. 30-34; M. Apostolides, 'Proslalia Kyriou Misail Apostolidou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1854), pp. 35-40.

³ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos ekfonithis ti 24 Iouniou 1851 sto Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1851), pp. 1-12.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 1-12; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri ton Progenesteron Hellenikon Sholeion', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1857), p. 17.

⁵ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Logos peri tou Hellenikou Ekpaidevtiriou epi tis 24 Iouniou 1860', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirio* (1860), p. 5.

afford an education, by using simple and accessible language through public lessons. To begin with, the society planned to give two classes per week. Significantly, the society particularly encouraged women to attend these classes. Published in *Pandora* (the brainchild of a powerful panel of male intellectuals such as Dragoumis and Paparrigopoulos) the *Athenaion's* opening announcement explained that women's participation was essential for the Greek society's success. As the anonymous author explained, 'Plato said the city which neglects the education of its female members is incomplete, in contrast to the complete city which provides education to women.'¹ Therefore, the *Athenaion* encouraged women's participation through such practical incentives as a half-price membership fee, charging women only six drachmas as opposed to the men's fee of twelve drachmas.²

In an address to this association, Pappadopoulos described his satisfaction at seeing women and men in his audience. In his opening words, he dedicated his lecture to the *Hellenida asti* (urban woman) who found herself in the new Greek society which had sprung up in the wake of the *laissez-faire* ethos and the progress of individualism. It was this new female character which should be examined from now on, he explained. Earlier pleas for reform of women's education and a vague critique of family structure were now brought together by Pappadopoulos in a synthesis that asked the greater question: what was the role of *Hellenida* in the prototype kingdom? The question was simple. How was it that Greece, a society which was undergoing rapid and thoroughgoing change and which was far from occupying the foremost rank in European and Eastern civilisation did not train *Hellenides* for their crucial role?

He believed that the 1860s found the Greek kingdom in a transitional phase from Oriental to Western civilisation. Although this transition was essential for the Hellenic civilisation, which was to be the prototype in the Oriental world, any adoption of Western ideas had to be made slowly, because a wholesale adoption of ideas and habits alien to the nation's tradition could falsify the society's indigenous culture. On the threshold of such a critical period, Pappadopoulos concluded, as had Saripolos earlier, that women's role was to govern and steer this process of adoption.

¹ Anonymous, 'Athenaion', *Pandora*, xvi (1865), p. 369.

² 'Etaireia ton philon tou laou kai Athinaion', *Pandora*, xvi (1866), pp. 526-28; 'Etaireia ton philon tou laou kai Athinaion', *Pandora*, xvii (1867), pp. 30-48, 394-395.

Again, it was the argument of mission, which forced women to the front line, nullifying obsolete previous arguments about the weakness of the female body and brain. Deeply concerned about the position of women in the Ottoman Empire, Pappadopoulos believed that as a result of being kept in the chains of ignorance and backwardness, in contrast to the progress of other civilisations, the women of Anatolia and Greece would produce offspring with slave mentalities and attitudes. Citing a statement by Adamantios Koraes (1748-1833), an eminent literary figure during the Greek enlightenment (1774-1821), 'Which woman, mother or sister do you believe would ever want to send her son or brother to school, knowing that there men learned the ridiculous masculine hatred of women?' he concluded that behind every man stood a woman. Woman was the mother, the first educator, the wife, the person who first satisfied men's curiosity. This being the case, he could not understand how a society could continue to regard women as weak creatures. 'How, generally speaking, can it be weaker, the sex which carries men's fate in their hands, and it is up to them whether a society in the end turns out to be robust or languid?' *Hellenides* needed freedom of opinion in order to share man's struggle, Pappadopoulos argued.

He looked upon women's education and activity as a source of national virtue, concluding that, although passivity and lack of national conscience were the hallmarks of Hellenic women, the fact that *Hellenides* were ignorant of their own functions as mothers, homemakers and members of a specific society was the fault of men. Because, as he explained, apart from the founding of the *Amalieion* orphanage for girls in 1855 by Kyriakoula Kryezi, A. Kryezi, Maria Ipsilantou, Zoi Soutsou, Antonia Markou Renieri, S. Rizou, and S. Aliberti with the queen-consort of Greece, Amalia Oldenburg (1818-1875), as patroness, after the cholera epidemic which struck Athens, Greek men had never asked women to be involved in national and social affairs.¹ 'Who asked women to think about women's upbringing, to inspect girls' schools or at least to sit on school boards, or to contribute to charitable institutions?'² This must change Pappadopoulos argued, *Hellenides* must take a role in society

¹ 'To Amalieion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 January 1890; S. Panagelis, 'I Philanthropia en Athinais', *Estia*, xviii (1885), pp. 562-567; 'Kyriakoula Kriezi', *Imerologion ton Kyrion* (Athens, 1894), pp. 163-173.

² Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri gynaikos kai peri Hellenidos. Peri Hellenidos', op. cit., p. 112.

commensurate with their human worth, their mental capabilities and their mission. 'I am looking forward to seeing the *Hellenida* announce the rebirth of her country in her own voice.'¹

In this ideological context, Pappadopoulos, like Saripolos earlier, was very conscious of and concerned about the fact that European styles, such as Parisian fashions, and fashionable illnesses, such as neurosis, melancholia and anaemia, had overwhelmed the *Hellenides*' characters since the creation of the Greek kingdom and the blind adoption of European habits, leading to materialism and wastefulness. Such a result was deleterious not only for the *Hellenides*, but for the entire nation, Pappadopoulos argued. However, he held that the rebirth of the *Hellenida* was still possible, because they were the biological and ethnic continuation of the 1821 generation, or 'their mothers' daughters'. Pappadopoulos, thus, concluded that, before the *Hellenides* could progress, they needed to recognise and reaffirm their roots, meaning their national heritage. '*Hellenida* through *Hellenida*', was the way forward for the *Hellenides*, according to Pappadopoulos, who elaborated on this philosophy at length in the second part of his lecture '*Peri Hellenidos*' ('About the *Hellenida*').²

Following this line of reasoning, Pappadopoulos was amongst the first Greek intellectuals to pioneer female education and challenge assumptions about women's natural and immutable biological characteristics. He formulated a new set of arguments, always careful to draw from the contemporary cultural context. He continued to believe that women were weaker than men, but he regarded this 'weakness' as a purely social phenomenon, the logical outcome of long-standing convention. He was opposed to the idea of a separate female biological destiny, portraying examples of outstanding women from antiquity, such as Aspasia, Theoris and Timandra and arriving at the conclusion that the modern *Hellenides*' backwardness was more the result of a long-standing Oriental bias exploited in men's favour than a genetic destiny. Thus, Pappadopoulos drew on the past to bolster his argument that women's capacities depended on the social environment and the opportunities afforded to women. He cited further historical examples to

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., pp. 105-12.

illustrate that inequality was not restricted to relations between the sexes, but existed between different nations and civilisations. Thence he arrived at the conclusion that inequality both between individuals of one sex and across the sex divide was a product of civilisation and culture and could be directly linked to the different upbringing of men and women. Race, country, climate, nutrition, innate capability, family and social environment were further factors on which human upbringing depended, Pappadopoulos argued. Following this line of argument, he arrived at the conclusion that women did not constitute a different group of people bounded by different natures, but that women's place reflected to the cultural stage which a civilisation held in specific temporal and partial terms.¹

However, the first difficulty which Pappadopoulos met was the absence of an effective female indigenous model. In order to elevate their culture, Greek intellectuals had often turned to the past to adopt a series of themes. But, in the case of women, no such investigation was evident. Antiquity with its *gynaikonitis* (women's quarters) was obviously inappropriate. The Byzantine was a period which Pappadopoulos refused to accept as a part of the history of *Hellenismos*. Although effective because of its national purity, the generation prior to 1821 was also very simple; the women of 1821 were able to guide a warrior, but they were not effective in guiding men in the new world of commerce and politics. Within such a context, Pappadopoulos dreamt of moulding the modern *Hellenida's* character to be as cultured as that of antiquity's female philosophers and as moral as the generation of the 1821s. However, with such nationalist preoccupations, Pappadopoulos naturally viewed education neither as an end in itself nor as mere vocational training, but as a form of female self-selection for the lofty and difficult task of training the true *Hellenes* of the future. Pappadopoulos advocated *Hellenoprepi* (faithful to the principles of the *Hellenismos*) teachings with religious and literacy instruction. By this he meant lessons in history to instil patriotic values, lessons in physiology to furnish women with answers for curious children and an understanding of nature's mysteries, lessons in mathematics to enable them to run their homes more efficiently and some general reading, but not novels. These were the only appropriate lessons for the *Hellenida*. Therefore, Pappadopoulos demanded that *Hellenides* concern

¹ Gr. Pappadoulos, 'Peri Gynaikos kai peri Hellenidos', *Pandora*, xvi (1866), pp. 81-88.

themselves with their education, while he opposed that male attitude which Saripolos had exploited a year before, by adding 'No, we are not afraid that female education will harm the family's foundation or peace'.¹

In many ways, the 1860s were a turning-point, marking a new era when *Hellenides* were no longer content to sit back and read about the assignment of their destiny by well-meaning men. In fact, although Pappadopoulos followed the traditional woman's model, that of the mother, wife and home-maker, he was amongst the first intellectuals to debate the female place in the society with nationalist rather than natural arguments. Furthermore, he sought to define educational advantages as a major force in determining the *Hellenides'* individual and collective attitude. Once freed from the restraining concept of a 'natural order', *Hellenides* were able to develop a collective ethnic identity, and by drawing on their shared common experience as mothers, wives, homemakers, and teachers perceive the roles that the *Hellenides* as an entity henceforth had to follow. Therefore an *Hellenoprepos* (faithful to the principles of the *Hellenismos*) spirituality, moral authority and public activism in philanthropy, according to Pappadopoulos' philosophy, were the new public roles that the *Hellenida* henceforth ought to follow. It was through such justifications that exceptional women such as Polytimi Kouskouri, Penelope Lazaridou (date of birth and death unknown), Kalliope Kehayia (1839-1905), Agathoniki Antoniadou (1854-1928), Sappho Leontias (1832-1900), Aikaterini Hristomanou-Laskaridou (1842-1916) and Kalliroe Parren (1861-1940) were able to discover the themes that armed them, once freed from the 'natural' limitations, with authority to speak on a broad range of subjects, and moreover, allowed them to ascertain alternative interpretations of womanhood.²

A few days after Pappadopoulos' speech, Hristomanou-Laskaridou, director of the Hills' school, which from 1865 on was known as *Helleniko Parthenagogeio* (Hellenic *Parthenagogeio*), spoke out about the *Hellenides*, as mothers, wives and home-makers, and their national mission.³ Hristomanou-Laskaridou was born and studied in Vienna, and her presence in Greek letters dates from 1865 when she

¹ Ibid., pp. 105-12.

² G. Lerner, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

³ Aik. Hristomanou, 'Logos ekfonithis ypo A. Hristomanou', *Ekthesis Parthenagogeiou Hill* (Athens, 1865-66), pp. 14-27.

became director of the Hills' school. However, she is remembered for her efforts to introduce into Greek education Friedrich Fröbel's (1782-1852, German educationalist, founder of kindergarten system) method, which she studied in 1880 in Dresden, and to revive earlier pedagogic pursuits.¹ From 1880 to 1885, Hristomanou-Laskaridou, trained and granted diplomas to the first Fröbel graduates free of charge. Although her diplomas were not recognised by the state, all her graduates immediately found jobs in the *Helleniko Parthenagogeio* and schools in Smyrna, Alexandria, Salonica and Odessa.² However, she began to put her ideas into practice in 1867, when, after Frances Hill's retirement, she and Kehayia expanded the curriculum of the *Helleniko Parthenagogeio* by introducing two classes at an equivalent level to the *gymnasium's* first two years.³ This development pioneered a new wave of female interest in providing secondary education for women, while the positive response - except during the first year when the second *gymnasium* class did not work due to insufficient number of students - from parents to this measure indicates wide acceptance of such an innovation.⁴ As if this innovation was not sufficient personal tutorials given by Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Kehayia in physics, geography and history were to follow, thereby breaking the tradition that restricted this level of education to male teachers. Thus, they became the first female teachers of secondary education.⁵

During a speech in favour of *Hellenides'* education, at the Hill's school in 1866, Hristomanou-Laskaridou explained that she did not aim to make the women's question *the* burning question of Greek society. Instead, it was precisely her feelings of inadequacy and frustration that the *Hellenides* were not sufficiently prepared for their mission that propelled Hristomanou-Laskaridou into her struggle for secondary female education.⁶ She was deeply concerned about the social and patriotic activities, noble and necessary as they were, which the *Hellenides* had. What is the sense, she wondered, in women carrying out so many duties, from comforting their family to

¹ Friedrich Fröbel (1782-1852) stressed the importance of nursery schools for the development of the child's personality, highlighting the importance of games and class work in schools.

² A. Laskaridou, 'To Frovelianon systima en Helladi', *Estia*, xx (1885), pp. 609-620; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 178.

³ Ibid., in A. Hristomanou, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴ However, the first women's *gymnasium* opened in Hermoupolis (Syros) in 1863. See S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 207.

⁵ A. Hristomanou, 'Logos', op. cit., p. 14.

⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

bearing and moulding patriotic sons, when they received so little education to accomplish their vital roles?¹ She had no doubt of the *Hellenida's* ability to perform tasks traditionally associated with female skills, such as home-making and child-rearing, but she was seriously concerned about the *Hellenida's* new duties. Beside the maternal duties which the *Hellenides* had on the domestic level, on the national level they were the guardians of civilisation, and their duty was to select from a wide pool of alien ideas and habits only those which were suited to the needs of the country. Given the conditions in Greece, Hristomanou-Laskaridou argued that it was time for the *Hellenides* to understand that 'it was their generation's mission to fulfil the hopes and the expectations of their country.'² The *Hellenida* must realise, Hristomanou-Laskaridou explained, that her behaviour had a direct bearing on the progress of the nation. The nation expected her to instil in her children a sense of identity with their ancestors, thus ensuring that her progeny would recognise their responsibility to follow their ancestors' example and continue their mission. The *Hellenides* should thus see themselves not as individuals but as servants of the nation. Expanding this line, Hristomanou-Laskaridou added that mothers should love and raise their children not for their own sake but for the nation's. '*Hellenides* must realise that Hellas expects her rebirth from them.'³

Amidst all these things Penelope Lazaridou⁴ launched her monthly journal *Thaleia* in Athens in January 1867. The newspaper *Ephimeris ton Philomathon* predicted that *Thaleia* would serve not as a 'philosophical museum but as a garden of beauties'.⁵ But, as Lazaridou explained in the first issue, her periodical was designed to remedy the current contradiction: although women comprised half the populace in Hellenic society and due to their maternal responsibilities were the entity which had the greatest influence on male upbringing and therefore on social and national

¹ Ibid., pp. 14-27.

² Ibid., p. 28.

³ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴ Unfortunately, I was not able to find more information on the life of Penelope Lazaridou. In the Parliamentary Library in Athens, which seems to hold the only extant copy of the journal, I have discovered eleven issues of the periodical *Thaleia*. In addition, the fact that in the eleventh issue there is no announcement of the termination of the journal probably signifies that there were more issues than those eleven. However, I was not able to find more issues either in Athens (National Library, Mpenakeio, Parliamentary Library) or Britain (British Library, Bodleian Library), or to obtain any additional information from contemporary journals.

⁵ Anonymous, '6 March 1867. *Thaleia*', *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, xiv (1867), p. 1184.

progress, still did not have a 'public voice' to present 'women's rights, obligations and mission in Greek society', especially at a time when all the other (population's) categories in Hellenic society had the indisputable right to publish their ideas and opinions in pamphlets and journals.¹ She recognised women as members of a particular entity who shared common physical and psychological characteristics and common obligations and rights, and who were the victims of the same male oppression and prejudice. Likewise, she sought to elevate a 'female way' which could permit women, within the limits which nature had imposed on them, to participate in society and to influence it. Her ambition may be summarised in one phrase: 'to speak for woman and her real mission'. Tired of clichés and theories which depicted women as either monsters or angels, Lazaridou intended her journal to focus on the mission which women were called upon to fulfil within society and the family. Accordingly, Lazaridou explained that *Thaleia* was designed to place special emphasis on women's education and upbringing, in order to ensure their successful fulfilment of their role, and on women's status in different civilisations and societies. In addition, the journal would examine legislation on women's status from ancient times to the present, and would attempt to discern and analyse women's status in ancient Greece by looking at the period's customs, legislation and historical facts as opposed to philosophical writings. There would also be articles on the different theories and judgements of famous philosophers relating to women's character, physical and psychological comparisons between men and women, studies on women's behaviour from all over the world, short descriptions of women's essential virtues, and biographies of the most famous women from antiquity to the present times. Historical facts would be used to describe women's characteristics, while pictures and explanations of women's fashion taken from French periodicals would be compared with previous modes.² But although Lazaridou eventually failed to accomplish her journal's vague mission, she struggled with amazing courage against a system which had deprived women of any authority, creating an alternative vision of the authentic character and virtues that the *Hellenides*, because of their sex, possessed.

¹ P. Lazaridou, 'Programma', *Thaleia*, i (1867), p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 2.

Avoiding the national model which Pappadopoulos and Hristomanou-Laskaridou advocated as a source of female pride, Lazaridou tried to cultivate pride in the role of the mother and the housekeeper. Despite this preoccupation with domesticity, she was obviously sympathetic to the 'misjudged and neglected' sex. Although she remained firm in the belief that a respectable woman's principal task remained what it had always been - that of homemaker - it did not follow, for her, that a wife and mother may be frivolous, ignorant or empty-headed. On the contrary, she opposed the male misjudgement that women did not need secondary education because 'women could not use it', or 'might not even survive such training'.¹ Lazaridou accepted that men and women were not the same and believed that they were not physical equals, but argued that men and women were none the less equal in value. Women, Lazaridou explained, rehabilitated the passions, cultivated sensibility, gave free rein to the imagination and sought not so much to understand reality as to idealise it, so that they quickly confused their fantasies and had difficulty distinguishing their dreams from reality. But the reason for all this, Lazaridou argued, was that women had not yet acquired their real role and mission in Greek society.² Christianity had freed women from slavery, the journal admitted, but at the same time the journal opposed the ecclesiastical ban on women entering the sanctuary of a church, a ban which still exists in the Greek Orthodox Church. And she concluded, 'if Jesus freed women, how could they be denied such indisputable [entrance to the sanctuary of the church] right?'³

Women were endowed by nature and by God with the most sentimental and pure values, *Thaleia* explained, because, in contrast to the materialistic world and men's ambition for money and political power, women - less aggressive than men and more emotional than realistic - represented the world of morality, kindness and virtue.⁴ Women were designed by God to nurture individual well-being and men were designed for the public good, but these separate functions were equal in value and complemented each other. By this logic, an inferior position for either men or women was abnormal and unjust. Differences between the sexes meant not only that

¹ Ibid., p. 1.

² Anonymous, 'Omoiotites kai Diaforai ton Fylon kata te to soma kai ta pathi tis Psyhis', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 75-76.

³ Anonymous, 'I gyni para tois progonois imon', *Thaleia*, i (1867), p. 6.

⁴ P. Lazaridou, op. cit., p. 1.

women could never fully understand men, but also that men could never fully understand the sensitive female psyche.¹ Men might pretend that they knew all about women as mistresses, mothers, wives, or daughters, the anonymous author explained, but they could never speak about the real female character and psyche.² Women alone could enunciate their real qualities, thus, revealing the real female character.

Initially, Lazaridou seems to have had no clearer purpose than to make women conscious of their worth as mothers, wives and home-makers as well as of the cultural prejudices that had kept women from any authenticity and authority. However, the concept that women are 'naturally' weaker, have a weaker mind and intellect, are emotionally unstable and need to be ruled by men, still dominated the thinking of the period. This concept was probably best expressed by a contemporary of Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Lazaridou, Alexandros Ragavis, who translated a saying of Themistocles to the effect that '*Thalassa pyr kai gynaika*' ('sea, fire, and woman') are the three sources of civilisation's ruin.³ Therefore, if Greek women wanted to claim the position of 'difference in equality', they needed alternative ideological references that could convince themselves and the others around them of the rightness of their claim. In this sense, it is significant that although voices that defended women in the name of their individuality had existed earlier, none the less, the latter had remained on the periphery of this society in which any alternatives to the rigidly delineated nationalist portraits of womanhood were deemed heresies or personal failures.

Among such earlier voices who had been inspired by the works of Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu and the other Encyclopédistes, was the author 'V.K.' who wrote a letter to the newspaper *Mnimosyni* in Smyrna in 1835. V.K. argued that there were no inherent differences between men and women, that only in primitive societies were women regarded as mere breeding stock and that women should have the same right to education as men.⁴ Furthermore, two months later, another contributor, 'N.P.', drawing from French, English and Greek literature informed his

¹ Anonymous, 'Peri tis gynaikias evprepeias', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 1-4.

² Anonymous, 'Physikos haraktir kai alithis proorismos tis gynaikos', *Thaleia*, i (1867), p. 2.

³ A. Ragavis, 'Ti Kyria T', *Ethniko Imerologio*, iii (1863), pp. 187-224.

⁴ V.K., 'Kyrioi Syntakta', *Mnimosyni*, 30 March 1835.

male and female audience that it was up to them to prepare their future irrespective of any natural limitations.¹ Panagiotis Sophianopoulos (1786-1856), a doctor in Athens, who published the newspaper *O Sokrates ton Gynaikon kai tou Laou* (*The Sokrates of Women and Masses*) in Athens in 1838, supported the position of women and their right to an equal education.² Similarly inspired the teacher and first Greek female journalist, Efrosini Samartzidou (1820-1877), to unite in her periodical *Kypseli* in Constantinople in 1845, condemning men for 'stealing' rights from women, including the most 'honourable right', that to an education.

Man and woman are by nature equals, destined to walk side by side. . . . It is true nature has given them different qualities . . . essential for the world and the natural harmony . . . but without realising nature's design . . . man conferred upon women an inferior status . . . stealing from her all her social rights, and the most honourable one, her right to education. . . . This is the root of all the misfortune hounding the human race.³

Moreover, in Athens, the journal *Euterpi* (1848-1853), reprehending the state's indifference and men's unfair attitudes towards women, tried to demonstrate that men's injustice arose from a historical process dating back to the period of prehistoric warriors (or Amazons, to use the author's terminology), when women for the first time waged war against men. This was a war between the sexes that, according the journal, still continued. 'But, you women, while you are able to see men's injustice, while now you are not able to oppose this fallacious attitude . . . [now] is the time to use your reason . . . to fight against the men who keep you in chains.'⁴ Such beliefs fuelled the enthusiasm which greeted P.D. Iliopoulou's publication of the women's journal *Artemis* in January 1866. However, this journal's focus on art, home economics, recipes and interior design occasionally interspersed with landscapes and still-life, coupled with its frequent reprints of articles from the counterpart British periodical *Bow Bells* and an admiration of all things British, ensured its failure after its first year in print.⁵

¹ N.P., 'Kyrrioi Syntakta. Gynaikes Hellenides', *Mnimosyni*, 4 May 1835.

² K. Xiradaki, *To Feministiko Kinima stin Hellada*, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

³ E. Samartzidou, 'Prooimion', *Kypseli*, i (1845), pp. 12-16 in E. Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., pp. 131-133; Goriyas (pseudonym of K. Pop), *Euterpi*, 15 September 1848; 'Anatrophē ton Korasion', *Euterpi*, 16 November 1849; 'Ithikai Meletai Peri Gynaikos', *Euterpi*, 15 December 1853.

⁴ 'Ithikai Meletai Peri Gynaikos', *Euterpi*, 15 December 1853.

⁵ D. Iliopoulos, 'Tois Anagnostais', *Artemis*, i (1866), p. 1; 'Meletai Koinonikai', *Artemis*, i (1861), p. 1.

However, one article in *Artemis* deserves particular attention. Describing a discussion of the middle classes between two women and a man, the article condemned the habit of speaking French and implicitly advocated women's involvement in politics. The first woman in the discussion was opposed to such a right and argued that women's place was not in politics but in the home. The second one, who favoured women's involvement in politics, pointed out that 'the 1862s revolution ought to have had glorious results for the future, but to this day it has not even produced one powerful statesman', adding that, in the face of such male weakness, women had the right to interfere in politics. The man then spoke in favour of female involvement, using the example of Calliope Pappalexopoulou (1809-1898), who had organised a conspiracy in Nafplion against King Otto in 1862, to illustrate the positive influence that educated women could have in politics.¹ The man further noted that women were *de facto* involved in politics because the production of good politicians depended on them.² However, such examples, for Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Lazaridou, did not really invite imitation.

Hellenismos and Christianity were the ideological space within a male-dominated culture through which these women were able to advocate a new understanding of Greek womanhood and to incorporate themes and rhetoric that could help them and their readers to follow the process that they had to undergo.³ For Hristomanou-Laskaridou the idea of the nation's Panhellenic mission enabled her to invoke the particular obligations of *Hellenides* to their nation and therefore to justify access to secondary education for *Hellenides*. Similarly, Lazaridou was able to inspire pride in roles that had existed since time out of mind, such as mother, wife

¹ In 1861, a conspiracy against Otto was supported by a group of women including Kalliope Pappalexopoulou, Kalliope P. Papa, Heleni Axelou, Heleni Lymperiou Gianakopoulou, Heulego N. Dimopoulou, Mariota Dimopoulou, Heleni N. Thalasinou. Hariklia Iakovou Theofila, Kyriakoula N. Ioanidou, Sofia Grassa, Ageliki Leontiou, Larigo N. Maratou, Pigi Mihalopoulou, Alexandra A. Platyka, Harikleia P. Sekeri, Regina N. Stamaletopoulou, H. Kanelopoulou, and K. Dokou. All of these women worked against Otto's regime, and after his downfall Marigo N. Maratou, on 17 December 1862, asked for women's participation in the elections of the future king of Greece. The 90-year-old local governor denied them this right on the ground that it was contrary to custom and law. Nevertheless, in 1862, the contemporary government sent a boat to take Papalexopoulou from Nafplion to Piraeus, where the crowd threw her flowers and sheets of paper inscribed with Panagiotis Soutsos' poetry. M. Lampyridou, *Kalliopi Papalexopoulou* (Athens, 1908), pp. 56-66; Th. Giannakopoulos, 'Nafpliotides', *Vivliofilos*, i (1953), pp. 5-10; K. Parren, 'Kalliopi Papalexopoulou', *Imerologion tis Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, xi (Athens, 1899), pp. 109-115.

² 'Syndialexeis', *Artemis*, i (1866), p. 1.

³ G. Lerner, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

and home-maker, only because Jesus 'had freed women'. However, for both Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Lazaridou the *Hellenides* continued to bear the chief responsibility for bringing up *Hellenes* citizens, either as mothers or teachers. The realisation of female intellectuals, such as Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Lazaridou, that their condition in life was not naturally or divinely but, societally determined enabled them to create a new understanding for themselves. For the first time, the model of female impurity and weakness had met its opposite in a female journal which promoted a vision of women as different but equal. This indicated the yearning for a 'female way' that women could follow in this Helleno-Christian civilisation without carrying the stigma of uselessness bequeathed by wave upon wave of writers and journalists.¹ Education, social projects and legislation had become, according to the rhetoric of Lazaridou and Hristomanou-Laskaridou, the means that would enable *Hellenides* to develop their capacities to the full as mothers, wives, home-makers, and teachers; thus, they were nationally necessary.² None the less, by the time *Thaleia* had failed without any previous announcement, after its eleventh monthly issue (November 1867), it had already established an ideal of woman in the domestic sphere. It thus offered women a tangible and realistic definition of their identity as *Hellenida* mother, wife and home-maker. In the 1860s, both Lazaridou and Hristomanou-Laskaridou had succeeded in staking out a space for a woman's voice in the public sphere, creating an important precedent. Three years later after the last issue of *Thaleia*, another women's journal, in Constantinople this time, *Eoridiki*, would offer to *Hellenides* a similar liberating path toward the assumption of public roles and the achievement of a new understanding of Greek womanhood. However, if women such as Laskaridou-Hristomanou and Lazaridou struggled to claim a public role for women in the Helleno-Christian civilisation, their theoretical choices would have profound implications for *Hellenides'* identity.

¹ Anonymous, 'Physis, haraktir kai alithis proorismos tis gynaikos', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 2-4; anonymous, 'Peri tis anagis tis spoudaias anatrophis kai paidevseos tou gynaikeiou phylou', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 5-6; anonymous, 'I gyni para tis progoinois imon', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 6-7; anonymous, 'Peri tis amoivaia ton syzygon philophyosynis', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 9-12; anonymous, 'I agapi kai i agathotis, tis gynaikos i kyriotati apostoli', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 69-71; anonymous, 'Oikiaki oikonomia itoi ai kyriotatai tis gynaikos oikiakai aretai', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 72-75; anonymous, 'Omoitotites kai Ddiaphorai ton Phylon kata te to Soma kai ta Pathi tis Psychis', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 75-77.

² Anonymous, 'Peri tis anagis tis spoudaias anatrophis tou gynaikeiou phylou', *Thaleia* i (1867), pp. 5-6.

Hellenides' identity had been carefully rooted within the ideology of Helleno-Christian civilisation. It was widely believed that the *Hellenida*, under religious and national tutelage, would garner the necessary strength to oppose the wholesale importation of foreign ideas and habits, as required by the Hellenic nation. The strong, nationalist, and spiritual *Hellenida* was recognised as the ideological prototype and any alternative notions of female identity were regarded as irrational. Furthermore, like Pappadopoulos earlier, Hristomanou-Laskaridou asked the *Hellenides*, to follow their inner authentic voice, meaning that they must leave the world of luxury, blushing, coquettish charm and idleness and concentrate instead on developing their mental capacities and the values which nationalist religious teaching could provide them.¹ In addition, in May 1867, *Thaleia* addressed another female world, that of boredom and idleness from which, it felt, especially middle- and upper- class women had suffered most, and urged the positive effects of activity as the only prevention of female lethargy and boredom.² The issue went on to explain that feelings such as boredom, idleness, and sadness were catastrophic to female nature, and that such feelings existed only in those women who had lost the sense of their sex's mission which was to 'sacrifice the ego for the public good'.³ The portrait of an idealised mother was the other model which Lazaridou, in addition to Hristomanou-Laskaridou's spiritual *Hellenida*, presented to women as a means of escaping lethargy and boredom and therefore achieving an appropriate role in society for themselves. None the less, the efforts of both Lazaridou and Hristomanou-Laskaridou had a central aim: the definition of a code of behaviour that the *Hellenides*, as a group, ought to follow.⁴ Any other female form of behaviour was considered a betrayal of the *Hellenida's* authentic character. It is to this point that

¹ A. Hristomanou, op. cit., pp. 16-25.

² Anonymous, 'Oikiaki oikonomia itoi ai kyriotatai tis gynaikos oikiakai aretai', *Thaleia*, i (1867), p. 73.

³ Anonymous, 'I agapi kai i agathotis tis gynaikos i kyriotati apostoli', *Thaleia*, i (1867), pp. 69-71.

⁴ Anonymous, 'Pharmakon alanthaston', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 July 1892; 'O vios mou den ehei skopon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 July 1892; 'Pos na ypiretometha monai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 July 1892; 'Diati ai gynaikes kryptoun oti aisthanontai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 October 1892; 'Ean einai atyhima na gennithi tis gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 May 1887; 'Ai neanides aniosin en tais eparhiiais', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 May 1889; 'Ai avtoktonousai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 13 September 1898; 'Diati avtoktonoun', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 June 1891.

we must now turn in order to understand the implications that such choices had on the lives of people.

Before long, women under Western influence were humiliatingly caricatured, as idolaters rolling in laziness, reverie, luxury and coquetry; dabbling in French fashions and cocooned in a world of romance. Romanticism, uncontrolled emotions and hypersensitivity were regarded as catastrophic for the *Hellenides'* authentic character, or what those male and female intellectuals assumed to be that authentic character. During these years, women were expected to be silent and passive. Loneliness and emotion must remain hidden. Nationalism had no room for emotions, only for heroines: either mothers or teachers. In a world of hypocrisy and frustration, some female poets left us some indications of this silence, and it is significant that most poems did not see the light of day until after the death of their authors. Aganiki Mazaraki (1838-1892), the daughter of Georgios Ainian (1788-1848), wrote poetry in secret and it was not until the year after her death that her poetry was published:

Love? pleasure? Say nothing that society may hear, hide your inspiration in the depths of your soul. Believe what the people want even if you think that it is ignoble. Always wear your mask; remember, you are always on stage. Hide your feelings in your heart and never allow them to bloom.¹

This was the other side of public involvement in the lives of individuals, when family and society commanded the centre of social attention, and social requirements and order hemmed in life and feelings. Although women were characterised as emotional creatures, they were in fact never allowed to demonstrate or to cultivate their feelings. Feelings such as love and passion were regarded as alien and deleterious to the female nature, while marriage was an arrangement of dowry and class status. Beneath the nationalist idea, behind the imagery of maternal responsibility, behind the unique teaching abilities and the exceptional female sensitivity that legitimised women's authority as moral guardians of society, women underwent their own ordeal. However, only a few of them succeeded in making their worries public. As Fotini Oikonomidou (1849-1883) wrote to her fellow poet Kostis Palamas in 1875, 'Do not ask what pain burns in my breast. Do not ask the reason behind my constant weeping. While my life burns away like a candle, please

¹ A. Mazaraki, 'Poiisis', in A. Tarsouli (ed.), *Hellenides Poiitries 1857-1940* (Athens, 1951), p. 26.

do not ask. Others have asked before you.' Oikonomidou herself, by contrast to her verses, thirsted for an understanding of her own personal cosmos and her ordeal as a woman who, in the vernacular language and beliefs, remained incomplete. She may have felt her personal failure all the more keenly that she never became a wife and mother, giving her a place and an honourable role among other mothers. She remained a poet, an emotional creature, not a heroine, not an educator of the masculine character. An aberration from natural order or the nationalist definition of the female role, she wrote on her birthday: 'How could I not cry? I have lived without living,' adding, 'Oh! probably I have said enough, let's stop, my pen. Let's leave my soul's pain *apocryphal* [out of sight]', indicating an individual woman's frustration at being forced to carry the burden of a rigidly defined gender and ethnic heritage.¹ In Oikonomidou's vision, everyone knew the origins of this sadness, while women, behind the nationalist rhetoric, lived their own ordeal:

If, as a woman, on the whole, I dislike this life. Am I wrong? All those social prejudices which are forced upon women. If, in those strictly defined borders I feel like strangling myself, and nothing can limit my desires . . . am I wrong? . . . Like a forest bird shut in a cage . . . if my chains burn me . . . if the desire for a free life burns me. . . am I wrong?²

In a letter to Palamas she wrote, 'if a prisoner in his cell groans, if a bird in a cage mournfully sings, if a lamb between a lion's teeth cries, would you ask why?' However, although her poetry appears to have seen her chief source of comfort, she ironically added, 'Oh! but why am I writing?', expressing her final fear that no one was really there to listen.³ Oikonomidou never became a national heroine and her poetry never gained sufficient recognition to give her a place among other poets. Although Oikonomidou was a member of the literary association *Parnassos*, Palamas angrily remembered the absence of the association's representatives at her funeral. But, in the 1860s, Athenian society, preferring nationalist pamphlets to individuals' worries, was not ready to accept either Mazaraki's or Oikonomidou's voices.

This was the atmosphere when, on August 1866, the Cretan uprising in pursuit of *enosis* (union) with the Greek kingdom upset the (Greek) world and engaged the attention of intellectuals, journalists and politicians, and the slogan

¹ F. Oikonomou, 'Eis tin imera ton genethleion mou', in A. Tarsouli, *ibid.*, p. 33.

² F. Oikonomidou, 'Sphallo', *Vyron*, ii (1876), p. 435.

³ F. Oikonomou, 'To nearo poiiti K. Palama', *Mi Hanesai*, 2 April 1883.

Enosis I Thanatos (Unification or Death) outweighed any other issue. The outbreak of war between Turkey and Crete was close and the signal (of the war) was given on 21 August 1866. In the kingdom, the Cretan uprising soon came to be seen as analogous to the 1821 pan-Balkan uprising, with the chance of another Helleno-Turkish war and the fulfilment of the *Megale Idea*.¹ It was in these years that the Turk, in daily comparison with Christian intelligence, bravery and kindness, was portrayed as barbaric, fanatic and lazy, and Hellas once more came to be portrayed as a 'cage with limited borders'.² Hellas was the only sovereign power which could restore civilisation to the East, the Athenian press argued. For the Greek world, 1866 was seen as the high water of Greek courage, washing away the humiliation of 1854.³ Further arguments were put to highlight the historical and national reasons which had forced Greece to get involved, while the one and a half million *Hellenes* who lived in the Greek kingdom were cited daily by journalists as an embarrassment to the Great Hellas nation with its five million *Hellenes*, and one more reason for a Helleno-Turkish war.⁴ As Prime Minister Aristotelis Valaoritis explained to the Greek Parliament on 20 January 1867, it was their generation's duty to achieve national restoration (unification) through the expansion of the Greek borders.⁵ In December 1868, after the suspension of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece, there was a delirium of excitement as the dream seemed near to realisation.⁶

The actual progress of the Cretan uprising, however, did not fulfil the aspirations of these people. All the idealism of the Hellenic nation and its power remained fruitless under five different Greek governments during the three-year crisis. After three years of sacrifices, on 18 February 1869, the Paris Conference put an abrupt end to such dreams and diplomatic relations between Greece and Turkey were re-established. Three years of hopes, ideals and aspirations once again proved

¹ 'Koini Apaitisis', *To Mellon*, 19 July 1866; 'Pistis, Patris, Elevtheria', *To Mellon*, 9 September 1866; 'Hellenismos', *To Mellon*, 9 September 1866; 'I Lypira Anagi', *To Mellon*, 8 July 1866.

² 'I Isoropia kai I Akeraiotis', *To Mellon*, 22 July 1866.

³ 'I Ethniki Politiki', *To Mellon*, 9 August 1866; 'I Hellas apenanti ton Endehomenon', *To Mellon*, 17 June 1866; 'I Hellas apenanti ton Endehomenon', *To Mellon*, 21 June 1866; 'En Constantinoupoleos oi Ypodouloi', *To Mellon*, 15 March 1866; 'Mia Eris en ti Typo', *To Mellon*, 6 October 1867.

⁴ 'I Xenylasia', *To Mellon*, 13 December 1868; 'I Ethniki Idea en ti Vouli', *To Mellon*, 5 July 1868; 'I Megale Hellas', *To Mellon*, 12 April 1868.

⁵ 'Logos tou Ar. Valaoritou. En Athinais ti 19 Ianouariou 1867', *To Mellon* 20 January 1867.

⁶ 'Pros tous Paidas ton Doulon Hellenon', *To Mellon*, 7 July 1867.

to be in vain, leaving the people without a purpose and, in the eyes of most intellectuals, leaving Greece with a weak ruling class.¹ 'What is the difference between 1854, when king and nation became the martyrs of the *Megale Idea*, and 1866?', the newspaper *Mellon* asked. In contrast to the situation in 1854, it told its readers, the Greek government of 1866 had become the gravedigger of the *Megale Idea*.²

Answering this national call was, besides all the nationalist vocabulary of the period, an expression of personal frustration, in the belief that only through such actions could modern Greeks prove to themselves and the West that they were the true heirs of their ancestors, and rightful children of their hero-fathers of 1821.³ When the crisis ended, embarrassment and more frustration engulfed these people, who had once again failed their generation's national call. The lines of the journal *Koskino*'s (Sieve) editor, the poet S. C. Karidis, expressed this pain: 'On 25 March [anniversary of the 1821 revolution], Hellas, hide your face, do not look upon your ungrateful children, your only real children are those who now lie dead.'⁴ Describing his generation's weakness, the same poet found the force to add, 'Do not cry, one day you will again take up the sword, and the City [Constantinople] will open, and all the East will call you mother.'⁵ At the end of this crisis, the *Helladikos* (Greek) world found itself with a number of uncomfortable questions about Greece's role, the state's weakness and the nation's future. The weakness of the ruling class was an inescapable truism. But, from 1868, intellectuals were preoccupied with distinguishing the state from the nation, Greece from Hellas, in order to find the means to mount a new struggle for national unification. Once more by adopting the Italian example, *fare da se*, intellectuals assumed that 'East through the East' and 'Hellas through Hellenes' was the sole means for the nation's unification.⁶ With such

¹ 'I Tan I epi Tas. Egertirion, To Nai kai to Ohi', *Krisara*, 29 December 1869.

² 'Prokyrixis', *To Mellon*, 2 February 1868; 'I Megale Hellas', *To Mellon*, 12 April 1868.

³ 'Fronisis', *Hellenismos*, 3 December 1868; 'Exoterikai Idees', *Ethniko Megaleio*, 16 September 1867; 'O Epi ton Esoterikon', *Kolasis*, 17 September 1868.

⁴ S. Karidis, 'Ahni', *Koskino*, 25 March 1869.

⁵ 'Ahni, Simigdali, Alevri, Pitoura', *Koskino*, 24 December 1868; 'Ahni, Simigdali, Alevri, Pitoura', *Koskino*, 1 January 1869; 'Ahni', *Koskino*, 5 March 1869; 'Ahni', *Koskino*, 25 March 1869; 'O Marasmos', *Kolasis*, 29 February 1868; 'Tis', *Kolasis*, 13 January 1868; 'Anatoli kai Crete', *Kolasis*, 10 September 1868; 'I Megale Idea', *Kolasis*, 15 May 1868.

⁶ 'Oi Hellenes Dia ton Hellenon', *Mellon*, 26 August 1866; 'Mi Pepoithate Ep' Arhontas', *To Mellon*, 19 August 1866.

an atmosphere, writers in Athens even accused Constantinople's intellectuals of not devoting the necessary attention to the interior of Anatolia.¹ In the context of such national preoccupations the *Hellenides* invaded the world of men once more. Realising the neutrality of the West and the Greek government, the newspaper *Kolasis* (Hell) urged, 'Raise the children, educate the women, regulate the work, give new life to the worker - this is the light. East through the East.'² The year 1869 ended with two central realisations in men's minds; firstly, that the nation must fight alone and expect nothing from those Greek governments which were gravediggers of the *Megale Idea*, and, secondly, that *Hellenes* should guide their nation by their individual efforts, *Hellenides* once more being the key to such efforts.

The nationalist language of the following years would prepare heroines like Agathoniki Antoniadou (1854-1928), who was born in the heat of national events, still young in the revolution of 1862 and the Cretan crisis (1866-69), reaching adulthood during the apogee of Greek nationalism. Studying in the *Arsakeio*, she soon adopted the period's idols and accepted her destiny to serve as a national teacher in the unredeemed territories, namely Macedonia, Thrace and Crete. As an individual accepting her national duty, on the day of her departure, she recognised that personal emotions had no place in her life. Some lines from her poetry survive in Niki Perdica's work in *Lykeio Hellenidon* (*Hellenides High School*) in 1929, describing an internal world of emotions and fears that ought to be camouflaged by a show of courage:

I want no one to realise my pain from my appearance. So my forehead straight, a smile on my lips, steady and no faltering steps, unshakeable in my decisions and *ethos* [morality], without love's memories in my young breast: I am leaving.³

However, national mother, wife, home-maker and teacher were the only roles through which intellectuals expected the *Hellenides*, as a group, to accomplish their mission: the enlightenment of the East, the raising of succeeding nationalist male generations and the protection of Hellenic society from any alien system of ideas that could corrupt the Hellenic *genos'* cultural homogeneity. None the less, it was this

¹ 'Pros tous Hristianikous Laous tis Tourkias', *To Mellon*, 16 April 1868; 'Epi ton Exoterikon kai tou Vasilikou Oikou', *Kolasis*, 17 September 1868.

² 'Dimokratiki Anatoliki Omospondia. Theos kai laos. Pros tous Laous tis Anatolis', *Kolasis*, 17 September 1868.

³ A. Antoniadou, 'Thelo', in A. Tarsouli, op. cit., p. 34.

concept of Greek womanhood's authority that enabled women such as Hristomanou-Laskaridou and Lazaridou to realise (1) that *Hellenides* by gender constitute a separate group (2) that as members of this group they continued to face wrongs (3) that their subordination was not natural or divinely ordained but societally determined and (4) that there was an autonomous definition by women of activities, beliefs and behaviour through which they assumed that they could improve their competence as mothers, wives and home-makers. In addition, if eventually neither Hristomanou-Laskaridou nor Lazaridou provided the definite theoretical solution to the women's question, in the decade that followed, their profound theoretical conclusions helped other female writers, such as Ktena-Leontias, Leontias and Kehayia, in Athens, Smyrna and Constantinople to see 'patriarchal gender definitions as problematic' and to organise themselves to pursue their own interests with demands for more education and social projects.¹

¹ G. Lerner, op. cit., p. 257.

II. The Emergence of a Female Consciousness. Women and the Nation (1869-1880)

2.1 The Choice of Terms

After the end of the Cretan crisis and the Paris conference Greeks were forced to re-examine the heart of their identity. Amidst the reforms and the efforts of the Ottoman government, Greek nationalists for years had emphasised to Westerners that no amount of reform or constitutional change could develop the characteristics of a Christian civilisation in an Islamic world. Consequently, as long as the East remained under Islamic rule and tradition, no real progress could take place. In response to Western beliefs that religious conversion and the dissemination of the Roman alphabet in the East were sufficient for its cultural rebirth, Greeks accompanied their claims to Greek sovereignty in the East with an appeal to history and the argument that all European civilisation was founded on the *Hellenismos* principles of language and literature.¹ Greek nationalists accepted that the Oriental world had long suffered under slavery, medieval prejudices and backwardness and, therefore, reforms were essential. However, they argued that any Western cultural intervention without respect for Eastern tradition could seriously harm the East instead of benefiting it. Hellenic civilisation alone could provide the answers to these Eastern problems, as history was witness - Alexander the Great had been the first to sow the seeds of classical civilisation in the East. Moreover, the belief that classical civilisation and the Christian faith were founded on the *Hellenismos* further strengthened the argument that their own nation possessed the unique talent of educating and the unique mission of the dissemination of Greek letters to *kath Imas Anatoli*.² Greeks thus emerged from this period with moderate optimism, reluctantly advising Europe that its efforts to influence the East were futile and that any Oriental adoption of European civilisation and culture was in vain. In short, the East should be developed through its own efforts, or, as Greeks summarised it: *I Anatoli dia tis Anatonis* (East through the East). However, these efforts to define Greek sovereignty in the East drew battle lines against that old and well-known Islamic and 'barbarian'

¹ X. Zographos, 'Logos', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 181, 201; G. Hasiotis, 'Ekthesis peri ton Dimosion Dialexeon', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-71), pp. 86-91.

² *Ibid.*, in G. Hasiotis, p. 91.

enemy, the Ottomans, as well as against a more recent antagonist - Protestantism.¹ From 1860, however, the scene started to change, while 1870 saw a serious setback to the cult of being *Hellene* and the nation's unremitting mission.

In the 1860s, a Greek-Bulgarian ecclesiastical dispute broke out, leading to the establishment, in 1870, after the Ottoman Porte's firman, of an independent Bulgarian church, known as the Bulgarian Exarchate. In the firman of 1870, Article X allowed the Exarchate to establish a diocese wherever two-thirds of a community desired to belong to this church. Although such a degree had obvious ramifications for the Greek position in these areas, Greek intellectuals were more alarmed still by the immediate Bulgarian gains. Churches and schools had soon sprung up in Macedonia.

This crisis caught Greeks emotionally unprepared to cope with the rapidly changing developments in the Balkans.² In fact, since 1767, when the Bulgarian archbishopric was abolished by the Turks, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had dominated the religious educational life of Christians in this region, while the Patriarchate continued to practise its ecumenical role, officiating in the Greek language and perpetuating Greek Byzantine traditions and further conveying the impression among Greeks that non-Greek-speaking groups - 'Slav, Vlach, Albanian' - were identifiable as Greeks.³ Moreover, as recently as the late eighteenth century, many Bulgarians had come under the influence of Greek culture. The vivid memory of the participation of Bulgarians in the Greek War of Independence further strengthened popular perceptions among Greeks that Bulgarians and Greeks were a part of a common spiritual entity: the *Hellenic genos*, linked by shared historical, cultural and religious legacies under the spiritual authority of the Patriarchate. Only a few years earlier, Pappadopoulos and other intellectuals of the period had joined Orthodoxy with ethnicity to distinguish the character of *Hellenic-Orthodoxy* from the monolithic Asian theocracy and from the West, where, he believed, religion had been enslaved to serve state (political)

¹ 'I lyimi tou prosylitismou', *Smyrni*, 3 September 1871; 'I lyimi tou Prosylitismou', *Smyrni*, 18 June 1871; 'To dogma ton ethnikotiton en ti Anatoli', *Mellon*, 4 July 1864.

² K. Karpat, 'The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era', in B. Braude and B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1981), pp. 141-168.

³ E. Kofos, 'National Heritage and National Identity', in Blinkhorn, and Veremis, op. cit., p. 105; G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History*, op. cit., p. 19.

pursuits.¹ Hellenic Orthodoxy, Pappadopoulos had explained, was the ark of the nation's endurance and the living chain which could keep the *genos* together regardless of the state's borders.² Religion and, to a lesser degree language, were, according to contemporary belief, what determined the identity of the Hellenic *genos*. In consequence, Greek nationalists seized upon the news of this ecclesiastical schism with relish, both thrilled and alarmed by the emergence of this unknown internal or common enemy of the *genos* (*omogeno*). However, far more alarming were the territorial demands by Bulgaria on Thrace and especially Macedonia, areas regarded by Greeks as part of their 'historical land'.³ This ecclesiastical dispute was soon transformed from a religious into a national confrontation between Greece and Bulgaria. At the same time, the certainty among the Greeks that the Bulgarian movement was backed by Russia soon transformed the confrontation into a conflict between Panhellenism and Panslavism.⁴

Faced with this new reality, Greeks realised that they could no longer speak of an identifiable Hellenic *genos* or a genuine defender of Christian sovereignty in Asia Minor. Consequently, a new map of friends and enemies had to be drawn, while the shift in existing values ensured that past horizons of recognition became discontinuous and unrecognisable in the present. Thus, although intellectuals continued to place the *Hellenismos* on the same footing as Orthodoxy, in a period of competing national ideologies, Greek nationalists in Constantinople realised that they ought to legitimise their ethnological boundaries by drawing up more civic distinctions. Panslavism and Panhellenism as dogmas were different, but both had a common heritage, Orthodoxy. The Greek nationalists in Constantinople, fearing that the ecumenical and non-racist approach of the ecumenical Patriarchate would work against their goal of national polarisation, sought to Hellenize the church.⁵ To them, it was not enough that the language of the liturgy was Greek and the clergy were Greek-speakers. The Orthodox faith, the only true faith, must acquire a distinct and convincing ethnic identity. The term 'Hellenic Orthodoxy' was coined to give a

¹ 'Erga Evagelikou pimenos', *Astir tis Anatonis*, 25 May 1868; 'Americanoi Ierapostoloi en Helladi', *Mellon*, 16 May 1872.

² Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou en Vlahois Hellenismou', *Helleniko Ekpaidevtirion*, viii (1859), pp. 4-37.

³ E. Kofos, op. cit., p. 105, 108.

⁴ E. Kofos, *O Hellenismos stin periodo 1869-1881* (Athens, 1981), pp. 11-29.

⁵ E. Kofos, in M. Blinkhorn and Th. Veremis, op. cit., p. 105.

distinct ethnic character to the only true faith. However, in the 1870s, in comparison to Slavic Orthodoxy, this distinction alone was not enough for Greeks to overcome the Slavic danger.¹ Although for centuries the masses had shown strong allegiance to the Patriarchate, Greeks in the 1870s were well aware that they had to prepare the ground further if they were to succeed in establishing Orthodox groups, particularly in areas such as central Macedonia, where Slav speakers would invariably be split into Greek, Bulgarian or Serb factions. Greek intellectuals in the 1870s knew that the continuance of loyalty from the Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan to *Hellenismos* culture would not come easily. In a world where the individual was gradually being freed of the influence of the confessional community, the *millet*, and starting to develop a new sense of identity and of belonging to the new sociopolitical units through ethnic values, cultural traditions and language, Greeks in Constantinople and Smyrna realised that it was time to define the *Hellenismos* as a set of values that could ensure the loyalty of other Christian populations in the Ottoman lands. Ingenuity, authenticity, and the unique qualities of the nation ought to distinguish the *Hellenismos* from any other race or creed in a particular way.²

These developments led the Greek trading and entrepreneurial class who lived outside the kingdom's borders to re-examine their role in the Ottoman lands.³ In the 1860s, Greeks in Asia Minor were faced with a dilemma. Should they opt for a coalition with the other Balkan movements against the Ottoman Empire or cooperation with the Ottoman Empire for more national benefits? In Constantinople and Athens the old clichés of Hellenic national unity came to the fore. In searching for a formula for national unity, intellectuals seized, regardless of territorial definitions, upon a unique language and their united culture as distinguishing characteristics of national identity.⁴ By the 1870s, a new alternative had emerged which was seen as the only option by many Greeks. The peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Turks and the acceptance by Greeks of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire - which are collectively known in Greek history as the *Helleno-Othomanismos* doctrine - was seen by Greeks, particularly among those who lived in

¹ 'Petra Skandalou', *Mellon*, 24 March 1867; E. Kofos, *ibid.*, p. 108.

² G. Augustinos, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-190.

³ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-250.

⁴ 'O en Tourkia Hellenismos', *O Astir tis Anatolis*, 20 January 1873; 'O en Tourkia Hellenismos', *O Astir tis Anatolis*, 10 February 1873.

the Ottoman lands, as the only Greek defence against the Bulgarian danger.¹ However, although Greeks accepted the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s, such acceptance, in the eyes of intellectuals, appears not have been a threat to the *Megale Idea*.² Greeks strongly believed that they would ultimately achieve sovereignty over the Ottoman Empire by tapping the creative potential of their people: their culture. Greeks believed that no amount of military or political power could ever equal the power of culture, vital in terms of impact at the individual level. Culture was the making of every human view of society and bestowed an identity and a sense of belonging to a particular entity. As Alexandros Ragavis, a prominent figure in literary and political circles in Athens and the Greek ambassador during the Greek-Bulgarian dispute in Constantinople, clearly explained this profound belief: 'Light is the great enemy of barbarism. Enlightened and awakened to the principles of Christian civilisation, the Turks would no longer be Turks and the Eastern Question would be solved.'³ Ragavis' solution was self-evident, the enlightened Christian Turk could do no better than follow the oldest Christian civilisation in the East: *Hellenismos*. In addition, such an outlook made the Greeks in Ottoman lands realise that neither the Patriarchate nor the *dimogerontes*, the council of elders or notables of a Greek community, could serve this world of competing national ideologies.

The nation suddenly began to be portrayed in Constantinople and Smyrna as 'headless'. Journalists in Smyrna demanded that the metropolitan bishop of Smyrna coordinate all the centres of *Hellenismos* for the election of new representatives of the nation, while a constant revision of their own situation led journalists to demand that the nation react and criticise the indifference of the Patriarchate and the *dimogerontes* to national cultural issues.⁴ Under the pressure of the absence of any national centre which could meet their new needs, Greeks in Constantinople spoke for the first time about the absence of a Greek cultural centre in Ottoman lands, from where a unified national culture could be transmitted to Greek communities. For the first time, Athens' status as a national centre of Greek education attracting primarily upper-

¹ 'I Anatoli Dia tis Anatolis', *Smyrni*, 11 August 1872.

² 'Orimai Ideai. Ai en tis Anatolis Phylai pros Allilas', *To Mellon*, 13 October 1870.

³ The quotation here is taken from G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 197.

⁴ 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 2 May 1872; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 2 May 1872; 'Parakmi graikikon koinotiton', *Smyrni*, 5 September 1872; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 27 October 1872.

class and middle-class students had a serious setback. Although Athens played the role of the cultural centre of the *Hellenismos* and its teachers vitally served the *Hellenismos* pursuits in Ottoman lands, the vital issue in the 1870s for Greek intellectuals in Constantinople was the masses. Greek intellectuals in Constantinople now realised that while literacy flowered in Athens, the most vital part of the nation remained largely illiterate in the Ottoman Empire and was thus susceptible to Panslavic propaganda. The masses could neither learn their national language nor develop a sense of national identity, as long as their chief reference point was a distant city. In consequence, in a period when education was widely believed to hold the solution to practically every problem, and elementary schools were increasingly seen as amenities which every nation must provide for all its members, prominent figures in literary and political circles in Smyrna and Constantinople realised that they lacked what Athens had already accomplished. 'Look to Athens! with its university, its observatory and the *Athenaion* Association where men and women learn about the world's progress together.'¹ What the Greek nation needs, this editorial implied, was a new centre so organically tied to its people that it could build real Hellenic characters in Ottoman lands. It was then that Constantinople felt the need to lead and to become what had, until that point, been the sole preserve of Athens, the cultural centre of the *Hellenismos*. At the same time, intellectuals in Constantinople recognised that it was time to 'Bring back the letters to the East, to the medieval centre of the *Hellenismos*: Constantinople.'² As journalists in Smyrna explained 'It was time for [the *Hellenes*] to remember that they were *Hellenes*.'³ This ushered in a period when Constantinople and Smyrna began to search for their own national character, as Athens and the Greek kingdom had done after the Crimean War. Meanwhile, as had already happened in Athens, intellectuals in Constantinople and Smyrna now stigmatised those parents who sent their children to study in missionary schools or who employed non-Hellenic teachers, as heretics and betrayers of the Hellenic national identity.⁴

¹ X. Zographos, 'Synedriasis ti 20 Maiou 1867', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 201.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'Ethika', *Smyrni*, 10 July 1870.

⁴ Anonymous, 'I Gyni en ti Koinonia', *Armonia*, 23 May 1864.

The demands of the Greek state and the Greek communal world in Asia Minor in the 1870s were encompassed in one phrase: 'to found elementary national educational establishments' for the masses - regardless of sex, ethnic, and linguistic differences - the people, the most vital factor in any nation.¹ It is significant that, in 1869, Pappadopoulos, as director of the Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (*Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Hellenikon Grammaton*), founded in Athens in 1869, and Irinaios Vasiadis, director of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople (*O en Constantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*), founded in 1861, had both explained that elementary education equalled 'national education' and was subsequently the nation's first priority.² It was further proposed that the Greek curriculum be redesigned as national - instead of primary, indicating that such an education was for everyone and unquestionably for men and women - secondary, and higher education. It was further suggested that teachers should be called 'teachers of the nation', calling to mind the pre-1821 term teachers of the *genos* (*didaskaloi tou genous*).³ However, the belief in a gradually expanded Hellenic sovereignty through the spread of Greek language and literature in the East was not new. What was new, in the 1870s, was the coordination of the centres of the *Hellenismos* to form a specific curriculum for this plan. As G. Augustinos wrote, 'A standardised culture was emerging, fixed by an official intellectual élite, with a greater uniformity and wider compass in the Greek world.'⁴ Now, intellectuals in Athens, Smyrna and Constantinople proposed a programme for freeing the cultural sphere from state interference, making themselves the guardians of national unity and of a mission abandoned by corrupt politicians.⁵

In these circumstances, a recognisable presentation of *Hellenismos* and its role in humanity appeared in all the media of the period. Undeniably, the *Hellenismos* meant human civilisation, and it was with such an outlook that intellectuals started

¹ 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 16 July 1871.

² 'Ekthesis tis pros Syntaxin kanonismos ton en Ipiro Zographeion kai ton En Thraki Zariphion Didaskaleion', *Ph.S.C.*, viii (1873-74), p. 196; 'Ekthesis ton Pepragmenon apo tis Systaseos Avtou mehri toude 17 Apriliou 1869 - 31 Dekemvriou 1871', *Ph.S.C.*, i (1871), pp. 1-4, 37-40.

³ 'Ethnika', *Smyrna*, 19 July 1871; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 24 July 1870; 'Ekthesis ekpaidevtikis epitropis peri tis Enestosis Katastaseos to en tais Eparhiiais Imeteron Ekpaidevtirion', *Ph.S.C.*, vii (1872-73), p. 205.

⁴ G. Augustinos, *The Greeks in Asia Minor*, op. cit., p. 197.

⁵ 'Allou Eidos Agon', *Mellon*, 4 April 1869.

to portray the modern *Hellene* character. Once more the profile of the Hellenic character was founded on Periclean qualities: the *Hellene* of today was sensitive, clever and polite. He showed little love of material things and instead valued art, poetry, architecture and philosophical disputes.¹ Nationalist literature of the period made repeated references to ancient ruins and classical Greek inscriptions to prove the continuity of Hellenic tradition and its present role in the East.² *Hellenes* were the bridge from the West to the East, while Greek intellectuals saw the last 50 years of the Hellenic literary revival as another clear indication of their role in strengthening the Greek belief that only through 'the expansion of the Greek language' could European civilisation ever be transplanted in the East.³ The modern *Hellene*, once more, was portrayed as ready to sacrifice his ego for the sake of humanity and civilisation. These ideas had repercussions on the rhetoric of the period, which took on an increasingly dramatic tone. The *Hellene*, the heir of ancient and medieval glory, spoke a language which even God had chosen to spread Christian values and faith in humanity. The *Hellene*, once more, was called upon by God to save humanity in modern times from another enemy: sensuality, luxury and decadence.⁴ With such an ecumenical depiction of the *Hellenismos* aimed at the advancement of all of humanity through the values of Christianity and classical philosophy, Greek intellectuals hoped to overcome the serious setback to the Patriarchate's authority and to continue to reign over the Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan. Constructing a new entity which incorporated their unified national culture and their unique national qualities, they developed a new value-system from which, they hoped, the Hellenized populations in Ottoman lands would continue to acquire their identity.⁵ With such arguments, Greek nationalists explained that the *Hellenismos* was a general entity, one which supplemented Orthodoxy as characterised by the universalistic standards

¹ D. Pappariopoulos, 'Symmikta. Oi Hellines en Romi', *Attikon Imerologion*, iv-v (Athens, 1870), pp. 366-382; K. Pappariopoulos, 'Dyo exadelphoi', *Athinaiko imerologio*, xxxvi (Athens, 1874), pp. 136-145; K. Spathakis, *Athinaion*, iv (1874), pp. 354-368.

² 'Hellenikoi syllogoi', *Pandora*, xxii (Athens, 1872), pp. 486-488.

³ I. Vasiadis, 'Synedriasis tis Epeteiou Panigyreos ton Hellenikon Syllogon', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 241.

⁴ A. Spathakis, 'Peri tis ithopoioi dynameos ton en tois scholeiois didaskomenon mathimatou', *Athinaion*, ii (1873), p. 260.

⁵ X. Zographos 'Logos', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 179; E. Egger, 'Enarktikos logos peri Hellenismou', *Pandora*, xxii (1872), pp. 515-519; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 2 May 1872; 'O en Constantinoupoli philologikos syllogos', *Smyrni*, 10 September 1871; 'O Neologos', *Armonia*, 20 December 1867.

of Christianity and classical civilisation: freedom, equality, philanthropy and progress through the arts and science.¹ The *Hellenismos* embraced both Orthodoxy and the perfect expression of human civilisation in classical times, and was thus the ideal model for emulation.² It was on this ground that Greek nationalists strove to overcome the new difficulties, cultivating an ideology that could encompass the 'enemy-Orthodox-Bulgarian' and the 'friend-Islamic-Turk'. In a similar vein, the minister of foreign affairs, Alexandros Koumoundouros, sent a special memorandum to the ambassadors to the East on 22 May 1871. Sketching the ecumenical role of the Hellenic civilisation in bridging the civilisations of West and East regardless of ethnological boundaries, he concluded that Greek language and literature (*Hellenika grammata*) must be disseminated only through peaceful means.³ Significantly, the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople took pains to see that all societies under its guardianship banned political or religious topics from their agenda.⁴

However, in the 1870s, Athens, as in 1836, would try to coordinate such cultural activities. On 17 April 1869, such prominent male literary and political figures as Markos Renieris, Grigorios Pappadopoulos, Konstantinos Dosios, the brothers Konstantinos and Petros Paparrigopoulos, Leon Melas, and Kharilaos Trikoupis (later Greek prime minister) founded in Athens the Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (*grammata*, or literally education) whose particular focus was elementary education for both boys and girls. This association extended its role to organising and coordinating the efforts of other associations and institutions, in order to meet the demands of the Greek communities inside and outside the kingdom's borders.⁵ And a year later, the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople, the first of its kind and the first association to have adopted the

¹ Dr. Dethier, 'Peri tis istorias kai tis nomismatikis ton parthon arsakidon', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 75.

² A. Vrailas, 'Peri tis istorikis apostolis tou Hellenismou', *Pandora*, xxii (1871), pp. 217-235.

³ A. Koumoundouros, 'Pros tous en Anatoli Proxenous 22 May 1871 (no. 3821)', *O En Athinais Pros Diadosi ton Hellenikon Grammaton Syllogos* [thereafter abbreviated to *A.D.H.G.S.*], i (1869-1871), pp. 122-131.

⁴ 'Ektaktos synedriasis ti 30 Maiou 1870', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 255; G. Hasiotis, 'Ekthesis peri ton dimosion dialexeon', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-71), p. 86; 'Genikai diataxeis peri ton dimosion dialexeon', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-1871), p. 116.

⁵ 'Ekthesis ton Pepragmenon apo tis Systaseos Avtou Mehri toude 17 Apriliou 1869-31 Dekemvriou 1871', *A.D.H.G.S.*, i (1869-1871), p. 3, 124.

name *sylogos* (society), in 1861, finally became, the national centre of all these efforts among Greek communities in the Ottoman lands.

The Hellenic Literary Society was founded in Constantinople in 1861 by Irinaios Vasiadis, S. Mavrogenis, and Aristidis Paleologos. With Paleologos, the general consul of Greece in Constantinople, as one of its founders and its inaugural meeting held in the Greek consulate, the society had a high profile. Although the society's ostensible function was the study of Plato, its underlying and central aim was the expansion of Greek education and the Greek language among Orthodox groups. With such an agenda the society took as its primary aim the creation of an educational society, the *Ekpaideftikon Frontistirio* (Tutorial Literacy Club) whose primary goal was the dissemination of literacy in Greek to Orthodox groups and, especially, to 'women, regardless of their ethnic origins or language'.¹ The *Ekpaideftikon Frontistirion* hoped to achieve this aim through:

(1) the establishment of a *gynaikeio didaskaleio* (school for training girls to become teachers) in Constantinople, with particular attention to the admission of students from the interior of Anatolia.

(2) the establishment of a *Parthenagogeion* and school for boys in needy areas also providing financial support to the already existing schools in the municipalities.

(3) the publication of educational material, approved by the clergy, with the ultimate purpose of distributing it to poor students and clergy who lived in poor and remote municipalities.

(4) And, finally, the granting of scholarships to clergy and teachers to encourage further literary advancement.² However, these high aims were stymied by a lack of funding and the *Ekpaideftikon Frontistirion* never got off the ground, while the society reverted to a local character, concentrating its activities on philosophy and nature, with speeches and writings by its members.³ However, in 1864, the society's

¹ Ibid.

² Ch. Pantazidou, 'Synoptiki ekthesis ton kata tin Pentikontaetiridi 1861-1911 tou Hellenikou Filologikou syllogou', *Ph.S.C.*, xxiv (1861-1911), pp. 53-55; K. Asopios, 'I Ikosipentaetiris tou en Constantinoupoli Filologikou syllogou', *Attiko Imerologio*, xxiii (1886), pp. 525-588; I. Vasiadis, 'Synedriasis tis Epeteiou Panigyreos ton Hellenikon Syllogon', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), pp. 241-243.

³ E. Asopios, 'I Ikosipentaetiris tou Philologikou syllogou', *Attikon imerologion*, xx (1886), p. 530; I. Vasiadis, 'Ektaktos synedriasis tis Epeteiou Panigyriseos ton Hellenikon Syllogon', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), pp. 239-243.

mandate expanded, and, in addition to the dissemination of literature through public lectures, it began publication of a bimonthly periodical, established a library and introduced literary competitions.¹ But not until 1870 did the society revise its mandate again, significantly increasing the scope and nature of its activities and becoming the 'Panhellenic institution' for the dissemination of Greek language and literature in the East and thus becoming the major educational club of the Greek communities outside the borders of the Greek kingdom.²

According to its new articles from 1870 to 1871, the society adopted the task of coordinating educational activities throughout the Greek world in the Turkish Empire. This mission was cast in the broadest possible terms, aiming at the dissemination of Greek education to the *Hellenes* in the Ottoman lands. 'Not only the development of literacy for literacy's sake but the dissemination of Greek literacy to the East'.³ The society took a series of practical measures toward this end. Its primary objective was the establishment of elementary schools around all the provinces of the Ottoman lands and especially in Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and Epirus, and it sought to achieve this aim through the partial or total sponsorship of elementary schools for girls and boys.⁴ For this purpose, the society asked all similar clubs, metropolitan bishops, the council of elders of the Greek community (*dimogerontia*), institutions, and intellectuals to provide any information relating to the provinces' 'moral, economic, and literate' level. Such information might cover local language, customs and folklore. Those communities which responded to its appeal were taken under the wing of the society, which offered them financial support for educational activities such as the establishment or renovation of schools and the provision of books.⁵ The president of the society and pioneer of all these changes, Irinaios Vasiadis, elaborated the philosophy behind these moves in 1871. Although the society did not go beyond its previous activities and its commitment to philosophy

¹ 'Kanonismos syllogou', *Ph.S.C.*, ii (1864), p. 128; O. Andreadis, 'O En Constantinople Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos', *Attikon Imerologion*, xx (1886), p. 534.

² I. Vasiadis, 'Ektaktos Synedriasis ti 30 Dekemvriou 1869', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), p. 250.

³ K. Karapanos, 'Praktika ti 10 Maiou 1871', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 210; 'Ekthesis tis ekpaidevtikis epitropis Peri tis Enestosis katastaseos ton en tais Eparhiais Imeteron Ekpaidevtirion', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 186.

⁴ O. Andreadis, 'O en Constantinoupolei Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos', op. cit., p. 535; 'Kanonismos.Kephalaio II', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 187; 'Pros tin dimogerontia tis koinotitas', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 225; 'O en Constantinoupolei philologikos syllogos', *Smyrni*, 19 May 1872.

⁵ 'Kephalaio II', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 187.

and scientific progress, he explained that it was time it became the national tutorial club, as the association was 'not the property of few intellectuals but the heritage of the whole nation'.¹ Within such an ideological framework, the society expanded its activities from Constantinople to the whole Ottoman Empire. In 1871, Vasiadis added that the dissemination of Greek education (*Hellenika grammata*) should henceforth be the concern 'of each inhabitant of the East, who wanted to serve his country'.² From 1871 on, the society welcomed members from outside Constantinople and as a result, the regular membership increased from 83 to 230 within a year.³

A decade after its inception, the society had won the ultimate accolade and was being used as a model by numerous other clubs. On 19 April 1871, on the initiative of the society, all similar Hellenic clubs, which numbered seven in Constantinople alone, each independent of the others, agreed to cooperate in supporting educational activities. A year later, the association proudly announced that 62 similar clubs had asked to come under its auspices and to cooperate with it in supporting educational activities.⁴ By 1874, its sister associations in the Ottoman lands, the Greek kingdom and the rest of Europe numbered 84. In response to this growth in its responsibilities, the society was subdivided into economic, philosophical, scientific, archaeological, editorial and educational committees. The latter assumed total control of the society's educational activities.⁵ The generous donations of wealthy Greeks, under the auspices of the society, led to the creation of the Thrace Literary Club (*Thrakikos Filekpaidevtikos Syllogos*) founded in 1872; the Epirote Literary Club (*Ipirotikos Filekpaidevtikos syllogos*) founded in 1872; the Thessaly Literary Club (*Thessalikos Filekpaidevtikos Syllogos*) which lasted from 1874 until the unification of Thessaly with the kingdom in 1881; and the Macedonian Literary Brotherhood (*Makedoniki Filekpaidevtiki Adelfotis*) founded in 1871. These clubs were

¹ I. Vasiadis, 'Ektaktos synedriasis', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-1870), pp. 250-251; K. Karapanos, 'Synedriasis 7 Maiou 1872', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 303.

² K. Karapanos, 'Praktika 10 Maiou 1871', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-1872), p. 210.

³ 'O en Constantinoupoli Philologikos Syllogos', *Smyrni*, 2 July 1871; 'O En Constantinople Philologikos Syllogos', *Smyrni*, 16 May 1872; 'Yper tou en Constantinoupolei Philologikou syllogou', *Mellon*, 28 June 1871.

⁴ 'Peri ton Sheseon tou Syllogou meta ton Loipon Somateion', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), pp. 292-294.

⁵ O. Ialemos, 'I istoria tou Hellenikou Ph.S.C.', *Ph.S.C.*, xii (1877-78), p. 18; 'Diarkeis epitropai', *Smyrni*, 16 May 1872; 'Diarkeis Epitropai', *Smyrni*, 1 June 1873.

all, in principle, dedicated to the dissemination of Greek language and literature, which in practice meant the establishment of mixed *Didaskaleia* - teacher-training schools named after their sponsors - aimed at the continuous provision of Greek teachers in these areas.¹

The fraternal links between these societies acted as a continuous informal institutional network in the Ottoman Empire, a linkage which extended beyond the empire to educational institutions in Greece, providing a new form of political power through which an informal intellectual élite could defend the pursuits of *Hellenismos* and issue its propaganda. In 1871, however, the society stated its objective to be the provider of elementary education to the *Hellenes* and Hellenized populations in Ottoman lands, thus interpreting its role in the broadest possible terms.² That same year, Athens conceded that Constantinople had become the second literary centre of the 'Hellenic *genos*', while it was the common consensus of literary associations throughout Greece and beyond that the Literary Society of Constantinople was the first centre of *fota* (enlightenment) in the East.³ However, beyond such overwhelming claims, a more extensive quest into the matter of the nation's origins was appearing in the press of the period. *Hellenismos* encompassed more than language; it had a national character, the journal *Pandora* explained in 1872.⁴ However, in 1872, this character became more complicated than ever. The interior of Anatolia and other provinces was great in area and had no large concentrations of Orthodox Christians, while other areas, such as the central zone of Macedonia, had a diverse ethnic mix. These factors forced Greeks to search for a clear understanding of their Greekness. The pressure Greeks felt to evaluate the Greekness of Orthodox non-Greek-speaking groups drove intellectuals to re-examine the identity of the *Hellenismos*. Under enormous pressure, Greek intellectuals once more seized on the national culture as the only means achieving the ideals of the *Hellenismos*. It was then that intellectuals spoke out on the Panslavic danger. Societies in Athens and Constantinople introduced competitions on linguistic and ethnological topics, while

¹ 'Taktiki Synedriasis ti 14 Maiou 1873', *Ph.S.C.*, viii (1873-74), p. 284; 'Epetiris Ipirotikou syllogou', *Ipirotikos syllogos*, i (1872-73), p. 99; X. Zographos, 'Logos', *Ph.S.C.*, iv (1865-70), p. 186.

² 'Arithmos 993: Skopos tou Syllogou', *Ph.S.C.*, xi (1871-72), p. 215.

³ 'Synedriasis 28 Apriliou 1872', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), p. 285; 'Peri ton Sheseon tou Syllogou meta ton Loipon Somateion', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), pp. 292-293.

⁴ 'Hellenikoi syllogoi', *Pandora*, xxii (1872), pp. 486-488.

Greeks came forward with more theories of the ethnological boundaries of the *Hellenismos*.

A sense of a 'historic' criterion of nationhood was developed, diverting attention from the former, fundamentally linguistic concerns. Above all, people had their culture. As Vasiadis explained in 1863: 'The masses feel their national character through words, expressions and phrases.' Vasiadis' words sparked off a wave of research on history, archaeology and folklore for, as he explained in 1886, Greeks in 1863 had keenly felt the imminent Panslavic danger.¹ The spirit of the *Hellenismos* must be sought in its roots, and nothing seemed more effective than the investigation of the habits, customs, beliefs and attitudes of the masses. These factors would undeniably show, on a day-to-day basis, the historical continuity and association with classical Greece. Such findings, Greek nationalists believed, could reveal the hidden testimonies of Greekness and therefore the legal ownership of these lands, even in the non-Greek-speaking Orthodox groups, such as those of Epirus or Macedonia. Reflecting these preoccupations, this period saw the introduction of competitions geared toward finding ancient vestiges in popular folklore, which in turn could prove the Hellenic origins of these people.

One such competition was the *Zographeios* contest founded in 1863. In 1870, it asked entrants in Constantinople to collect all the 'living monuments' from the common people, meaning idioms, phrases, words, dialect expressions, traditions, folk-songs and customs, a collection from Epirus being published the following year.² In Athens, in 1871, the *Rodokanakis* competition (1859) announced as its topic *Programma peri Syllogis ton zonton Mnimion en ti Glossi tou Laou* (*Programme for the Collection of Hellenic Folk Life in Vernacular Language*), aiming at the collection of Hellenic traits and customs, and their comparison with the known ancient ones, from all over the Hellenic lands. The regulations further explained that the competition sought marriage customs, popular beliefs about women, customs of childbirth and children's upbringing, games, superstitions, dreams, fairy tales and burial customs;

¹ I. Vasiadis, 'Logos', *Attikon imerologion*, xx (1886), pp. 543-588.

² 'Diagonismata', *Pandora*, xxi (1871), pp. 514-516; 'Ekthesis tis Philekpaidevtikis Epitropis epi ton Peri Syllogis Zonton Mnimion en ti Glossi tou Hellenikou laou', *Ph.S.C.*, viii (1873-74), p. 282; 'Ekthesis tis Philologikis Epitropis peri Metavolis tou Zographeiou Diagonismatos', *Ph.S.C.*, ix (1874-75), p. 198; 'Programma peri Zonton Mnimion en ti Glossi tou Laou', *Smyrni*, 5 September 1872; Ir. Vasiadis, 'Diagonismata', *Attikon imerologion*, xx (1886), pp. 525-588; 'Programma peri Syllogis ton Zonton Mnimion en ti Glossi tou Laou', *Smyrni*, 21 September 1873.

in short, any cultural characteristic which contributed to the human experience.¹ The *Rodokanakis* prize was finally awarded to the first folklorist to write in Greek, Nikolaos G. Politis, for his monumental work *Meleti epi tou viou ton neoteron Hellinon* (*Study on the Way of Life of Modern Hellenes*).² Similarly, from 1872 to 1874, in Constantinople, all such competitions focused on the collection of tales, traits, linguistic variations and customs, most of which came from Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly.³

Within this ideological frame in the 1870s, Greek nationalists could no longer permit the illiteracy of the female population especially when in 'Asia, Macedonia and upper Epirus, the mother tongue had been replaced by barbaric dialects.'⁴ Meanwhile the destruction of archaeological finds in Macedonia that proved the Hellenic origin of the linguistically Slavic population increased contemporary fear of national degeneration.⁵ In the face of such a national threat, women became the pillars of the *Hellenismos* progress, as the guardians of the *pàtria* (native symbols), language and the national morals. Prominent literary and political figures in Athens and Constantinople began to demand women's educational emancipation.⁶ As the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople complained in 1867, while the heirs of the ancient civilisation had become scientists, poets and philosophers, drawing upon the classical civilisation's glorious heritage, there was no female equivalent: no modern *Hellenida* poet, philosopher or intellectual. This female backwardness, intellectuals explained, was entirely due to the absence of schools and to primitive social prejudices, alien to the real spirit of the *Hellenismos* which saw women as men's equals.⁷ Intellectuals were invariably blamed for the nation's continued illiteracy and backwardness, but most were agreed that the problems of the nation were compounded by women's wrongs. Again in the 1870s, women's ignorance and incompetence were cited by contemporary intellectuals as the cause of the nation's backwardness and women's education once more made an irreversible entry into

¹ 'Philologikos agon. Theodorou P. Rodokanaki', *Pandora*, xxii (1871), pp. 74-83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ 'Diagonismata tou en Constantinoupoli Hellenikou philologikou syllogou', *Pandora*, xxi (1871), pp. 514-516.

⁴ 'Peri tou Negrepontiou Diagonismatos', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1865-1870), pp. 199-200.

⁵ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Epigraphai', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-71), p. 1.

⁶ A. Avgerinos, 'Ekpaidevsis en Helladi', *Pandora*, xx (1870), pp. 248-250.

⁷ S. Aristarhis, 'Peri tou Negrepontiou Diagonismatos', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1865-1870), p. 199.

political discourse. However, what came to distinguish the 1870s from the previous years was the appearance of enlightened women who found the strength to think, speak, and write about what they assumed was also, with men's blessings, their issue: women's illiteracy in the Ottoman Empire.

2.2 Women and Hellenismos. The Publication of 'Evridiki'

By the 1870s, the ingenuity, authenticity and superiority other ethnic-Orthodox groups of the *Hellenismos* had been clearly defined. Building on the stamina of this nation, which had survived centuries of conquest through the inner strength of its culture, Greeks hoped that the *Hellenismos* was once again destined to enjoy success in the arena of intellectual competition. Such a theory created a new *respectability* - a term indicating 'decent and correct manners' and morals - in the consensus of the *Hellenismos*.¹ In fact, in the years when Greeks claimed that culture was power and boasted that their civilisation was the inheritance of all humanity, the fact that they had neglected the female half of their population was not only an embarrassment which intellectuals regarded as society's responsibility but even a contradiction of *Hellenismos* principles. In the 1870s, Greeks had more practical reasons than ever to return to the issue, adopting a new idea of womanliness and building their national ideals around it. Because of the national heritage, ethnic values, cultural traditions, and language were the basis from which each individual began to develop a new sense of identity. Since the latter was preserved in the family, the nation needed more than ever before *Hellenides* who could secure and preserve the nation's vitality: its authentic culture. The nation relied upon its female members to transmit the 'mother tongue' and the nation's values to its obedient (both male and female) members, thus, the literary advancement of *Hellenides* through Greek language and literature was considered vital.

Concerns about the role of women in society were soon among the favourite topics of cultural associations in Ottoman lands, as indicated by the following public lectures in Constantinople in 1871: M. Pantazis, *Peri paidevtikis dynameos ton Hellenikon grammaton* ('On the Educational Power of Greek Literacy in the East'), M. Grigoriadis, *Peri tis ithikopoioi dynameos tou Hristianismou* ('On the Moral Power of Christianity'), A. Grigoriadis, *Peri tis koinonikis theseos tis gynaikos* ('On the Place of Women in Society'), K. Plithonidis, *Peri proorismou tis gynaikos* ('On Women's Mission'), and I. Georgiadis *Peri kathikonton tou politou* ('On the Citizen's Obligations').² Intellectuals concluded that women possessed an intelligence and

¹ For the term 'respectability', see G. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality* (London, 1985), pp. 1-22.

² 'Peri ton Dimosion Dialexeon', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-71), p. 86.

physical stamina commensurate with their nation's spirit and could obviously profit from elementary and even advanced education. Therefore, *Hellenides* should be literate because these women inherited particular national qualities. There were, however, many obstacles to realising such a plan, as, in the 1870s, there were still few facilities, either private or public, offering women primary education and hardly any facilities offering women secondary education in the Ottoman lands.

It is difficult to formulate a precise picture of the educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire's Greek communities. Even after 1856, the *Hatt-i Humayun* (the reforming decree that reaffirmed the full equality of all Ottoman subjects, in matters such as education, justice, taxation and security of life, regardless of religion), while reaffirming the *millet's* right to maintain its own community schools, did not contain any explicit reference to primary education, as it had during Mahmud II's reign (1808-1839).¹ This level of education was thus left in the hands of the religious establishment.² In addition, there were the *Tanzimat* (reforms in administration, justice, education, the military and commerce) which are collectively known, in Turkish history as the *Tanzimat* (Reorganisation) period. The *Hatt-i Sherif* of Gulhane of 1839 and the *Hatt-i Humayun* of 1856 were the two landmarks of the *Tanzimat* period whereby officials hoped to promote a civic entity among the empire's people by concentrating on other levels of education. In 1864, a council was created within the ministry of education to re-examine the issue of secondary education among Muslims and non-Muslims, and, in particular, the question of a mixed student body in secondary educational establishments. In 1869, the minister of education and the council of the state sought to introduce a comprehensive educational policy from primary school to university level, making it clear that such measures concerned both Muslims and non-Muslims. But such acts were undermined by shortages of material and human resources which rendered the state incapable of fulfilling its promises and leaving the provision of general education to the *millets*. Education among the Greek communities in the Ottoman lands thus continued to be a problem of the *dimogerontes* and the church. As late as the 1870s, there was no central institution for the organisation of primary, secondary and higher education of Greek

¹ B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 74-125.

² G. Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor*, op. cit., pp. 144-149.

schools in the Ottoman lands indicating that education among the Greek communities in the Ottoman lands varied from one decade to another, from one area to another, and according to the personalities involved. In addition, although the Orthodox Church and the communities cooperated during the first half of the nineteenth century to create schools throughout the empire, the provision of schools even at elementary level was a very great expense for the church, which often had a difficult time just meeting ecclesiastical needs. Consequently, most schools were established at primary level. Both boys and girls who wished either to acquire a secondary education or train for a teaching career (or in the case of boys a career in medicine or law) had to go abroad, primarily to the Greek kingdom.

However, Smyrna and Constantinople, due to their large Greek populations and the wealth generated by the most Greek prosperous merchants, provided particularly advantageous opportunities for learning from the first half of the nineteenth century onward.¹ In 1840, a total of 750 female pupils attended the three primary schools for girls in Smyrna, learning calligraphy, reading, basic mathematics, geography and ancient and modern Greek. At the same time, there were five male primary schools.² By 1871, a total of 1800 students were enrolled at the fourteen schools for girls formally supported by the community, including three private establishments, which were functioning within Constantinople's Greek quarter with 1800 students.³ However, in the 1870s, for the first time in the Ottoman lands, the system of education and the educational establishments, private or public, in Smyrna, Constantinople, and Athens did not meet the current needs of the *Hellenismos*, namely the dissemination of Greek language and literature among the Orthodox groups in the interior of Anatolia and in areas such as Epirus, Thessaly and Thrace. Such a programme naturally needed an organised educational network beyond the scope of the educational establishments in Athens and the efforts of the *dimogerontes* and the church in the Ottoman lands. It was against this background that the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople in 1867 announced its decision to allocate the *Negerepotion*

¹ Ibid.

² D. Soldatos, *I Ekpaidevtiki kai Pnevmatiki Kinisi tou Hellenismou tis M. Asias 1800-1922* (Athens, 1989), 3 vols, vol 1., p. 127; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 251-255.

³ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Programma', *Evridiki*, i (1870), p. 1.

Diagonismos (Negreption Competition) annual prize-money to the 'dissemination of Hellenic literacy for the Christian and moral advancement of the female sex in the East'. In practice, this meant that the association would help establish four *parthenagogeia*, two in European Turkey (Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus) and the other two in Asian Turkey.¹ In the 1870s, the association responded to the growth of its responsibilities by founding an educational committee which was charged with formulating school curricula, drawing up a list of recommended books for use in teaching, and providing grants to both girls and boys for teacher training. Within such a climate the *Patriarhiki Ekpaidevtiki Epitopi* (Chief Patriarchal Committee) was founded in 1873. The committee, which comprised three civic and three religious functionaries under the auspices of the Patriarchate, was destined to formulate curricula which the Greek educational establishments in the district of Constantinople were obliged to follow.²

In the 1870s, with the sponsorship of the Epirote Christaki Zografo and Georgio Zarifi, the association created the *Zarifeia* (in Epirus) and the *Zografia* (in Thrace) *didaskaleia*, aimed at training students from these areas as teachers.³ In 1875, the *parthenagogeion* Zappeion was founded in Constantinople with the sponsorship of the Epirote Konstantinos Zappas, and under the auspices of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople. In 1879, the school included a nursery, a primary level of four grades and a *gymnasium* with four grades offering an additional year of teacher training. In 1879, moreover, the minister of education in the Greek kingdom, A. Avgerinos, stated that the programme of studies at the Zappeion was more complete than that of the *Arsakeio Didaskaleion*.⁴ The same year, the Zappeion was officially recognised by the Greek state as equivalent to the *Arsakeio Didaskaleion*, thus becoming the first Greek *parthenagogeion* in Ottoman lands

¹ S. Aristarhis, 'Peri tou Negreptioniou Diagonismatos', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1865-1870), pp. 199-200.

² K. Xiradaki, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³ K. Asopios, 'I Eikosipentaetiris tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Filologikou Syllogou', *op. cit.*, pp. 354-357. However, the *Zografia didaskaleia* started to function in Epirus in 1870 and in Serais in 1874, while the *Zarifeia didaskaleia* started to function in Filipoupolis in 1876. A. Palaiologos, 'Didaskaleia', *Imerologion tis Anatolis*, ii (1883), p. 77.

⁴ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, *op. cit.*, p. 256; A. Palaiologos, 'Parthenagogeia', *Imerologion tis Anatolis*, iii (1884), p. 97.

with the official right to grant teaching diplomas.¹ In 1874, an all-male board comprising Athanasios Dimitriadis, Ioanis Georgakopoulos, Odysseas Negrepontis, Antonios Iliadis, Ionanis Valsamos and others, founded the *Parthenagogeion Pallas* in Constantinople. The new *Parthenagogeion* comprised a nursery school, a primary level of four grades, a *gymnasium* with four grades, and a supplementary year of teacher training.² Both the Zappeion and the *Pallas* took particular initiatives to enable students from remote areas to attend their schools, including the provision of dormitories, grants and reduction in fees. In 1884, among the *parthenagogeion Pallas'* 230 students, 52, including twelve boarders, were on school grants, while for students on a municipal grant a 25% reduction in school fees was offered. Similarly, 60 of the 200 students at the Zappeion, including 20 boarding students, were sponsored by Konstantinos Zappas.³ In addition, in 1882, Eleni Zarifi, Zarifis' wife, sponsored the establishment of the *parthenagogeion loakeimion* in Constantinople, which also provided opportunities for women to attend teacher-training academies.⁴ Smyrna soon followed Constantinople's example.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, numerous girls' schools were functioning in Smyrna, most prominent among them being the girls' school in the Agia Foteini district. The school, operating on the Lancasterian or monitorial model, was founded in 1834 in the grounds of the *Graikiko Nosokomeio* (Greek Hospital). In 1840, however, with the church's financial aid, the school relocated to church property, and changed its name to *Kentrikon* (Central) *Parthenagogeion Agias Foteinis*, after its patron saint.⁵ In 1873, the school, which had adopted the *syndidaktiki* (tutorial) model in 1871, comprised a primary level of four grades, a *Helleniko* school with three grades and a *gymnasium* offering two years of higher education. Known in literary circles in Smyrna as *Mega Parthenagogeion* (Principal *Parthenagogeion*), it was the most advanced contemporary female establishment in Smyrna.⁶ However,

¹ Ibid., in S. Ziogou Karastergiou, p. 256.

² K. Xiradaki, op. cit., p. 63.

³ A. Palaiologos, op. cit., pp. 97-99.

⁴ Agathoniki Antoniadou (1854-1928) was from 1895 to 1899 director of the *Ioakeimion Parthenagogeion*. For further information, see K. Xiradaki, op. cit., p. 56.

⁵ K. Xiradaki, op. cit., pp. 106-108.

⁶ 'Ethnika. Sholeia kai Syllogoi Smyrnis', *Smyrni*, 24 August 1873; 'Ethnika. Sholeia kai Syllogoi Smyrnis', *Smyrni*, 28 August 1873; S. Leontias, 'Parthenagogeion Ag. Foteinis', *Smyrni*, 28 August 1873.

Smyrna still lacked a Greek *parthenagogeion* with boarding facilities for students. Yet students from remote areas could attend the private schools which patrons from Britain, France and the United States, on their own behalf or representing religious organisations, had established in Constantinople and Smyrna throughout the nineteenth century. The *Katholikon Parthenagogeion Gallon Kalogreon* (Catholic *parthenagogeion* of French nuns), founded in 1835, and the Protestant *Parthenagogeion Diamartyromenon Prossidon Diakonison* (Prussian Deaconesses) were two such schools in Smyrna.¹ Leaving education in foreign hands was tantamount to treason in the eyes of men and women patriots in the 1870s, and to remedy this travesty the *parthenagogeion* Homerion was founded in 1881 under the auspices of the Literary Association of Homer (*Omiros*) in Smyrna.² This school provided the first boarding facilities for students in Smyrna, and, by 1885, included a nursery school of two grades, a primary level of four grades, and a *gymnasium* with four grades, as well as offering an additional year's study for teacher trainees. In 1885, the school was recognised by the Greek state as equivalent to the *Arsakeio Didaskaleio* and, like the *Zappeion*, was henceforth officially entitled to award teaching diplomas.³

It was within such an educational network that Greeks in both the Greek kingdom and Ottoman lands hoped - through the *Arsakeio* (Athens), *Zappeion* Pallas, and *Ioakeimion* (Constantinople) Ag. Fotinis, and *Homerion* (Smyrna) and other educational institutions at primary and secondary level (primarily *didaskaleia*) which Greeks began to build all around the Ottoman Empire - to supervise, at least on an elementary level, the advancement of female education in the Ottoman lands, particularly in the interior of Anatolia, Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus, through study of Greek language and literature. By stressing the connection between *Hellenidas'*

¹ D. Soldatos, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 114-116; For the schools in Asia Minor, see also the reports of the educational committee of the *Ph.S.C.*; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', *Ph.S.C.*, vi (1871-72), pp. 186-210; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', vii (1872-73), pp. 205-219; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', viii (1873-74), pp. 252-286; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', viii (1874-75), pp. 252-268; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', ix (1874-75), pp. 182-192; 'Ekthesis tis Ekpaidevtikis Epitropis tou en Constantinople Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', x (1875-76), pp. 186-200.

² 'Ta Parthenagogeia', *Armonia*, 15 July 1864.

³ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 252; D. Soldatos, vol. 1., op. cit., pp. 114-116.

education and national prosperity, these educational developments supplied women with a new rationale for their identity and understanding of their world.¹ In the 1870s, intellectuals and journalists asked *Hellenides* to strive to save the nation's female population from lethargy by teaching them national history and the literature of their ancestors. In the meantime, literary associations in Constantinople, Smyrna and throughout the Ottoman Empire took steps to guarantee the spread of Greek education and language among Orthodox female groups. In 1872, the Literary Society of Constantinople backed the creation of the *Syllogos yper tis Gynaikias Ekpaidevseos* (Association for Female Education) whose members included the wives of the founders of the Literary Society of Constantinople such as L. Karatheodori, I. Parparhou, P. Triantafylidou, G. Vaphiadou, and A. Gouda as well as prominent female literary figures such as A. Ktena-Leontias, K. Kalliadou, N. Hryopoulou, M. Paranika, A. Paspatis and D. Istrias. Among its early successes was its proposal to the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople to found the Zappeion.² By bringing women into a single society, male intellectuals hoped to create a strong solidarity among them and also shared perceptions of life. In truth, as the Archimandrite Grigorios Gogos explained, the creation of female literary associations was essential, not simply because they enabled the more fortunate women to direct the less fortunate women's education, but also because, through such associations, women could define the appropriate norms of behaviour for *Hellenides* and thus later guide their menfolk to proper political actions!³

In such associations, women, as mothers and wives, not only would gather and discuss the deleterious results of luxury for domestic economy, the abolition of the décolleté and any other impudence which was foreign to *Hellenismos* and Christian upbringing . . . but also would be able to guide and correct their men's and husbands' errors.⁴

Yet, what the Archimandrite Gogos and his associates failed to realise at that time was that by organising *Hellenides* in cultural associations, simultaneously, they provided women such as Aikaterini Ktena-Leontias and

¹ K., 'I gyny grafousa', *Evrudiki*, ii (1872), p. 30.

² 'Praktika Synedriasis ti 14 Maiou 1873', *Ph.S.C.*, viii (1873-75), p. 284; 'Synoptiki Ekthesis ton kata tin 50 kontaetirida tou Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou', *Ph.S.C.*, xxiv (1913-1921), p. 56.

³ Gr. Gogos, 'Phoni Arhimandriti', *Evrudiki*, ii (1872), 147-149; Varonidos de Comvroug, 'Peri Aisthiseon', *Evrudiki*, ii (1871), 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*, in Gogos, pp. 147-149.

Sappho Leontias with an 'ideological free space' on which sisterhood, solidarity, and an alternative female authoritative language in politics could be conceptualised. And this can be seen from the journal *Evridiki* which was founded by Ktena-Leontias in Constantinople in 1870.¹ Unfortunately, however, no detailed information has survived of the causes of the journal's termination in 1873, or of the journal's contributors, who generally preferred to use pseudonyms. Our knowledge of Ktena-Leontias is largely limited to her speeches as printed in contemporary journals. However, the character of this fortnightly journal which lasted for over three years, each issue numbering sixteen pages, four of which were dedicated to fiction with a moral message, requires a careful analysis.² As Ktena-Leontias explained in the first issue, dated 21 November 1870, the aims of *Evridiki* were encapsulated in one principle and one idea: 'the advancement, progress and enlightenment of our *aderfon* [brothers and sisters] spirit, through Orthodoxy and the *Hellenismos* . . . regardless of their ethnoses or race'. This won the resounding approval of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople.³ In line with this 'saintly' goal, however, the journal declared that it would steer well clear of politics, and would instead explore the underlying principles of the woman's world.⁴ Adopting such gender constraints from the outset, Ktena-Leontias concluded that the journal would focus on the study of the family, particularly the moral and physical upbringing of family members and domestic economy. It planned to offer advice on health and hygiene and to inform the *gynaikeia adelphotita* (sisterhood) and its 'daughters' about any issue which concerned them. At the same time, Ktena-Leontias explained, *Evridiki* would also study *her* (the sisterhood's) public education, *her* history, *her* habits and customs and, finally, *her* famous daughters' way of life and accomplishments. She added that this 'bouquet' of scientific and moral knowledge had been designed as *Hellenoprepos* (faithful to the principles of the *Hellenismos*) to serve the friends of *Evridiki*: Hellenic families.⁵

However, the roles which the journal assigned to women were conceived of as passive rather than active. In accordance with the belief, which was that of the rest

¹ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Prologos', *Evridiki*, i (1870), pp. 1-2.

² Ibid.

³ 'O Entavtha Ellenikos Syllogos', *Evridiki*, i (1871), p. 80.

⁴ A. Ktena-Leontias, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁵ Ibid.

of the society, that a respectable woman's principal task remained what it had always been - that of homemaker - the journal concluded that 'woman is designed by God to stay within the confines of the family as homemaker, meaning wife and mother'.¹ The family continued to be seen as the woman's kingdom, while the difference between women and men was deemed natural and inevitable. Women were designed by God to nurture individual well-being and to carry out domestic duties, while men were designed to struggle in the public arena. As Ktena-Leontias' sister, Sappho Leontias (1832-1900), a prominent literary figure in Smyrna and Constantinople and a very famous schoolmistress, explained in her article on *Peri kliseos tis gynaikos* (Woman's calling), a man could become a politician, an artist, a soldier, a full citizen; men could be involved in the country, society, city, or government; whereas women, had only one sphere, the home.² Yet, Ktena-Leontias assumed, as her sister Sappho had, that, although women were destined by history and God to be homemakers and mothers, they should none the less study to prepare for such duties. She believed that just as men destined for the public world must learn how to be good doctors, lawyers, engineers, or traders, so women had to study the art of the living (*tehnē tou viou*) in order to be qualified to respond to the needs of their families, for the political and social good.³ She challenged the attitude of men who held that women should be taught only feminine subjects, arguing that such knowledge was worse even than complete illiteracy, while countering male fears of the period with the argument that it was inconceivable that *Hellenides* would read Alexandre Dumas *filis* but continue to neglect Plato, Xenophon and Sophocles.⁴ Following this vein and drawing on the Greek claims in the 1870s that *Hellenismos* aimed to encompass all people regardless of class, religion, race or gender, helped these female writers, such as A. Ktena-Leontias and S. Leontias, to further their line of thinking. As the contributor of *Evrīdiki*, with the initial 'K', explained, the desire to keep women illiterate or only partially educated was completely opposed to the principles of *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy.

¹ 'I gyni', *Evrīdiki*, i (1870), pp. 16-32, 39.

² S. Leontias, 'Peri kliseos', *Evrīdiki*, i (1870), p. 15, 26, 39, 49, 51, 64.

³ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli Korai pros Evanthia Kairi', *Omiros*, ii (1874), p. 86; S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous Proorismou tis Gynaikos', *Amalthia*, 3 January 1876; S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous Proorismou tis Gynaikos', *Amalthia*, 10 January 1876.

⁴ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli Korai pros E. Kairi', *op. cit.*, p. 93.

In fact, Ktena-Leontias and Leontias agreed with the opinion of society that women ought to obey their husbands because 'Christianity says: women should obey their men.'¹ *Evridiki* held that the physical differences between men and women were obvious and immutable and advised the *Hellenida* to follow her natural call to be a 'good mother, wife, homemaker as the female destiny demands'.² Moreover, *Hellenides*, beside their purported biological qualities and the obligations they had as mothers, wives, and homemakers, also possessed a natural talent for educating as ones who had inherited the unique qualities of the *Hellenismos*.³ Knowledge was not to be an end in itself, but a form of self-separation for the lofty and formidable task which *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* had of liberating the people from backwardness by spreading the Greek language. Thus, the *Hellenida's* right to education was simply a logical extension of this central premise and was not seen as a battle against men, but instead as one against illiteracy, backwardness and Orientalism. Furthermore, as one article explained, women or men were not ethnically characterised by the blood which ran in their veins 'but by the habits, the language, and in short all these elements of what we call national character'.⁴ Acutely aware of such a definition, the editors of *Evridiki* argued that, then, surely women, as mothers, wives, homemakers and guardians of the nation's native culture, ought to strengthen their minds and lift themselves from instinct to intellect.⁵

It was with such an understanding that these first Greek intellectual women broke the traditional female silence, in order to make their own contribution to the great national effort of intellectual and moral reconstruction which they saw forming in their society. They condemned the traditional neglect of female education, a neglect which had abandoned half of humanity to ignorance and superstition, depriving women of all seriousness and ability, and making them unable to inculcate virtue in their children.⁶ The literary woman who contributed to journals, who worked against women's magazines full of fashion, coquetry and material concerns was the new *Hellenida*, whom, these women believed, men would respect and

¹ S. Leontias, 'Peri kliseos', *Evridiki*, i (1870), p. 39.

² D. S., 'Parainesis pros tas Hellenidas', *Evridiki*, ii (1871), pp. 105-107.

³ K., 'I alithis Hellenis', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), pp. 49-50.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ I. Athanasiadis, 'Peri ekpaidevseos kai Anatrofis tou Gynaikείου Fylou', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), 125-128.

⁶ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli A. Korai pros E. Kairi', *Omiros*, ii (1874), p. 89.

honour.¹ From now on, the coquette, the woman who, unable to understand the world passed her time in reverie walled in by hearth and home, was to be criticised by serious women as a creature of men's taste.² The real *Hellenida*, the editors of *Evrídiki* now argued, ought to follow her national roots, to develop her national character, to reject all external influences, keeping only this internal national force which permitted her to retain the superiority of her civilisation over that of other peoples.³ Works of religion and the writings of the ancient Greeks should be a woman's main reading, while knowledge of the national habits and customs remained her only defence against fashion, coquetry and luxury.⁴ Romantic novels, which were deemed to have harmful effects on both mind and body and were even linked to heart diseases, became the worst enemy of this new rational woman, and the editors of *Evrídiki* advised against such reading.⁵ Girls ought not to be moved by poetry or romances, which might lead them to rebel against customs and restraints, instead, they should cultivate discipline, order and reason.⁶ As the contributor to *Evrídiki* with the initial 'K' explained: 'The real woman, who understands her destiny and does not want to bend under the heavy male yoke, is working for her sex's emancipation . . . for her literary emancipation.'⁷ It was against this ideological background that Leontias, then director of the *parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis, found the strength to oppose publicly the two well-known contemporary teachers, Ioannis Skylitsis and Antonis Isigonis in Smyrna, when they insisted, in 1872, that because of their different nature and obligations, women should have a different and inferior education to that of men.⁸

According to Skylitsis, girls should be taught neither ancient Greek nor ancient philosophy, except for an introduction to Xenophon during the final year at the *parthenagogeion*, as women were not to become philosophers or politicians. Similarly, he held that they should not be taught advanced mathematics, physics, or,

¹ K., 'I gyni grafousa', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), p. 30.

² Ibid.

³ K., 'I Alithis Hellenis', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), pp. 49-50.

⁴ S. Leontias, 'Gnomai peri tis Gynaikos kai tis Paidevseos avtis', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), pp. 133-34; I. Athanasiadis, 'Peri Ekpaidevseos kai Anatrofis tou Gynaikείου Fylou', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), p. 109, 127.

⁵ 'Ta apotelesmata tis Anagnoseos ton Mythistorion', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), pp. 132-137.

⁶ N. Fotiadis, 'O Gamos kai I Oikogeneia', *Evrídiki*, ii (1872), p. 127.

⁷ K., 'I gyni grafousa', *Evrídiki*, iii (1872), p. 30.

⁸ D. Soldatos, op. cit., p. 114.

in short, any subject which surpassed the limitations of women's nature and capacities. He proposed a curriculum for women comprising general knowledge, instruction in modern Greek language (*katharevousa*) instead of ancient Greek, the abolition of the study of the ancient philosophers and two hours per day of lessons in deportment, from the nursery up to the secondary level of education. Following the same trend of thought, Antonis Isigonis also concluded that because of their particular nature and domestic obligations, girls should simply follow an education relevant to their domestic needs. As similar theory was flourishing in the Greek kingdom through the book by Konstantinos Xanthopoulos *Proti kai Mesis Ekpaidevseis kai Peri Anatrofis kai ekpaidevseos ton korasion* (*Primary and Secondary Education and on Women's Upbringing and Education*).

Leontias argued in the journal *Evridiki* in Constantinople, and the newspapers *Smyrni* and *Amaltheia* in Smyrna, that women ought to have a *Hellenoprepos* education equivalent to that of men, precisely because of their roles as mother, wife and homemaker.¹ She saw women as part of a 'strong community of destiny and history', with the unique and God-given talent of motherhood. 'And her influence on preceding generations is vital and eternal.'² In accordance with the *Hellenismos*, she assumed that motherhood was the line dividing *Hellenides* from *Hellenes*. Assuming that mothers were the cornerstone of each society's progress, she argued that it was vital for women to awake from their long slumber and to take back their place in the world of humanity by inspiring their menfolk to proper political action. 'I want to see the female throne developing ideas and morals which will guide society to progress rather than to decline.'³ For Leontias, the partial education proposed by Isigonis and Skylitsis was out of the question. *Parthenagogeia* were neither orphanages nor charm schools, she bitterly remarked, but were instead educational establishments. Ancient Greek, at least one foreign language, history, geography, politics, physics and mathematics, ethics, psychology, arithmetic, homecrafts, music and home economics were some of the essential subjects which Leontias prescribed for all *Hellenides* to enable them to do properly their duties as mothers, wives, and

¹ I. Athanasiadis, 'Peri ekpaidevseos tou gynaikeiou fylou', *Evridiki*, iii (1872), pp. 109-110, 125-128.

² S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous proorismou tis Gynaikos', *Amaltheia*, 3 January 1876.

³ S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous proorismou tis Gynaikos', *Amaltheia*, 7 January 1876.

homemakers.¹ For the same reasons, she defined the curriculum of the programme of the *parthenagogeion* of Agias Foteinis, which Isigonis and Skylitsis had criticised.

In 1875, furthermore, the Zappeion under the initiative of the Association for the Female Education, attempted to ensure an advanced programme of studies by offering to the well-known Athenian literary figure, Kalliope Kehayia (1839-1905), the post of director. Born in Proussas, in 1839, Kehayia arrived in Athens with her family in 1850. There she attended the Hills' school, the Arsakeio, and, for two years in London, the *Parthenagogeion* Valter. Kehayia finally received her official diploma in teaching in 1859 in Athens from a committee, exceptionally convened for her, chaired by the director general of primary education, Skorlatos Vyzantios. Kehayia herself, from a very wealthy family, benefited from an exceptional education embracing European languages, general literature, philosophy, history and pedagogy. She made a name for herself in public very early and as a member of the literary association Parnassos, she presented 75 papers between 1872 and 1875.² In 1875, returning to Athens from Marseilles where she had gone in 1874 to study the latest theories in pedagogy, Kehayia accepted nomination by the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople, and became the first director of the *parthenagogeion* Zappeion, a post which she held until 1888. Under Kehayia's guidance, the Zappeion became the first official *didaskaleion* in Ottoman lands in 1879. However, the real push for female education from the school came in 1885, when the Zappeion separated the *gymnasium* from the *didaskaleio*. Such a development was not unexpected, as, in 1867, Kehayia and Hristomanou-Laskaridou had introduced, for the first time in Athens *gymnasium* classes at the Hills' school, then known as *Helleniko Parthenagogeio* (Greek *parthenagogeion*).

In 1885, nevertheless, the Zappeion included a nursery school, a primary level of five grades, an additional year of professional training (*epaggelmatiko scholeio*), offering various training to lower-class girls who could afford only a primary education, a secondary level with a *gymnasium* of four years and the *didaskaleion* with two years.³ With a curriculum of twelve grades, as compared with nine at Pallas, the

¹ S. Leontias, 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 22 February 1872; S. Leontias, 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 25 February 1872; S. Leontias, 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 10 March 1872.

² S. Voutyras, *Kalliope A. Kehayia 1839-1905* (Athens, 1925), p. 13.

³ A. Palaologos, op. cit., pp. 97-100; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 257.

Zappeion became the first *parthenagogeion*, in both the Greek kingdom and the Ottoman lands, to grant a diploma in primary education. This was done so that 'girls of the people could have domestic education combined with training for their later vocation.' A *gymnasium* offered 'the provision of an adequate education to more wealthy families' and the *didaskaleion* catered for aspiring teachers.¹ The Zappeion thus, succeeded where the *parthenagogeia* in the Greek kingdom had failed for decades, in introducing a completely independent education at each level, an education of the kind attacked by intellectuals such as Ainian since the 1850s. Thus, women, primarily from privileged classes, eventually achieved access to all levels of secondary education.

Yet, the act of publication by women was fraught with difficulty and despair in a society where years of national frustration had led men to blame women for the national weakness. Thus, another contributor to the journal with the pseudonym 'Aristaia L.V.' asked women contributors to overcome any fears of their current lack of education, which in fact was a result of men's decision by saying: 'with the knowledge which men allow us to have, we will naturally make mistakes.' She further asked the readers of *Evridiki* to help the journal by sending in their own work, because such writings did not aspire to competition with men's writings, but instead were a vital contribution to the women's world: 'Writings in *Evridiki* are by women and concern women readers.'² Aristaia's appeal did not seem to have had the desired effect, as the names of the journal's contributors did not change during the following months.

For years, intellectuals and journalists sought scapegoats in illiterate mothers, accusing them of ruining the nation through their ignorance of national history, geography and other knowledge considered vital for Orthodox Hellenic character-building. Women were also accused of being immoral and false, while journalists regarded the female psyche as the source of all social ills. For foreign audiences, the *Hellenismos* was championed through depiction of *Hellenides* which glorified such assumed characteristics as devotion to family, morality and literacy. These images for export had little in common with the picture of *Hellenides* manufactured for

¹ Ibid., p. 257.

² Aristaia L.V., 'I *Evridiki* kai ai gynaikes', *Evridiki*, i (1871), pp. 100-101.

domestic consumption. Satirical journals portrayed the modern *Hellenides* as rampant vamps who, unable to control their passions or erotic fantasies, manipulated their poor husbands according to their desires.¹ Women were portrayed as inheritors of Eve's cunning, vessels of vice and the devil's messengers. Female characteristics were portrayed as the key to a whole range of social ills: a favourite cliché was the female love of luxury and wealth, commonly cited as the most powerful proof of female vulnerability and immorality.² While nationalists promoted *Hellenismos* on the grounds that it was strictly non-materialistic, male painters and poets satirised the modern *Hellenides'* *faux* French lifestyle. Journalists commented ironically on the irrational woman and, particularly, on the attitudes of the middle-class and upper-class women who were accused of imitating a French lifestyle by adopting coquetry and symbols of luxury. Male nationalists complained that these coquettish women were steadily losing the purity and modesty of their female ancestors, thus transmitting alien values to coming generations and polluting their ethnic character.³ Women's manoeuvring and their influence on men had brought about this decadent francophilise trend: a clear indication of the deterioration in the ancestral feminine type and a sure sign that Hellenic society was shifting dangerously. In the face of such accusations and seeking to assert their femininity, the contributors to *Eoridiki* tried to give their interpretation of the curses of the world. Such an interpretation, however, was not always easy, as women were continual accused of physical and mental weakness, while any male shortcomings were blamed on maternal failings. Small wonder that Leontias lived in a state of constant and total embarrassment at being a woman.

Born Sappho Kliridi, she later took her father's first name, Leontios, as a surname just as her sister had done, and exceptionally, in Greek society, they both continued, after their marriage, to bear their father's name. None the less, it was under the guidance of her father, the famous schoolmaster Leontios Kliridis of

¹ 'Ai gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 10 January 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 17 January 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 20 January 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 22 February 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 6 March 1868; 'To syntagma ton kyrion. To evtyhes androgynon', *Krisara*, 12 February 1869; 'To Syntagma ton Kyrion', *Krisara*, 15 February 1869; 'To Syntagma ton Kyrion', *Krisara*, 22 February 1869; 'To Syntagma ton Kyrion', *Krisara*, 8 March 1869.

² 'Ai agorai ton kyrion', *Krisara*, 1 February 1869.

³ 'O politismos', *Kolasis*, 10 February 1868; 'Epiphylis. Peri anemon kai ydaton', *Kolasis*, 26 July 1868.

Cyprus, that Leontias benefited from an exceptional education, embracing Greek, French and German literature. She embarked on a teaching career very early in life; in 1854, she accepted the nomination of Alexandra Ghika, the wife of the first hegemon of the island of Samos, Ioannis Ghikas, to organise the first *parthenagogeion* on the island, concluding this mission in 1858. In 1859, on her return to Smyrna, Leontias became the director of a private school founded for girls by Methodios Aronis in 1858. In 1861, however, she went back to Samos, accepting the nomination by the new sovereign of the island, Miltiadi Aristarhi, to organise the four newly created *parthenagogeia* on the island. In 1863, after all these years of experience, Leontias accepted an appointment in the *parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis, where she stayed until 1877. On leaving, she took up the position of director of the *parthenagogeion* Pallas in Constantinople, where she stayed until 1885. In 1887, she returned to the *parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis, remaining there as director until 1891, when she went to Constantinople, where she died in 1900.¹

Despite her successful career in teaching, Leontias struggled throughout her life with her shame at being a woman, as shown by the testimony summarised in the first three pages of her book, *O Anir kai I Gyni (Man and Woman)*. This volume collected her three public lectures to packed halls at the *sylogos* of Constantinople. In a short introduction to the book, Leontias explained that she had been frequently depressed and sad during her youth on account of her femininity. Making no mention of her mother, she recalled how her father's explanations and some teaching helped her, in 1899, ironically, just a year before her death, to alleviate partially this personal pain. But her self-contempt and her shame at being a woman plagued her almost all her life. 'After much pain and effort I succeeded in calming it, as much as I could, but I always had the grief of being a woman and not a man!'

It was in this sense that *Hellenismos*, the idealisation of the (authentic) *Hellenida*, helped these women, providing them with other social comparisons for identification and expression of their emotional impasse, and teaching them to reconcile themselves with their biological and national destiny.² The modest literate female figure became for Leontias and the editors of the journal *Evridiki*, the new

¹ K. Xiradaki, op. cit, p. 65, 167.

² Anonymous, 'Phoni klirikou yper ton Hellenidon', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), pp. 146-150.

Hellenida, as they called her, who was diametrically opposed to the current female stereotype in which immorality, vulnerability and pretensions ruled woman's behaviour. This figure could prove that women could exercise reason, confirming that the values personified by women, such as kindness, understanding and sympathy were not a malediction but rather a benefit to the entire nation. In addition, it was the vision of the pure, authentic Christian *Hellenida*, that led these women to more ontological questions of their identity as women. For if the *Hellenida* could encompass such exceptional capacities, then women could not be so bad as men claimed. In the 1870s, *Evridiki* demanded the *Hellenida*'s emancipation on religious ground, refuting the popular male view that women came under man's yoke for the sake of humanity, as the female psyche was ruled by devilish vice and immorality.

Leontias drew on Christian love to demonstrate that women were neither immoral nor cursed by Eve's sin, explaining that the Virgin Mary had saved and liberated women from Eve's sin, and therefore from God's punishment, namely subjection to men.¹ Christianity had ushered in a glorious period for women for whom the birth of Jesus had been a liberation. The renewed Christian woman, contrary to male arguments, was descended from the Virgin Mary, and not from Eve, Leontias explained, and, as a result, the new *Hellenida* had inherited the Virgin Mary's generosity, kindness and purity. After Christ had come to earth, women had become free and equal to men, and it was then that women had decided to sacrifice themselves by staying home and becoming good mothers, wives and homemakers for the public good, Leontias argued, stating that equality and rivalry were the issues in redefining sexual differences in the Christian era. Leontias further explained that female sacrifice in modern times was another expression of the new woman and of her magnanimity and purity. In return for their self-sacrifice, however, women ought to be supported and respected by men, because, although women had sacrificed their ego for the public well-being, Leontias argued, it did not follow that men could rule their homes as despots.² Rather, they should treat their wives as friends and companions, because, as she explained to fathers, brothers and husbands, in a

¹ S. Leontias, *O anir kai gyni. Dialexeis Treis Anagnosthisai en to Helleniko Philologiko Syllogo kai Pente Poiimata* (Constantinople, 1899), pp. 9-52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

reading at the *Anagnostirion Smyrnis* club (Smyrnis reading-room), the future Homer (*Omiros*) Association, it was their Christian obligation to honour women.¹ Accusations against women corresponded more to male weakness than to reality, another contributor of *Evridiki*, Aristaia L.V., explained in her article '*O proorismos tou gynaikeiou phylou*' ('The Mission of the Female Sex'). Female purity was evident, Aristaia explained, from the fact that after nine months in their mother's body, babies come into the world pure but malleable: it thus followed that any later immorality was a product of the male-dominated culture and civilisation.²

Mothers were those who guided the first steps of their young, and, since God had trusted women with such a prestigious role and its undeniably vital responsibilities, it followed that restrictions on women must be the product of a long-standing social bias, rather than God's will.³ Attacking the old cliché which men had used to isolate women and re-emphasising the physical differences between the sexes, Aristaia L.V. stated that no human being was immune from the constraints of nature.⁴ Had men ever tried to find the limits of their natural ability? she asked, and concluded that the law of nature was a general rule and not a female peculiarity. Thus, *Hellenides* not only had the same spiritual and intellectual endowment as *Hellenes*, but were human beings equal to but at the same time different from men. They, therefore, deserved to play a part in society more commensurate with their human worth, their mental capabilities, and their assigned roles as mothers, wives and homemakers.⁵ Based on 1897, as she recalls in her book published in 1899, S. Leontias had at least the pride to announce that if there were still people in her audience who remained unconvinced by her arguments that was not her concern. She no longer cared, because she had found what she had always sought, this little comfort, this partial relief from her grief at 'being a woman and not a man'. Consequently, later readers condemned these women's religious interpretation as another sign of female conservatism. In 1871, however, it was utterly revolutionary

¹ Ibid., p. 14.

² Aristaia L.V., op. cit., p. 81.

³ A. S., 'I gyni os syzygos, mitir kai oikodespoina', *Evridiki*, ii (1871), p. 229; Aristaia, L.V., 'Peri tou vathmou tis gynaikos', *Evridiki*, i (1870), p. 44; Elpis, 'Pros tin Evridiki', *Evridiki*, ii (1871), p. 116.

⁴ Aristaia L.V., 'O proorismos tou gynaikeiou phylou', *Evridiki*, i (1871), p. 81.

⁵ 'I gyni', op. cit., p. 137.

and unconventional to advocate that women were not 'devils' in nature and that they should no longer remain under the male yoke.

Christianity provided what a Greek history had until then refused them, pride in being a *woman*, mother and homemaker. Although ancient Hellas and Pericles could easily serve as the role model for the *Hellenes*, neither the *gynaikonitis* (women's quarters) nor the philosopher Aspasia with her reputation as a courtesan could be the female alternative. In addition, Byzantium was still vetoed by male intellectuals such as Pappadopoulos, who described it as a time when women overstepped their assigned sphere, driving society to ruin with their immorality, and thus subjecting the *Hellenismos* to the Turkish yoke. Furthermore, female models could not be drawn from the events of 1821 because of the then prevalent female illiteracy and simplicity. It was in such a social climate that the intelligent, sensitive and enterprising Leontias and her followers tried to find their way in a restrictive, male-dominated culture by adopting their models from the era when women were free or had greater importance. As they had a decade earlier, Christianity and the *Hellenismos* provided a fertile ground where the *Hellenida* enjoyed an eminent and exceptional destiny, and the best kind of argument which ensured that society would take it seriously.¹ However, what came to distinguish the authors of the 1870s from the earlier generation of female writers was that this time the consensus of the *Hellenismos* - freedom, equality, and modesty - offered further fortifications for the self, strengthening women, such as Ktena-Leontias, Leontias, Kehayia, Aristaia and many others against the inhibitions and incitements that had previously defeated them.

By the 1870s, every human trait that contributes to the making of experience was viewed as a vital part of the culture and a property of the public world. Individual and private worlds began to be a means of discovering the nation's past. Each *Hellene* carried this eternal voice of the nation, while through this eternal voice, intellectual hoped to discover the individual's sense of an eminent and exceptional destiny which would in turn force each individual to obey unquestionably his or her national destiny. It was during this period that Greeks in Constantinople, Smyrna and other parts of the Ottoman lands learned through journals, public lectures,

¹ Gr. Gogos, op. cit., pp. 147-149.

schools, books and the pamphlets that their highest obligation was to their nation, homeland and religion, and all other considerations and loyalties had to be subordinated to this. The individual was considered ephemeral. Not having a permanent reality in himself or herself, he or she was the product of tradition, of past forces in the nation, and, for this eternal entity (the nation), the ephemeral ego should be sacrificed. At a crucial time when the consciousness and cultural level of the entire nation had to be raised, journalists accused rich Greeks of indifference to their national community and its cultural backwardness and lack of schools.¹ At this time, women such as Leontias and Aristaia, once conscious that their condition was socially determined, by grounding their authority in their direct relationship with the *Hellenismos*, were able to challenge the existing patriarchal system of beliefs and evoke an alternative conception of womanhood. But more than that, since intellectuals maximised the separateness of the nation from politics and, as the Hellenic nation was portrayed as the archetype of all human civilisations aiming at the enlightenment of all humanity, the definition of the nation as an *apolitical* sphere enabled *Hellenides*, for the first time:

(1) to envision and define an entirely new women's role in the nation - a role beyond their traditional roles of mother, wife and homemaker;

(2) consequently, develop an alternative explanation of what comprised the public, politics, and women's citizenship.

¹ 'Tha idomen', *Armonia*, 15 January 1866; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 26 June 1870.

2.3 *The Cult of Domesticity and the World Outside Home*

Women and men continued to be cast in their different roles and assigned to different spheres. Journalists' advice varied from simple suggestions on womanly behaviour outdoors - 'girls, for reasons of health should walk outside . . . but should walk quickly not slowly, so as not to attract attention' - to a recognition, man to man, of the difficulties which fathers had with the enigmatic female nature of daughters, and particularly in controlling the female vices of lying and disobedience.¹ 'Fathers, beware of the first signs of badness in your daughters and do not hesitate to punish them in order to stop wickedness from taking root in their souls.'² Such suggestions had obvious consequences, as Penelope Delta (1874-1941), whose books on children's education are still in print, later recalled: 'The fear of our father was so deep, that no other feeling or love could find room in our heart.'³ Woman continued to be man's enigma, devil or muse, while men gradually realised that 'the era's character is not defined in university classes, but in the children's rooms: by the family.'⁴ However, what had changed in the 1870s was that writers began to value domesticity not as an *ahistorical* factor, where the home stood in isolation and people could simply meet their basic needs, but rather as a dynamic scene of actions that could affect the outcome of the entire nation's history. In the 1870s, Nikolaos Dragoumis assumed that the uniqueness of modern Hellenic civilisation lay in the importance it gave to the domestic sphere. In addition, by the 1870s, home and history were more firmly intertwined than ever, while for most writers of the period, home and ultimately *Hellenides* homemakers, had a specifically national function: to provide a touchstone of values that could reform the entire society and influence the outcome of history. These were the years when writers sought to reform Hellenic society at all levels of culture and hoped through their pen to arouse in their readers strong patriotic feelings. Thus, Xenophon Zygouras, professor of economics at the commercial school of Halki and later at the *Arsakeio*, dedicated his *Epitomi Oikiakis Oikonomias* (*Epitome of Home*

¹ 'Symvoulai pros tas neanidas', *Aggelos*, 28 April 1876.

² M. Vratsanos, 'Peri agogis tis gynaikos os parthenou mitros kai syzygou', *Ephimerida ton scholeion* in E Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., p. 307.

³ P. Delta, *Protai enthimisis* (Athens, 1980), p. 20.

⁴ H. Pouliou, 'Apo ton tou Karl Oppel: To vivlio ton goneon', *Estia*, vii (1879), pp. 219-221.

Economics) to the *Hellenida* homemaker 'who has always been the bearer of religious and national tradition'.¹

Zygouras represented the thinking of those who believed that home was the vital channel through which the state could touch each *Hellene's* most personal values and decisions. In this view, the *Hellenida* housewife offered a needed medium, because if citizens were to learn to place a high value on the public interest, this was a lesson they needed to begin in childhood. 'The *Hellenida* homemaker is the foundation of ethnicity, she is the one who teaches the love of the homeland, obedience to the country's laws, the history of national decadence and the ancestral virtues.'² In the *Hellenida* homemaker, Zygouras found the answer to his search for an alternative means of leading the country directly in the Greek way. For Zygouras, no force could unite the entire *Hellenismos* more cohesively, making it think as one soul, than the redemptive power of the *Hellenida* homemaker. With this added emotional, moral and national responsibility of the *Hellenida* homemaker, where home was seen as the front line in the battle to produce virtuous citizens, Zygouras felt that *Hellenides* homemakers owed it to their family, country and society to give the utmost of obedience to their destiny: to serve Hellenic families by maintaining the national culture in its pure form.³ He feared for the individual woman in her home who stood powerless against the forces of Western civilisation (g.e. luxury and moral decadence) that threatened her, and he believed that the Hellenic home was the rallying point which *Hellenides* had in their hands to use. He placed *Hellenides* in the home - 'home is the arena where women have to fight for their honour, glory, and immortality' - and capitalised on *Hellenides'* remoteness from public life, a position which endowed them with a certain moral and national leverage. *Hellenides* represented the 'inner voice', the national culture in its most pure form. With such an understanding, Zygouras strongly opposed arguments that the training of the *Hellenida* homemaker was unnecessary on the grounds that homemaking was an inherent female talent. Like his contemporary, Ktena-Leontias, Zygouras concluded that the *Hellenida* homemaker was, above all, a

¹ X. Zygouras, *Epitomi Oikiakis Oikonomias Syntakteisa pros Hrisin ton Dimotikon Scholon ton Korasion kai ton Parthenageion* (Athens, 1878), p. 5.

² X. Zygouras, *Enheiridion Oikonomikis. Itoi Mathimata Oikiakis Oikonomias Theoritikis kai Praktikis* (Athens, 1891), pp. 107-108.

³ *Ibid.*, in *Enheiridion*, pp. 8-11, 50; X. Zygouras, *Epitomi*, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

type of professional worker with particular social, national and domestic duties which required superior knowledge and skills. He justified women's 'art of living' by homemaking, as a skilful task requiring superior abilities, correct judgement, energy, patience and self-possession.¹

Home economics, Zygouras explained, was not merely sewing, washing, cooking, cleaning, decorating and all those domestic activities which European housewives learned as duties.² Rather, it was the sum of ideals and beliefs on which Hellenic civilisation had drawn for centuries and from which it had formulated and crystallised its national character through a constant process of adoption, rejection and assimilation. Home economics was a part of the national culture which had been preserved for countless generations in familial customs and traditions, which, in practical terms, meant the national characteristics of thrift, modesty and prudence.³ Thus, home economics was as much a part of the national inheritance (*ethnikos vios*) as language and religion.⁴ Zygouras further explained that the misinterpretation of home economics dated from the eighteenth century, when Adam Smith had divided general economy into the two subcategories of political and domestic, and the ensuing monolithic focus of societies on political economy had led the entire economy to be subsumed under the category of political economy. For Zygouras, such an approach was a fallacy which obstructed the real progress of European societies by weakening relations among family members. 'If women knew how money came out of work' Zygouras wrote, 'no family would ever know poverty, nor would there be immorality, squalor or dissension in any family or society.'⁵ Consequently, while some Greek authors argued that foreign ideas and fashions were acceptable as long as they did not instil sophisms which blocked the real progress of the nation, 'alien home economics', for Zygouras, was more than a simple obstruction; it was the sum of deleterious instruction which could falsify the *Hellenida* homemaker's character and progress and, thereby, wreak havoc on the entire nation. Ultimately, for Zygouras, home economics had to be national home economics. The *Hellenida* homemaker should study her

¹ Ibid., in *Enheiridion*, pp. 104-134.

² Ibid., pp. 7-15; X. Zygouras, *Epitomi*, op. cit., pp. 5-8.

³ Ibid., in *Enheiridion*, p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 26-28.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-10; X. Zygouras, *Epitomi*, op. cit., p. 13.

national heritage, in keeping with Homer's, Pythagoras', Socrates', Plato's and Aristotle's definitions of home economics, which had produced the ancient famous female (and also well-educated) homemakers, Pythagorea Periktioni, Phinto and Theano. Only such national home economics could cause the training of the *Hellenida* homemaker to incorporate lessons in how to 'manage the material and spiritual welfare of their families with sparing, prudence and moderation, a result which would have a fundamental impact on the entire society'.¹

It was this idea which led Zygouras to write the first Greek home economics textbook, *Helleniki oikiaki oikonomia* (*Hellenic National Home Economics*), published in Constantinople in 1874, and immediately introduced at the *Pallas parthenagogeio* in Constantinople. Zygouras believed that home economics not only provided links between the past and present, making it suitable to prepare for the future, but was also the most purified 'Hellenic science', one which could penetrate the 'private world', educating the entire population in the affairs of the nation.²

Subscribing to the cult of the homemaker and attempting to establish the worthiness of his profession, Zygouras argued that societies which did not provide such education placed women 'at the lowest level of humanity . . . lower in status than any other female being in the natural world'. He therefore asked the Greek government, municipalities and teachers to realise that only through the promotion of such national instruction could the 'Hellenic family' and ultimately 'the wounded nation' achieve prosperity.³ In 1884, the minister of education, faced with the choice between home economics and needlework as compulsory lessons in primary education, opted for needlework. Zygouras described his decision as tantamount to 'national suicide'.⁴

However, Zygouras was not able to expand his thought further from what most concerned him: a reformation of the Hellenic society that would enable it to deal with the new urban-industrial order. As professor of economics and commerce, he was able to approach home economics as a discipline which provided knowledge to advance the welfare of the household and ultimately the entire society, an approach

¹ Ibid., in *Epitomi*, pp. 6, 11-15, 32-33.

² X. Zygouras, *Enheiridion*, op. cit., p. 13.

³ X. Zygouras, *Epitomi*, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴ X. Zygouras, *Enheiridion*, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

which greatly accelerated the re-evaluation of female work in domesticity.¹ According to Zygouras, work was not only essential for mental and physical health, but was also a vital human responsibility, because God had ordained that all human beings should 'gain their bread from the sweat of their brow'.² People who do not work, Zygouras explained, harm society, the nation and all of humanity, because they are social parasites who live on the gains of others.³ A woman's work was to learn to love her country, to serve God, to follow her national and social obligations by being charitable to the entire society and to love her duties that build the beauty, the happiness and the glory of home. Economy was the discipline which could increase the quality of a housewife's competence by training her how to administer the affairs of her household and, ultimately, the prosperity of the entire society and nation.⁴ Introducing E. Legouve to the Athenian public, the periodical *Estia* (hearth), summarised the new lesson which the *Hellenida* homemaker ought to learn. 'Maternity is a public and private responsibility, marriage is an employment which, like all employment, has its duties, hopes and opportunities.'⁵ According to this theory, the *hellenoprepos* education of the *Hellenida* homemaker, according to writers such as Zygouras and Aikaterini Ktena-Leontias must be one of the vital priorities of the nation. This valorisation of domesticity led *Hellenides* to realise that the world outside home was more than a source of danger to be avoided or a corrupt influence, it was a mirror of one's home life. It was in this context that, in 1887, Sappho Leontias published her book on home economics (*Oikiaki oikonomia pros hrisin ton Parthenagogeion*) in Constantinople. This book defended domestic economy as the science 'of the physical and mental preparation of human beings, men and women, in order that they may be the governor, the reformer and the promoter of family life in both materialistic and moral terms'.⁶

Leontias suggested that both sexes should participate equally in domestic work and in the public world. However, it seemed to her clear that while the two sexes

¹ It is significant that in 1891 Zygouras changed the title of his book *Hellenic Home Economics* to *Book of Economy: Meaningful Lessons in Home Economics*.

² X. Zygouras, *Epitomi*, op. cit., pp. 17, 46-50; X. Zygouras, *Enheiridion*, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

³ *Ibid.*, *Epitomi*, pp. 17-22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ E. Legouve, 'I gyni en to oikiako vio', *Estia*, ii (1876), pp. 635-639.

⁶ S. Leontias, *Oikiaki Oikonomia pros hrisin ton parthenagogeion* (Constantinople, 1887), pp. 280-286.

were working in physical proximity, each sex should stick to its own tasks, as long as men through their 'masculine activities', and women, through their 'feminine ones' promoted the common good in both spheres.¹ Although the day-to-day running of the home belonged to women alone, the promotion of home as a source of family cohesion could continue to be the responsibility of both sexes: 'woman alongside man is the cohesive power of the family.'² The mingling of public and domestic spheres suggested to Sappho the possibility of creating a symmetrical gender system. If home required a balance between male and female virtues and graces, so, too, should society and the nation.³ This balance would place the female psyche and morality alongside male force and acumen. Thus, Sappho argued that no individual alone was perfect; each needed the female virtues and graces of both sexes to be prosperous. Men and women were therefore identical (*omoioi*) and complementary. But this perfect harmony of roles did not necessarily result in complete symmetry. Women might still bear somewhat more of the household responsibility and men more of those in the public; the difference between the sexes, instead of being a continual bone of contention, should be raised to another dimension, where both women's and men's graces and virtues could be linked.

For instance, the fact that matters requiring deep thought, reason or merely force attained the greatest success when left to men could complement woman's superior abilities in matters requiring imagination, perception and delicacy.⁴ She strongly opposed theories some based on the argument that men had a heavier brain convincing men's spiritual superiority to women. Elephants also have a heavy brain, she argued, but that did not give them a higher intellect than man.⁵ Differences between the two sexes, for Sappho, were in no way indicative of a hierarchic scale of inferiority or superiority. Conversely, she claimed that it was men's and women's conjugal responsibility to learn to respect and trust each other as equals. Women and men were united by the same goal: the promotion of their family's good and ultimately that of society and the nation.⁶ No man or woman is a perfect human being

¹ Ibid., pp. 12-14, 280-282; S. Leontias, *O Anir kai I Gyni*, op. cit., p. 66.

² Ibid., *O Anir kai I Gyni*, pp. 48-49.

³ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 55-66.

⁵ Ibid., p. 75.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 55-66.

alone, each individual needed to complement his or her graces and virtues with those of the opposite sex.

Such an absolutely egalitarian approach to the household, where the home was advanced through the coordination of men's and women's different skills, helped her to envision a society in which both sexes might share responsibilities in both spheres.¹ She regarded men as the intellectual guardians of their womenfolk, an authority, which permitted them to interfere in domestic matters. Thus, although the wife continued to be the queen of the home, supervising the day-to-day performance of household chores, the husband was the ultimate decision-maker in the marriage. She visualised the affectionate couple as one where men treated their wives with respect and esteem as their equals, providing both with an affectionate and warm home life which could provide cohesion for the entire society. The lynch-pin of these models of domestic and social bliss was the well-educated woman. Pioneered by Sappho, this view - with its linkage of the classroom and the hearth - saw women's education as men's domestic responsibility. Men were obliged to provide proper national and religious education to women. She suggested that men, rather than deriding women's work, should first examine their own responsibility to provide women with suitable training.² It is easy to speak of female inferiority, she argued, when, as a young bride, the woman was placed at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* her husband by the combination of her ignorance and her youth. Female ignorance, she concluded, was the ultimate responsibility of men, while it was women's right to use their authority for the improvement of their education. It was men's responsibility to provide women with skills and education, meaning access to the *gymnasium* or equivalent school according to social status, lessons in the national language, national history and geography and knowledge of one foreign language, if possible French and instruction in physics, chemistry, hygiene, pedagogy, home economics and religion.³

She asked men to honour their wives as equals and to base their relationship on trust. Recognising women as the guardians of domestic welfare, she called on men to recognise their wives as their partners. They 'should avoid the signs of masculine

¹ Ibid., pp. 48-49, 66.

² Ibid., pp. 96-97.

³ Ibid., p. 51.

haughtiness' and learn to accept advice on the household's economic issues.¹ 'Home', for S. Leontias, was the most universally shared institution, with a unique capacity to soften life's asperity, and to prevent society from fragmenting. Patriotism, patience, self-sacrifice, modesty, sobriety and prudence were virtues which ought to exist in domesticity, and men and women had a common responsibility to exercise these virtues outside the home, in their social and political actions.² She justified women and men's equality on the grounds of humanity, arguing that men and women were from the same mould: human beings with a strong sense of egalitarianism, freedom and sociability. Ultimately, women should have the vote and also the right to sit in parliament. Therefore, theoretically, there was no reason why women should not have such political rights now, nor that maleness should be a prerequisite for national citizenship. The 'perfect civilisation', according to Leontias, was when humanity had reached the point when men and women would work side by side for social welfare and *politia* (political affairs), or, in other words, when women would be 'citizens also taking part in public affairs.'³ 'Femmes donne l'histoire de la civilisation du monde', she explained, adopting a statement from Aimée Martin.⁴ But here she imposed a vital condition: female acts should never harm in any way 'family, society and, ultimately, all of humanity'.⁵

She tried to analyse the difficulty of reconciling the public and private spheres and values *in toto*, believing that women used so much of their energy within their homes in their maternal, conjugal and housekeeping responsibilities that any outside activity might harm the home's harmony and cohesion. In addition, she explained that women's involvement in politics could damage social harmony, as a conflict could easily arise when husband and wife had different political views. Thus, Leontias explained, although 'it is most probable that women would be good citizens', because their involvement in politics could seriously harm the family's harmony and cohesion, and, by extension, that of society, *Hellenides* did not want the right to vote.⁶ Thus,

¹ Ibid., pp. 65-70.

² S. Leontias, *Oikiaki Oikonomia*, op. cit., p. 53.

³ S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 12 March 1877; S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 9 March 1877.

⁴ S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 9 March 1877.

⁵ S. Leontias, *O Anir kai I Gyni*, op. cit., p. 80.

⁶ Ibid., p. 90.

women's acceptance of a position that was 'less in civic terms' than men's was not due to any biological necessity or divine order, but was for the good of the family and the common well. Leontias did recognise that women, particularly those of the lower and middle classes, were often obliged to search for work because of male death or incapacity. However, even in such cases, Leontias maintained that women should not take on jobs lightly, because the large-scale introduction of women workers would also mean a more competitive labour market, which could in turn increase male unemployment and poverty. Similarly, where social cohesion was under threat, Leontias maintained that it was women's public obligation to shoulder the responsibilities and to remain in the domestic sphere for the common good.

But such a lifetime contract imposed a series of duties on women, chief among which, Leontias suggested, was the duty to cultivate their domestic skills to the highest possible degree, creating homes so well ordered that they could provide cohesion for the entire society. Hence, she rated the domestic sphere and responsibilities as equal in importance to those of men, explaining that while men searched for 'perfection' by becoming scientists, engineers and judges, *Hellenides* should similarly seek 'perfection' by becoming good homemakers, wives, mothers and charity workers.¹ While men were the stronger and sterner sex, less emotional and more rational, as well as physically better able to deal with the ruthless world of the market-place, they were also vulnerable in their thirst for political power and materialistic pleasure. It was precisely here that women should interfere. Leontias believed that in a world where chaos, anomie and competition held sway, women were more than creatures of comfort they were the sex which would stay aloof from corruption and injustice, admonishing their menfolk to remain true to the principles of *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy. It was thus the female public responsibility to protect the moral foundations of *Hellenismos* from disruptive ideas.²

According to Leontias, if the home was the reference point of values for reforming the entire society, the modest Christian *Hellenida* was the only real custodian of national purity and the only agent who could arrest the tide of demoralisation. Women should realise that it was among their domestic responsibilities to their

¹ Ibid., p. 85.

² Ibid., p. 54; S. Leontias, *Oikiaki Oikonomia*, op. cit., p. 9, 11, 12, 14.

enlarged family - society - to supervise health care, folk traditions and handicrafts, social work and religion. While, as far as education was understood in the broad sense where national and moral issues were involved, she believed that due to their special virtues, in particular, understanding and patience, women ought to supervise at least primary education in both girls' and boys' schools. Such female performance, however, was not simply a duty, but, for Leontias, was the *raison d'être* of women. It was vital for the modern modest Christian woman, inspired by love, gentleness, and loving-kindness, to abide by the decision which she had taken centuries before to sacrifice herself and her ego for the good of her family and all of humanity. She should realise that domestic duties had a wider meaning and goal: 'women were the only bulwark against society's demoralisation and fragmentation.'¹

Consequently, according to Leontias, women should not try to extend their control over male areas, but, instead, should focus on improving their 'female' capacities to the maximum. Thus, although Leontias accepted that women did not need to be scientists or have the right to vote, she believed that it was vital for women to realise the full potential of their mind and imagination in order to improve their status within their *sphere*. 'But for me, as I have already said, it is enough to see the women of our country and our nation occupied with products of social love, charity and education.'² So, when *Hellenes* learned that they should fight for the historical lands, Leontias taught *Hellenides* that it was their moral and national obligation to protect and to defend the precious objects of 'our ancestors' concern: *ideals and letters*.³ As she appealed, 'Friends and sisters, forget your fears, and take up your responsibilities as real Christian *Hellenides*.'⁴ In practice, this meant it was time for women to 'support your husbands', fathers' and brothers' brave struggle for our civilisation, and promote with them the national and religious education of our daughters, which is under threat, by protecting and defending it'.⁵

In 1877, furthermore, Leontias' appeal in Smyrna for the founding of a female association was favourably received, and later the association *Syllogos Kyriou Athina*

¹ S. Leontias, *O Anir kai I Gyni*, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

² S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyriou Athina', *Amalthia*, 9 March 1877.

³ Ibid.

⁴ S. Leontias, 'Syllogos kyriou Athina', *Amalthia*, 12 March 1877.

⁵ Ibid.

(Athena Ladies' Association) was founded by strictly female efforts. The choice of the name *Athena* was no coincidence, because, for Leontias, that name encompassed the fundamental virtues of the *Hellenismos*: the pagan Athena represented the idealisation of rationalism and culture, and the 'Christian Athena' represented the union of Orthodoxy, the *Hellenismos* and the spirit of charity. Three hundred people, including a few men, when the Greeks in Smyrna in 1885 numbered 120,000, became the nucleus of this association, whose immediate duty was the material aid and support of the *Parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis.¹ The general aim of the association was, in accordance with the *Hellenides'* moral obligation, to promote female national education at all levels of schooling. In this way, the members proved that they were true daughters of the ingenious '*Hellenismos* race'.² The fact that women and men were working together for such a virtuous national cause represented for Leontias, the peak of the Helleno-Christian civilisation's 'victory over Asiatic barbarism', because, for the first time, womanly graces were intermingled with male advantages in pursuit of education and charity.³

Yet such female involvement in philanthropy was not new. In 1854, Maria Ipsilanti, Kyriakoula Kriezi, Andromache Renieri, Loukia Rizou and Zoi Soutsou, headed by the then Queen of Greece Amalia, founded the first home in the Greek kingdom for girls orphaned in the 1854 cholera epidemic. The Amalieion orphanage's goal was to prepare these girls for employment as domestic maids or as righteous homemakers.⁴ In 1867, during the Crete crisis, Frances Hill organised a female committee to help Cretan refugees by forming a weaving cooperative of 300 girls who earned money from this work.⁵ In 1868, furthermore, Amenaïda Kavaniari, a teacher at the Arsakeion, established the *Philokritiko Scholeio Ptohon* (Cretan School for Paupers), where 60 Cretan female refugees learned reading, writing, cooking, washing, sewing, child-care and homemaking, leading Ch. Filadelfeys, a literary

¹ S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 9 March 1877; S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 12 March 1877.

² S. Leontias, 'Systasis Syllogou kyrion Athinas. Yper tou megalou en Smyrni parthenagogeiou', *Amalthia*, 16 February 1877.

³ S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia* 9 March 1877; S. Leontias, 'Syllogos Kyrion Athina', *Amalthia*, 12 March 1877.

⁴ Sp. Panagoulis, 'I philanthropia en Athinais. To Amalieion orphanotropheion', *Estia*, xviii (1884) pp. 562-567.

⁵ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 304.

figure in Athens, to comment that the institution within a year was raising proper homemakers.¹ In 1869, the prominent female Athenian literary figures, Kalliope Kehayia, Arsinoi Pappadopoulou, Aikaterini Hristomanou, Heleni Dosiou, and Aikaterini Dosiou joined the Athenian-based Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (education). It is significant that of the ten members from Constantinople who joined the Athenian-based society, six were women.² However, what had changed in the 1870s was that middle-class and upper-class *Hellenides* were mobilised in charity work, not simply as Christian philanthropists, but as women and as *Hellenides*, conscious of their collective identity (thus, conscious of their belonging to a particular biological and national entity), who felt, as a group, that they had the moral obligation, *vis-à-vis* men's indifference, to improve women's *Hellenoprepos* education and thus to effect the moral improvement of their society.³

However, what was less recognised at that time was that when these male and female patriots began to recognise the public counterpart of domestic values, they simultaneously provided women with a new rationale to be publicly active.⁴ Although neither Leontias nor the anonymous contributors to the journal *Evridiki* managed to escape from the role of the *Hellenida* mother, wife and homemaker, it was, in fact, they who opened the door to the generation of the 1880s. By indicating the common destiny, social rights and obligations that women had, because of their sex, the contributors of *Evridiki*, introduced to their generation the expectations that *Hellenides* should have henceforth of society and home. They helped women to be proud of what they had always been: mothers, wives and homemakers. Moreover, Leontias' vision of an egalitarian household, and her extension of this egalitarian approach to society, recognising male and female responsibilities in both spheres, ultimately altered boundaries previously held to be inviolable. When the cult of domesticity was glorified by contemporary intellectuals, it would offer these women an ideological space from where they would be able to organise themselves to exercise influence in the world as never before.

¹ A. Bakalaki, E. Elegmitou, *I Ekpaidevsi eis ta tou Oikou kai ta Gynaikeia Kathikonta* (Athens, 1987), p. 68.

² 'Taktika Meli', *A.D.H.G.*, i (1869-71), pp. 17-20.

³ S. Leontias, *O Anir kai I Gyni*, op. cit., p. 97.

⁴ G. Mathews, *Just a Housewife. The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America* (Oxford, 1987), p. 36.

It was the metaphor of the nation, regarded as the sum of all families, that took over the individual family and turned it into a metaphor, changing most circumstances of the life of *Hellenides*. Although female writers such as Leontias, Ktena-Leontias and others, would continue to recognise the state as men's realm, assuming that women ought to stay out of this sphere, they saw nationalism as the doctrine of the country and not of the state. It was in the 1870s, when Greek writers strove to overcome the contemporary problems of the *Hellenismos* by providing a common culture and civic ideology, a common understanding, common aspirations, sentiments and ideas, and strong alliances among individuals, that journals taught both men and women that the sum of 'your rights, obligations, needs, memories and gratitude lies in one phrase: the country.'¹ As Alexandros Vyzantios put it in the journal *Estia* (Hearth), 'The *Hellene* must love, above all his homeland . . . and should even abandon his parents when the country needs him.'² The fact that the nation was described simply as an enlarged family, requiring in return similarly strong loyalties and attachments, meant that women's absorption and participation in national affairs was not only natural, but also was justified as an essential duty of *Hellenides*.³ 'The call of the country is the inviolable obligation of the patriot; the citizen ought to sacrifice everything for his country.'⁴ In this way, it was nationalism which taught these first female intellectuals the vital lesson, that the nation was defined by more than institutions, laws and geographical boundaries. It was instead the 'enlarged family', the cohesive force which united the *Hellenismos*, as one collective soul with common memories, myths, symbols, legends, religion, language, education, and attitudes. It was, in short, the whole culture that *Hellenides* mothers, wives and homemakers had been called upon in the 1870s to keep pure.⁵

The aspirations, fears and tensions of female writers in Greece and the communal world might often sound repetitive, such as S. Leontias' advice to her

¹ Anonymous, 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), pp. 811-814.

² A. Vyzantios, 'Ethniki katihisis. Kathikonta kai dikaiomata', *Estia*, i (1876), p. 49.

³ Anonymous, 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), pp. 811-814; Ch. Politou, 'Peri tis kyrioteris aitiis tis prokalousis tin kahektikin katastasin tou Hellenismou', *Omiros*, v (1877), pp. 204-213; K. Evstathopoulos, 'Peri oikou', *Omiros*, v (1877), pp. 317-325.

⁴ Anonymous, 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), pp. 811-814.

⁵ G. Skordelis, 'I Oktoihos kai I Phylada tou M. Alexandrou', *Parnassos*, vii (1883), pp. 200-211.

daughter Anna in 1898: 'Be charitable, care for the poor, have patience.'¹ In 1877, Leontias felt it her moral responsibility to leave Smyrna, because the 'cry of the (enlarged family) nation' urged her to defend the Panhellenic (*paneliniko*) *Parthenagogeio* Pallas in Constantinople. The nation, she explained, by 'realising the importance of national female education, called me to direct this institution', and she sought to follow this inner voice by 'having always the honest and deepest wish, to protect our sensitive girls from alien institutions . . . and develop their ethos in the national way'.² However, while women's efforts on behalf of their country in the 1870s were commonly justified as the patriotic and obligatory duties of the *Hellenida* mother, wife and homemaker to her enlarged family, what was less apparent at that time was the significance of such a metaphor. In fact, in the 1870s, for the first time the evaluation of the *Hellenida*, as a (good) mother, wife and homemaker, was not based on her contribution to her family but, instead, to her greater family, the country. While loyalty to the homeland was, certainly by the 1870s, seen as the highest sentiment, surpassing any other attachment, the power of nationalism over those hitherto secluded people - that is, women - on the other hand would bring revolutionary changes in the way that they understood their life and role. No one, however, would better present these changes and consequences of the intrusion of nationalism into private life than the major female literary figure of the period, K. Kehayia.

Initially, it was not Kehayia's purpose to do away with what was by now a well-established tradition of womanhood. On the contrary, she tended to emphasise the emotional, intellectual and moral differences between men and women, basing her demands for women's civic involvement as Leontias had done earlier, on a particular idea of women's innate tendencies of gentleness, sympathy and sensitivity.³ Much of her work embraced traditional perceptions of gender. She characterised men as risk-taking, totally devoted to their work and fond of struggle. By contrast, women were timid and incredulous creatures who hated fighting and wars and used their energies to care for and comfort not to create problems.⁴ Thus, the defining parameters of

¹ S. Leontias, 'Dodeka symvoulai pros korin', *Ethnika philanthropika katastimata en Konstantinoupolei*, i (1905), pp. 353-357.

² S. Leontias, 'Topika kai diaphora', *Amalthia*, 31 August 1877.

³ K. Kehayia, 'I gyni en ti Koinonia', *Attikon Imerologion*, xvi (1882), p. 307.

⁴ K. Kehayia, *Eglogion paidagogikon I Symvoulai Tines pros Tas Apophitisas Zapidas* (Constantinople, 1880), pp. 214-251.

women's role, as seen by Kehayia in the 1880s, remained unchanged: 'Women were empowered by different virtues than those of men, because of their different mission in the world.'¹ What had changed in Kehayia's view, however, was the nature of this mission and the means by which women should achieve their nurturing goals.

Her vision of humanity was of an inseparable tripartite structure: individual and God, rational thought and science and idealism and religion. In her view, the national life (*ethnikos vios*) was nothing else than the combined entity of these three fundamental parts, *politia* (polity), rationalism and idealism.² Thus, she assumed that the reason for the poverty and misfortunes of modern civilisation was that materialistic progress had been achieved without the parallel development of the third part: religion and idealism, which was in fact the sphere occupied for centuries by women. Greece, as the entire world, needed an infusion of love, in fact, a new bond that would keep together what was being pulled apart by the atomistic egoism of urbanisation. Thus, although initially Kehayia believed strongly, as Leontias had, in women's inherited tendencies, she also assumed that in modern civilisation women were obliged to intervene in the national life (*ethnikos vios*), and thus in the sphere of the state, philanthropy and science in order to save modern civilisation from its misfortunes. 'Let science, alongside the love of God, bring the apocalypses of the future.'³ She thus concluded that since progress was inevitable, *Hellenides* had the highest obligation to participate in their nation, state and society (*ethnikos vios*) as teacher, mother and citizen, in order to supervise and correct their men's actions in both the social and political spheres, and ensure their nation's progress, under the principles of the Helleno-Christian civilisation.⁴ She assured her compatriots that women in North America and Britain, managed to combine their 'domestic, conjugal and maternal obligations' with their new 'social and political responsibilities', without losing either their femininity, or their authentic self, by following a proper national educational programme.⁵ Thus, although the *Hellenida's* contribution as 'teacher,

¹ K. Kehayia, 'I gyni en ti Koinonia', op. cit., p. 325.

² K. Kehayia, 'Peri tis katholou paidevseos Programmatos', *Attikon Imerologion*, xiv (1879), pp. 149-184, 153-158.

³ Ibid., p. 184.

⁴ K. Kehayia, *Egolpion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., pp. 19-24; K. Kehayia, 'Peri tis Katholou Paidevseos', op. cit., p. 161.

⁵ K. Kehayia, 'I Thesi tis gynaikos en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 321.

mother and citizen' was inevitable, she assured her compatriots that, through an *Hellenoprepos* upbringing and education, *Hellenides* were able to assume their roles as 'philanthropic daughters, beloved wives, guardians of family prosperity . . . brave and devoted citizens of their country . . . and respectable teaching mothers' without losing either their femininity or their authentic (*Hellenoprepos*) self.¹

However, such a recognition of women's authority and roles as mother, teacher and citizen needed above all to deconstruct the masculine frame of reference which devalued citizenship. In 1876, when Alexandros Vyzantios, a prominent figure in literary circles in Athens, explained the citizen's rights and obligations to readers of the journal *Estia*, he linked citizenship to the ability to bear arms, justifying women's exclusion from such rights as natural and inevitable:

Women have the same civic rights as men but not the same political rights . . . because, although they are subject to the same legislation, they can neither vote nor participate in legislation. What is the rationale for such an exclusion? Because it was not deemed right to give women universal franchise when they do not serve as soldiers.²

But a simpler notion underlay this technical argument: 'Anyway, women are occupied with domestic affairs and they show no desire to participate in public affairs.'³ Kehayia escaped from such inflexible definitions of citizenship by explaining that *Hellenides* citizenship was rooted in a different experience and different knowledge from that of men's, asking that *Hellenides* recognise their different experience and authority in politics. Because, if men had invested all their efforts in rational thought and both scientific and economic progress, then women had a more honourable science: the moral amelioration of their nation.⁴

She entered the discourse of politics, scientific progress and economics in order to explain that a clear understanding of the authentic national character was a prerequisite to formulating a politics suited to the nation. She approached the nation as a human constant that existed beyond governmental structures, economic resources, industry and communications systems, but as a permanent cultural attribute of memory, value, myth, symbol and tradition. Thus, although those who ruled and

¹ Ibid., pp. 321-323; K. Kehayia, 'Peri tou katholou tis paidevseos programmatos', op. cit., pp. 153-155.

² A. Vyzantios, 'Ai Gynaikes', *Estia*, i (1876), p. 113.

³ Ibid.

⁴ K. Kehayia, 'Peri tis Katholou Paidevseos', op. cit., p. 161, 184.

defended the nation were predominantly men, she argued that beyond organisational and institutional structures the distinctive and enduring character of each civilisation was founded among its proverbs, myths, poems and traditions, and that only the mother had the unique capacity to perpetuate these bonds and thus generate and regenerate a society through its history and destiny. Thus, although the *Hellene* had ample opportunities to be socialised as a citizen through his vote, military service and employment, Kehayia saw the role of the *Hellenida* citizen in the 1880s as bringing her maternal instincts to bear on her enlarged family: the country. Because if women did not become involved in the nation, politics would follow interests that ran counter to the people's essential character, the people would suffer, the nation's natural mission would remain unfulfilled and nationalist policies would fail. In addition, Kehayia assumed that the *Hellenida* citizen had the unique capacity, and simultaneously the obligation, to provide her nation with a national and purified culture.¹ Thus, although men might rule the nation, it was women who monopolised the real force: the sense of justice, morality and conscience of each civilisation.²

The allegory of the goddess Athena underlay Kehayia's approach. Athenians, she argued, had denied women participation in the public sphere, yet they had chosen a goddess as the patroness of their city whose divine image Phidias had modelled on the contemporary philosopher, Aspasia. Moreover, the female characters of Sophocles' tragedies contributed to the moral amelioration of classical civilisation by showing that beyond men's justice, there existed always the unalterable law of God which only women, because of their particular nature, could hear.³ Kehayia used these examples to illustrate that the relatively static nature of governmental and social institutions was ultimately subordinate to an intangible, invisible, but none the less, fundamental female power: justice and morality. Thus, although *Hellenides* as citizens could not bear arms or participate actively in politics, they yet had the unique ability to ensure that politics remained true to the principles of the *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy. Only by standing in the middle of the four concentric circles: home, society, country and

¹ K. Kehayia, *Egolpion paidagogikon*, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

² K. Kehayia, 'I gyni en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 311; K. Kehayia, 'Peri tis katholou paidevseos', op. cit., p. 161.

³ K. Kehayia, 'Peri tis katholou paidevseos', op. cit., p. 161; K. Kehayia, *Egolpion paidagogikon*, op. cit., p. 161.

humanity, Kehayia explained to her students, could the *Hellenida* really acquire a consciousness of her identity and fulfil her womanly duties.¹

In addition, it was concurrent with the growth of the sense of belonging to an ethnic and political community, that Kehayia began to trace a sense of minimum reciprocal rights and obligations among members of this female community. At a deeper level, the *Hellenida*'s individual identity - hitherto defined in terms of her roles as mother, wife and homemaker - was for the first time shown to be hollow. Because, if women, according to Kehayia were called upon as teachers, mothers and citizens to defend their nation's authentic voice, as expressed in 'customs, habits, beliefs, language and religion', then it was the *Hellenida*'s right, as a legitimate member of this ethnic entity, to experience illiteracy, poverty and backwardness no longer, but, instead, to follow a *hellenoprepos* education equivalent to that of men, and to develop in full her inherited superior national capacities.² However, Kehayia's strong belief in the *Hellenida*'s right to an *hellenoprepos* education did not lead her to believe that women should battle for such a right. Instead, her strong belief in women's particular nature of kindness and understanding made Kehayia oppose any female struggle against social and governmental institutions in order to modify their inadequate and misjudged role in society. She even alarmed her compatriots by claiming that such acts as an illicit female struggle had an adverse effect on female nature, by transforming the mother as a symbol of goodness, justice, gentleness, morality, loving-kindness, sympathy and philanthropy into one of brute force. When her own authentic self was violated, a woman was no longer able to exercise a beneficial influence on the world. Therefore, Kehayia defined woman's, and in this case the *Hellenida*'s progress, as her transformation into man's kind and equal companion, a devoted mother, a brave and zealous patriot and a comfort to all of humanity.³

While the state had abdicated its responsibilities to half its population, Kehayia believed that 'the *Hellenida* could estimate properly the rights and obligations which religion, society and the state gave her.' Although she believed that women should not oppose government policy, she felt that it rested with women of the privileged classes,

¹ Ibid., in *Egolpion*, pp. 29-36.

² Ibid., pp. 13, 29-36; K. Kehayia, 'I thesis tis gynaikos en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 327.

³ K. Kehayia, 'Logodosia protypou parthenagogeiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyriou*, 30 June 1891.

because of their education or wealth, to give *hellenoprepos* guidance on life to women.¹ She taught *Hellenides* to show courage, devotion and bravery in their mission to advance public national morality. She explained to *Hellenides* that benevolence was their patriotic act, equivalent to man's duty to bear arms, to serve their country. As the journal *Estia* stated, the 'nourishment of patriotism is philanthropy.' Contemporary male writers and journalists called upon *Hellenides* to perform acts of benevolence, because as they explained, charity did not require a high degree of literacy, but only the feminine virtues of gentleness, personal effort and self-denial.² Kehayia argued that benevolence was above all the female science through which women could observe 'the moral, spiritual and psychological phenomena.' Moreover, as the years passed, philanthropy proved to be the activity which provided *Hellenides* citizens with experience in organising themselves for the national good.³

Within such a framework, in 1872, under the patronage of the Queen of Greece Olga, Kehayia and such prominent female literary figures as Heleni Paparrigopoulou (first president of the association), Heleni Skouze, Penelope Pervanoglou and 62 other women signatories founded the *Syllogos kyrion yper tis gynaikeias ekpaidevseos* (Ladies' Association for Female Education) in Athens. This association aimed at the creation of educational establishments for paupers, training in the direction and inspection of *parthenagogeia*, the publication of religious books, the training of nurses and domestic servants and the creation of the *Ergastirion Aporon Gynaikon* (Workshop for Female Paupers).⁴ The association was funded by financial aid from Queen Olga, the government and a private donor, Domnitza Zografou. The association enjoyed strong support among Greeks beyond the kingdom's borders, as indicated by the fact that, in 1874-75, most of its income came from external donors.⁵ From its inception, the association concentrated on the provision of lessons in reading, the catechism and

¹ K. Kehayia, 'I thesis tis gynaikos en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 236.

² Anonymous, 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), p. 813; 'Topika kai diaphora', *Amalthia*, 24 January 1876; 'I en Athinais Philoptohos etaireia', *Amalthia*, 21 January 1876.

³ K. Kehayia, 'I en epistimi Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 October 1878; 'Apo to vivlio tou Dr. Karl Oppel', *Parnassos*, ii (1878), pp. 952-958.

⁴ 'Diorganismos tou Yper tis Gynaikeias Paidevseos Syllogou Kyrion', *Syllogos Kyrion Yper tis Gynaikeias Ekpaidevseos. Ekthesis ton Pepragmenon 27 Apriliou 1874 eos 26 Apriliou 1875* (Athens, 1875), p. 44.

⁵ 'Ekthesis tis Grammateos', *Syllogos Kyrion Yper tis Gynaikeias Ekpaidevseos*, op. cit., p. 14.

vocational skills, through which Kehayia and her colleagues hoped to protect lower-class women from the harmful moral atmosphere of their milieu.¹

To this end, the association's first initiative was the creation of the Workshop Preparatory School, where female paupers from 6 to 12 years old were taught reading, writing, the catechism, drawing and basic sewing. The workshop also opened its doors to all females, aged from 12 to 55, who wanted to be trained in weaving, carpet-making, sewing and other needlework. Alongside the vocational training, the association offered two compulsory hours of instruction in the catechism. Women could work either in the workshop or in their homes, while the association encouraged the establishment of female workshops in the provinces, by providing the financial support to buy machines for those who had the skills. In its first three years, the association trained and employed 182 workers, from 10 to 70 years old, in its textile and needlework workshops, as Kehayia proudly announced in 1875, in an address to 285 female members from the Greek kingdom and the Greek communities of Smyrna, Constantinople, Marseilles, Paris, London and Liverpool. Kehayia applauded the efforts of these women, 'our dear citizens', who had chosen to undertake such charitable and patriotic activity.²

In 1875, the association decided to open a nursing school. Four women from 30 to 50 years old, either married or single, were accepted into the school three times a year and were trained for four months in local hospitals, such as the Athenian Public Hospital (Dimotiko Nosokomeio), the sanatoriums in the *Arsakeio* and the orphanage Hatzi-Kosta, the state homes for the elderly and paupers and the founding hospital. The nursing school was financially aided by Queen Olga. In 1890, furthermore, the *Protypon Helleniko Parthenagogeio* (Chief Hellenic *Parthenagogeion*) was founded in Athens on the association's initiative. According to its first curriculum and under its first director, Kehayia, this *Parthenagogeio* aimed at 'the preparation of pious mothers and efficient homemakers'.³ While the vocabulary had not changed significantly from previous decades, the sphere in which these women justified their actions had changed greatly.

¹ K. Kehayia, 'Ekthesis tis gramateos', *Syllogos kyrion yper tis gynaikeias ekpaidevseos*, op. cit., p. 3.

² 'Peri Melon', *Syllogos Kyrion Yper tis gynaikeias ekpaidevseos*, op. cit., p. 13.

³ K. Parren, 'Ethnikon Protypon Parthenagogeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 April 1890.

In 1875, when the journal *Spirit of Mission* published statements in support of the association's charitable achievements, Kehayia explained that, while such testimony was important, the association needed testimony to justify its benevolent and patriotic actions as 'witness to our national consciousness'. Such testimony later came in a letter from the Patriarch Grigorios, in which he praised the association's projects, which, through moral and vocational training and 'Christian moulding', had worked for the advancement of the character of lower-class women.¹ Kehayia herself was preoccupied with the philosophy of the *Hellenismos* and the importance of an infusion of *hellenoprepos* morals into society. She herself was a living example of the entire philosophy. Often civilisations need sacrifices for progress, she used to say, but from such sacrifices the moral amelioration of each civilisation begins. For Leontias, women's lower civic status was the sacrifice that women had made for centuries for their families, society and, thus, all humanity's harmony and prosperity. In addition, for both Kehayia and Leontias in the 1870s, the ego (individual) had no permanent reality, an understanding which imposed on these women the highest obligation to sacrifice even their lives for the amelioration of their nation through the infusion of patriotic and religious virtues into their society. Kehayia used to explain that the inspiration of her actions was her devotion to God and country. 'God and society were the most powerful and unchallenged forces for me.' Although she never married, these forces helped her to escape the emotional impasse and the destiny which the poet Oikonomidou had faced only two decades earlier: oblivion. However, in the 1880s, few could ignore the woman 'who devoted her life to an *hellenoprepos* upbringing of thousands of *Hellenides*, who, as modern-day apostles, spread Greek language and literature in the Orient.'² Beside her career in teaching, Kehayia would follow the path which was further suggested to *hellenoprepos* women - philanthropy - devoting herself with passion to charities. She founded and organised, under the auspices of the Queen Olga, the first reformatory for teenagers in 1901. However, although such acts were justified as highly patriotic, at the same time, they were always the 'other alternative'. Likewise, if Kehayia, as teacher and philanthropist,

¹ K. Kehayia, 'Ekthesis tis Grammateos', *Syllogos Kyrion Yper tis Gynaikias Ekpaidevseos*, op. cit., pp. 4-6.

² K. Parren, 'K. Kehayia kai i Kallitechniki Meleti tis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 November 1889; K. Kehayia, 'Logodasia Protypou parthenagogeiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 June 1891.

managed to escape from social oblivion, she nevertheless had to justify continually her actions even to herself: 'I was never a lady [literally, never conformed to female roles such as marriage], because I believed in the holiness of my duty.'¹

However, although Kehayia's and Leontias' theory and understanding of life probably added little impetus to the women's movement as such, for both of them, women's actions were based on a fundamental precondition, that women could never lose, through their involvement in public sphere, their innate tendencies of kindness, understanding and so on. Thus, while recognising that there might be exceptional women with 'male mental capacities', and thereby male interests in industry, commerce, science, politics and the navy, and endorsing the access of such exceptional women, regardless of age and class, to higher education and also to the employment of their choice, Leontias held that such female access should always be conditional upon such women never trying to balance their occupations with the duties of wives and mothers. In fact, although higher education and careers in all fields were seen by Leontias as a privilege for only the single and exceptional women, it was, after all, Leontias and Kehayia, who, by borrowing the terms of the nationalistic vocabulary of the period and presenting themselves as an agent of forces they could not control, provided women with experience in leadership, nurtured their self-respect and made them conscious of their ability to function in public life. It was Kehayia who, as secretary of the association, explained to her colleagues that saving the female population from illiteracy, poverty and backwardness was, above all, an act of the *Hellenida* citizen for national prosperity. She thus introduced the period when the female province, of health care, education, preservation of folk traditions and philanthropy, seen by Leontias as the domestic territory of the nurturing and compassionate *Hellenida* mother, wife and homemaker, was simultaneously transformed into a political sphere to which the *Hellenida* mother-teacher-citizen henceforth had a national obligation to direct her activities. She realised that those who stood apart from such acts were excluded from society and the nation. 'Observe those families which direct all their efforts and feelings into material gain and personal

¹ Ibid.

prosperity. . . . See how useless they are to their friends, country and society,' Kehayia explained to her students.¹

Nationalism had, thus, become a true network of personal relations rather than an imaginary community, and the *Hellenida* was called upon to act as a citizen and patriot, her political duty was to comfort her enlarged family, the country according to her female instincts. What was less understood at that time was the significance of such a consciousness in the minds of these women. In fact, beneath the justification of women's charity work as a moral obligation, according to Leontias, or as a national obligation, according to Kehayia, lay a strong belief shared by both women that *Hellenides* were rightful members of a particular national group (the *Hellenismos*). It was as members of this biological (women) and national entity (the *Hellenismos*) that *Hellenides* held specific rights and obligations *vis-à-vis* their enlarged family: their country. This understanding imposed a redefinition of life, because if the *Hellenida* was indeed a product of the past forces embodied in her nation, then it was more vital than ever, in the eyes of intellectuals such as Kehayia and Leontias, that *Hellenides* discover their cultural ethnic collectivity, their history and destiny, in order to distinguish themselves from other female examples, such as the European or American ones. Civilisation meant progress in social organisation and behaviour, and for both Leontias and Kehayia it required an improved distribution of goods and education between men and women. Kehayia believed that the *Hellenida* mother, wife, homemaker and citizen should, above all, realise her authentic experience, her authentic community. For both Kehayia and Leontias, this discovery was an essential precondition of full autonomy, because only full autonomy could allow these women to realise themselves in an authentic manner and, more importantly, to realise the importance of their destiny as *Hellenides*. It was through an attempt of redefinition of their lives that, in the 1870s, these first female intellectuals asked women to strengthen their minds, to be serious; in fact, to be *Hellenides*, in the period when male writers hoped to solve the problems of the *Hellenismos* through lessons in national history and military or literary actions. Leontias was driven to history by an urgent need to discover the true female field of endeavour; to re-create a past that could and should bear witness to past virtues and so help root out present evils.

¹ K. Kehayia, *Egolpion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., p. 33.

In 1877, Leontias published the *Korasiaki Christomathia* (*Female Anthology of Proper Knowledge*) in Smyrna. Serialised in ten volumes, this work sprang from Leontias' recognition that girls, due to their artistic and partial education and the absence of appropriate female literature, were ill-prepared for their later duties 'in their families and society.'¹ The first volume of this anthology seems to have been used for the first time in the *Parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis. Its interest lay not only in Leontias' decision to write a history for girls, but in the figures which Leontias chose to include in her biographies. In 1876, the historian Paparrigopoulos had complained that although girls were finally free to go about in public, the status of women had not actually changed. Society still ranked them on a footing with either domestic animals or pieces of furniture. How else, he asked, could one account for the fact that Hellenic history read like a description of 'the monasteries of Mount Athos where there is no trace of a female presence . . . for God's sake . . . certain female examples should be preserved in history.' He would try to fill this gap by writing biographies for the periodical *Estia* (Hearth) of the queens of Byzantium and the intellectual *Hellenides* among the *Fanariotes*, families of Constantinople. The latter, during the eighteenth century, because of their ability in languages and their experience in finance, administration and diplomacy, held high positions in the Ottoman administration and society. Paparrigopoulos believed that such exceptional women should be made known, and other contemporary writers followed his example.²

Leontias instead tried to give *Hellenides* a place in national history beyond their traditional roles as daughters, sisters mothers, and homemakers by showing their ancestors. Through this reconstruction of the past, she hoped to show *Hellenides* 'the correlation between national history and the destiny of each woman.'³ Her encyclopaedia was intended to show women that instead of trying to imitate men, they should rather influence and exalt the circle in which women moved: 'Andromache was modest and beautiful, a benevolent, brave, devoted and affectionate

¹ S. Leontias, *Hristomathia Korasiaki pros Hrisin ton Parthenagogeion eis tomous Deka* (Smyrna, 1877), p. 1.

² K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Roxandra Mavrokordatou. I proti Fanariotissa', *Estia*, i (1876), pp. 115-119; K. Paparrigopoulos, 'Heleni Katakouzinou', *Estia*, i (1876), pp. 164-167; D. Miliarakis. 'I Kairi', *Estia*, ix (1880), pp. 369-370.

³ S. Leontias, *Hristomathia Korasiaki*, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

wife and mother. And for these virtues her society held her in veneration.¹ Her *Korasiaki Christomathia* (*Female Encyclopaedia*), as she preferred to call it, was an anthology of stories used to teach language and morality to young girls.² In other words, the encyclopaedia was designed to uplift 'women's spirit and heart with national and religious principles, aiming to prepare the daughter for the domestic and social sphere.'³ In short, she explained, in view of the nation's current circumstances, this encyclopaedia was designed to meet the needs of an Helleno-*Christian* education for girls.⁴ She included the story of Antigone, the sister of Polynices, who did not hesitate to 'leave her assigned sphere' and defy the immoral decree of Creon, by performing funeral rites for her brother, in order to obey the higher moral law.⁵ Leontias spoke of the traditional female virtues: kindness and benevolence, further delineating the borders which women should never cross unless they wanted to end their lives like Ariadne, who, after betraying her country, Crete, to Theseus, had been abandoned on Naxos. 'As philanthropists, we should be kind in the face of human suffering. But never desert your country, or you will suffer misfortune.'⁶ She wrote of Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, who sacrificed her life according to God's will for the common good, asking modern *Hellenides* to memorise the virtues of such an example: 'Prudence and devotion to civic laws and religion's demands . . . zeal for the nation and the country's glory . . . obedience to the father's will . . . we ought to imitate such examples.'⁷ She described Penelope, the ideal wife, 'symbol of conjugal devotion and respect, prudence, modesty, honour and patience. . . . She is the one whom Europe and America admire.'⁸ And she wrote of Electra, the ideal homemaker, who did her domestic duties, after her mother, Queen Clytemnestra, had sought to degrade her by giving her a peasant husband. 'I owe it to you without your commanding me, to serve you,' Electra tells her husband in Leontias' version of the story. 'You are doing enough outside, while domestic duties are for us, the women.' Modern *Hellenides* were exhorted, 'Have *ethos* (morality),

¹ Ibid., p. 66.

² Ibid., p. 8.

³ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶ Ibid., p. 17.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

modesty and courage. Accomplish your domestic duties willingly. And learn to live with prudence in both prosperity and adversity.¹

Thus, among idealised mothers, wives, sisters, daughters and homemakers, Leontias discovered and re-created a vivid panorama of the *Hellenida's* life, emphasising the ancient glory of *her* heritage and *her* regeneration. She defined a female Hellenic community of mothers, wives and homemakers, where similar laws of birth, growth, flowering and decay were shared by all *Hellenides* throughout the centuries. She examined *Hellenides* throughout history and concluded that their sacrifices were often essential for the general progress. Her history was not a scholarly footnote, but, above all, an effort through which Leontias hoped to restore *Hellenides* to national history as daughters, sisters, mothers, wives and homemakers.²

Neither Kehayia nor Leontias would try to challenge the society to which they were basically attached: both adopted the traditional framework of womanhood in their histories. However, the underlying theory operated at a deeper, less calculating level, as through the descriptions of history and philosophy both Leontias and Kehayia provided women with a new authoritative language in politics, by deconstructing the masculine frame of reference which valued citizenship, and teaching that women had their own way to fulfil their obligations as rightful members of the nation. It was due to Kehayias and Leontias' understanding that *Hellenides*, conscientious, religious and tender-hearted were morally distinct from men, that Greek women began to be conscious, as a group, of their unique capacities and their importance as moral arbiters of their society, and to realise that their domestic acts had public as well as private relevance. At a time when women did not have access to the political sphere, the metaphor of the nation as one (enlarged) family had a great impact on their consciousness.

'The country is the common mother of everything,' Kehayia explained in her book *Egolpion paidagogikon i Symvoulai tines pros tas Apofoitosas Zappidas* (*Handbook of Pedagogy or Advice for Zappeion Graduates*). Published in 1879, this book suggested that the *Hellenida's* highest obligation was to her country, to which all other considerations and loyalties must remain subordinate.³ In it, Kehayia reminded her students,

¹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

² Ibid., pp. 7-10.

³ K. Kehayia, *Egolpion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., p. 33.

particularly those teachers who found themselves alone in the provinces of the free and enslaved Hellas, of the gravity of their duty, as they were the only *representatives of the Greek state* there. 'Country and society have entrusted you with their future well-being.' She further suggested that, in order to present and defend their nation, teachers should take advantage of any access to the public, such as that provided by museums, national plays, national anniversaries, archaeological excursions and events provided by local authorities. In the 1870s, furthermore, Zygouras explained that homemaking was a public obligation, because parents and the nation expected these patriotic (*philogeneis*) ladies and *Hellenoprepos*-trained homemakers to complete what the municipalities and the government had left in their charitable hands, and thus to relieve the government from a burden by the creation of hospitals and orphanages.¹ At the same time, Leontias suggested that *Hellenides* ought henceforth to set aside monthly an amount of money which they could later spend on organising a league of women to operate social services such as orphanages and homes for the elderly.² Because of the national benefit (*ethniko symferon*) from such savings, Leontias assumed that frugality ought to be the most vital characteristic of the virtuous *Hellenida*, who ought to learn to live within her family's means, avoiding ostentation, because not only the nation, but also men preferred 'thrifty women'.³

Over the following years, many women followed such advice, channelling their energies into female literacy projects and charity, learning how to lobby, run committees and organise themselves initially for the benefit of the nation. Within such a framework in 1872, a women's committee with Queen Olga as its head established the Evagelismos Hospital, while another women's committee, the *Filoptohos Aderlftotis Kyrion* (*Charitable Sisterhood*), was formed in 1874.⁴ What was less widely understood at that time, however, was that such actions provided *Hellenides* henceforth with the vital means through which they could settle themselves more firmly within institutional structures. When the state once again failed to keep its promises during the Eastern crisis of 1875 to 1878 (the uprising in Herzegovina and Bosnia), as we will examine later, the *Hellenida's* recognition, as mother, wife, homemaker and citizen, of female

¹ X. Zygouras, *Epitomis Oikiakis Oikonomias*, op. cit., p. 4, 27.

² S. Leontias, 'Peri tou ethnikou symferontos ypo lthikis epopsis', *Smyrni*, 19 March 1871.

³ S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous proorismou tis Gynaikos', *Amalthia*, 7 January 1876.

⁴ K. Parren, 'I Hellenis gyni tou dekatou enatou aionos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 July 1889.

backwardness and cultural decadence became overtly political, as these women became conscious of the fact that, instead of solidarity and equality, which men and women should logically share in the spirit of the *Hellenismos*, women continued to face political and social discrimination, not because of personal failure but due to social prejudice. Kehayia and Leontias argued that women, because of their inherent character, should not oppose men's decisions in order to ameliorate their status, but, instead, should promote their cause gently and gradually.¹ However, for Kalliroti Parren (1859-1940), a prominent female literary figure in Athens (and the most important figure for the Greek feminist movement which will be discussed extensively at the later stage in this thesis), such female backwardness was to blame for the nation's feebleness and failure to encompass all the *Hellenes*, *Hellenides* and the Hellenic lands within the borders of one state. Women's backwardness and illiteracy were not simply a woman's issue or a personal handicap, she argued, but were instead a national issue. Women had the right as citizens to enjoy equal rights to men, and, consequently, the state should also take under its aegis the female half of the Hellenic population. 'In the name of the nation's common good and progress, *Hellenides*, today rise up and demand that the state takes care of us.'²

However, in the 1880s, as we will examine later, Parren and her colleagues realised that they were still being treated by the state as second-class citizens. This realisation led them to advance an alternative image of the future and to develop strategies and goals through which *Hellenides*, as citizens, could ameliorate their sex and, by extension, the entire nation's and the state's condition. Nevertheless, the philosophical system which helped these women to convince themselves, as well as men, of the rightness of their commitment tested the borders and flexibility of the *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy. Thus, the *Hellenismos* and Christianity proved to be the saviour of the *Hellenida*, while *Hellenides* found their identity in a nostalgic return to Christianity and the fundamental virtues of the *Hellenismos*, from which they sought inspiration and instruction. However, such an understanding imposed different constraints and moderation. For Ktena-Leontias, Leontias and other contributors to the journal *Evridiki*, women were born to be wives and mothers and their spirit had to be

¹ S. Leontias, *O Anir kai I Gyni*, op. cit., p. 97.

² K. Parren, 'Anafora Hellenidon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 November 1877.

curbed to this end. Although they invoked women's superior role as mothers and asked for their educational advancement, such an understanding was a source of much anxiety and fear to women, such as the sisters Ktena-Leontias and Leontias. *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* faced similar difficulties in preserving their superior morality and virtue in a world of temptations. However, each man's influence was strictly limited to himself, whereas the mother's impact was hereditary and would live on constantly in succeeding generations. Thus, the mother-infant relationship so vital for a nation's existence was recognised for the first time by these pioneer female intellectuals as a power which could make women into gravediggers of their nation. For if *Hellenides* were to be seduced by alien beliefs, morals and ideals, the nation would degenerate. These pioneer intellectuals consequently believed that only strong discipline in their tastes and appearance, the awakening of their personality, and, above all, an *hellenoprepos* education could save *Hellenides* from such a disaster. It is to this point that we must now turn, in order to understand the frame of reference into which these women intellectuals tried to fit their arguments in the 1870s and thus the ideological pressure that still shaped the generation of female writers in the 1880s.

2.4 Lessons of Life

Drawing pride from an interpretation which gave them an exceptional sense of their place in world history and a sense of worth, *Hellenes* continued to comfort themselves less by understanding reality than by idealising the future. These were the years of romanticism (1830-1880) of a generation who railed against the Western authors whose writings, they believed, had dominated their youth and deprived them of all sense of identity. They pioneered the emancipation of Greek literature from rules and styles established by classical authors. They took an interest in the vital role of the masses, believing that only in oral folklore could the pure form of *Hellenismos* be discovered, while more radical thinkers advocated the writing of poetry and novels in the vernacular of the 'common people'.¹ They rejected the idea that only classical antiquity was the epoch of glory, looking back to Christianity, Byzantium, and the events of 1821 as periods of equal glory in Greek history.² They rejected the view that antiquity was superior to the modern *Hellenismos*, explaining that although classical civilisation had conceived the idea of democracy, it was only after the marriage of the *Hellenismos* and Orthodoxy that everyone could take part in this ideal regardless of class or sex.

They assumed that the Hellenic nation was predominant in the struggle for existence, while all of humanity followed its cultural progress. They preached that 'the only difference between the ancient Greek and the modern Greek is that the modern Greek is the leader of the moral and welfare progress of all of humanity.'³ Translated into the Greek vocabulary in practical terms, this meant: 'We are today the light of the civilisation . . . building in the Orient schools, *parthenagogeia*, societies, libraries, hospitals . . . and working for the progress of all humanity.'⁴ They had a romantic sense of destiny, regarding themselves as martyrs and bearers of Christianity. They saw themselves as the 'new apostles' of Christianity and believed that they possessed a unique destiny: to liberate populations from the superstition and lethargy brought upon them by the neglect of education under Islamic rule in the Ottoman Empire. They saw themselves as thinkers and moralisers, an attitude

¹ D. Fatseas, 'Peri tou poitikon Agoni', *Pandora*, xxi (1870), pp. 165-174.

² T. Venetsanos, 'Lipsandrias eneka pashei i Hellas', *Smyrni*, 13 November 1873.

³ 'Hellas kai Hellenismos', *Smyrni*, 26 May 1872.

⁴ *Ibid.*

which provided ample fodder for satirists of the day: 'The Greeks believe that they are destined to change the world, and if ever three Greeks walked the moon, the first would edit a newspaper, the second would publish it, and the third would subscribe.'¹ They declared themselves enemies of compromise, materialism and luxury. They regarded the past with nostalgia for its glory, while mourning daily their inability to re-create the golden age of 1821. But they were hopeful for the future, believing that their historical destiny was beyond any human decision and that it was only a question of time before justice would return to the earth and the Hellenic nation would once more be unified in order to fulfil its historical destiny in humanity's name. In contrast to the real world, which they portrayed as materialistic, immoral, and full of ambition and egocentrism, Greek intellectuals presented the modern *Hellene* as the only remaining voice of Christianity for values such as love, equality, philanthropy and freedom.²

The *Hellene* was portrayed as an ephemeral object, a fleeting instant in an ancient culture, his thoughts were the result of racial and hereditary influence. Only the nation was eternal, therefore requiring man's highest obligation to sacrifice even life itself. The main task facing intellectuals was how to discover this inner eternal voice which determined how each individual thought about and treated others and which made him see himself in relation to God and to various levels of social organisation, as a *Hellene*.³ Seeking inspiration no longer only from classical times, but also from their own epoch, intellectuals argued that Westerners must realise that the modern *Hellenismos* was superior to that of any previous historical period. *Hellenes* in the 1870s unquestionably knew more than ever before but the way in which these modern *Hellenes* were better than their ancestors would be demonstrated in a unique way.

¹ E. Asopios, 'Epinomis', *Attikon imerologion*, vi (1872), pp. 33-34.

² A. Phakopoulou, 'Peri metriophrosinis', *Smyrni*, 27 July 1873; A. Spathakis, 'Peri ethnikis ton Hellenon agogis', *Athinaion*, iv, (1875), pp. 358-359; 'Hellas kai Hellenismos', *Smyrni*, 20 May 1872; E. Egger, 'Peri Hellenismou', *Pandora*, xxii (1872), pp. 515-519; D. Paparrigopoulos, 'Symmikta. Oi Hellenes en Romi', *Attikon Imerologion*, iv-v (1870), pp. 366-382; C. Paparrigopoulos, 'Dyo exadelphoi', *Athinaiko Imerologio* (1874), pp. 136-145.

³ P. Caplanidou, 'Peri Hellenismou', *Omiros*, iii (1875), pp. 81-96; P. Vrailas, 'Peri thriskias kai elevtherias', *Pandora*, xvii (1866), pp. 30-31; 'I neotera politiki', *Mellon*, 15 November 1863.

The ancient *Hellene* was admired for his spirit . . . the medieval *Hellene* was chosen by God to spread the virtues of Christianity through the Greek language . . . the modern *Hellene* was destined to spread civilisation.¹

But what distinguished modern *Hellenes* from all the previous historical periods was not only the nature of their national destiny, but the morals which the modern *Hellenismos* had inherited from Christianity. The modern *Hellenismos* was the culmination of all the previous stages. According to N. Dragoumis, it was the period when the *Hellene* assumed respect for the rights of the individual and the role of the family as the most vital social institution as an article of faith.² According to this school of thought, Christianity and its divine precepts took the *Hellene* out of the public sphere, making him realise the happiness which the private sphere could bring and, giving him back the most vital characteristic of the *Hellene*: love of his family and devotion to his country.³ Only the modern *Hellene*, Greek intellectuals argued, realised the vital importance of the family and the harmony and happiness which domestic life could give. Because only after the marriage of Christianity and *Hellenismos* had people begun to re-evaluate their lives and principles and to liberate women from the *gynaikoniti* (women's quarters). It was only after the spirit of Christianity was introduced to Hellenic ideals that men ceased treating 'women as servants, waitresses or even slaves, and using them as an outlet for their most primitive instincts'.⁴ Furthermore, these Greek intellectuals concluded that it was only under the spirit of Christianity that women became companions and not enemies, equals, and not inferiors, free human beings and not slaves.⁵ Yet, it was the Christian man's and moreover the *Hellene's* religious duty to protect and respect this new status of women. It was in the 1870s that *Hellenismos* was depicted as an ecumenical and flexible cultural entity, destined to repair the wrongs of past centuries. Internally, this ecumenical portrait was transformed into a vocabulary of

¹ 'Hellas kai Hellenismos', *Smyrni*, 30 May 1872.

² N. Dragoumis, 'Arhaios kai neoteris politismos', *Pandora*, xviii (1867), pp. 3-9; K. Evstathopoulos, 'Peri oikou', *Omiros*, v (1877), pp. 317-325; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou thriskevtikou aisthimatos', *Pandora*, xviii (1868), p. 169.

³ 'Hellas kai Hellenismos', *Smyrni*, 30 May 1872.

⁴ G. Karydis, 'Metavoli epenehtheisa para tou hristianismou epi tis gynaikias agogis', *Omiros*, ii (1873), pp. 52-64.

⁵ *Ibid.*

norms of behaviour and values, the principles of modesty, morality, goodness and respect for the wife-mother, becoming a vital measure of Greekness.¹

It was at this time that the founder of *Evridiki*, Ktena-Leontias, gave a speech to the literary association Koraes in Constantinople under the title '*Epistoli Adamantiou Korai pros Evanthia Kairi*' ('Letter from Adamantios Koraes to Evanthia Kairi'). Published in the journal of the Literary Association Homer in Smyrna, her speech described the correspondence between the leading figure of Greek letters, Adamantios Koraes (1748-1833), and the first (modern) intellectual Greek woman, the Evanthia Kairi, before the War of Independence.² Kairi had written to Koraes about her educational progress and asked him to suggest a moral French story which she could translate into Greek. Koraes advised her to translate one of the works of Madame Guizot and ended his letter with expressions of his great satisfaction at seeing, in his old age, women of his nation entering the republic of letters.³ Ktena-Leontias explained that two factors had determined her choice of topic. First her desire to show the gratitude 'of my sex' to Koraes and, second, her wish to do justice to her honoured place as a speaker from 'a man's rostrum' on a subject related to the 'female sex'.⁴ Lacking male charm or oratory, her speech, she explained, was notable not for its style but for its content, which aimed to explore the ideas of Koraes, who had fought hard for his nation's independence, while never forgetting that society's general progress was inevitably linked to the progress of women. At the same time, she noted that the issue of women's education was always present, as were those strong male voices which demanded that women stay at home. However, Ktena-Leontias stressed that the 1870s had a particular significance and called for a re-examination of certain social values. Her audience knew well to what she referred when she talked about the new struggle of the *Hellenismos* against the prejudices of a static Oriental society. Most would have shared her opinion that the defining virtues of the *Hellenismos*, such as brotherhood, equality, freedom and social justice, in the 1870s were under threat by Islamic backwardness, slavery, injustice, and immorality.

¹ 'Hellas kai Hellenismos', *Smyrni*, 30 May 1872; Fr. Alvanas, 'Hellenikai epiroai', *Pandora*, xxii (1871), pp. 397-401; A. Diomydou-Kyriakou, *Logos* (Athens, 1874), pp. 9-24; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 5 July 1870; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 26 June 1870.

² A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli Adamantiou Korai pros Evanthia Cairi', *Omiros*, ii (1874), pp. 81-93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

No one challenged Ktena-Leontias when she further explained: 'There is a war between the past, the present and the future; between lethargy and the evolutionary progress of societies; between stability and progress, Asian darkness and Hellenic light'; and she continued:

Is woman free to take part in this spiritual upbringing? Can woman take part in the rights of the sphere of equality, freedom or justice? Can woman understand God's mysteries, His justice and His philosophy on the basis that God had made us all in His image, a *human being*?

The response of her male and female audience is not likely to have differed greatly from the observation of the newspaper *Smyrni* some years earlier.¹ 'The modern *Hellene* and, especially the *Hellene* in the Orient, is destined to spread Greek language and literature (*grammata*) to the East,' *Smyrni* had stated, adding that 'the emancipation of the female race in the Orient depends on the efforts of modern *Hellenismos*.'² Meanwhile, the minister of education, Angelos Avgerinos, presenting his report to King George I the same year, added that 'women's education is still blocked by inherited primitive ideas and traditional neglect which we hope soon to remedy.'³ Moreover, the Greek male nationalists in the 1870s had substantial cause to want to diminish such primitive ideas. While it was widely agreed that a rudimentary level of reading was essential for girls, the question which soon arose in male literary circles in both the Greek kingdom and the Ottoman lands was the type and the scope of knowledge which women should achieve.⁴ While it was genuinely accepted that women ought to be protected from those reactionary doctrines which kept them in illiterate darkness, the interpretation of these doctrines remained elusive and controversial. At the same time it was admitted that women's rights were the measure of general progress. Most Greeks shared the belief that if they wanted patriotic children, they had to start by making patriots of the mothers. Priests, intellectuals and journalists demanded that women play a central role in the nation's 'social issues' by organising societies for the education of the *gynaikeia phyli* (women) in the Orient and also taking an interest in the elderly, poor and orphaned

¹ Ibid., pp. 81-88.

² Ibid.

³ A. Avgerinos, 'Ekpaidevsis en Helladi' *Pandora*, xx (1870), pp. 249-250; G. Hasiotis, 'I par' Imin Dimotiki Ekpaidevsis apo tis Alozeos tis Constantinoupoleos mehri Simeron', *Ph.S.C.*, viii (1873-74), pp. 94-101.

⁴ I. Athanasiadis, 'Peri ekpaidevseos tou gynaikeiou fylou', *Evridiki*, 15 April 1872.

of their nation. Yet, although women were not criticised for having an interest in national as well as domestic housekeeping, men began to feel more anxious about female power in the public sphere. Consequently, male criticism of female pretensions became markedly sharper in this period.

It was in these years that women were constantly portrayed as neurotic, a condition caused by their 'innate passions'.¹ A renewed emphasis on the physical, intellectual, emotional and functional differences between men and women, the oldest weapon of male defence, was seen in the media of the period.² Male intellectuals wrote in praise of women, but only to extol their traditional role as homemaker. One commentator cited a statement of the British author Hannah More (1745-1833): 'Each sex has its appropriate excellencies, which would be lost when melted down into a common character by the fashion of a new philosophy.'³ Journalists in Smyrna praised the role of the *Hellenida* in her kingdom, her home, concluding that only social chaos could result from any other female involvement. Greeks in the 1870s had substantial reasons to feel anxious about this 'new philosophy'. It was in the 1870s that *Pandora* aired the theories of John Stuart Mill and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to the Athenian public. Mill's assertion in *The Subjection of Women* (1869) that, as human beings, women deserved the same rights as men by the very nature of their humanity, and Proudhon's hypothesis, in *La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église* (1858), that the physical smallness of woman and the relative smallness of the female brain were proof of her intellectual inferiority, caused much controversy.⁴ In 1874, Margarita Alvana-Miniati (1821-1887), born in Corfu and a well-known figure in literary circles in Florence, published an article entitled '*I gyni en ti Koinonia kai i apostoli avtis*' ('Woman in Society and her Mission') in *Attikon Imerologion* (Attica's Chronicle).⁵ In the same year, Anthipi Phakopoulou, a literary figure in Smyrna, published in the newspaper *Smyrni* the article '*Peri tis gynaikos kai o proorismos ton Hellenidon en ti Anatoli*' ('On the Mission of the Woman

¹ 'Ai gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 20 January 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 6 March 1868; 'Ai Gynaikes', *Kolasis*, 22 February 1868.

² E. Emmanouil, 'Peri ton ithikon haraktiron tis gynaikos', *Omiros*, iii (1875), pp. 176-181.

³ E. Giannakopoulos, 'Peri tis gynaikos ypo physiki te kai ithikin epopsin', *Omiros*, ii (1874), pp. 77-78.

⁴ N. Levidis, 'Peri heiraphesias tis gynaikos', *Pandora*, xxi (1870), pp. 80-83.

⁵ M. Alvana-Miniati, '*I Gyni en ti Koinonia kai I Apostoli Avtis*', *Attikon Imerologion*, viii (1874), pp. 261-277; A. Tarsouli, *Margarita Alvana Miniati. I Zoi kai to Ergo tis* (Athens, 1951), pp. 124-126.

and the Destiny of the *Hellenida* in the Orient').¹ In the same period, Leontias published an article in *Amalthia* on '*Peri tou alithous proorismou tis gynaikos*' ('The Real Mission of Women'), not to mention other articles on the same topic which appeared in *Eoridiki*.²

Published in Athens, just after the Cretan crisis, Alvana-Miniatis' article provoked discussion about the true mission and place of women. She believed that men and women were, above all, human beings and that any differences resulted from the later development of mind and heart. She therefore saw women's definition in terms of materialistic values and external beauty as the consequence of a long-standing social bias which kept women illiterate and, consequently developed the notorious female vices of hypocrisy, uncontrolled passion and pretentiousness.³ Although she did not believe in natural differences between the sexes, and held that men and women were equal, Alvana-Miniati was unable to conceive of woman achieving the same degree of independence as men. As she explained, the philosophy of Mill, who proposed the full emancipation of women and complete equality between the sexes, was for her out of the question. But neither could she accept the school of thought of Jules Michelet (1798-1874) and the hypothesis of physiological determinism expressed in his *L'Amour* (1858), which presented women as weak creatures whom men should guide until they realised their real obligations and duties. Between these two schools of thought, Alvana-Miniati believed in the antithesis of Michelet's theory, seeing women not as creatures governed by their nature, but, above all, as human beings who ought to prepare themselves for the role of mother and wife. The idealised literate mother, the first educator of her children, side by side with the picture of the ideal wife, man's companion, was the new role which women were called upon to play.⁴

For Anthipi Phakopoulou, the question was quite different. Her criticism of ancient times as a world which men had created for their own selfish benefit, led her to recognise Christianity as the inauguration of a period in human history when all the pseudo-theories of women's mental or moral inferiority to men had come to an

¹ A. Phakopoulou, '*Peri tis gynaikos kai tis o proorismos ton Hellenidon en ti Anatoli*', *Smyrni*, 28 July 1872.

² S. Leontias, '*Peri tou alithous proorismou tis gynaikos*', *Amalthia*, 3 January 1876.

³ Al. Miniatou, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-277.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-277.

end and, for the first time in history, women were free and equal to men. Every human being, she argued, is created by God in His image and, since women possessed the same level of intelligence as men, they should have access to the same advanced education.¹ In addition, in her speech at the *Parthenagogeion* Ag. Foteinis, Leontias adopted a more pragmatic and logical form of discourse, leaving out poetic forms and appeals to emotion. As she explained, moved by a kind of gratitude to her common sex (*omogeno phylo*), she wanted to discover why, despite all the talk of social revolutionary progress, most women remained illiterate and uneducated.² Humanity's evolution was not new, Leontias argued it had existed throughout history. But, although the male contribution to humanity's evolution was visible in all branches of knowledge, the female contribution was neglected in the pages of history. Women artists, philosophers and politicians had existed in the past, Leontias explained, but history had not spoken about them, because 'Whatever women did for general progress was ruined by time or men, deliberately dismissed as unimportant, consigned to oblivion.'³ But from the few remaining historical references, she argued, it was self-evident that women had the same sense of perfection as men. She admitted that women formed a separate collectivity, but such a belief was more didactic than descriptive for her. She noted that a man's place was in the country, the city, the society, while a woman's was where it had always been: in the family. She did not propose to take women from their historic roles as mothers and wives: 'I do not want to see women as jurists or parliamentary deputies.' But she believed that public life began in the family and assumed that women's status constituted an important measure of the level of civilisation of any society. As she summarised it, 'behind each man stands a woman.'⁴

But what shocked men of the period was not the content of these articles. Whatever their arguments, most contemporary female writers ended by placing women in the traditional roles of mother and homemaker. What warned men of an impending social danger was the appearance of female intellectuals who expressed a desire to find 'a feminine' way in, until then preserved exclusively to men, the

¹ A. Phakopoulou, 'Peri tis gynaikos kai tis o proorismos ton Hellenidon en ti Anatoli', *Smyrni*, 28 July 1872.

² S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Alithous proorismou', *Amaltheia*, 3 January 1876.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

public world. News of female demands for civic rights in Britain, of the extent of freedom and educational opportunities for women in North America, and of the organisation of female leagues for peace in Boston reached the Greek kingdom and communities abroad, raising uncomfortable questions about man's role and the spectre of a world where he would be in continuous competition with the other sex.¹

This was also the period when the *Hellenismos* was praised as the banner of humanity's cultural evolution. Most Greeks assumed that this role was predetermined by God and history, and that no one could oppose such a historical law. Male intellectuals felt under enormous pressure to suppress this female power before it was too late. The dilemma facing Greeks in the 1870s was how to legitimise women's claims to active participation in the nation's affairs and preserve the picture of their nation as 'the superior-nation-state' which, above all, ought to be progressive without taking *Hellenides* out of their families, their 'assigned sphere'. Subsequent years saw the mitigation of the worst repression, women being given considerable power in strictly limited fields.² It was in these years that male intellectuals glorified women as mother, homemaker, and wife-companion. Male anxiety about keeping Greek women busy and attached within the domestic sphere deepened as more and more women appeared to be active outside it. A massive propaganda effort promoted the view that woman's glory lay in her husband's esteem and her greatest pleasure in the happiness of her family, to which all other considerations should be subordinated, including her personal happiness.³ Women continued to be depicted as relatively vulnerable creatures and intellectuals fostered the theory that, in the new world, women depended more than ever before on their menfolk. It followed that, in a world full of temptations and views alien to the *Hellenidas'* authentic self, only men could properly guide these first female steps.

Journalists began to classify women into categories. They concluded that women comprised two general types: the virtuous (homemaker, mother, wife,

¹ 'To zitima ton gynaikon en to Agkliko koinovoulío', *Smyrni*, 14 May 1871; 'Ithi kai ethima en Ameriki', *Pandora*, xviii (1867), pp. 247-251; 'Gynaikeia kinisis en Ameriki', *Smyrni*, 22 February 1872; 'Ta dikaïomata ton gynaikon', *Smyrni*, 10 November 1872; 'I psiphos ton gynaikon', *Mellon*, 23 November 1874.

² 'Philoptohos adelphotis', *Armonia*, 5 January 1866; 'Leshi en Phanario Mnimosyni', *Armonia*, 17 April 1865.

³ E. Gianakopoulos, 'Peri gynaikos ypo physikis kai ithikis apopsis', *Omiros*, ii (1874), pp. 107-111.

daughter) and the depraved (the prostitute).¹ They arrived at the extreme conclusion that the widow and the divorced woman who continued to enjoy herself - unaccompanied by a man - outside the home, set the worst female example.² Attacking divorce, they claimed that the appearance of divorced woman in the public could excite female minds and make some women believe that marriage was only an interim step to complete freedom. Divorce could provide them with the social status of a respectable matron, thus permitting them to enjoy themselves outside their home as single women without male guardianship.³ In response to any expressions of social sympathy for these categories, contemporary journalists explained that such female examples were to be avoided, not imitated, and that the only solution was that such women be socially stigmatised as undesirables. It was during these years that Marina Soutsou (wife of the poet Panagioti Soutsou) left her husband, on the then incredible grounds that she did not love him any more, and came up against her father's fury. He locked Marina in an attic and a family friend, Alexandros Ragavis, unable to bear her suffering, told her that her only hope was to return to her husband.⁴ At this time, the educational author Penelope Delta wrote in her diary that 'a divorced woman during these years had no place in society, women did not like them and men did not respect them.' Referring to her divorced cousin Penelope Horemi, she recalled: 'Not only was Horemi not allowed to live on her own, she was obliged to live in her father's home whether she liked it or not, and could not even see anyone or receive any letters without her father's prior approval.'⁵

But such bitter realities escaped the attention of the journals of the period. Satirists constantly mocked the deleterious effect on the female character of such areas of contact with the public world as dances, dinners, walks and meetings. Women who neglected their families for the outside world, who sent their infants to the care of nurses in dereliction of maternal duty, became a favourite topic of the period, illustrating what would happen if men ever gave women complete freedom.⁶

¹ 'To evtyhes androgynon', *Krisara*, 12 February 1869.

² I. Asopios, 'Gamos kai diazygion', *Attikon imerologion*, vi (1872), pp. 84-99.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A. Ragavis, *Apomnimonevmata*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 125-127.

⁵ P. Delta, op. cit., p. 203.

⁶ 'Syntagma kyrion', *Krisara*, 8 March 1869; 'Syntagma Kyrion', *Krisara*, 15 February 1869; 'To syntagma ton Kyrion', *Krisara*, 22 February 1869; 'To gerontokoritso', *Krisara*, 15 February 1869; 'Ai agorai ton kyrion', *Krisara*, 1 February 1869.

Journalists constantly compared the coquette with the husband, who, as the head of the family, excelled in his superior powers of reason, logic and impartiality. He was transformed, under the influence of his passion for his wife, to an irresolute figure, a passive plaything in a woman's forceful hands, obediently satisfying every female caprice.¹ In an attempt to awaken men from their lethargy and the naïvety which led them to see women as muses or angels, the newspaper *Kolasis* (Hell) offered a prize to any man who could produce a woman who was 'true and kind'.² And the newspaper *Crisara* (Sieve) ran a series of articles on the female 'constitution'. Covering such topics as luxury, materialism and female freedom, the series mirrored men's worst dreams, while the *Attikon Imerologion* (Attica's Chronicle), the same year, concluded: '*Une femme et un almanach ne valent que pour une année*,' explaining that the only happy marriage was a marriage where the man was deaf or the woman was dumb!³

'By taking women out of their home, we destroy family life. God destined women for the home and there they must remain,' Dimitrios Paparrigopoulos (son of the historian Paparrigopoulos) explained in 1870.⁴ Although the state and the nation needed female teachers and although numerous women had worked for years in the agrarian household, the picture of a married woman working outside her home was still a shock to the popular beliefs of the period. This was a society where remaining unmarried was equal to social ostracism, where, in 1880, nearly 97% of women were married by the age of 23 - as compared with 88% in Italy and 80% in Portugal.⁵ In 1874, the municipality of Agrinio, an area not far from Athens, asked the minister of education to dismiss a local teacher on the grounds that she had married and could not meet her obligations as a teacher alongside her conjugal responsibilities. This case led the minister of education to issue a special memorandum to all municipalities

¹ Th., 'I gyni tou dekatouenatou aionos', *Hrysallis*, iv (1866), p. 21; 'To tipote ton gynaikon', *Attikon Imerologion*, iv-v (1871), p. 29; 'Ai gynaikes', *I Kolasis*, 14 February 1868.

² 'Peri anemon kai ydaton', *Kolasis*, 26 July 1868; E. Asopios, 'Epinomis', *Attikon imerologion*, iv-v, (1871), pp. 5-24.

³ 'Syzygos kophos i symvios vouvi', *Attikon Imerologion*, iv-v (1871), p. 30; 'Anthodesmi', *Attikon Imerologion*, iv-v (1871), pp. 29-43; 'Gyni kai kazamias', *Attikon imerologion*, iv (1870), p. 37.

⁴ D. Paparrigopoulos, *Peri kathikonton tou anthropou os hristianou kai os politou* (Athens 1871), p. 116.

⁵ E. Varika, op. cit., p. 94.

explaining that the government was keen to employ married teachers, both men and women, 'whom we expect to set an example for the community'.¹

Many male figures in literary and political circles in the Greek kingdom and the Greek communities abroad pioneered women's emancipation, advocating women's involvement in the nation's social and literary affairs. However, these pioneers, obviously sympathetic to the misjudged and neglected sex, and seriously concerned about women's demeaning ignorance and seclusion, particularly in the Ottoman Empire, continued to believe with the rest of the society that a respectable woman's principal task was that of homemaker. The struggle for women's rights thus came to be seen as the campaign to recognise and repair women's wrongs.² It was within this consensus that the *Hellene* tried to educate the *Hellenida*, who 'as a good patriot . . . full of the great sentiment for her nation, would participate actively in those spheres which the nation deems urgent.'³ In the same year, the minister of education, Dimitrios S. Mavrokordatos, explained in a special memorandum to female teachers that they ought to understand that 'the man's body was destined for the external world and the woman's for the domestic sphere.'⁴

Not surprisingly, in the face of such male fears, the years after 1870 saw increased interest in the kind of education women ought to have, a question linked to the vital issue of the period: what kind of women do we want to have: philosophers or literate mothers? It was at this juncture that Isigonis and Skylitsis argued in Smyrna that women should be given domestic education, while the *Arsakeio* curriculum continued to prepare both mothers and teachers with its disproportionate emphasis on French and home economics.⁵ Furthermore, in 1872, Ioannis Venetis asked the *Arsakeio*'s committee to re-examine the scope of female education, suggesting that the school curriculum's primary aim should be the preparation of mothers capable of raising children according to the principles of the *Hellenismos* and

¹ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., 173.

² C. Xanthopoulos, *Proti kai mesi peri anatrophis kai ekpaidevseis ton korasion* (Athens, 1873), pp. 239-249.

³ Ibid., p. 225.

⁴ D. Mavrokordatos 'Pros tous Dimodidaskalous' in E. Fournaraki (ed.), pp. 242-243.

⁵ I. Skylitsis, 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 21 March 1872; 'Peri ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 10 March 1872; 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 14 March 1872; 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 17 March 1872; 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 22 February 1872; 'Peri Ekpaidevseos', *Smyrni*, 25 February 1872; G. Karydis, 'Pros I. Skylitsi', *Smyrni*, 24 March 1873; Al. Bakalaki and E. Elegmitou, op. cit., pp. 85-87; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 186, 193.

Christianity.¹ The same year the Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (Education) announced the results its competition, begun in 1869, on *poies oi elipsis tis katoteras kai mesis paideias kai poies oi protinomenes lyseis* (problems of primary and middle education and possible solutions). The association presented the conclusion to their research, expressing its embarrassment at examples of female dereliction and citing a case where three daughters had abandoned their old father to his own devices in order to follow teaching careers. The committee, comprising the period's leading male authors, A. Mavrokordatos, S. Koliatsos, L. Melas, K. Paparrigopoulos, and Gr. Pappadopoulos, further concluded: 'These training schools for teachers should either be totally abolished or should stop being the arena for female philologists.' In addition, it proposed that it was essential to replace philological lessons with courses on maternal duties and home economics, asserting that philological lessons had a bad influence on *Hellenida's* authentic self. This seemed the only sufficient explanation for the behaviour of those women who had abandoned their assigned sphere for the outside world.²

Simultaneously, in 1873-74, the educational committee of the Literary Society of Constantinople announced the introduction of less advanced courses in ancient Greek and mathematics for girls' primary schools, comparable to those of boys' schools. At the same time, the committee argued that the *didaskaleia* for boys should have more hours of teaching than those for girls.³ In addition, for the first time, the minister of education, Ch. Christopoulos, required that the *Arsakeio* present annually to the ministry of education its curriculum and set books for the coming year.⁴ His demand remained in effect until the 1880s, but the greatest legacy of all these efforts was the unprecedented recognition by both intellectuals and statesmen of women's education as a national issue concerning the entire society and even the state. The justification of education and rights for women continued to be coloured by the same repetitive nationalistic and behaviourist arguments, but new dimensions appeared,

¹ I. Venetis, 'Pros to Symvoulion tis Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias' (Athens, 1876), pp. 1-14.

² 'Diagonismos. Poies an elipsis tis katoteras kai mesis dimosias paideias', *Pandora*, xx (1869), pp. 180-181; 'Peri katoteras kai mesis paideias i o epi tou thematos diagonismos', *A.S.D.G.*, i (1869-1872), pp. 77-79.

³ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 268.

⁴ Ibid., p. 151.

as in the following prospectus of a primary school for boys and girls in Smyrna, indicating how the school hoped to attract clientele:

Because our nation is the pioneer of civilisation . . . I would try to transmit the real Hellenic feelings through education (*grammata*) . . . by using examples of women and men from antiquity . . . and follow the guidance of my husband to do my work properly.¹

Literature was naturally designed to have a clear moral and national message. The mood was reminiscent of the 1850s when the editor of *Pandora*, Dragoumis, sought to defend his right to publish foreign novels, not on the grounds of their literary value, but on the basis of the national and moral lessons contained therein. Greek intellectuals in the 1870s still saw themselves as society's moral guardians and continued to assume that their writings ought to be moral essays rather than simple stories. From 1850 to 1880, Greek intellectuals wrote of myths, legends and glorious historical epochs. These were years of vague words and meanings, years when only certain words, poetic forms and subjects were deemed artistically correct, and when all art had to be Hellenic. The function of art was to teach clear patriotic and moral lessons, not to mirror reality. Thus, *Thanos Vlekas*, the first and only novel by Pavlos Kalligas (1814-1896), a lawyer who wrote on history and legislation, could not find a place in Athenian society. Serialised in *Pandora* in 1855, the novel explored not myths but everyday cruel reality, criticising the adoption by the Greek state of the German legislation alien to internal needs, the link between brigands and the ruling class, and the exploitation of the peasants by the rich. This depiction of social injustice was a far cry from the idealisation of Kalligas' contemporaries.² The Athenian public preferred the novels of Alexandros Ragavis (1809-1892), an author renowned for his works on theatre, history and archaeology. 'There is justice on earth,' Ragavis declared in his novel *O symvolaiografos* (*The Notary*), also serialised in *Pandora* in 1850. Kalligas was thus alone in speaking of another view of life, where injustice not only reigned but did so with impunity.³ In the 1850s, such a prospect was the last topic of which the public, journalists and writers wanted to speak or to understand. The 1870s was a time of enormous pressure which left no room for other considerations than how to secure the safety of the *Hellenismos*. Now, people were once more learning more

¹ M. Parashou, 'Philomousoi Hellenikai oikogeneiai tis Smyrnis', *Smyrni*, 3 September 1871.

² M. Vitti, *Ideologiki Leitourgia tis Hellenikis Ithografias* (Athens, 1991), p. 27, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

about their Greekness through journals and literary associations. More definitions of the *Hellenismos*, *Hellene*, *Hellenida*, *genos*, *ethnos* and the *nation* appeared, expressing the thirst of the people to define clearly their cultural and ethnic borders.¹ The decade also saw a number of societies and schools adopting names with a vague national context. In 1867, under Aikaterini Hritomanou-Laskaridou, the Hills' school became the *Helleniko parthenagogeio* (Greek *parthenagogeion*). From 1862 until 1882, the Amalieion orphanage was renamed the national orphanage (*ethniko orphanotropheio*).² The *parthenagogeio* of Agia Photini in Smyrna was renamed *Mega parthenagogeio* (Principal *parthenagogeion*) in 1870 and *Ethniko parthenagogeio* (National *parthenagogeion*) in 1871 by S. Leontias.³ The names of schools for girls in Athens in 1869, such as the *Helleniko korasion ekpaidevtirion* (Hellenic Girls' Educational Institution) of D. Soumerli, are further examples of this atmosphere.⁴

In the 1870s, the belief that the *Hellenismos* was under threat was further strengthened. Gr. Pappadopoulos summarised the spirit of the era when he explained that *Hellenes* should refuse any kind of literary importation, particularly foreign novels. Pappadopoulos and others argued that it was irrational for a nation so steeped in literature and ideas to adopt its ways of thinking, dressing and writing from abroad, while promoting itself to Westerners as the cradle of civilisation.⁵ They opposed the blind importation of foreign habits, customs and ideas, declaring that 'it was time to remember that they were *Hellenes* and to stop reading foolish foreign novels like *stupid and superficial women*' as the newspaper *Smyrni* in Smyrna and Pappadopoulos in Athens, explained.⁶ The latter further expanded on the national danger represented by these stories, which introduced habits, beliefs and ideals alien to those that held the *Hellenismos* together.⁷ He believed that such stories had a harmful influence on women because they created an idealised world in female minds, exciting uncontrollable desires for a happiness foreign to the principles and

¹ 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 2 May 1872; 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 24 July 1870.

² Sp. Panagoulis, 'I Philanthropia en Athinais', op. cit., pp. 562-567.

³ S. Leontias, 'Pros ton Syntakti tis ephimeridos Smyrnis', *Smyrni*, 14 August 1870; 'Diaphora', *Smyrni*, 3 September 1871.

⁴ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 204.

⁵ L. Melas, *Paidiko enheiridio*, in E. Fournaraki (ed.), pp. 235-241.

⁶ 'Ethnika', *Smyrni*, 10 July 1870; Z. Stephanopoulos, 'Peri tou Gallikou Mithistorimatos kai tis Epirois avtou epi ta en Helladi Ithi', *Pandora*, xx (1869), pp. 72-76, 81-86.

⁷ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou Thriskeftikou Aisthimatos', *Pandora*, xviii (1886), pp. 162-170.

values of the *Hellenismos* and destroying family harmony and national unity. Thus, in the years when the *Hellene* and *Hellenida* were praised for their exceptional destiny, Greeks felt under enormous pressure to protect the virtues which they assumed kept the *Hellenismos* together, making them determine on a return to Helleno-Christian virtues. As the professor of French at the *Helleniko ekpaidevotirio*, Zanetakis Stephanopoulos wrote (in French!), Greeks must strengthen their will to refuse all novels or other emotionalist reading, because

This gloomy fiction does not belong to our society. The East looks to us for its enlightenment and rebirth, and, if we were as fainting and languid as these novels want us to be, how could we ever fulfil our destiny?¹

Furthermore, Greeks should avoid importing alien habits and customs. This point was driven home by a primer on history and geography of 1869, which answered the question: 'What are the borders of contemporary European Turkey?' as follows:

All of European and part of Asian Turkey belongs to the *Hellenes*, who should be ready to make any personal sacrifice to regain these beautiful lands, their inheritance, and to free the poor Christian *Hellenes* from the barbarians.²

Thus, in the last half of the nineteenth century the nationalist doctrine had (ideologically) come full circle. Radical changes had occurred since Stefanos Koumanoudis, a prominent literary figure in Athens, had used Koraes' term *metakenosis* (transmission) in 1845 to indicate that, in imitating the West, which was a later version of classical civilisation and, thus, their own cultural descendant, Greeks were building their nation on their proper inheritance. In the 1870s, Pappadopoulos preached the antithesis of this theory, suggesting instead that the *Hellenismos*, as the archetype of all European civilisation, was the only medium for its transmission to all humanity. To build their nation, Greeks ought to concentrate on their indigenous themes, Pappadopoulos suggested, and furthermore, the direction the *Hellenismos* to the West should be reversed. Westerners should turn to modern Hellenic civilisation, as the only true Christian civilisation, for a re-examination of their values, for inspiration, and for further identification. Therefore, it was irrational to continue to publish foreign stories, let alone that most of them, according to the intellectuals of the period, did not include any moral or national message. *Hellenes* should write

¹ Z. Stephanopoulos, op. cit., pp. 72-76, 81-86.

² A. Agapitou, *Mikra geographia ton paidon*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit, p. 225.

moral stories for themselves and the whole of humanity, intellectuals explained. They ought to write of their world, because this world was the touchstone of inspiration and identity.¹

It was in this ideological climate that news of foreign women's organisations founded to work for world peace reached Constantinople, Smyrna and Athens from abroad.² At the same time, news of women's authorship and progress in Italy, Switzerland, France and Germany obviously strengthened *Hellenides'* fears of being left behind, floating in the wake of 'great events'. 'What is the East doing, the source of humanity?' *Evridiki* asked in exasperation. Nevertheless, such achievements were not considered examples for imitation by *Hellenides*.³ Furthermore, as Kehayia had explained, from now on, men and women were undeniably equal in the eyes of God as they advanced, side-by-side, in a triumphant march of technology and science which was universal, irreversible, and, therefore, inevitable.⁴ It, therefore, followed that woman, as much as man, ought to follow this universal progress. This was especially so for *Hellenides*, whose nation saw itself as the pioneer of any advancement.⁵ But in opposition to such an understanding, like Pappadopoulos and other contemporary intellectuals, these Greek intellectual women believed that the Helleno-Christian civilisation was the model to which the West should turn for inspiration and re-examination of their values and not vice versa. Consequently, the introduction of any foreign ideas was anathema to the fundamental beliefs of the *Hellenismos*. Writers such as Ktena-Leontias, Leontias, and Kehayia assumed that only the Christian mentality, as the source of inner strength and *Hellenismos* virtues, could eventually guide *Hellenides* to their exceptional destiny.⁶

Both religious truth, i.e. Orthodoxy and the *Hellenismos* informed the world of *Hellenides* and the system of beliefs that circumscribed their freedom of movement,

¹ D. Antonopoulos, 'Pros tous Anagnostas', *Hellin Philologos*, 1 February 1871.

² D. Istrias, 'I thriskia kai o polemos. Julia Ward Howe, An Appeal to Womanhood', *Evridiki*, i (1871), pp. 85-87; K., 'I gyni graphousa', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), p. 30.

³ 'Epistoli Doras Istriados', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), 18 September; Marianthi, 'Ai agglides', *Evridiki*, ii (1872), 15 January; 'Gynaikaia kinisis en Ameriki' *Evridiki*, ii (1872), 30 January 1872; D. Istrias, 'I thriskia kai o polemos', *Evridiki*, i (1871), pp. 85-87; Dimosias dialexis tis Varonidos De Komvroug, 'Peri Aisthiseon', *Evridiki*, i (1871), pp. 111-113; Elpis, 'Pros tin Evridiki', *Evridiki*, i (1871), pp. 113-120.

⁴ K. Kehayia, 'I thesis tis gynaikos en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 315.

⁵ K. Kehayia, *Egolpion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., pp. 19-24.

⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

Kehayia argued. She presented the *Hellenismos* as a catholic, egalitarian and humanitarian ideal, concluding that a European individual, by being Hellenized, would not only preserve his racial characteristics, but would moreover come closer to the ideal of humanity, as the *Hellenismos* was the archetype of all European civilisation. 'By the *Hellenismos* I mean . . . the set of these catholic ideals which the *Hellenismos* presents to all humanity . . . the *Hellenismos* means humanisation.'¹ Within the confines of this theory, Kehayia furthermore concluded that because only the *Hellenismos* possessed such an uncanny power, although a European was actually humanised by being Hellenized, a reversal of the process could only lead to danger. 'When the *Hellene* is Westernised, the cohesion of his ideas breaks up, and, consequently, he is stepping backwards.'² In consequence, Kehayia argued, progress for *Hellenides* signified the discovery of their cultural collectivity: language, religion, history and destiny; in fact, the rational and spiritual nature of the *Hellenida*.³ Kehayia concluded that only through an *hellenoprepos* education could *Hellenides* advance closer to the European woman: 'We draw nearer to Europe the more we are Hellenized.'⁴

These first Greek women intellectuals asked women to enrich their minds with wisdom and their hearts with prudence and modesty. They asked women to limit their natural curiosity to decent and proper subjects and to abandon frivolity and gossip for serious study to strengthen the mind. Although they assumed that women had national and religious or social responsibilities, such as care of the poor, the orphaned, and the aged, they regarded such responsibilities as part of their immemorial female sphere which men had stolen from them.⁵ They asked for the advancement of female education, and some of them, such as Aristaia, assumed that women had the natural right to an education equal to men's. But between different theories on female education, there was one vital point on which male and female intellectuals of the period agreed: they hoped that education could bring a total repression of their femininity or what they believed constituted the bad pattern of their femininity. Education ought to repair women's wrongs, to show women how to

¹ Ibid., p. 19.

² Ibid., pp. 18-19.

³ K. Kehayia, 'I thesis tis gynaikos en ti koinonia', op. cit., p. 327.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ S. Leontias, 'Peri kliseos', op. cit., pp. 78-79.

control their gross passions and natures and to live in obedience, modesty and silence, while through such efforts, these women believed that they could arouse the virtues of the authentic *Hellenida*. These first intellectuals thus assumed that it was their generation's responsibility to right women's wrongs.

They were frustrated by the fact that for centuries women had been the slaves of illiteracy, while, in modern times, they were the slaves of the deleterious vices of coquetry and luxury. They wanted to uncover the authentic identity of the *Hellenida* beneath the alien accretions of centuries. They did not oppose male authority, which they accepted as a part of their world. Instead, they opposed the stereotypes which men had assigned to them for years - irresolution, passion, illogicality and unstableness - and which women in the 1870s assumed to be the antithesis of the ideal *Hellenida*. It was with such an understanding of life that Kehayia, as director of the *parthenagogeion* Zappeion in Constantinople, suggested that female education should include primarily those subjects which would reawaken and activate the pupils' love of their nation and their mother tongue. Ancient Greek, national history, physics, mathematics, the Orthodox catechism, Greek calligraphy, music and needlework, including embroidery of national themes, were the subjects through which Kehayia hoped to achieve the Hellenization of the young. These priorities sometimes led her to extremes, as when she insisted that round Greek characters instead of the roman characters (*trigonika*) should be taught in calligraphy.¹ In her book *Paidagogikon Egoipion I Symvoules tines pros tas apofoitosas Zappidas* (*Handbook of Pedagogy or Advice for Zappeion Graduates*), published in 1879 for the use of the Zappeion's graduates, she suggested that education had only one goal, namely the preparation of pious *Hellenoprepos* mothers, and therefore citizens, maintaining that there was no room for any other kind of knowledge in *Hellenides'* education. 'Beware of God's anger . . . it is a thousand times worse than illiteracy' she warned her graduates who wished to follow a career in teaching.² Following the same trend of thought, Leontias stated in 1877: '*Hellenes* or *Hellenides* who lack knowledge of their past, and an understanding of their future . . . would be better off dead [had better not live].'³

¹ K. Kehayia, 'Logodosia', op. cit.; K. Kehayia, *Egoipion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., pp. 19-24.

² K. Kehayia, *Egoipion Paidagogikon*, op. cit., p. 54.

³ S. Leontias, 'Apoheraitistirion S. Leontias', *Amaltheia*, 31 August 1877.

It was in these years that Ktena-Leontias, extolling the obedience of the modest Evanthia Kairi, highlighted the fact that 'the most vital female virtues are modesty and humility.'¹ Ktena-Leontias disapproved of women who laughed who participated actively in discussions and who tried to display their spirituality. She saw such behaviour as the consequence of the long-standing bias in women's education, lacking as it was in the essential lessons of literacy and the example of their ancestors.² She argued that *Hellenides* should follow an appropriate course of studies that would expose their minds first of all to the moral lessons of Greek history. They should be taught modern philosophy and ethics in order to learn sound rules of reasoning and behaviour, and this in turn would guide them in their hard mission to inculcate virtue in their children.³ She believed that the role of *Hellenes* was, as it had been years ago, the role of Koraes in the life of Kairi: to guide *Hellenides* in the arena of literature. In this process, she added, the role of the *parthenagogeia* was to inspire young girls with the virtues which would later transform them into 'women and *Hellenides*'.⁴ In addition, she believed that the modern *Hellenida* ought, like Kairi, to work alongside her male compatriots for the nation's educational advancement, and ought to read literature with clear moral messages aimed at strengthening her mind and her will-power. She stressed the duty of *Hellenides* as mothers and wives, emphasising the dignity and importance which women held through these roles. She placed women in their 'domain' where, under male authority, they fulfilled their domestic duties, their newly prescribed models of appropriate female behaviour, and thus made their social contribution to their nation.⁵ She believed, however, that the new social responsibilities of women, such as participation in cultural or charitable associations, which led to their more frequent appearance in the public domain, could not harm the female 'otherness' - embodied in virtue, purity, and high morality - because women possessed the most vital virtue of their femininity: modesty. She believed that this intrinsic female quality could guide *Hellenides* into proper courses and would never allow them to interfere in affairs hitherto regarded as the preserve of men. But only women who studied their

¹ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli A. Korai pros E. Kairi', *Omiros*, ii (1874), p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 88-93.

³ Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Epigrafi', *Ph.S.C.*, v (1870-71), p. 1.

⁴ A. Ktena-Leontias, 'Epistoli A. Korai pros Evanthia Kairi', *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

role under appropriate and complete instruction could willingly respect the cultural boundary between the male and female worlds. This, she argued, provided men with one more reason to take an interest in the spread of female education.

But it was not only education to which *Hellenides* should devote themselves. Beauty and goodness were confused in a new way, while the criteria of individual beauty were determined more by the grandeur of religious and patriotic emotions than outward appearances. Within this ideological background, the way that *Hellenides* looked and behaved, for these pioneer female intellectuals, was as important as their education. *Hellenides* learned further that it was their national duty to avoid false feelings, particularly coquetry. The truly virtuous *Hellenida* was not only a comfort to her menfolk but also the force and inspiration that redoubled male intellectual and moral faculties. She should be modest and pure, and avoid any lower feelings, because, as Leontias explained, 'It is better to be less coquettish but able to give birth to *Hellenes* who know how to fight for the nation, than elegant and unable to give birth to masculine men.'¹ Similarly, the minister of education, Dimitrios Mavrokordatos, explained in a special memorandum to female teachers: 'I speak to you not as minister but as brother and friend . . . among the bad habits which you have to eliminate is also this one of coquetry.'² Thus, although coquetry continued to exist, it was for the first time portrayed as irrational and anti-Christian behaviour driving the outwardly 'virtuous *Hellenida*' to act in secrecy:

And yet, beautiful, well-dressed and elegant women existed. But the whole preparation was made in secrecy in the bedroom with the doors locked. A woman who gazed at herself in the mirror was immoral. When they saw a mirror, women and girls had to pretend that they despised what they saw.³

The sight of her mother looking in the mirror or fixing her hair in secrecy made the young Delta feel guilty at seeing something which she should never have seen:

And I did not know why I felt guilty. They had taught us [the children] too that it is bad to look in the mirror, but if it was bad, why was Mother doing it? And if it was not bad, why was she doing it secretly?⁴

¹ S. Leontias, 'Peri tou Ethnikou Symferontos Ypo Ithikin Apopsin', *Smyrni*, 19 March 1871.

² D. Mavrokordatos, in E. Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., p. 243.

³ P. Delta, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

⁴ Ibid.

Her mother's hypocrisy contrasted with her father's open display of such activities: 'Father looked in the mirror to inspect his hair or clothes. He always had a good reason to do it, while Mother did it secretly.' This observation led her to the first understanding of the cultural boundary between the male and female worlds: 'So [looking in the mirror] is supposed to be bad, and it should never have been done'.¹ But if a quick glance in the mirror was forbidden to the generation supposed to be distinguished for logic, pragmatism, and virtue, the world of emotions was viewed as a waste of time. Any source of excitement and passion was to be avoided. Uncontrolled passion or love was depicted as the cause of misery. Love was a poison bound to create suffering, and vicious sentiments such as jealousy, egoism and lust. 'See how a beautiful existence can be destroyed', an article in *Attikon Imerologion* (*Attica's Chronicle*) explained to its readers, condemning love as the basis of the most unstable and painful kind of marriage.² For the *Hellene*, but particularly for the *Hellenida* of the period, the philosophy of life was summarised in two words: modesty and virtue. To this end, they tried various measures to keep the female soul in a state of Eden-like candour, kindness and purity.

Logical men do not want to marry loose women . . . they love those who are reserved, decorous, and decent . . . logical men detest women who like to speak about everything and especially about politics . . . logical men love and honour those women who remain in their assigned sphere. God destined women not to be philosophers, but to bear children; not to write books, but to mend their families' clothes, not to join the public sphere but to stay at home, not to read novels but to raise children.³

Such advice for young girls commonly appeared in the newspaper *O Astir tis Anatolis* (The Star of the Middle East) in Athens in 1869 and in *Evrudiki* in Constantinople in 1871, and it was explained to girls that women who went beyond these confines and flaunted their physical beauty were lost.⁴ The gross, passionate coquette, so prevalent in the newspapers and satirical commentary of the period, soon found its antithesis in prudery and shame. Additionally, in a world where woman were seen as emotional creatures in contrast to logical man, Ktena-Leontias, Leontias, Phakopoulou and 'K', introduced the virtuous *Hellenida* with the masculine

¹ Ibid.

² Aspasia, 'Epta selides ek ton tis kyrias Zirarlen', *Attikon Imerologion*, ii (1867), pp. 204-210.

³ A. Spathakis, 'Parainesis pros tas neanidas', *O Astir tis Anatolis*, 8 November 1869; 'Parainesis pros tas neanidas', *Evrudiki*, 15 January 1871.

⁴ 'Peri tis Epirois', *Evrudiki*, 19 March 1871.

heart or the *andreia gyni* (manly woman), as Leontias put it. This was the woman who through proper readings would guide her menfolk into proper political actions, while at the same time accepting that maleness was a prerequisite for citizenship and political involvement. She would accept that the family was held together by the *patria protestas* and would see male chauvinist attitudes as natural domestic habits. 'My father used to open my mother's letters, just as my husband used to open my letters later, and neither I nor my mother saw this behaviour as inappropriate,' Delta recalled in her memoirs.¹ In explanation, she added: 'Whatever my father wanted had to be done, no one ever dared oppose him or answer him back.'²

The role of these first female intellectuals was thus to repress totally in women any feelings or actions which could harm the nation. Fiction had to be censored. Any story which could excite women's fantasy and illicit feelings was prohibited by female intellectuals for the first time. At the same time, a spate of articles appeared in contemporary newspapers advising aunts, grandmothers and mothers to ration their kisses and hugs, assuming that such emotional behaviour induced 'gross passions' in sensitive girls.³ By contrast, the new *Hellenida* should be in control of her emotions, and Leontias, in her poetry, praised the new *Hellenida*: 'Oh God . . . make her logical as the goddess Athena! Modest in beauty as the ancient *Hellenis*. Make her take pride in herself for being an *Hellenida*. And a daughter of the Church.'⁴ In this period when acceptable paths to behaviour were plainly marked and heavily guarded, Delta recalled in her memoirs the behaviour of her mother:

And this logic, the shoulds and should-nots which guided my parents' lives, and particularly my mother's, this contempt for feelings made my parents destroy our lives, without ever realising the crime they had committed against us.⁵

But women in the 1870s were far from such realisations. As *Evrudiki* explained to 'virtuous women', the reading of fiction was forbidden because 'it excites fantasy and exacerbates the heart diseases.'⁶ In 1872, a series of articles in *Evrudiki* portrayed the *Hellenida* as a strong and (*Hellenoprepos*) well-educated patriotic figure. Nearly 40 years after the publication of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer's theory on the racial origins

¹ P. Delta, op. cit., p. 203.

² Ibid., p. 18.

³ C. Xanthopoulos, *Peri katoteras kai mesis paideias*, in E. Fournaraki (ed.), pp. 250-254.

⁴ S. Leontias, 'Peri Kliseos', *Evrudiki*, i (1870), pp. 26-28.

⁵ P. Delta, op. cit., p. 42.

⁶ 'Ta apotelesmata tis anagnoseos ton mythistorion', *Evrudiki*, 15 March 1872.

of the *Hellenismos*, *Hellenides* were able to respond, in a more feminine tone: '*Hellenides, Hellenides!* Oh! you cannot have seen our love, Fallmerayer. Because if you did, then you would sing with us enthusiastically: the *Hellenic genos* still lives.'¹

This was the state of things in 1875 when the news of the uprising against the Ottoman Empire in Herzegovina and Bosnia reached the Greek kingdom, catching the Greeks emotionally and materially unprepared. The failure of the state, and, by extension, men, to answer the national call was once more to depress a society that had anticipated its national and political unification for decades.

¹ I. Taylarios, '*Ai gynaikes en ti Vyzantini avtokratoria*', *Evrudiki*, ii (1872), 15 February 1872.

Gender and the State 1880-1897

3.1 The Civic Religion

The uprising in Herzegovina, which began in July 1875, had spread to Bosnia by mid-August. While it was a foregone conclusion that it would sooner or later involve Serbia and Montenegro, the insurrection caused little excitement in Greece. Greeks initially saw Panslavic intrigues behind the unrest, and thus continued to believe that Greece should follow the policy it had adopted in the 1870s: one of friendship and cooperation with Turkey.¹ However, the news of the Bulgarian revolt of 1876 and the following declaration of war on Turkey by Serbia and Montenegro alarmed the Greeks, who feared that a settlement of the Eastern question favourable to the Slavs would result.² The direct interventions by the great powers and the preparation of a conference in Constantinople, after the sudden collapse of the Serbian army, as well as the British proposal to consider measures of administrative autonomy for the Slav regions of the Balkans, ignoring the Greek view, shocked the Greek world and strengthened Greek fears. 'The Hellenic inheritance will become the booty of others' journalists proclaimed.³ Under such pressure, large public demonstrations were organised in Athens and throughout the kingdom.⁴ However, the breakdown of the conference and Russia's declaration of war on Turkey in 1877 brought further unrest to the Greek capital. Nationalist elements in the kingdom and in the Greek provinces of Turkey began to prepare themselves seriously for a general uprising. Another public demonstration at the Pnyx (Athens) sent up the cries, 'Hurrah for the king!', 'Hurrah for the war.'⁵ By January 1878 the atmosphere in Athens was extremely tense. The rapid advance of the Russian armies had left no doubt in the minds of King George I and Prime Minister Koumoundouros that Russia aimed at a complete victory and that Greece could not avoid involvement in this war. Although the cabinet remained divided, steps were taken in a warlike direction. While Greece would be officially neutral and refrain from troop mobilisation immediately,

¹ E. Kofos, *Greece and the Eastern Crisis 1875-78* (Salonica, 1975), p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³ K. Sakelaridis, 'I katastasis mas', *O Hellin*, 20 December 1877; K. Sakelaridis, 'I katastasis mas', *O Hellin*, 29 December 1877; K. Sakelaridis, 'Politikon deltion', *O Hellin*, 15 November 1877; K. Sakelaridis, 'Politiko deltion', *Hellin*, 29 January 1877; K. Sakelaridis, 'Politiko Deltion', *Hellin*, 26 January 1877; K. Sakelaridis, 'To 1877 kai 1878', *Hellin*, 1 January 1878.

⁴ E. Kofos, *op. cit.*, p. 81; M. Mitsakis, 'To vaptisma', *Estia*, xvi (1883), pp. 785-788.

⁵ G. Giannari, *Phititika Kkinimata kai Helleniki paideia* (Athens, 1993), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 257.

revolutionary committees representing the Cretans, Macedonians, and other Greek subjects residing in the Greek kingdom would be encouraged to send armed bands and arms into Thessaly, Epirus and Crete to prepare the nucleus of a general insurrectionary movement.¹ However, while the Greeks had been striving to promote the Greek question by organising an insurrection, the Russians had decided to consolidate their gains by a formal treaty with Turkey.

It was at this juncture that news of an armistice signed between Turkey and Russia reached Athens. The Greek leaders had chosen the worst possible moment to act: they were too late to achieve an effective occupation of Turkish territory, and too ill-prepared militarily and diplomatically to ward off punitive strikes by the Ottoman naval and land forces. Had it gone into effect, the San Stefano treaty of 3 March 1878, which officially ended the war between Turkey and Russia, would have created a Bulgarian state encompassing most of Thrace and Macedonia and extending from the Danube to the Aegean Sea: land which Greek nationalists had coveted for years.² However, not only Greece was alarmed by such a settlement, which would obviously have made unattainable the dreams of a restoration of the *Hellenismos* in the lands which once belonged to the Byzantine Empire but also Britain, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy were perturbed by the prospect of Russian naval bases on the Aegean Sea after the creation of an enlarged Bulgaria and Russian's victory in the war of 1877-1878. Unwilling to face the consequences of such an outcome, the great powers cut 'big Bulgaria' down to size at the Congress of Berlin in June-July 1878. Hence, a much smaller Bulgaria, excluding Macedonia, was established as an autonomous state. Nevertheless, for the Greeks, the crisis from 1875 to 1878 ended three years later in the Treaty of Berlin, signed in Constantinople in 1881, whereby, not as a result of irredentist agitation but of Great Powers mediation Thessaly and a part of Epirus (Arta) was ceded to Greece. While Greek journalists praised the reunification of Thessaly, an Hellenic land, with their country, they could not escape the shattering reality that such a territorial expansion was as a result of the great powers' generosity. Equally disturbing was the fact that, throughout the crisis, Western Europe 'instead of seeing Greeks . . . saw only Slavic populations fighting

¹ E. Kofos, op. cit, p. 147

² G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 20.

for their rights', as the writer Nikos Voutyras explained.¹ At the same time, the poet Ioulios Typaldos warned patriots that such territorial gains demoralised gradually those who were too cowardly to fight and observed that such 'presents from foreigners, although they often seem generous, very often hide poison.'² In addition, as before, Greek writers and journalists made scapegoats of the rural population and politicians. However, for most writers of the period, the grim reality was summed up by the author Emmanouil Roidis, when he said that 'patriotism is remaindered merchandise without a buyer' and that, only occasionally, military exercises 're-awaken the *Megale Idea* from its last twenty years of lethargy.'³

It was with such self-criticism and feelings of personal failure that Greeks in 1881, as in 1862, looked upon the expansion of their state's borders. But between these two dates there was a vital difference. Before 1870, Greek statesmen expected at some time eventually to gain Thessaly, Crete, Epirus, Thrace and Macedonia. By 1878, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania had emerged as independent and enlarged states, while Bulgarian nationalists had at their disposal a state ('little Bulgaria'), a national church and the desire to create a great Bulgaria. It was at this point that the *Megale Idea*, located on the crossroads of the conflicting national programmes of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Albania, was eventually transformed into another 'Great Idea'.⁴ Hence, *Hellenes* saw ideals and beliefs as useless against the spread of antagonistic nationalist visions. They saw their way of thinking and *raison d'être* in uncertain conflict with other nationalist ideas and hopes for reunification and restoration of peoples and lands in other future nation-states. Among them was the succession of nation-states appearing in the Balkans in the 1880s, each having passionate attachments to sacred lands and centres which sustained the Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian and hopes for regeneration and restoration of 'great Hellas',

¹ N. Voutyras, 'Idou', *Kikirikou*, 13 May 1876.

² I. Typaldos, 'Dia tin enosi me tin Hellada Odi', *Estia*, xii (1881), p. 589.

³ A. Sakelariadis, 'Politikon deltion', *Hellin*, 12 November 1877; E. Roidis, 'Kyrion Arthron' *Asmodaios*, 5 January 1875; E. Roidis, 'Emporikon Deltion', *Asmodaios*, 19 January 1875; I. Papaioannou, 'Kyrio Arthro', *Douli Hellas*, 25 January 1881; I. Papaioannou, 'Pros to Panellinion', *Douli Hellas*, 30 January 1880; N. Stefanidou, 'Logos', *Douli Hellas*, 5 February 1881; I. Pappaioannou, 'To pros tin patrida kathikon tou ierou klirou', *Douli Hellas*, 10 February 1881; I. Pappaioannou, 'Kairos ergon kai ohi apophaseon', *Douli Hellas*, 15 February 1881; I. Pappaioannou, 'Oi voulevtai', *Douli Hellas*, 17 December 1879; I. Pappaioannou, 'Kathikonta tis neolaias os pros tas parousas ethnikas peristaseis tou Hellenismou', *Douli Hellas*, 1 March 1881.

⁴ G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History*, op. cit., p. 21.

'great Serbia', and 'great Bulgaria', respectively. To a large extent, the new *Megale idea* was inspired by the same principles, rested upon the support of the same intellectual and social forces, appealed to the same appetites and flattered the same vanities as its precursor. However, the turning-point of Greek nationalism in the 1880s was not so much the degree of support for the national cause among the people as the transformation of the definition and programme of this nationalism.¹

In the 1870s, Greeks had assumed that the cultural unification of the nation was the force through which this nation would realise its goal of political unification. The theory was that the production of a standard Greek culture disseminated by the kingdom's and the Greek community's cultural associations in Turkey would be more effective than the Ottoman imperial system which had ruled the 'Orthodox world' for so long. In addition, the fact that, for centuries, a large segment of the Christian peasant population had owed allegiance to the Ecumenical Patriarchate had further conveyed the impression and thus the certainty to Greeks, that non-Greek-speaking groups, such as Albanians, Slavs and Vlachs were essentially Greeks. It was this view that had motivated Vasiadis, on his founding of the Tutorial Club (*Ekpaideftikon Frontistirion*) in 1861, to declare that the dissemination of Greek language and education (*grammata*) was directed at 'the *Orthodox populations* . . . regardless of racial or linguistic differences.'² According to this thinking, the Turk did not present any danger, because propagation of the enlightened principles of Christian civilisation enshrined in the Greek language and culture would lead to internal Hellenic sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire without the risks of armed struggle. It was such a mode of thinking that made Greeks believe in the 1870s that their *ethnos* (nation) could coexist with the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity, as long as the dissemination of the *Hellenismos* cultural heritage preserved the ethnic political interests of the Orthodox Greeks in the empire. What remained, therefore, was to awaken the masses to the principles of the *Hellenismos*, a process that, as Vasiadis had explained in 1871, amounted to the dissemination of Greek language

¹ Ibid.; I. Pannos, 'To Anatoliko Zitima kai I Hellas', *Aggelos*, 22 May 1876.

² I. Vasiadis, 'Ekthesis ton Ergon tou en Konstantinoupolei sylogou', *Synedrion ton Hellenikon Sylogon*, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

and education from Constantinople to 'Hellenes and Hellenized Hellenes in Ottoman lands'.¹

Vasiadis' definition seemed self-evident in 1871. Yet, only six years later, at the Conference of Constantinople, the Russian ambassador, Ignatiev, tried to obtain the widest possible definition of the boundaries of Bulgaria. Therefore, he used the recently published ethnological map by the German cartographer H. Kiepert, which marked most of Thrace and Macedonia as Bulgarian inhabited and argued that *language* was the sole criterion of nationality. This criterion was strongly contested by the Greeks. Prime Minister Koundouriotis explained in his memorandum to the representatives of the powers that many Slav-speaking inhabitants in Macedonia and Thrace, who were Greek by culture, religion and national consciousness, would be wrongly considered Bulgarians.² A dispute was soon raging between Kiepert and Paparrigopoulos on the design of the map of Greece, the latter arguing that the maps should be based not upon linguistic differences but upon historical facts, and suggested the term *ethnokratikos* (ethnic state), insisting that each map should have only one colour corresponding to the majority ethnic group.³

However, by the 1880s, Greeks faced a new reality. Language had become synonymous with the national community, while the idea of encompassing all Greeks within one state was linked for the first time with threats from outside. Such changes obviously ran counter to Greek aspirations, leading to a radical shift in their attitudes. However, this does not mean that language had previously been unimportant as a national issue for Greek intellectuals. It had always been a criterion of nationality, but only one criterion among several others. Thus, if Paparrigopoulos' speech, in memory of Konstantino Asopio in 1872, had sounded premature with its definitions 'What is *Hellenismos*? The Hellenic language. What is the Hellenic language? *Hellenismos*,' in the following years, while nationality was not determined by religion alone, the Greek language came to be seen as one of the vital factors that could assist in the steady Hellenisation of the Greek Orthodox community.⁴

¹ Od. Ialemos, 'I istoria tou Hellenikou philologikou syllogou kai tis epidraseos avtou epi tis ekpaidevtikis en Tourkia energias tou imeterou ethnous', *Ph.S.C.*, xii (1877-78), p. 13.

² E. Kofos, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92, 192.

³ K. Paparrigopoulos, *Epi Istorikon Logon kai kyrios tis Enoikousis Phylis*, in K. Dimaras, K. Paparrigopoulos, *Prolegomena* (Athens, 1970), p. 25; K. Dimaras, *Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos*, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-346.

⁴ K. Paparrigopoulos, *Logos epitafios pros Konstantino Asopio* (Athens, 1873), p. 49.

Language was used as essential evidence in rediscovering, reconstructing and promoting the Greekness of these lands. In the 1880s, Greek intellectuals inside and outside the Greek kingdom focused on the territorial past of 'our people', reawakening the desire in the passive nation for the sacred territory which historically belonged to them.

Homer, for instance, was the historical legacy employed by intellectuals, including Leontias, to demonstrate the Greekness of Smyrna and the *Smyrnaïous* (Smyrna's inhabitants). Smyrna was where Homer had lived, created and died. Moreover, its people still used Homer's idioms in their vernacular.¹ For the first time in the Greek communities, it was explained to *Hellenes* that the Ottoman lands inhabited by Greek majorities were 'our' lands. As Vasiadis concluded in the 1880s, 'the goal of the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople is the cultivation and dissemination of Greek language and education (*grammata*) to our lands.'² Concurrently, the association for the first time narrowed its mandate by arguing that 'an Hellenic association should concern itself only with the *Hellenismos*.'³ For Greeks, this redefinition meant, in practice, the transformation of a religious nationalism cum Hellenic Orthodoxy into a secular nationalism. These developments, thus, represented the ideological transition from the time when Greek intellectuals assumed that the egalitarian, cosmopolitan and universal character of Orthodoxy and the territorial and racial demands of the *Megale idea* could coexist. The *Megale idea* was, thus, transformed into another Great Idea, a fundamentally secular ideology. Greeks realised that henceforth, between different Great Ideas in the Balkans, they had to assert their right to what they claimed as Hellenic lands through means such as language and a distinctive national education.⁴ In the 1880s, as in the 1860s, Athens was again recognised as the political and cultural centre of the *Hellenismos* from which all activities ought to be coordinated. It was in such a climate that, in 1879, on the initiative of *Parnassos*, the association founded by *gymnasium* students in

¹ Apo ti syntaxi, 'Systasis syllogou kyrion Athina: Yper tou megalou en Smyrni Parthenagogeiou', *Amalthia*, 16 February 1877; S. Leontias, 'Topika kai diaphora', *Amalthia*, 23 February 1877.

² Ir. Vasiadis, 'Logos Irinaïou Vasiados 7/19 Septemvriou 1886', *Eikospentaetiris Hellenikou Philologikou Syllogou Constantinoupoleos*, Ph.S.C., viii (1861-1886), p. 6.

³ Od. Ialamos, 'I istoria tou Hellenikou philologikou syllogou kai tis epidraseos avtou epi tis ekpaidevtikis en Tourkia energias tou imeterou ethnous', Ph.S.C., xii (1877-78), p. 7.

⁴ P. Thoma, 'G. Saphiris', *Estia*, xvii (1884), p. 248; E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire* (London, 1987), pp. 142-151.

1865, the congress of the Hellenic associations was held in Athens. Although the inspiration for this congress came from *Parnassos*, the incentive came from the circle of intellectuals in the Athenian Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (Education), among them the leading historian Paparrigopoulos.¹

Sixty-three associations from the Greek kingdom and the Greek communities outside the Greek kingdom - 22 associations from the Greek kingdom, three from Europe (Paris, Marseille and Geneva), sixteen from Thrace (Constantinople, Andrianople), one from Bulgaria, twelve from Macedonia, five from Asia Minor, three from the islands and one from Alexandria - sent their representatives to the congress in order to find, under the presidency of Paparrigopoulos, 'the common means which all the associations should employ for the progress of the Greek language, upbringing and education'.² The idea for the congress was not new. In 1868, Ir. Vasiadis had asked the university to organise just such a congress. Five years later, in the absence of any such Athenian initiative, Vasiadis and the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople had voted for such a congress to be held in Constantinople in August 1875, although it never took place.³ What was new in 1879, however, was that associations such as *Parnassos*, the Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters (Education), the Hellenic Literary Society of Constantinople, the Association of Homer (*Omiros*) and distinguished personalities in the Greek kingdom and Greek communities outside the Greek kingdom, such as Ir. Vasiadis, K. Paparrigopoulos, E. Dragoumis, T. Philimon, A. Mansolas, S. Lampros, N. Kazazis, L. Melas, M. Renieris, N. Saripolos, G. Mistriotis, M. Navtis, A. Tombazis, and many others, felt the need to defend, but this time from Athens, something that had been taken for granted for decades: the loyalty of the masses.⁴

In the meantime, new forces began to develop in the Greek kingdom. From 1860 to the end of 1880, the kingdom took real steps in economic progress. A new generation of political leaders had emerged, after the historical coincidence that, from 1877 to 1883, a generation of political leaders such as Epaminondas Deligeorgis, Thrasyvoulos Zaimis and Alexandros Koumoundouros had died. But the real

¹ K. Dimaras, *K. Paparrigopoulos*, op. cit., pp. 351-354.

² 'Praktika tis protis avtou synodou', *Synedrion ton Hellenikon syllogon* (Athens, 1879), pp. 3-8.

³ 'Synedriasis ypo Od. Ialemou', *Ph.S.C.*, xiii (1878-79), p. 152.

⁴ Io. Aristokleous, 'Epi ti epeteio tou syllogou Eorti', *Ph.S.C.*, vii (1877-78), p. 134; K. Stamatiadis, 'Peri Dimosion Dialexeon', *Ph.S.C.*, xi (1876-77), pp. 177-178.

turning-point in the Greek kingdom's political situation came in 1875, when King George I, after Kharilaos Trikoupis' (1832-1896) article 'Tis ptaiei' ('Who is to Blame?') appeared in the journal *Kairoi* (Times) accepted the principle of appointing his ministry from the party with a majority in the parliament, thus putting an end to the short-lived coalition-building among politicians.

After the middle of the century, the Greek political parties were primarily groups of individuals who supported a leader. They did not present a political viewpoint nor did they have a distinctive class base. Their aim was to win public office and to profit from a state that, under the particular conditions which existed after liberation, had been the vehicle not only of political power, but, more importantly, the major social mechanism for the collection and distribution of economic surplus.¹ Hence, politicians in the competition for political power and, therefore, the spoils from the system were willing to form kaleidoscopic and short-lived coalitions. Between 1870 and 1875, there were no fewer than nine elections and nine administrations.² Nevertheless, it was not until 1881 that Trikoupis was able to secure a majority for his *Pempto Komma* or *Neoteristiko komma* (the Fifth Party or Modernizing Party) and to govern the country, alternating in power with his arch-rival Theodoros Deligiannis and his *Ethnikistiko komma* (National Party), from 1882 to 1885, from 1886 to 1890 and from 1892 to 1895. Although Trikoupis, greatly inspired by the British two-party system, introduced a Westernised tradition to Greek politics, he was no less nationalistic than his arch-rival Deligiannis. However, in contrast to his political opponent, Trikoupis believed that Greece must be ruled rationally through an effective constitutional government that would allow the state to be strengthened politically and economically, before it embarked on any irredentist adventure. During his years in power, he therefore tried to establish the country's international credit through a strong programme of roads, railways, incipient industrialisation, and the modernisation of the army and navy.

¹ C. Tsoukalas, 'On the Problem of Political Clientalism in Greece in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, v (Spring, 1978), pp. 6-15; C. Tsoukalas, *Exartisi kai anaparagogi. O koinonikos rolos ton Ekpaidevtikon mihanismon stin Hellada 1830-1922* (Athens, 1977); C. Tsoukalas, *Koinoniki anaptyxi kai kratos. I sygkrotisi tou Dimosiou horou stin Hellada* (Athens, 1983), pp. 15-163, 261-322.

² R. Clogg, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Concomitant with such changes, an urban middle class, comprising artisans, merchants and professional people such as doctors, teachers and lawyers and a growing bureaucracy had emerged in the Greek kingdom since 1860 which associated itself with the new state and its nationalist aspirations.¹ For these people, the kingdom was an end in itself, not a temporary settlement. Above all, it was the centre which should organise all activities for the achievement of the nation's political unification. The following years saw the arrival of numerous wealthy Greeks such as A. Syngros, V. Melas, E. Baltazis, and A. Mavrokordatos, from outside the Greek kingdom (Asia Minor), who established themselves in Athens from 1875 onwards.² Others, such as Ch. Zografos, G. Zarifis, K. Zapas, Th. Rodokanakis, I. Skylitsis and G. Zafeiropoulos (from Asia Minor) simply transferred their financial activities to the Greek kingdom. Such a development further strengthened the belief among the 'inside' growing urban Greek class that Athens had become the political, social, cultural and economic centre of the entire *Hellenismos*.³ It was within this ideological background that a new generation of intellectuals and political leaders would try to pass on directly to each child and adult, man or woman, the vital lesson that they had to learn as citizens of this state that they belong *in toto* to their country. The state's agents in this exercise were teachers.⁴

Patriotism continued to be the vital characteristic of each *Hellene* and *Hellenida*. But in complete contrast to the 1870s, each *Hellene* and *Hellenida* learned through a doctrine of the *Megale Idea* that was egalitarian but also élitist, universal but also nationalist, that they were the men and women charged with the unique divine and historic mission to civilise the East (*I kath Imas Anatoli*). In the 1880s, they were taught that *Hellene* and *Hellenida* civilians would not march for their country as warrior, because 'it is obvious that Greeks (*Hellenismos*) do not wish to conquer alien

¹ G. Augustinos, op. cit., p. 18.

² G. Dertilis, *To zitima ton Trapezon 1871-1873* (Athens, 1980), pp. 46-138.

³ C. Tsoukalas, 'I Anorthotiki Prospathia tou Charilaou Trikoupi 1882-1895', *Istoria tou Hellenikou Ethnous*, xiv (Athens, 1977), p. 12.

⁴ F., 'I stratiotiki ekpaidevsis ton mathiton', *Estia*, xvii (1884), pp. 382-383; 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), pp. 811-814; E. Souvestre, 'Ti esti patris', *Estia*, i (1876), pp. 56-57; 'Odigies dia tin didaskalia ton Stratiotikon Askiseon. 1 Oktomvriou 1884', in D. Antoniou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 264-266; 'Stratiotikos Kanonismos ton mathiton ton gymnasion 25 Noemvriou 1884', in D. Antoniou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 271-278.

countries' as the historian Paparrigopoulos explained to his patriots.¹ It was, instead, their duty, as members of this ethnic entity, to repeat what their ancestors had done for them in the past, to save their homeland and their *homogeneous* (common in *genos*) culture 'from an alien racial threat'.² *Hellene* and *Hellenida* could not exist without their homeland, contemporary writers explained. But this land was not simply an area where heroes and ancestors had lived. More importantly, it was a living inheritance whose rivers, mountains, sun, sea and climate made it unique and had a divine influence on the *Hellenismos*. 'The nature of the ground, the climate, and the ingenuity of the Hellenic race are the harmony upon which this nation depends.'³ This land was thereby sanctified by the association between *Hellenes*, both women and men, and *Hellas*. Consequently, the lands beyond the borders of the Greek kingdom were regarded not simply as geographical extensions populated by the national community, but as an essential part of the greater whole. With such explanations came leading questions of the kind, 'Where else could be suitable for the Hellenic race than the Hellenic land? And which other population could live in *Hellas* than the *Hellenes*?'⁴ Greek primary-school pupils learned that the race's duty had still not been accomplished in the 1880s, because

Until now, we studied only the small *Hellas* in geography, neglecting the lands linked to us by common geographical, social, ethnic, linguistic and historical bonds . . . particularly Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly.⁵

Patriotism was portrayed as one of the highest virtues, the ideal that required *Hellenes*' and eventually the *Hellenida*'s active commitment. Land and language were the central themes in this civic religion - all that remained was to eradicate the factors which poisoned these beliefs. It was at this time that the term 'national upbringing' (*ethniki agogi*) replaced the term 'moral upbringing' (*ithiki agogi*), to express the new content of this *Hellenoprepos* upbringing, lessons in national history and geography being ordained for both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides*.⁶ The state would use the most

¹ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I en to mellonti politeia tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Estia*, xii (1881), pp. 703-705.

² *Ibid.*

³ Al. Karatheodori, I. Karolidis, Av. Maliakas, 'Peri tou Hellenikou politismou kai tis paideias', *Ph.S.C.*, xvi (1881-82), p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

⁵ M. Dimitsas, 'Prologos stin Politiki Geographia gia ta Hellenika sholeia', in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240.

⁶ Iatrou Hr. Politi, 'Peri tis kyrioteris aitiis tis prokalousis tin kahektikin katastasin tou Hellenismou', *Omiros*, v (1877), pp. 152-165; 'Ti syntaxi tou Omirou', *Omiros*, v (1877), p. 153; Ar.

successful civic medium at that time for this propaganda: the schools. 'Hellenes are divided into the autonomous, the enslaved and the colonised' pupils learned in geography in primary schools.¹ Just as *Hellenes* were divided into free people and slaves, the Hellenic lands were divided into *Hellenikai* and *xenai* (alien).² Geography and history thus became the poetic spaces through which intellectuals hoped to resurrect the zeal of the whole nation, in order to mobilise its members in the quest for political unification.³

By *Hellenikai*, however, we do not mean only those lands which belong to Greece, but also those lands which, although presently excluded from the Greek state, belonged to the Hellenic nation in the past, and are still inhabited by a Greek majority in modern times. Thus, *Hellenikai* lands are the Greek kingdom, Epirus, southern Albania, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor up to Syria and Palestine and the islands which during the Turkish conquest were inhabited by Greeks.⁴

Hence, history should evoke powerful sentiments of nostalgia and identification which would stir strong nationalist passions among the masses by 'rekindling the religious and national idea'.⁵ Classical history was deemed insufficient because it directed the mind to irrelevant yesterdays, and 'such memories are alive in the head but not in the heart'.⁶ Conversely, Byzantium was vital history, study of which could teach *Hellenes* about the sacred historical lands which had once belonged to them. But in the minds of these intellectuals, nothing would equal the importance of the legacy of 1821. Through these most recent and living memories, they hoped to evoke powerful sentiments which 'would drive the modern *Hellenes* to act in the same way'.⁷ Love for the country was preached as something expected from the child or the adult in the same way as love for his mother, or even more so. The country should eclipse any other loyalty, whether religion or family: 'Can we prefer our parents to the country? No. The *Hellene* must love, above all, his country . . . and he must leave his parents when the country is in need.'⁸ The public good began to take priority over all other considerations.

Spathakis, 'Peri ethnikis ton Hellinon agogis', *Athinaion*, iv (1875), pp. 354-368; Gr. Pappadopoulos, 'Peri tou Thriskevতিকou Aisthimatos', *Pandora*, xviii (1868), pp. 162-170.

¹ A. Antoniadis, *Geographia tis Hellados*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 343.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343.

³ A. Miliarakis, 'Peri tis opheleias ton geographikon epistimon', *Estia*, iv (1877), pp. 423-426.

⁴ A. Antoniadis, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 343.

⁵ P. Kaplanidou, 'Peri tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Omiros*, iv (1877), pp. 164-179.

⁶ Th. Livadas, 'Spoudaiotis kai Ofeleia tis Istorias', in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 198.

⁷ D. Kyriakopoulos, *Epitomos Helleniki istoria*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., pp. 246-247.

⁸ A. Vyzantios, 'Ethniki katihisis. Kathikonta kai dikaiomata', *Estia*, i (1876), p. 49.

Friendship, marriage and children all acquired dignity and importance only when they were linked to the wider world of the country. But, if this new 'great family' overrode the individual's family, it evoked similarly strong loyalties. Thus, the *Hellene* should get married because 'he had to provide future citizen-patriots for his country.'¹ It remained to form a cement which would bind all citizens to their state which would eventually require his - and eventually her - active personal commitment - in fact, patriotic devotion. The following years would see the above theory put into practice.

In 1879, Vasiadis submitted a memorandum to the congress of the associations suggesting the introduction of military exercises in the Greek *gymnasia*. Since Bulgaria had recently founded a number of gymnastic associations which gave military training to pupils, he argued, Greeks should be ready to move from political to military activity.² Similar sentiments were voiced in 1884 by the director of the *didaskaleio* for boys in Athens, Harisios Papamarkos. In an article, '*Peri tou skopou tis ekpaidevseos tis Hellenidos Neolaias*' ('On the Purpose of the *Hellene* Youth's Education'), Papamarkos claimed that military exercises were the cornerstone subject to which schools should give priority 'particularly among the nations which have not completed their political unification'.³ The same year, the periodical *Estia* proudly announced the minister of education's decision to introduce obligatory military exercises in *gymnasia* throughout the Greek kingdom, so that 'the youth would learn how to be citizen and fighter'.⁴ The use of young men for the production of a national army, according to *Estia*, was not only the most effective mechanism but also the most *Hellenoprepos thesmos* (the appropriate institution according to the principles of the *Hellenismos*). However, if the first military parade of *gymnasium* students in Athens in 1884 had evoked powerful sentiments in spectators, thoughts 'of how numerous the Greek army would be, if all the youth would follow this training'

¹ Ibid.

² Ir. Vasiadis, '*Peri tis anastaseos kai anagenisseos tis ethnikes anastaseos kai anagenisseos tis Ethnikis gymnastikis paidagogias te kai dimosias*', *Synedrion ton Hellenikon syllogon*, op. cit., p. 7, 53.

³ H. Papamarkos, '*Peri tou skopou tis ekpaidevseos tis Hellenidos neolaias*', *Estia*, xix (1885), pp. 99-103.

⁴ F., '*I stratiotiki ekpaidevsi ton mathiton*', *Estia*, xvii (1884), p. 383.

there still remained the problem of 'how this training could be expanded throughout the country's *gymnasía*'.¹

However, the masses, as before, attracted the attention of intellectuals and political leaders. For most writers, such as Giannes Psycharis, Alexandros Papadiamantis and Kostis Palamas the nation's essence was found among the masses and the virtues of autochthonous tradition. Such an interest in the masses was not swayed simply by a romantic passion for the pure, simple and uncorrupted peasantry or for the folklorist rediscovery of the people.² Rather, this populist movement had obvious strategic advantages for statesmen and intellectuals, as the masses were the most vital base for a popular and thus successful cultivation of patriotic virtues and beliefs. It was with nationalist fears hanging over intellectuals that for the first time the problem of *diglossia* (two languages) came to prominence in the kingdom. *Katharevousa*, a form of Greek which had retained many of the characteristics of the classical idiom and was preserved by the Byzantine church, was then used in administration and every official context of the kingdom. It was opposed to the popular spoken language, *demotiki*. *Demotiki* was the outcome of centuries of development of the language as it was spoken by the people.³ In 1881, Giannes Psycharis, one of the leading figures in the demotic movement, declared: '*Language and motherland* are the same. To fight for one's national language, there is but one struggle.'⁴ A nation, Psycharis commented, 'in order to become a nation needs two things: its frontiers must be expanded and it must produce its own literature.'⁵ In stark contrast to the Greek nationalists of the 1870s, who were satisfied with the discovery of the real character of their nation among cultural artefacts, the pioneers of linguistic nationalism in the 1880s demanded that the jigsaw puzzle of local or regional dialects be compiled, standardised, homogenised and modernised for literary and colloquial use.⁶ Supporters of the demotic movement argued that only a simple and accessible language could enliven the teaching of literature,

¹ Ibid., pp. 382-383.

² H. Papamarkos, 'Peri tou skopou tis ekpaidevseos tis Hellenidos neolaias', *Estia*, xix (1885), pp. 99-103.

³ E. Roidis, 'Peri tis simerinis Hellenikis glossas', *Estia*, xix (1885), pp. 275-279.

⁴ The quotation is taken from Augustinos, op. cit., pp. 14-22.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁶ H. Hatzidakis, 'Diat den kalliergousin oi Hellines tin dimodi Hellenikin glossan', *Estia*, xvi (1883), pp. 390-395, 423-426.

history and geography and, therefore, enable the masses to direct their minds to proper patriotism.

Hence, *Hellene* writers ought to write in the standardised vernacular and understandable language of *demotiki*, a language the masses could speak, read and understand. Moreover, they should choose their themes from *Hellenicon* topics in order to raise the masses' zeal for their country (*Ta pros ta patria zilo*) or the *feeling of love* for the country's inheritance (*To aisthima tis pros ta patria agapis*), as other writers preferred to call it.¹ Palamas, Papadiamantis, Andreas Karkavitsas and Georgios Drosinis were some of the authors who contributed to this patriotic Hellenic literature, choosing their subjects from the rural life of the simple people and writing the central part of their stories in *katharevousa* and the dialogues in *demotiki*.² In 1883, furthermore, N. Politis, the first Greek folklorist, convinced the director of the periodical *Estia* to establish a literary prize for the author of the best novel on an *Hellenico* (Greek) topic, meaning a topic that was inspired or based on Greek history, or which described historical episodes, myths and legends from simple peoples' lives.³ Given this cultural landscape, in 1895, Palamas, a leading figure in Greek literature and one of the major representatives of the generation of the 1880s, admitted his satisfaction at seeing that Greek writers had freed themselves from the foreign imitations and alien topics of the last fifteen years to write about *the Hellenic land* and the real life of the simple people.⁴

This was the generation of the 1880s whose motto was the word 'today'. They believed that they had learned from the mistakes of the past. Tired of the purposelessness of the 1870s, they felt that the promises of the revolution of 1821 had still not been fulfilled because *Hellenes* had been enthralled by messianic prophecies and excesses of imagination for decades, rendering them unable to estimate their strengths realistically. They believed that the solution to the nation's problem lay in the enlightenment of the masses by a proper national education. They accused the earlier generation of indifference to the masses, leading to the decline of strong patriotic virtues and national values among the people. It is significant that, in 1876,

¹ 'Eisagogi eis tin Istoria tou Hellenikou Politismou kai tis Hellenikis Paideias', *Ph.S.C.* (1881-82), p. 96.

² M. Vitti, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the periodical *Estia* was founded on the premise that a cheap periodical was an absolutely crucial means of approaching all the social classes and could explain the new social findings 'in simple and understandable language'.¹ They did not hesitate to criticise the imaginary prototype kingdom that had fed a whole generation with romanticism and extravagant beliefs.² 'And when I say human *genos* [human race] I do not include the Hellenic one . . . because this one still believes that it is the prototype in the Orient.'³ They were self-critical, the expectations of the 1880s having transformed their previous fears and anxieties into inventive satire.

The God of Hellas. And why the God of Hellas and not the God of the world? Because Hellas, as prototype, has its own God. A God who follows the Hellenic way in dressing, language, ideals and ethics. And I imagine this God wearing *foustanela* [a kilted skirt], and *tsarouhia* [traditional shoes with pompon], twisting his long moustache, smoking, reading newspapers and speaking constantly of politics.⁴

They believed that they were more realistic and more pragmatic than their fathers, because they realised that the achievement of the political unification based on *Hellenismos* could come within the Greek kingdom's borders and the adoption of rational solutions through the reorganisation of this state's political, military and economic forces.⁵ These were the years when Trikoupis' government took the first serious steps to reorganize the public sector through the provision of a more commercial education for men. During the seven years of studies in secondary education, courses in ancient Greek fell from 94 to 78 hours, Latin courses from 18.5 hours to 14, religious education from 17 hours to 14 and mathematics from 26.5 hours to 22. Simultaneously, courses in the natural sciences (physics, chemistry) were increased from 8 to 12 hours, and tuition in modern Greek (*katharevousa*) was introduced (14 hours), while the creation of two naval schools and four professional agricultural schools was another change through which this generation hoped to accomplish what their fathers had failed to achieve, namely the political unification of the nation.⁶

¹ 'Apo ti Syntaxi', *Estia*, i (1876), p. 1.

² I. Polemis, 'Syhronoi typoi', *Imerologion K. Skokou*, iii (1888), pp. 50-61.

³ I. Asopios, 'Ek tou xylou tis gnoseos', *Attikon Imerologion*, xxi (1887), pp. 28-55.

⁴ I. Asopios, 'Isan dyo kai emeine eis', *Attikon Imerologion*, xxi (1887), pp. 1-28.

⁵ L. Melas, 'Ai treis ilikiai', *Estia*, x (1886), pp. 545-48, 561-64.

⁶ C. Tsoukalas, 'I anorthotiki prospathia tou Charilaou Trikoupis 1882-1895', op. cit., pp. 8-22, 39-56; S. Kallisperi, 'Peri metarythmiseos tou gynaikeiou ekpaidevtikou systimatos', in E. Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., pp. 445-447.

However, although the nationalists of the 1880s believed that they were more realistic and more critical of themselves than their predecessors, this did not mean that they were more pragmatic than previous generations of intellectuals. The limitations of their worldview lay in the fact that, still in the 1880s, the man on the street was far more influenced by Trikoupis' arch-rival Deligiannis and his enthusiastic championship of the immediate unification of the entire *Hellenismos* and the creation of a Greater Greece. However, the *Megale Idea* remained open to satire, as when the editor of the journal *Attikon Imerologion*, Irinaios Asopios, described its fallacious reasoning:

I was young and I became old, and all these years I heard of this *Megale idea* everywhere . . . and this idea is *Megale* [great] because [due to this idea] Death mows lives with both hands . . . and I do not know who has invented it . . . and tell me, you who always speak about it, which one of you who speak in favour of this idea, has ever gone to fight for it? Not one! And why? Or is it not the national ideal of all [the Hellenes] to be free or all to die for [the nation]?¹

Yet, despite the amount of bitterness in such satire, the national myth none the less overrode and replaced any other loyalty. Consequently, although Melas cited the three different stages of the Hellenic civilisation, past, present and future,² Paparrigopoulos, in 1881, warned his readers that the glorification and commemoration of the past were not enough, because life is the 'present and future, and nations which always turn to the past do not progress but remain stagnant.'³ Paparrigopoulos also explained that the major difference between the modern *Hellenismos* and its predecessors was the modern strong desire for the nation's political unification.⁴ For most Greeks, the present now denoted the mortal threat from competing nationalist programmes which their civilisation, nation and historical lands faced probably now more than ever before.

The generation of the 1880s believed that, instead of taking the easy path of nostalgia for the past and faith in a glorious future, they should confront difficult truths in the present. They assumed therefore that they had escaped the old obsessions. Or so taught the novel which won the first prize in the *Estia* competition

¹ I. Asopios, 'Isan dyo kai emeine eis', op. cit., pp. 1-28.

² L. Melas, 'Ai treis ilikiai', op. cit., pp. 554, 561-567.

³ K. Dimaras, K. Paparrigopoulos, op. cit., p. 261.

⁴ K. Paparrigopoulos, 'I en to mellonti politia tou Hellenikou Ethnous', *Estia*, xii (1881), pp. 703-705.

of 1881. The future would show where they were mistaken. However, this prize-winning *Helleniko* novel deserves particular attention. Its author, M. Mitsakis, wrote of a simple man, Saranti, who was logical, modest, and religious. He measured his actions with a critical eye and was an exemplary citizen and householder. He was, the author explained, a simple, good man, and like all simple, good men he had an ideal for; he aspired to baptise his children in *Agia Sophia* (St Sophia's Cathedral) in Constantinople. 'Was he crazy? No!', the author explained. It was just that 'he was born at a time when such ideals were the *raison d'être* of life. However, the first part of Sarantis' dream came true one day. His wife bore him his first child, and, what is more, it was a son. But because Sarantis did not want his son baptised anywhere else but Constantinople, he gave him a pagan name: Dragon. Sarantis was waiting for the time when the Greeks would march to Constantinople, only then would he be able to fulfil his dream to baptise his child as a Christian in *Agia Sophia*. The years passed, 1875 came, and *Sarantis* believed that his dream soon would come true. Thus, he disappeared from friends and family, preparing for the forthcoming war. 'And when people spoke of the army in Thessaly, he dreamed of Hellenic sovereignty in Constantinople.' The year 1878 came and the army returned without any gains: 'Where had they gone, all these dreams, ideals, hopes and desires which had kept him alive?' Staring at a picture of *Agia Sophia*, Sarantis lay on his bed until death came. The author, who presented himself as younger than Sarantis, gave his story a 'happy ending', ending the child's ordeal by having Dragon baptised in one of the *Greek kingdom's* churches under a Christian name, Dimitris.¹

Athens had become once more the cultural, economic, social and political centre of *Hellenismos*. Nevertheless, in the 1880s, *Hellas* (Great Hellas), and not Greece (Greek kingdom), was the *homeland*, and still no place could match Constantinople in historic importance in the mass consciousness. The 1880s generation believed that they were more realistic, because they spoke of the present and the Greek kingdom's reality, and assumed that there were no more 'romantic Sarantis' among them. None the less, what they forgot to recall was that they also had a dream: they had learned to be 'patriots'. From 1884 onwards, Greek students could study, in tandem with the philosophers of antiquity, contemporary writers such as Adamantios Koraes,

¹ M. Mitsakis, 'To vaptisma', *Estia*, xvi (1883), pp. 781-788.

Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, Aristotelis Valaoritis and Spyridon Trikoupis.¹ Contemporary literature was introduced to the school curricula for reasons such as that voiced by the ministry of education in 1879, which concluded that 'the greatest problem in our primary schools is that they neglect patriotism.' Hence, it suggested that poetry be introduced to the curriculum to describe the feats of 'our fathers during their struggle for the country and religion'.² It was within such an ideological framework, during the rebirth of this patriotic nostalgia and zeal for the country, that, in 1883, *Parnassos* and the *Ethnologiki Etaireia* (Ethnological Association) jointly organised the celebration of the 25th of March (national anniversary of the 1821 revolution), including an exhibition of memorabilia of 1821, in the hope that 'a little breath of the glorious events of 1821 will elevate the sentiments which will lead this generation to complete its mission.'³ Art of the period was expected to portray the heroes' bravery and sacrifices in 1821, in an attempt to evoke zeal and admiration of how a real *Hellene* 'patriot' should think and act.⁴ Furthermore, it is significant that the largest number of festivals ever organised during the 1900s in the Greek kingdom were the work of Trikoupis' governments. Such national celebrations included the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Athens (3 May 1887), the Carnival in 1888, the presentation of the statue of the War of Independence hero Odyssea Androuso (29 May 1888), the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coronation of King George I (19-23 October 1888), the fourth Olympian commercial exhibition in Zappeion and the marriage of Prince Konstantinos to Princess Sophia (15-17 October 1889). The *Neoteristiko* (Modernizing!) party hoped to divert the public's attention from the heavy taxation which Trikoupis' programme required, while simultaneously enhancing the steady national mobilisation of the masses.

However, probably nothing could better demonstrate the changes that emerged in the Greek kingdom in the 1880s than the case of Vlasi Skordelis, author

¹ 'Didaktea Keimena Neoellenon Sygrapheon 21 Noemvriou 1884', in D. Antoniou (ed.), op. cit., pp. 267-270.

² 'Egyklios tou ypourgeiou gia ta dimotika scholeia 1879', in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 243.

³ Apo ti syntaxi, '25 Martiou. Ekthesis mnimion tou ierou agonos', *Estia*, xvii (1884), pp. 193-200.

⁴ G. Karatzas, 'I mahi tis Sfaktirias', *Estia*, xvii (1884), pp. 210-13; Ar. Valaoritis, 'Elis Tepelenlis and Karol Napier', *Estia*, vi (1878), p. 442; Apo ti syntaxi, 'Bayron', *Estia*, xii (1881), pp. 606-620; N. Dragoumis, 'D. Kallergis', *Estia*, x (1880), p. 577; P. Vrailas-Armenis, 'Andreas Moustoxydis', *Estia*, ix (1880), pp. 231-233; Apo ti syntaxi, 'Sfragis tou armostou tis Critis', *Estia*, ix (1880), pp. 33-34.

of *Oi Iroes tis Neas Hellados* (*The Heroes of Modern Hellas*). Skordelis submitted his work for the competition in history textbooks for use in primary schools, at the fourth grade, in 1884. The committee rejected the book on the grounds of linguistic and thematic weakness, while at the same time, heavily objecting to the author's explanations of some historical events, particularly his account of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, in which he concluded that 'whoever does not trust God will find no comfort in such misfortunes.' The committee, no doubt, saw such an interpretation, as more suited to monks than Greek pupils.¹ 'The author seems to have forgotten that he ought to write a history in order to inspire patriotic morals in the Hellenic pupils' heads and hearts', the committee concluded.² None the less, Palamas could never imagine that his generation's choices in literature - with preferences in folkloric topics and written in spoken language (*demotiki*) - so revolutionary in the 1880s, would, in the decades that followed, restrict so much Hellenic literature, provoking Dimitrios Hatzopoulos, a literary figure in Athens, to comment, in 1901, that he was tired of writing and reading 'Hellenic literature with its variety restricted to describing either the *mastro* [craftsman] Dimitri or the beautiful and lithe Vaso'.³ While the Great Idea had placed such constraints on literature, in the 1880s this new secular ideology introduced a new aesthetic and understanding of life, imposing a new set of manners, morals and ideals. In short, a new justification of what constituted an *Hellenoprepos*, and therefore a correct attitude for both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides* had to be worked out, which in turn could give the majority of men and women a familiar sense of their place in history and a sense of worth.

However, what was less understood at that time was the impact such ideological changes would have on the lives of these people, particularly on women. Women were still excluded from all national festivals and public secondary education and were denied the right to vote in the 1880s by a country which had been the first in Europe to enact universal male franchise in 1864 (with a few limitations, from 1844). In stark contrast to this pattern of exclusion, women in the 1880s were expected to cooperate, like men, in the new norms of behaviour,

¹ Vl. Skordelis, *Oi iroes tis Neas Hellados*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 283.

² Ibid.

³ M. Vitti, op. cit., p. 39.

attitudes, and understanding of life. In the 1870s, the *Hellene* had learned, in the name of patriotism and morality, that he was to enlighten the East (*Kath Imas Anatoli*) through Greek literature and language. In the 1880s, he had to learn lessons such as 'What are the obligations of a citizen to his country? Military duty.'¹ Masculinity henceforth came to be identified with the nation's power. The *Hellene warrior* had to be strong in body and rational in thought in order to defend his new civic religion: language and land. Therefore, neither romanticism nor the textbook of Skordelis, which would have been successful a decade earlier, was acceptable. Similarly, the pre-existing portrayal of the languid and leisured bourgeois female could not match the current model of proper *hellenoprepos* female behaviour.

It was with such fundamental beliefs that Leontias, Ktena-Leontias and Kehayia had asked *Hellenides* to regulate their code of behaviour and to become serious, reserved and thrifty and moreover, to be conscious of their nationalist mission to raise succeeding *Helleneprepos* generations. Yet, in the 1870s, it was still difficult for women to escape from the ideological framework of womanliness, and the roles that they assigned to women were still conceived as passive rather than active. Thus, although Leontias maintained that both women and men had equivalent public and domestic rights and responsibilities, she continued to oppose granting women access to the public sphere, particularly employment, because she believed that such a female exodus could damage the family. Similarly, Kehayia, although able to introduce a new concept of what authority really is and, therefore to re-evaluate the existing patriarchal framework of citizenship, was unable to escape from her romanticism, her strong religious and nationalist beliefs and her strong admiration of womanliness, which she understood as patience, kindness, understanding and sympathy. She continued to believe that the major role of *Hellenides*, as of all women, was maternity, and she wanted nothing more than to see the peaceful introduction, by women, of their experience in motherhood into society. Kehayia herself would never marry, but, unlike the romantic poet Fotini Oikonomidou and her ideological impasse, Kehayia found solace for her personal agonies and justification of her actions in the nation, the enlarged family.² However,

¹ A. Vyzantios, 'Ethniki katihisis. Kathikonta kai dikaiomata', *Estia*, i (1876), p. 49.

² K. Kehayia, 'Logodosia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 June 1891.

if writers such as Ktena-Leontias, Leontias, and Kehayia had challenged this image of the 'leisured female' since the 1870s, a new set of arguments in the 1880s would allow Kalliroe Parren and her colleagues to feel self-confident and to stake out their claims, as citizens of the state at this time, to various public roles.

Such were the emerging trends in female intellectual circles when Kalliroe Siganou-Parren (1861-1940), known usually as Parren, appeared on the Athenian scene in 1887. None the less, Parren would not try to challenge Ktena-Leontias', Kehayia's and Leontias' definitions of womanliness. On the contrary, she continued to distinguish the uniqueness of female experience and the vital role of women in the regeneration of the nation. However, although womanliness, as defined by Kehayia, continued to be the ideological frame of reference and justification for those women's actions, the ideological framework of their lives would change in the 1880s. These changes would exert a dramatic influence on how women understood life.¹ During the 1880s, the *Megale Idea* was transformed into simply another secular Great Idea, language became a vital issue, national themes hemmed in the choices in art and literature, the enlightenment of the masses became a crucial issue to those intellectuals who realised the repercussions of illiteracy, and the Hellene civilian was transformed into the Hellene warrior. Proficient in Greek, French, English, and Russian, Parren was strongly influenced by the achievements of women in Europe and the United States. None the less, she would not try to challenge the factors which constituted womanliness and moreover the prescribed behaviour for *Hellenida*. In addition, the portrayal of the passive, romantic *Hellenida*, the mother and homemaker whom Leontias had idealised within her assigned domestic sphere, could not correspond to the demands of the 1880s generation, when, at least in theory, both *Hellene* and *Hellenida* had to be patriotic realistic as well as active and energetic. It was in this intellectual climate that Parren would try to discover a new code of recognition in life that, in turn, could help *Hellenides* and herself to acquire a sense of their place in both society and history within the ideological changes that had occurred around them.

¹ Anonymous, 'Ti estin alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), p. 813.

3.2 A Kind of Power, Women and Politics: The Publication of 'Ephimeris ton Kyrion' (1887-1897)

Born in Rethymno, Crete, Parren attended the D. Soumerli *Parthenagogeion* in Athens. After completing her teacher-training at the *Arsakeio* in the same city, she worked as headmistress at schools in Adrianople and Odessa. In the 1880s, she returned to Athens where she married Ioanni Parren, a journalist of French origin who hailed from Constantinople and later founded the *Athinaikei Praktoreion* (Athenian News Agency).¹ Parren reacted enthusiastically to the whole climate of cultural and political change in the 1880s. Her home soon became one of the leading contemporary salons in Athens, alongside those of Kostis Palamas and Georgios Souris, the latter having gained local fame through his publication of the satirical journal *Romios*. Parren's active participation in salon society gave her the opportunity to befriend leading male literati of the period, particularly from the *demotikistes* movement. Among them were Palamas, Grigorios Xenopoulos, Alexandros Filadelfevs and other contemporary literary and political figures.² Like Palamas, Parren believed strongly that culture was based on the common people. However, despite her sensitivity to the language question, she herself never mastered the art of writing in *demotiki*, although she gradually adopted a form of language that was akin to *demotiki* in her journal.³

Parren believed strongly, as Kehayia had before her, that morality was the key to many social problems. While recognising that economic progress was essential for the prosperity of each nation, she saw the economy as merely one element of the superstructure that could only be properly built in the wake of moral and political reform. Consequently, in opposition to both Theodoros Deligiannis and Kharilaos Trikoupi, Parren concluded that any progress should start from the most vital factor for the moral reformation of every society: women. The strength of this belief and the impact of her visit to Asia Minor, where she had observed the living conditions of women, led Parren, on 8 March

¹ K. Xiradaki, *Apo ta arheia tou elegtikou synedriou*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 80; K. Xiradaki, *To feministiko kinima stin Hellada* (Athens, 1988), p. 56.

² G. Papakostas, *Philologika Salonia kai Kapheneia tis Athinas* (Athens, 1991), pp. 75-101; K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous* (Athens, 1898), pp. 184-187, 206-211, 215-218.

³ E. Varika, *I Exegesis ton Kyrion. I Genesi mias Feministikis Syneidisis stin Hellada 1833-1907* (Athens, 1987), p. 210; G. Papakostas, op. cit., p. 83.

1887, to launch a journal, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* (*Ladies' Journal*), exclusively edited by women and addressed to women in order to ameliorate the condition of women and, by extension, that of the entire society.¹

However, to many contemporary writers, the journal's focus on the relation of women to such areas as employment, education and politics signalled a threat to a sphere defined and monopolised by men for centuries, as evidenced by the dispute that erupted between Parren and the contemporary doyen of Greek letters, Emmanouil Roidis (1836-1904). Director of the National Library of Greece and well known by the Athenian public for his political satire in the periodical *Asmodaios* (1875-1880), Roidis strongly objected to Parren's views as a journalist. Ten years after Parren had founded her journal, Roidis seized upon the publication of the novel *Athinaika Anthylia* (Blossoms from Athens) by Arsinoe Pappadopoulou of Constantinople to make a disparaging critique of Parren. Congratulating Pappadopoulou on her success in remaining within her assigned sphere as a woman writer, Roidis contrasted her to Parren, who preferred to publish articles on general social issues and scientific achievements, instead of sticking to homemaking and general feminine issues. Comparing the feminine Pappadopoulou with the *faiseuse d'embarras* (troublemaker) Parren, Roidis advised *Hellenides* against following the *pithikismo* (monkey-like imitation) of such *androgynaikes* (masculine women) as de Staël, Dora d'Istrias and the authors of the material in *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, which varied from news of America to the unsophisticated poetry of Leontias. Instead, he suggested, they should henceforth choose the careful writing of Pappadopoulou.²

Parren, a friend of Pappadopoulou, could not let such criticism pass without a response. Her scathing commentary on Roidis' adoption of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's theory of women's physical, moral and intellectual inferiority in *La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église* underscored the anachronism of Roidis' ideas. Parren explained to her readers that Proudhon's theory had already been rebutted in 1858 by Juliette Adam (1836-1936). In her book *Idées anti-prudhoniennes sur l'amour, la femme et la mariage* Adam had demonstrated that

¹ S. Moshou-Sakorafou, *Istoria tou Hellenikou Feministikou Kinimatos* (Athens, 1990), p. 96.

² E. Roidis, 'Ai grafousai Hellenides', in K. Parashos (ed.), *Emmanouil Roidis* (Athens, 1952), pp. 233-241.

although women's capacities are different, they are of equal value to those of men, Parren explained. If Mr. Roidis recognised women as either homemakers or *androgynaikes* (masculine women), Parren mocked, 'then how should we view the men who meddle in issues that are under women's jurisdiction - as *gynaikizontes andres* [men who imitate women]?'¹ However, it was not only Roidis who opposed Parren's efforts. Among her detractors was the publisher of *Imerologion* (Chronicle) *Konstantinou Skokou*, a journal which addressed its male audiences, in 1889, on such issues as how men should act to protect their privileges. To many writers of the period, the publication of *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* and the news of women's emancipation outside the Greek kingdom represented a serious threat to the halcyon days of male domination. As one writer put it:

Men! Our sex is in danger. We are ruined! Where do we abandon . . . our wives? In Albania, wives who have been beaten consider such acts expressions of their husband's love. In Russia, women complain when men do not beat them. . . . Do not listen to our women. . . . And here is my opinion . . . the slogan which must be heard from the length and breadth of our land is beat! Beat women!²

Given the currency of such views, it is little surprise that most of the journal's writers preferred, at least for the journal's first year of publication, to publish their ideas under a pseudonym. Parren herself had started her gazette in 1887 under the pseudonym 'Eva Prenar', because, as she later explained, she had felt afraid to publish under her own name in a society where literary pretensions were admissible in men but unpardonable in women.³ Other contributors of the journal had preferred to use the titles of their husbands, in order to prove the importance of their opinion, such as Pipoina Vavalosi *Dikigorou* (the wife of a lawyer). Yet, the fears of that period were perhaps best expressed in the poem *Paraklisis* ('Entreaty') by a contemporary author who wrote under the *nom de plume* 'Eleni'. In a bid to persuade Parren to let her write under a pseudonym, Eleni simultaneously revealed the reasons that forced many contemporary women into silence or anonymity.

Give me a part of your page,
That I may also write what I have lived in the past.
I have a lot in my heart, a lot in my mind.

¹ K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 17-21.

² Imd., 'To xylon tis gnoseos', *Imerologion Skokou*, iv (1889), p. 79, 81.

³ K. Parren, 'I epeteios tis ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 March 1894.

And my life is an endless story . . .
 But before I leave this cosmos' scene, I want
 To spill a sparkle from my light.
 Once in a while, by my olive-oil lamp, as I knit,
 I leave my needlework and I take up my pen . . .
 But my weak wings do not let me soar.
 Whatever I write, I read to no one,
 Scared of censure, afraid of the public,
 I like to spread my lines on paper
 To read them alone and to find comfort.
 I hate praise . . . because I believe I do not deserve it.
 . . . Who knows what I may hear from the public
 What humiliation would meet my lines,
 If I would hear my heart and not my mind,
 And write as you ask, with my name?
 Alas! if you want, let me write in hiding.
 And to have for a signature the name: Eleni.¹

Parren eventually managed to escape some of her personal fears. However, as she later recalled, the first two weeks after her journal began publication in the centre of Athens, she remained anxiously shut up in her office. Observing the reception which the journal found among the Athenian public from her window, she had had the deepest wish to be among her readers on the streets.² However, after the first two issues, the journal's success and the rumours in Athens that Prenar was the pseudonym of a male author, Parren came out of hiding. In the third number of the journal, on 22 March 1887, she proudly announced to her public that this pen-name concealed a woman journalist. Her initial fears having subsided, Parren was soon able to rally a large circle of the editorial world, leading women teachers such as Kehayia, Agathoniki Antoniadou, Leontias and Efrosyni Samartzidou (Table 6). Due to Parren's personal connections and friendships, their names would soon be joined with those of foreign journalists and writers such as Juliette Adam, Marie Deraismes and Susan P. Anthony.³ However, behind the long list of authors whom Parren published annually in the journal, the real heart and main editor of the journal was Parren herself. When, in 1891, Parren took a one-month holiday, the journal

¹ Eleni, 'Paraklisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887.

² K. Parren, 'I epeteios tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 March 1894.

³ 'Onomata to en ti Ephimeridi ton Kyrion', *Ergazomenon Kyrion*, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 March 1891; 'To Imerologion tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 December 1889.

ceased publication, as she was unable to find a replacement, her usual understudy, Athena Siganou, being unavailable that year.¹ Parren's success and that of other contributors to *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* in conquering their personal fears and finally revealing their real identity was no small achievement in a society which still considered women's exclusive destiny to be marriage and continued to view a thirty-year-old single woman as that social failure, an old maid.² Indeed, Parren and her colleagues' courage to write in public was exceptional.

For the most part, society continued to view women as inferior creatures. Jobs for women were hard to find, while education continued to be a privilege for women, even in the capital. Athens and the capital of the wealthy island of Syros, Ermoupolis, presented the highest percentage of literate women at 29% and 28%, respectively.³ Secondary education continued to be regarded as either a supplement to a woman's dowry or simply a means to produce a sufficient number of teachers. Moreover, secondary education was still inaccessible to most the female population. In 1887, the state had still not acted to establish women's public *gymnasia* or *didaskaleia*, leaving secondary education exclusively to the private sector. Five of the eight *parthenagogeia* existing in 1865 were to be found in Athens and the remaining three in Ermoupolis.⁴ Moreover, not all social classes could benefit from a secondary education, as is indicated by the fact that, in 1888, boarding students at the Hill's *Parthenagogeio* had to pay a monthly fee of 115 drachmas and in Skordelis' 110 drachmas, at a time when a teacher's salary averaged 80-100 drachmas.⁵ Secondary education continued to be the privilege of the upper classes, while its curriculum had still not been defined, except in so far as the bill of 1861 had, for the first time, obliged private schools to have a curriculum similar to that of the public Greek *Ellenika sholeia* (*Ellenika* schools) and *gymnasia*. By 1880, the state had taken no further measures regarding the

¹ K. Parren, 'I anahorisis tos Dievthintrias tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 July 1891.

² K. Parren, 'Poia I thesi tis gerontokoris en ti koinonia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 December 1887; Prothymos Maria K., 'Epistoli Graias Koris', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 November 1887.

³ 'Statistiki tis Hellados. Plythismos 1879'. Here the information is taken from S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 231.

⁴ Ibid., p. 240.

⁵ Ibid., p. 229.

curriculum for women. In 1861, legislation had led to the adoption of the term *parthenagogeia* to signify secondary education, while the length of studies that a *parthenagogeion* should offer had still not been officially determined.¹ Hence, the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireias' didaskaleio* had a comparatively long term of study, varying from four to six years, while most of the time the school offered five years of study.² In addition, most of the contemporary *parthenagogeia* were equivalent to *Ellenika* schools, with three years of study. The two exceptions to this rule were the *parthenagogeio* of the municipality of Ermoupolis, which had added one year of *gymnasium* in 1863, and the *Elleniko Parthenagogeio* of Laskaridou, which had offered two *gymnasium* classes from 1867.³

In 1879, however, the fact that the *Arsakeio's* graduates were not accepted in the university because the *Arsakeio* had not been officially recognised as a *gymnasium* was mentioned for the first time in parliament, suggesting that official recognition of the school was due.⁴ Nevertheless, women's secondary education, was still considered a luxury, while the officially recognised institute of women's education, *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia*, was still trying to combine the training of teachers and homemakers in a common curriculum. Hence, in the academic year 1877-78, pedagogy and *didaktiki* (method of teaching) were simply one subject among others that girls had to follow in the *didaskaleio* of the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia* and thus also in the *Arsakeio*. By contrast, in the men's *didaskaleio*, a school designed theoretically for primary teachers, pedagogy and *didaktiki* constituted a major part of the curriculum. Furthermore, French, completely excluded from men's *didaskaleio* and general knowledge complemented the limited number of hours in pedagogy in *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia's didaskaleio* (Tables 7 and 8).⁵

In 1880, the minister of education, A. Avgerinos, submitted a series of five bills aimed at regulating the status and prescribing the length of studies for *Anotera* (higher) *parthenagogeia* in the Greek kingdom. He thus introduced for the first time an official demarcation between general secondary education and teacher-training, concomitant with the state's first efforts to enforce uniform

¹ Ibid., p. 202.

² Ibid., p. 222.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 288.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 153-154.

standards of education for women and men teachers. The fifth of his bills ruled that five years of studies was henceforth the obligatory length of time for any school calling itself a *parthenagogeion*. Furthermore, a *parthenagogeion* could be considered a *didaskaleion* only if pedagogy and teaching methods (*didaktiki*) were taught during the last two years of its curriculum. In 1881, furthermore, the state for the first time ruled that completion of the fourth and fifth years of *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireia's* *didaskaleio* was obligatory for a teaching diploma, while general students could obtain their certificate of general studies after the third year.¹ Although in 1877, girls in the fifth year received nine hours of tuition on pedagogy, in the academic year 1882-83, not only had the total hours of tuition on pedagogy and *didaktiki* increased to nineteen hours but a total of four hours had been added to the fourth-year curriculum.² However, despite the state's efforts to regulate the qualifications of its female primary teachers, women's secondary education was far from being treated on an equal basis to men's, as is evident from Avgerinos' decision to place the *anotera parthenagogeia* under the jurisdiction of the inspector of primary, instead of secondary, education.³

While the state's initiatives of 1880-81 for the regulation of the teachers' diploma represented progress in the recognition of women's education, and, although teaching was still considered the most suitable occupation for an intelligent woman, it still had the same drawbacks of unequal salaries and a shortage of posts as in the 1860s. As early as 1861, there were at least 60 unemployed teachers within the Greek kingdom. This was no temporary phenomenon. Of the 750 teachers graduating from the *Filekpaidevtiki Etaireias'* *didaskaleia* in 1876-1886, only 175 teachers were placed by the ministry of education in girls' primary schools around the country.⁴ This underemployment stemmed partly from the fact that in 1890 there were only 250 primary schools for girls. While legislation in 1886 had given women the right to teach in boys' primary schools, in practice, this was not generally enforced or applied. Another reason for the surplus was that since 1875 and the official recognition of

¹ Ibid., p. 164.

² Ibid., p. 162.

³ Ibid., pp. 288-290.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 167-172; G. Vionis, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

didaskaleia outside the Greek kingdom - in Smyrna (the Homerion in 1885), Constantinople (the Zappeion in 1879), Epirus and Thessaly - local graduates were filling teaching posts in these areas, and thus breaking up the previous monopoly of teachers from the Greek kingdom.¹ Moreover, financial disparities existed in the unequal pay structure. A woman's salary was 20-30% less than a man's. The contemporary social expectation that a woman should resign from her post after marriage was a further obstacle. In 1888, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* informed its readers that a mayor had tried to strangle a teacher because she had refused to give up her post after marriage.² As the above factors indicate, teaching was far from being a reliable job in 1880.

Yet there were few other options for women bent on a career. Other jobs for women were hard to find, while lack of vocational training also contributed to the difficulties of landing and holding a job for any length of time for women. With the exception of the female workshop founded in Athens in 1872 by the *Syllogos Kyrion yper tis Gynaikias Ekpaidevseos* (Association of Women for Female Education) and the needlework workshop founded in 1876 by the *Filoptohos Adelfotis Kyrion Thessalonikis* (Charitable Sisterhood of Women of Thessaloníki, founded in 1873), there was no vocational training for women.³ Yet, in 1879, when the country's total population numbered 1,500,000, 5,735 of the country's 28,400 industrial workers were women. In this number was further added 769 midwives, 11,695 school pupils, 10,808 waitresses and 460 teachers.⁴

Despite their participation in the workforce, women were still regarded as second-class citizens, and in Greece, as in most other parts of the world, any earnings or inheritance of wives belonged to their husbands, who also had the custody of their children. Furthermore, within the existing social conditions, women could not work and thus could not provide their families with a salary. Moreover, the custom of dowry, alongside the strong popular belief that a brother should marry only after his sister or sisters did, meant that parents often

¹ K. Parren, 'Didaskalisai en tais sholois ton Arenon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 June 1887.

² K. Parren, 'Epithesis kai stragalismoi Didaskalison', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 31 January 1888.

³ A. Mpakalaki and E. Elegmitou, op. cit., p. 69.

⁴ A. Mansolas, *Statistique de la Grèce*. Here the information is taken from S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 300.

considered daughters a burden to their families.¹ The author Eleni Varika highlighted such sentiments to great effect in her story of a grandmother who tries to comfort her grandson with the hope that his newborn twin sisters will die.² Such fiction was rooted in chilling fact, as pointed out by *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* on 24 May 1887. Given contemporary conditions for women, Parren explained in this piece that mothers in most areas of the Greek kingdom preferred to kill their one- or two-day-old female infants rather than raise them. Although no extensive research on infant mortality rates in nineteenth-century Greece exists, the certainty of Parren and her courage in raising the issue in public afford telling testimony. Moreover, research on nineteenth-century Levkada (Ionian Islands) has demonstrated that there was a higher mortality rate among female than male infants, despite the absence of any epidemic, indicating that there was more than a grain of truth in Parren's accusation.³

Such was the social and intellectual climate when *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* first appeared in Athens on 8 March 1887. As its editor, Parren explained that the journal aimed to organise women in order to provide them with what men and, by extension, the state denied them: access to all levels of education and recognition of their ability to secure an independent livelihood and honourable employment suited to their education and capacities.⁴ *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* would be the most influential women's journal in Greece for over three decades, appearing from 1887 to 1907 weekly and from 1907 to 1917 fortnightly. Selling out all 3000 copies of the first edition within one day as well as its second print run of 7000 copies, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* was still selling 5000 copies of each edition in 1892 - the only other year for which figures are available - giving it the second highest circulation amongst weekly journals (Table 9). Furthermore, according to Parren, the supplement *Imerologion ton Kyrion* (*Women's Yearbook*), which Parren started to publish monthly in 1888, was the only supplement that sold out in the first week and was still selling thousand of copies in 1891.⁵ As

¹ 'Diati oi pateres thlivontai epi ti genisi thigatros', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 August 1888.

² E. Varika, op. cit., p. 53.

³ K. Parren, 'Miteres paidoktonoi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 May 1887; M. Tomara-Sideri, N. Sideris, *Sigkrotisi kai Diadohi ton Geneon stin Hellada* (Athens, 1986), pp. 31, 67-85.

⁴ K. Parren, 'I episimos Imera', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 April 1895.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Imerologio tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 October 1891; K. Parren, 'Exedothi to Imerologio tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 December

Athens had the highest percentage of educated women in the country, it may be presumed that the journal filled a need amongst literary Athenian women, reaching a large proportion of the potential female readership.¹

Parren initially did not plan to challenge a system and a regime to which she was basically attached. However, like Leontias and Kehayia before her, she showed the potential for engendering strong sexual politics. Parren herself was strongly influenced by the French writer Juliette Lamber Lamessine (1836-1936), who later became famous as Mme Edmond Adam (or simply Adam). Parren published parts of Adam's work in Greek, particularly those sections of Adam's book (*Idées anti-prudhoniennes sur l'amour, la femme et la mariage*) dealing with the nature of women and describing their 'otherness' but also their equality with men. Through such writings, Parren tried to explain to her readers that, although women's principal roles continued to be those of mothers and wives women had the same abilities as men, but also essential differences from men, which obliged them to nurture both their society and state with their female qualities.² Female emancipation, Parren hastened to assure her readers, did not emanate from any desire to interfere with or to deny distinctions of sex. That there were such distinctions, she was perfectly willing to accept.³ She told her readers to sustain their female nature, to believe it existed, and to make more and not less of it, suggesting categorically that far from trying to be like men they must strive not to be like men. They were both female and feminine and their true value as human beings lay in that combination; thus, their thought and actions must be rooted in a different experience and a different knowledge from that of men. A fundamental belief which served as the subject of the journal's supplement, *Imerologion ton Kyrion* (*Women's Yearbook*) that Parren published in 1888.⁴ In contrast to the journal, as she explained to her readers, the yearbook was designed to publish articles on exclusively feminine issues, such as recipes,

1889; K. Parren, 'Imerologio tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 November 1887.

¹ S. Sakorafou, op. cit., p. 97; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 231-239.

² I. Adam, 'I Gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 July 1887; I. Adam, 'I Gyni einai Isi to Andri', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 May 1888.

³ K. Parren, 'Pempton Etos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 March 1891.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Imerologion tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 October 1891; *Conseils de Mme Juliette Adam, 'Au journal des Dames', Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 April 1887.

practical advice, home medicine, nutrition, care of babies and housekeeping. In addition, the diary offered women's literature such as novels and poetry, advice on what constituted elegance (*philocaly*), tidiness and hygiene, and a continuous update on the progress of female education through publication of the *parthenagogeid's* announcements on the curriculum and living conditions in the schools.¹ On the first page of *Imerologion ton Kyrion* in 1888, Parren listed topics that pertained exclusively to the women's sphere.² The first page retained this format throughout the publication of *Imerologion ton Kyrion*, thus serving as a constant reminder that the territory belonged exclusively to women.

Social, national, scientific and pedagogic issues; biographies of famous women; Ladies' poems; descriptions of female literature, art and industry in Europe and America; home economics, women's beauty, hygiene, nutrition, child care, homemaking, domestic medicine and pharmacology; recipes for women, descriptions of female ethos and customs; and everything related to the ancient, medieval and modern history of women.³

Despite her recognition of such clearly delineated spheres between the sexes, Parren could not tolerate the fact that *Hellenides* were still treated as passive figures at a time when the *Megale Idea* had been transformed to a Great Idea and when religious nationalism had evolved into civic ideology. She expected more from a state which was making major political, educational and economic reforms as it tried to strengthen itself in these spheres, and from a society undergoing such profound change. This was precisely the time when national, instead of moral, upbringing ought to dominate the education of *Hellenides*.⁴ Land and language were the central themes of this civic religion, and geography and history were the essential subjects through which writers hoped to evoke powerful sentiments 'to rekindle the religious and national idea'.⁵ This generation saw the Greek kingdom as the end of their actions. Spurning the classical era and Byzantium as an unfruitful distraction from the more relevant

¹ K. Parren, 'Poios o Skopos tis Ekdoseos tou Imerologiou tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1887.

² 'Imerologion ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 November 1887; 'Poios o skopos tis ekdoseos tou Imerologiou tis ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1887.

³ K. Parren, 'Ephimeris ton Kyrion Evdomadiaia', *Imerologion tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion*, ii (1889), p. 1.

⁴ Iatrou Christou Politi, 'Peri tis kyrioteras aitias tis prokalousis tin kahektikin katastasin tou Hellenismou', *Omiros*, v (1877), pp. 152-165; 'Ti syntaxi tou Omirou', *Omiros*, v (1877), p. 153; Ar. K. Spathakis, 'Peri ethnikes ton Hellenon agogis', *Athinaion*, iv (1875), pp. 354-368.

⁵ P. Kaplanidou, 'Peri tou Hellenikou ethnous', *Omiros*, iv (1877), pp. 164-179.

recent past, they widely accepted that only the events of 1821 could generate the mass zeal necessary to maintain the country's values.¹ Parren's prime concern was the absence of (*Hellenoprepos*) educated women, in touch with their times, who could guide future generations along an enlightened path into a successful future. It was no accident, Parren argued, that men had not managed to fulfil their national obligations, as men simply reflected their mothers' upbringing.² We need real men, not *andreikela* (fake men), she cried.³ This conviction centred Parren's attention on women's competence.

Unlike Kehayia and Leontias, Parren did not fear the impact of the West, but instead recognised, understood, and appreciated the significance of modern Europe. Stressing women's basic humanity, Parren informed her readers of the expanded opportunities that women in Europe and North America already enjoyed in education and work, and alerted women in the Greek kingdom to the fact that they were not alone in their efforts to transform the future of their sex.⁴ She informed her readers of the numerous female writers, journalists, artists, doctors, scientists, lawyers, musicians, teachers and businesswomen active already in North America⁵, of the larger proportion of female students than male students in Norway⁶, of the 246 schools for women that existed in Russia in 1887, of the fourteen public female lyceums and seventeen female colleges in France in 1887, beside the number of private, of the 29 *didaskaleia* which already existed in London and the four colleges for women at the universities of Cambridge and

¹ T. Livada, *Spoudaiotis kai Ofeleia tis Istorias*, in Ch. Coulouri (ed.), op. cit., p. 198.

² K. Parren, 'I Gyni en to Mellonti', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 February 1888.

³ K. Parren, 'Ptaoun kai oi andres', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 March 1892; M. Malataki, 'Mia ton proton Ethnikon Anagon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 January 1896.

⁴ 'Gramma tis Ioulietas Adam stin ephimerida ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 April 1887 April; 'Apantisis tis Kyrias Adam', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Ta dimiourgimata tou aionos mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887; 'I gyni oikodespoina, tehntis, epistimon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 October 1887; K. Parren, 'Ai gynaikes kai to emporion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 November 1887; K. Parren, 'Adelphato Slavon gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 December 1887; Ev. Sherel, 'I psiphos tis gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 March 1896; Maria Quelin, 'Ta dikaiomata ton gynaikon en ti Parisini vouli', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 January 1895; 'Prepei na ergazontai ai gynaikes', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 October 1891.

⁵ 'Amerikani Dimosiografos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887; K. Kindyni, 'Ai Aimerikanides Dimosiografoi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 3 December 1889.

⁶ K. Parren, 'Ou monon epistimas alla kai tehnas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 September 1887.

Oxford in England.¹ She wrote also of the first women scientists and engineers and of the commercial school for women founded 30 years ago in Lyon, France, from which 10,400 students had graduated, and of women's activities and accomplishments in charity and women's education.² With such examples of women's activity and progress abroad, Parren opposed the stereotype of the *Hellenida* who continued to live in the ignorance and idleness to which men had egoistically consigned her like an Oriental woman.³ In opposition to such male injustice, Parren encouraged *Hellenides* to follow the example of European women. Exhorting them to 'rise up, join together in your efforts and act in unity, follow their example,' she bitterly added that only in Greece 'do we still not know what unity means.'⁴

Rejecting many basic cultural tenets, the journal argued that the traditions subordinating women were cultural and social, not natural or innate.⁵ The journal attacked what for decades journalists described as female characteristics: hypocrisy, pretension and dishonesty. In a society dominated by men where women were forced to remain at home, obliged to neglect their potential as human beings and obliged to obey, it was only natural, Parren explained, that *Hellenides*, like other women, had developed such characteristics. If women were given freedom instead, she argued, they would need neither to hide nor to disguise their emotions and thoughts. Reporting recent anthropological discoveries that a man's brain was heavier and larger than a woman's, Parren argued, in 1888, that even if such findings were true, this (diminished brain) was not due to woman's natural disability but rather to the lack of growth of her mental capacities which had doomed her brain to laziness for centuries.⁶ Provide

¹ K. Parren, 'Anotera Ekpaidevtiria en Agglia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 October 1887; K. Parren, 'Kyvernisis, Nomoskhedia kai Gynaikes', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 December 1887; 'Yparhei en Elladi mesis Gynaikeia Ekpaidevsis I ou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1887.

² K. Parren, 'Ai Gynaikes kai to Emporion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 November 1887.

³ K. Parren, 'Ou monon epistimas alla kai tehnas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 September 1887; K. Parren, 'Ai parisinaí Ergatidai kai ai idikais mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 August 1889; K. Parren, 'Ai parisinaí aristokratidai kai ai idikai mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 13 August 1889.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Oi en Parisioi peri Hellenidon logoi mas kai ta peri avton', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 October 1889.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Ean einai atykhima na genithi tis gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 May 1887; Maria Toulimi, 'Apantisis eis to arthron einai dystykhima na genithi tis gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 June 1887.

⁶ K. Parren, 'O egefalos tis gynaikos varyteros kai megalyteros tou andros', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 May 1888.

women and men with equal education, Parren argued, and then analyse the cranium.

Parren believed that modern *Hellenides* had not yet managed to deal with reality because the men who ran the nation had uncritically relegated their reading to novels which described a European world of passion and luxury far removed from contemporary reality. Finding a world of social evil waiting to be exposed, a silent realm where female ignorance flourished in the dark, Parren accused parents, the state and society of stunting *Hellenides*, particularly those from the middle and upper classes, by dressing them like dolls, giving them a largely cosmetic education in such subjects as music and foreign languages, keeping them behind a curtain and having them perform like puppets. The childhood of the middle-class or upper-class girl was a dream world. Like a doll swathed in luxurious crinolines, she awaited her first dance, her first taste of life, while her parents and the entire social system carefully hid from her social disorder, moral decadence, national corruption and injustice.¹ She denounced the fact that men still denied women an education that would help their personal and full intellectual development, and treated secondary education for women as nothing more than a bonus thrown in with the dowry.² Parren, therefore, took issue not with the fact that ancient Greek continued to dominate the *Arsakeion* curriculum, but with all the scholastic and archaic excesses that had occurred in the nineteenth century, numbing women's minds into a state of oblivion and lethargy. 'Where are the foreign languages, subjects so useful in these times, where is the vocational training, where is the contemporary Hellenic literature and history! Where is the social, moral and historical material?' she asked.³

In 1889, the minister of education, Georgios Theotokis, submitted a proposition of nine bills. Drafted by Professor Harisios Papamarkos, they included the intention of establishing the first official *didaskaleio* and *anotera parthenagogeia* for women in Mesolongi. Parren applauded this preliminary step by the Greek parliament to include women's education among its regulations. However, she

¹ S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 198.

² K. Parren, 'Ean einai atyhima na genithi tis gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 June 1887; Maria Toulimi, 'Apantisis is to arthron einai dystyhima na genithi tis gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 June 1887.

³ K. Parren, 'Kata to Arsakeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 May 1888.

opposed the high fees charged upon the introduction of the first official *Didaskaleio* in a city outside Attica, while the fact that the regulation covered only the creation of an official *Didaskaleion*, and not the establishment of vocational schools, Parren complained, denied most working-class girls their only chance of employment.¹ She further criticised the fact that the curriculum of both the *Anotera Parthenagogeia* and the *Didaskaleio* excluded natural history, anthropology, zoology, botany, chemistry and geography. The minister of education justified this choice of curriculum on the ground that 'lessons ought to correspond to female nature', meaning the exclusion of such subjects as chemistry, world history and arithmetic and an exclusive focus on the study of the Bible, national history, handicrafts, music, sketching, singing, physical fitness, home economics and domestic pedagogy.² Such a programme of studies naturally roused Parren's ire. Despite the conditions in the Greek kingdom, *Hellenides*, she protested, were still treated as second-class citizens by the state which viewed secondary education for women as simply a supplement to their dowry.³ Such a policy was detrimental to the general well-being of the nation.

In contrast to the *Arsakeio*'s curriculum and Theotokis' proposals, Parren hastened to assure her readers that female education must reflect the new national purpose of modernisation. Education, according to Parren, was the most profound means of enabling *Hellenides* to converse intelligently with their husbands and oversee their children's upbringing. Furthermore, education would help her to support herself with dignity.⁴ Only a revised curriculum could instil more responsible attitudes in women *vis-à-vis* their household, economy, and society, Parren explained.⁵ An excess of ancient Greek, French, etiquette and fine handicrafts together with a neglect of the real potential of female students were the cause of the *Hellenides*' inclination toward luxury and extravagance, particularly among the privileged classes. Such education had led women to employ numerous domestic servants and foreign governesses for their children,

¹ K. Parren, 'I meleti epi tou nomoshedion tis ton Thileon ekpaidevseos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 December 1889.

² G. Theotokis, 'Aitiologiki Ekthesis epi tou Nomoshedion peri tis Idryseos Didaskaleiou ton Thileon', in E. Fournaraki (ed.), op. cit., pp. 381-384.

³ K. Parren, 'Kai emeis peri tis Ekpaidevseos tou Fylou mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 28 January 1890.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Klydomvalistria i oikodespoinai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 July 1887.

⁵ Ibid.

and to develop the habit of speaking in French.¹ Education should develop physical, intellectual and moral potential and allow for completely free and natural inclinations. But women had been limited by their education, which had actually caused mental differences between the two sexes, she explained.² When, in 1892, Leon Melas, mayor of Athens, was thinking of creating the municipality's first *parthenagogeion* for the preparation of the *Hellenida* mother, housewife, and teacher, Parren urged him to change his plans and to create the first female vocational schools (*praktikes sholes*), instead of the *parthenagogeio*, because such schools corresponded more to reality.³ At the same time, she praised the example of the *parthenagogeion* S. Simopoulou which had introduced classes in tailoring, thereby providing students with a vocational training that could help them to earn their living with dignity later in life. She further expressed her wish that women's education, in contrast to the *Arsakeio*'s superficial curriculum, would soon include such subjects as home economics, household management, cooking, ironing and domestic accountancy (*katastihografia*) in order to help women run their homes properly.

Once *Hellenides* had been subordinated, the journal explained, and the tyranny of custom and law ensured they stayed that way.⁴ Like all women, *Hellenides* had been legally, socially and economically oppressed. Although they bore full responsibility and liability before the law, they had no say in decisions which concerned them, but they were still treated, by the lawmakers, as incapable beings, like minors, idiot, and criminals. Instead of taking measures to protect women from sexual exploitation, informing them of their rights and obligations and providing them with an education and a vocational training to support themselves with dignity, men had monopolised all the jobs, honours, and pleasures.⁵ It was men who had created a luxurious civilisation in which middle-class and upper-class women were devoted to indolence, boredom, pallor, and anaemia and working-class girls were easy victims of social and sexual exploitation. 'The daughter, is treated by the *politia* [government] today as

¹ K. Parren, 'Omen afeleis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 June 1887.

² M. Pierre, 'O egefalos tis Gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 October 1892.

³ K. Parren, 'To parthenagogeion tou Dimou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1892.

⁴ An. Antoniadou, 'Ekklesia kai ai Gynaikes', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 March 1888.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Mia episkepsis eis tas fylakas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 January 1895.

she was treated by her parents in the past, not as an individual with her . . . own mental and moral needs,' Parren wrote, while the entire society consistently condemned women for society's current social and moral corruption.¹

The agonising and immediate problems of personal and social life soon became the great crusade of the journal. Parren castigated the cold-blooded dealings over marriage settlements, denouncing this materialistic match-making as unworthy of an idealised union which had to be principally a blending of hearts rather than a financial transaction.² The way in which family members related to each other, in terms of legal arrangement, structure, custom, power, affection, love and birth soon became the means by which the journal could establish the significant authority of women over the smallest nucleus of each society, the family and, by extension, the entire nation. If women had the opportunity to have a proper education and to earn a living, fewer of them would rush headlong into unions which often ended in unhappiness and personal tragedies, Parren explained.³

By listing the legal and civic rights which women lost on marriage, as these were subsumed under those of their husbands, Parren challenged the limits of what men had always assumed was the woman's sphere. She scorned the little 'queen of the home' - as used by writers of the period - who had no 'vassals', because, as she explained, these 'domestic queens', as *wives*, had no legal existence and no legal rights of property ownership. Their every possession, earning or inheritance belonged to their husbands. As *mothers*, they had no rights over their children's future. As *citizens* neither could they become guardians of their children on the husband's death - because custody could be granted to

¹ K. Parren, 'Ti tin thelousin ai gynaikes tin arhaia Helleniki', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 January 1890.

² K. Parren, 'Gamoi itoi synalagai emporikai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 July 1887; P. D. Valosi, 'Paratirisis epi ton aition di on o gamos egeneto kerdoskopiki epiheirisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 November 1887.

³ K. Parren, 'Ai neanides aniosin en tais eparhiais', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 May 1889; K. Parren, 'Gamos kai ergasia. Stoiheia aparaitita dia tin evdaimonia tis gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 November 1887; P.D. Valosi, 'Paratirisis epi ton aition di on o gamos egeneto kerdoskopiki epiheirisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 November 1887; K. Parren, 'Ean I neanis 18 dynatai na agapisi 50eti syzygon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 October 1888.

anyone of the father's choosing - nor could their testimony stand in a court.¹ In 1889, after the death of Marietta Betsou, poet and contributor to *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, Parren angrily described how Betsou's husband had deserted her and their children, leaving them with no property. A victim of the prevailing view of women as simply 'beautiful domestic jewellery', Betsou had proved incapable of supporting her family through work. With sadness, Parren described the ordeal of this woman who was totally alone and weak in the face of a legal system which had been designed by men for men. 'From that day [her husband's desertion] the life of Betsou was transformed into a continual ordeal and lamentation . . . her fight with death was short. She departed.'²

Parren also cited the case of a fifteen-year-old girl who, deserted by her fiancé, had killed her newborn baby. Instead of cursing women, she added, curse society and the state whose irrational legislation drives women to such crimes. Neither the state nor society ever tried to teach women about their rights or to provide them with the means to protect themselves. Furthermore, Parren argued, the state not only passed severe judgement on women, but state, society and law left men, the real culprits, to go free with an unspotted reputation.³ Not only women, but the entire society was the victim of the church's and men's legislation, leading to moral corruption and social disorder, Parren explained. This legislation demanded the blind obedience of women, without allowing them to develop freely their potential as human beings. If women had the opportunity to earn a living and to have a proper education, not only could they raise their children properly, Parren added, but at the same time they could profoundly reform the entire society by simply supporting themselves alone with dignity. The journal further explained that neither parents nor the state could continue to ignore women's conditions and the daily reality that exposed mothers and children to unfair and patriarchal laws, backwardness and ignorance, conditions which could have deleterious consequences for the moral welfare of the entire society. Parren condemned the state's efforts to provide a

¹ K. Parren, 'Pempton etos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 March 1891; K. Parren, 'I nomoi mas kai to vasilion tis gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 23 June 1891; 'Kai alai epeigousai yper ton gynaikon metarythmisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 July 1895.

² K. Parren, 'Marietta Betsou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 November 1889.

³ K. Parren, 'Mia episkepsis eis tas fylakas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 January 1895.

practical and vocational training to men but not to women. Moreover, the *Arsakeio* continued to neglect the real living conditions of women in the Greek kingdom, continuing to provide *Hellenides* with an unrealistic programme of studies and a vocational training exclusively dedicated to training teachers, thus providing the nation with idle women. In the light of these failings, Parren urged the introduction of drastic changes in women's status. 'Today's woman does not demand political rights, nor does she aim to challenge men's privileges. She demands *work*. She demands *education*' she stressed.¹

Such concerns might have remained, as in Kehayia's philosophy, a purely 'female issue', had not the circular depression of the 1880s raised fears of national deterioration and decline. The arguments used by writers to classify *Hellenides* for decades, beyond satire and criticism, as formers of character and transmitters of language, culture and social values vehicles of moral reform and national tradition, helped Parren to classify such 'feminine issues' into overwhelming national goals that were the duties of both *Hellenes* and *Hellenides*. Because, Parren concluded, if women were responsible for this nation's spiritual, social and moral condition, then any reformation should obviously start with women; otherwise, the nation could never manage its affairs intelligently.² Consequently, the exclusion of *Hellenides* from public secondary education came once again to be articulated in patriotic and, at times, remarkably nationalistic terms. 'If you fear . . . to call these schools *gymnasia*, call them lyceums . . . [call them secondary schools] whatever you like, but do what the rest of the world has already done' Parren commented on Theotokis' legislation.³ 'If you think that your sons are capable of understanding the miracles of the ancestors . . . with what right do you exclude women from such holy enjoyment,' she jibed when Theotokis' reforms had excluded the teaching of ancient Greek from women's school curricula.⁴

¹ K. Parren, 'Tha mas eisakousosi i ou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 November 1888; K. Parren, 'I epeteios tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 March 1899; Maia (K. Parren), 'I heirafetimeni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 January 1892.

² K. Parren, 'Ta kata to Arsakeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 May 1888; K. Parren, 'Ta kata to Arsakeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* 5 June 1888; K. Parren, 'Ta kata to Arsakeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 June 1888.

³ K. Parren, 'Ti tin thelousin ai gynaiques tin Arhaia Helleniki', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 January 1890.

⁴ Ibid.

Women's ignorance and superficial education were the main cause, Parren explained, of the current alienation of the *Hellenida* from her national heritage and profound patriotic virtues and therefore the cause of the nation's contemporary social, moral and national weakness.¹ It was with such a recognition, in contrast to the earlier generation of teachers, poets and writers, such as Ktena-Leontias, Leontias, Kehayia and the editors of the journal *Evridiki*, who tried to construct womanliness by adopting their symbols from the Christian era and antiquity, Parren would try to discover the civic themes that animated the *Hellenida* citizen and, thereby, relate her to the reality of the Greek kingdom. According to contemporary beliefs, such a portrayal ought to be dynamic, pragmatic and above all patriotic.

It was within such an ideological background that Parren and her fellow thinkers tried to conquer and redefine not only such issues as authority and power but also the constituent elements of the people's national identity. By so doing, they hoped to make the *Hellenida* conscious of all the myths, symbols and legacies that composed and legitimated the *Hellenida's* belonging to this particular ethnic and political entity, and which for decades men and, by extension, the state had dominated. It was with such a recognition that Parren would try to introduce a new code of 'respectability'.² Parren's aim was to resurrect the ideological framework of womanliness that could henceforth encompass a time when *Hellenides*, along with all women in the civilised world, would 'escape from the circle in which they lived and withered and enter the arena of activity' by reconquering the positions that belonged exclusively to the women's sphere.³ With such a profound belief, Parren devoted her attention to freeing women from the political, social, cultural and legal restrictions that held them in subjection and denied both their adult status and their full intellectual and personal development.⁴ In addition, her preference for Deligiannis, who, as we

¹ P.D. Valosi, 'Laskarina Bouboulina', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 March 1887; K. Parren, 'Omen afeleis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 June 1887; K. Parren, 'I avtou megaleiotis to koinon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 3 May 1887; K. Parren, 'Ti anagnoskomen ai Hellenides', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 December 1889; K. Parren, 'Ti thelomen dia tas Hellenidas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 October 1895.

² G. Mosse, op. cit., pp. 1-23, 90-114.

³ Eva Prenar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Ti anagnoskomen ai Hellenides', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 December 1887.

have seen, was closely related to the Great Idea, help us better to understand the source of her motivation.

History was hence treated as a purely cultural product which succeeding generations of male historians had selected, ordered and interpreted, marginalising women and obliterating them from the national historical record.¹ Although, as the author with the pseudonym Athis explained 'a number of women teachers had spread Greek education and language since 1836', even to 'the farthest boundaries of the *Hellenismos*, often risking their lives, there was no still history of women's accomplishments and lives, 'as if it were only men who educated and reared children'.² In a bid to counter this omission, in 1890 and thereafter, the journal called upon its readers to participate in its campaign to collect and publish any historical testimony by women on 'any mental and practical activity from our days'.³ Soon after, the journal began to publish historical accounts of women during the War of Independence, such as M. Mavrogenous and F. Mavromihali, and accounts of contemporary women, such as P. Kouskouri (teacher), M. Dosiou, Ef. Samartzidou (poet and journalist), El. Altamoura (painter), F. Hill (teacher), E. Kavaniari (teacher), K. Kehayia (teacher), S. Leontias (teacher), M. Alvana-Miniati (writer) and even Parren herself. Through such articles, the journal hoped not only to help *Hellenides* understand historical events and processes and how these had led to the present situation, but also to prove to women that they could function as well as, or even better than, men.⁴ Furthermore, on 25 March 1891, on the national anniversary of the 1821 revolution, the journal, as its contribution to the commemoration of

¹ K. Parren, 'O Evagelismos kai I KE' Martiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 March 1891.

² Athis, 'En vlemma pros to parelthon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 January 1890.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Athis, 'Eikon ek tis KE Martiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 April 1892; I. Adam, 'I Gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 June 1887; 'Margiora Mavrogenous', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 March 1895; 'Margiora Mavrogenous', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 March 1895; S. Alimperti, 'Margarita Alvana-Miniati', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 April 1895; S. Alimperti, 'Margarita Alvana-Miniati', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 April 1895; K. Parren, '1889-1890', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 January 1890; K. Kindyni, 'Ai protai ton Hellenidon pnevmatikai anamorfotriai. Frances Hill', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 February 1890; 'Agnostai iroides tou 1821. Stavriana Modena kai Mesologitises', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 April 1890; K. Parren, 'Efrosyni Samartzidou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 13 January 1891; S. Alimperti, 'Fotini Mavromihali', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 February 1894; K. Parren, 'Eleni Altamoura', *Imerologion tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion*, v (1893), pp. 124-131; K. Parren, 'I epeteteios', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 March 1890; K. Parren, 'Prolavomen tin Ethniki kataptosi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 August 1887.

liberation from the Turkish Empire, celebrated the memory of the first female martyrs in the dissemination of Christianity and national freedom.¹ The fact that the day of the anniversary was also the Festival of the Annunciation allowed the journal to announce to its readers that 25 March was a double celebration for *Hellenides*, as it was the day on which *Hellenides* had been freed from both Eve's sin and the Turkish yoke.

Opposed to a moribund romanticism, Parren warned her readers of the significant changes that they should make in their lives. She explained to them that they ought to be more realistic and, therefore, more conscious of such visible realities as injustice, moral corruption, social disorder and the decline of the nation's values, and to become more active and dynamic.² She urged mothers to give their daughters a more realistic education, suggesting that it would make them wiser if they were taken from an early age to visit poorhouses, hospitals and factories. Such visits would direct their efforts toward higher social issues, making them conscious of the harsh realities of domestic life and the ignorance and poverty that existed particularly among the lower classes, and this would be better than cloying their minds with novels and thoughts of marriage.³ She warned her readers that love was a natural emotion, not a wicked one to be hidden, and therefore advised parents that they ought to be open about it with their children and not to keep them in ignorance and fears that might lead to such tragedies, as the recent five suicides in Piraeus within a month.⁴ She called upon her readers to give up the habit of drinking lemon juice in order to look 'pale, bony and lean', and the 'mania for looking sad'.⁵ When military exercises were made obligatory in men's *gymnasia*, Parren suggested, in opposition to Kehayia, who believed that exercise could destroy a woman's body, the introduction of compulsory physical fitness lessons in the women's curricula. As

¹ Athis, 'En vlemma pros to parelthon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 January 1890; K. Parren, 'O Evagelismos kai I KE Martiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 March 1891.

² K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 104-108.

³ K. Parren, 'Eis poian ilikia prepei na nymfevitai I nyfi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 28 August 1888.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai entyposeis. Koukla anti gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 February 1898; K. Parren, 'Omen afeleis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 June 1887; K. Parren, 'Pou agei I ypermetros philareskeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 June 1887; K. Parren, 'DiatI avtoktonoun', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 June 1891.

⁵ K. Parren, 'I mania tou na thlivometha', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 February 1894.

she explained, 'we cannot expect weak, neurotic and anaemic mothers . . . to bear and raise heroes like those of the past [War of Independence].'¹ When A. Laskaridou founded the first female school for physical education teachers in 1891, Parren not only responded enthusiastically to this innovation, but even suggested that the school change its name, School of Physical Trainers (*sholi gymnastion*) to Female School for Physical Education (*sholi gymnaston gynaikeia*), since the school should be open to all *Hellenides*.²

Discussing the women's question in the optimistic, semi-liberal mood of emancipation and free trade, Parren argued that both women and men ought to provide society with its intellectual and labour force. Unlike Leontias, however, Parren was not afraid that women's mass entry into the labour market would create male unemployment. She criticised the fact that men, instead of following masculine vocations such as farming, preferred instead to work in posts such as sewing, tailoring weaving and making toys or as florists, domestic servants and cooks. In fact, Parren argued, these jobs required feminine virtues such as imagination, sensitivity, patience and kindness. Parren blamed this distribution of jobs for the social loss of women's economic and intellectual forces and the waste of male labour. She believed that only proper vocational training of women could remedy this waste of male labour and attendant financial loss by bringing unskilled women into industry.³ By way of example, she cited the *Adelfato Slavon Gynaikon* (Sisterhood of Slavic Women), founded in 1887 in Russia, in which Slavic women organised female enterprises for the production of national handicrafts, thus achieving their financial independence, the advancement of the national commerce and the maintenance of their national tradition.⁴ 'Do not believe what they tell you about female weakness and natural inability,' Parren warned her readers. Quoting Plato, she concluded, 'Art, science

¹ K. Parren, 'En evergetikos neoterismos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 December 1897; K. Parren, 'Sholi Gymnastiki kai ohi gymnastion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 April 1891.

² Ibid., in 'Sholi Gymnastiki kai ohi gymnastion'.

³ K. Parren, 'To ergastirio ton aporon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1898; K. Parren, 'Thesis dia tous andras', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 May 1894; K. Parren, 'I Hellenis tou dekatou enatou aionos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 July 1889.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Adelfato Slavon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 December 1887.

and work are for both women and men.¹ The strength of Parren's belief led her, in 1891, to organise the first exhibition of paintings, sculpture, pottery, woodwork and advanced handicrafts by women. Judged successfully by a committee of leading male literary figures, such as Alexandros Ragavis, Konstantinos Volonakis, and Alexandros Filadelfefs, the exhibition was held in the journal's offices.²

Criticising the frequency with which men meddled in feminine issues, Parren emphasised the senselessness of expecting committees that were exclusively composed of male bankers, merchants, civil servants and members of the Greek parliament to supervise women's schools such as the *Arsakeio* and to plan female curricula.³ She condemned the conditions of most school buildings in Athens, which lacked courtyards, and proper hygiene, and did not provide meals.⁴ Taking a stand against this male domination of public affairs, Parren suggested the creation of female committees that would take charge, not only of designing curricula for women, but also of issues from which both male and female students suffered most, such as sanitation, nutrition and clothing.⁵ She hastened to assure her readers that womanliness was not just a domestic or feminine matter; it was, above all, a pattern of the morals and matters that were essential in political life.⁶ At the same time, she explained to her readers that her

¹ K. Parren, 'Pros tas Hellenidas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 June 1896; K. Parren, 'Dekaton etos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 March 1896; K. Parren, 'Ai gynaikes ton palaion hronon isan ithikoterai ton neoteron', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 July 1896.

² K. Parren, 'Kallitehnikí ekthesis Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 March 1891.

³ K. Parren, 'Exetastiki Epitropi Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 June 1892.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 May 1887; K. Parren, 'To Arsakeion kai I Kyvernisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 3 December 1889.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Exetastiki epitropi Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 June 1892; K. Parren, 'Ai filologoi mas aki paidagogoi mas ektopatrizontai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 October 1894; K. Parren, 'Eripeia parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 May 1887; K. Parren, 'To Arsakeion kai I kyvernisis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 3 December 1889; K. Parren, 'Ai eklogai tou Arsakeiou Parthenagogeiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 January 1889; K. Parren, 'Systisate epitropes Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 25 October 1887; K. Parren, 'To dimotiko symvoulío kai I protasis epitropon Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 November 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Eripeia Parthenagogeia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 May 1887.

⁶ K. Parren, 'To ergastirio ton aporon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1898; K. Parren, 'Thesi dia tous andras', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 May 1894; K. Parren, 'I Hellenis gyni tou dekatou enatou aionos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 July 1889.

insistence on opening the 'public sphere' to women did not, in the Greek case, signify women's gaining the franchise, but meant reconquering the space that was rightfully theirs.¹

She challenged the dictum that men are the measure of all things, that male experience and perceptions were the standard for all humanity. The fact that a husband represented a woman's country, honour, glory, fortune, titles and, in fact, her entire world did not mean that women were powerless and irrational, or cared less for their country; it meant that 'society and the laws had denied women their rights.'² In addition, Parren was afraid that in a corrupt political system, there was a danger of wasting the journal's energies on an issue, such as women's right to vote which in the end might not greatly ameliorate women's lot. Patron-client relationships, mass illiteracy and the fact that the Greek political parties continued to follow personal instead of national aspirations were, according to Parren, the fundamental reasons that the Greek state had failed to achieve either the entire nation's political unification or the social, economic and scientific development that Hellenic civilisation should have accomplished by the 1890s. Given this sociopolitical background and the fact that most women were illiterate, she believed that the women's ballot would not profoundly change either the national state or women's conditions of life. Instead, she believed, as Kehayia had before her, that women ought to stay aloof from the political chaos swirling around them and instead discover their own space (language, symbols and actions) in politics. Such a space could help them to deal not only with corrupt male politics and the universal male franchise, but also with the current national chaos. In short, it could help them to remedy the contemporary social disorder and moral corruption that men, and, by extension, the state had created.³

Parren had not included *Hellenides'* franchise among her demands, and legislation continued to be men's domain. However, in a state that had been a self-proclaimed masculine preserve for decades, women had now become a central issue for the national body politic. Parren's definition of an exclusively

¹ K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

² K. Parren, 'Tis ek ton dyo afoseiousai pleioteron', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 March 1890.

³ K. Parren, 'Etos ID', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 March 1900.

female space, the consciousness that women's condition was socially produced and not ordained by God or nature and the marginalisation of women in history became overtly political when the national discourse created an opportunity for women's opposition to the activities of those in power. In fact, in the years when the question was not whether women should exercise power in the public sphere, Parren cautioned her readers to be aware of the significance of their actions as a group.¹ It was the political responsibility of *Hellenides*, as citizens, to ensure the abolition of such evils as women's poverty, sexual exploitation, illiteracy, injustice, social corruption and moral dissolution. This responsibility, Parren argued, required *Hellenides* to intervene in politics.² Her arguments were voiced in terms of female sensitivity and morality, the elements which both male and female writers had agreed for decades to be the essential attributes of womanliness. Parren explained, that if, for men, the ballot signified personal satisfactions (e.g. civil posts), for women, the country was 'all. . . . It was the family, the past and the present.'³ In fact, *Hellenides* had to protect and defend their country now and in the future from influences that could have an adverse effect on the social, national and moral order.

Of those privileged who have the right to vote [to men], who have the right of being free citizens, and who are able to present themselves today to the ballot-box . . . we, who are deprived of this highest right, do not feel envy. . . . If the country does not recognise women's rights, women recognise their obligations to the country . . . and if the hands which hold the vote today are masculine, many of them are deprived of women's hearts. . . . Because if the country, for the simple and illiterate masses is a word without specific meaning, if it presents to them [men] only the satisfaction of personal needs, to us [women] the country is the family, the past, and the present; it is freedom, progress, equality, honour and life.⁴

Guided by this fundamental conviction, Parren urged her readers, as mothers, wives and sisters, during the national elections to influence their men's choices for patriotic ends. Furthermore, during the municipal elections in 1887, when even women's presence in the polling stations was prohibited, Parren

¹ E. Prennar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887.

² K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

³ K. Parren, 'I episimos Imera', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 April 1895.

⁴ Ibid.

argued against the use of churches as polling stations.¹ In response to a letter from an anonymous man who accused her of effrontery for meddling in male issues, Parren explained that, as women had always been law-abiding, conscientious, temperate, religious and tender-hearted, obviously, not only was it among women's rights, but also among their national obligations to defend the churches, which had been transformed from holy places into bazaars during the election campaigns and to restore their sanctity.² Parren's choice of wording is significant, coming at a time when women were excluded from the celebration of the founding of the University of Athens, in 1887, because, as Parren explained sarcastically, there was no *gynaikonitis* (women's quarters) in the university. Parren called upon her readers to rise above such an injustice and in addition, as true patriots, to mark their presence and create something lasting for their country, in this case, a national theatre. 'Hellenides, let's accomplish what in 57 years our wiser governments have failed to achieve,' she urged.³

At the same time, in opposition to Theotokis' proposals, Parren explained that, although *Hellenides* were not lawmakers in the Greek kingdom, they would try to suggest a true reform of women's secondary education through the publication of bills, proposals and programmes adopted by the ministries of education in France, Italy, Switzerland, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Britain and Russia.⁴ In addition, when women were excluded from the Olympic Games in Athens, Parren explained to her readers that, although competition in sports was a masculine preserve, women had their own sphere in which to triumph. 'Our men are the victors in the Olympic stadium. We enter the stadium of philanthropy and there we must always be winners.'⁵ Schools, sanitation, hospitals, primary education, female education, ideals, beliefs, morality and social order, these were the issues, Parren explained to her readers, through

¹ K. Parren, 'I Dimotiki Eklogi kai oi Naoi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1887; K. Parren, 'I Dimotiki Eklogi kai oi Naoi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 December 1887; K. Parren, 'Diati exegethikamen kata tis veviloseos ton Naon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 13 December 1887.

² K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai Entyposeis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 23 March 1897.

³ K. Parren, 'Panepistimion, Theatron kai gynaikes', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 May 1887.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Kai emeis peri tis Ekpaidevseos ton fylou mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 28 January 1890; K. Parren, 'Ti tin thelousin oi Hellenides tin Arhaia Elleniki', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 January 1890.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Mega Iaheion. Yper tou Asylou Aniaton kai tis Philoptohou Aderfotitos Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 31 March 1896.

which *Hellenides* could function politically as *citizens*.¹ The example of Queen Olga, the 'natural guardian of each *Hellenida*', who travelled throughout the Greek kingdom to observe personally the problems that the *Hellenida* faced in daily life and assisted paupers, orphans and the elderly by establishing asylums for them, showed that *Hellenides* could identify with the state.²

Parren tried to assure her readers that female advancement in education and involvement in political sphere would not only bring about the desired reforms for their sex but also contribute to national regeneration. Such a recognition of women's role and, therefore, of the impact that the state neglect of women could have on the entire nation forced Parren to conclude that, even if men still preferred to ignore *Hellenides*' backwardness and illiteracy, politicians, 'if they were true patriots', had a national duty to include this half of the Hellenic population in their political programmes and measures from now on. Parren informed her readers that, in contrast to the indifference of the Greek state, the Bulgarian state had already taken the first measures for women's education, with the creation of women's *gymnasia* and four public women's *didaskaleia*.³ If Greece did not take similar measures, Parren warned, 'sooner or later the complete deterioration of the Hellenic race would follow.'⁴

Since Hellas does not have mothers capable of instilling in their children's hearts respect for God, themselves, and society, love of education and work, and devotion to the country, the Hellenic land instead of producing patriotic, progressive citizens and well-educated scientists will produce and feed drones, and sooner or later, the complete deterioration of the Hellenic race will follow.⁵

Such fears of national degeneration, because of the state's neglect of women, assumed extreme proportions. On 23 October 1888, prompted by a special memorial issue on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the king's accession, 2500 women signed Parren's petition against the exclusion of women from education, legislation, vocational training, employment and other decision-making functions. The petition protested that, in addition to denying women the

¹ K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

² K. Parren, 'Etos ID', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 March 1900.

³ K. Parren, 'Yparhei en Helladi mesi Gynaikeia ekpaidevsis I ou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 November 1887.

⁴ *Ibid.*; K. Parren, 'Ai gynaikes kai I politiki', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 May 1895.

⁵ *Ibid.*

above rights, the state's neglect of their sex both oppressed women and exposed their nation to disastrous consequences. Thus, they were asking the state to honour all citizens and not divide them into inferior and superior categories.

Hellenides constitute exactly half the Hellenic population. . . . As mothers and wives of privileged citizens . . . in the name of the welfare and progress of our nation, we, the *Hellenides*, rise up today and demand that the state take care of us also.¹

In 1888, the journal's appeal for the creation of public women's lyceums in urban centres similar to men's *gymnasia* and the creation of at least one practical and artistic school for women, first in Athens, was ignored by the Greek parliament.² In response to the state's lack of concern, which abandoned half of the Hellenic population to illiteracy and backwardness, Parren argued that it was the national obligation of *Hellenides* from privileged classes, on account of their better financial and educational situation, to take up their political responsibilities by 'marching united for the amelioration of women's conditions . . . in protest at the negligence of church and state'.³ It was, she claimed, the major national responsibility of those *Hellenides* to protect their nation from moral decadence and the nation's annihilation, acting as *women*, who had no access to parliament and continued to live in boredom.⁴ 'We women who cannot become government ministers, members of the parliament, priests . . . we whose lives are linked by drudgery, we, as natural sisters and mothers, have to protect the daughters of the people.'⁵ Women had to act as *members of a national community*, in whose veins ran the same blood as the rest of society.

How can we remain apathetic . . . when Hellenic blood runs in our veins? . . . We have to put an end to the widespread exploitation of our women. We must establish associations, sisterhoods for the support and moral education of our young women regardless of social origin.⁶

¹ K. Parren, 'Anafora ton Hellenidon Gynaikon pros ton Proedro tis Hellenikis Kyverniseos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 23 October 1888.

² Ibid.

³ K. Parren, 'Kai emeis peri tis Ekpaidevseos tou fylou mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 28 January 1890; Eva Prenar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887; K. Parren, 'Prolavomen tin Ehtniki katastrophē', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 August 1887.

⁴ K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 October 1898; K. Parren, 'Idrysate sholi tis Kyriakis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 June 1887.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ K. Parren, 'Prolavomen tin ethniki kataptosi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 August 1887.

And women had to act as *citizens*. While the state and church still ignored them, it was they alone who could take measures to alleviate the plight of woman, her suffering, her lack of education and her backwardness, imposed on her by men's, and, by extension, the state's injustice.¹ Parren hastened to assure her readers that female emancipation in the Greek kingdom did not signify political rights, but instead the right of lower-class women to a primary education, of lower-class and middle-class women to respectable jobs apart from their prescribed occupations as teachers and governess, and of wealthy, leisured, middle-class women to engage in worthwhile public services. Recognition of such rights would enable women to escape boredom and oblivion.² However, Parren explained, the journal did not plan either to challenge men's privileges or to demand political rights, but would instead concentrate on the national task and focus on reawakening the *Hellenida* as a free *human being* and *citizen* who had been condemned to idleness and oblivion by years of romantic novels and sentimental tripe. The goal was, as Parren put it, to make the *Hellenida* conscious of her real value and power 'and to give her back her proper place in both society and *politia* [government] which centuries of slavery had consigned to blankness'.³

By insisting on the theoretical endorsement of a particular feminine culture, Parren added a new set of ideas about the sexual division of labour and the relationship of women to the public sphere. She believed, as Kehayia had previously, that the state was not a monolithic entity but a more complex organisation in which *Hellenides*, as *citizens*, had their own spatial and cultural domain within the diverse projects under the state's auspices. She hastened to assure her readers that their role, as that of all women in the civilised world, was to fight against decadence, whether it be tyranny, alcoholism, egoism, arrogance or injustice.⁴ Hence, as in Kehayia's philosophy, philanthropy was once more the

¹ K. Parren, 'I episimos Imera', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 April 1895.

² K. Parren, 'Tha mas eisakousosi I ou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 November 1888; K. Parren, 'I epeteios tis ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 March 1899.

³ K. Parren, 'Ou monon epistimas alla kai tehnas kai epagelmata dia tas gynaikas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 September 1887; K. Parren, 'Merikai pikrai alithiai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 May 1897; K. Parren, 'Ptaion kai oi andres', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 March 1892; K. Parren, 'Tha mas eisakousosi I ou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 November 1888; K. Parren, 'I epeteios tis ephimeridos ton Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 March 1899; K. Parren (Maia), 'I heirafetimeni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 March 1899.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

means through which the *Heirafetimeni* (emancipated woman), as Parren called her heroine, could infuse the era with a new spirit and hence reform the entire society on a new moral and national basis.¹ In 1872, an all-female committee with Queen Olga as its head established the hospital *Evangelismos*, and, in 1874, another women's committee founded the *Philoptohos Adelfotis Kyrion* (Ladies Charitable Sisterhood).² In 1891, after Parren's campaign for the improvement of prison conditions in Athens, where jails lacked health clinics, exercise yards, hygiene and proper nutrition, the first prison Sunday school was founded.³ Two years later, Parren founded the *Asylon tis Agias Aikaterinis* (Asylum of Saint Aikaterini) to assist impoverished female workers and domestic servants by providing them with food and lodging.⁴ In 1895, after women led a campaign to collect money for a philanthropic fund, the *Nosokomeion Aniaton* (Hospital for the Incurable) was founded. The following year, Maria Kefala, a teacher in the *Arsakeio*, established the first kindergarten for workers' children in Athens.⁵ In 1896, the philanthropist Georgios Averof founded the *Ephivion Averof* (Averof Reformatory for Juveniles), under the patronage of Queen Olga, while in the same year Princess Sophia opened the *Nosokomeion ton paidon* (Hospital for Children), established with proceeds from a fund-raising campaign by women.⁶

However, in contrast to previous years, the middle-class and upper-class mobilisation in charity work was classified, by Parren and her colleagues, as one of the means - including political activity, public debate, women's efforts in literature, science and commerce and the reconstruction of the *Hellenida's* history - whereby *Hellenides*, as *citizens*, could organise projects essential for the moral, social and economic strengthening of their country.⁷ 'We do not think that our

¹ K. Parren, 'Etos ID', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 March 1900.

² K. Parren, 'I Hellenis gyni tou dekatou enatou aionos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 July 1889.

³ K. Parren, 'Sholeion en Fylakais', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 January 1891; K. Parren, 'Nea Gynaika Drasis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 3 February 1891; K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 12-16.

⁴ K. Parren, 'untitled', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 January 1893; K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 176-183.

⁵ S. Moshou-Sakoraphou, op. cit., p. 112.

⁶ K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

⁷ E. Prenar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887; K. Parren, 'Dekaton etos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 March 1896; K. Parren, 'To neon etos kai to palaion 1894-95', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 January 1895; K. Parren, 'Mega Laheion: Yper tou Asylou ton Aniaton kai tis philoptohou adelfotitos Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 31 March 1896.

involvement will harm the *politia* (public) or damage men . . . the contribution of kind and well-educated women is essential . . . to fulfil the destiny of women in society and state.¹ It was with such a profound belief that Parren justified the significance of such female initiatives in philanthropy as follows: 'Philanthropy not only feeds the heart's moral satisfaction but also social and national needs'.² Her words recalled a suggestion made some years earlier by the periodical *Estia*, which had advised its readers and, particularly women, that in contrast to men's duty to bear arms, the 'feminine' way of showing patriotism was through philanthropy, 'the food of patriotism'.³ Yet, in Parren's ideological justification, womanliness symbolised the nation's spiritual, moral and material vitality. Through her recognition of the impact of women's backwardness on society as a whole and her justification of historical, physical and cultural differences that distinguished *Hellenides*, as *citizens*, from men, Parren succeeded in making *Hellenides* conscious that their membership of an ethno-political community implied a series of rights and obligations. Moreover, contemporary circumstances rendered involvement in the nation's affairs obligatory to *Hellenides*.

The modern *Hellenida* must abandon the anonymity to which particular circumstances consigned her in the past . . . because through an appropriate education, she can be a vital vehicle of national progress and a fundamental means of achieving the national greatness of the *Hellenismos*.⁴

She strongly believed that women, primarily those of the privileged classes, had a fundamental role within the nation, as their projects (such as women's education and vocational training) could infuse the female masses and, by extension, the entire society with a new spirit. She thus concluded that it was among *Hellenides*' national responsibilities to combat state negligence by devoting their energies to alleviating the plight of woman, her suffering and her lack of education and self-respect in order to save the nation from moral decadence and the fear of annihilation.⁵ None the less, Parren was soon surrounded by a powerful circle of the well-known teachers and female literary figures of the period, such as Agathoniki Antoniadou, Eirini Oikonomidou, Sappho Leontias,

¹ E. Prenar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887.

² K. Parren, untitled, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 January 1893.

³ Anonymous, 'Ti esti alithis patriotismos', *Estia*, ii (1876), p. 813.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Mia ton proton ethnikon anagon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 January 1892.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Prolavomen tin Ehtniki kataptosi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 August 1887.

Maria Mavrokordatou, Marietta Betsou, Kalliope Kehayia, Florentia Fountoukli, Maria Siganou, Panayota Liourdi, Eleni Georgiadou, Maria Pipaza and Eleni Derva.¹ Propelled by an ardent desire to participate in society and board the swiftly moving ship of state, these women marched, as *citizens*, into state affairs in 1887 by getting involved in projects which they believed could help the nation's spiritual, moral and material vitality.²

Hence, when, in 1889, women were once more excluded, this time from the wedding of the heir apparent to the Greek throne, Parren seized on this exclusion to launch the first Sunday school by women (*Sholeia tis Kyriakis*), which would henceforth provide female workers with a basic education each Sunday, free of charge.³ The venture was highly successful and Parren announced the founding of a second Sunday school a year later. Parren's contrasted such female activities with the state's exclusion of women and believed that such endeavours would cause later generations to recall with admiration that such female initiatives had launched a 'new political period'.⁴ As Parren explained to her readers, the mass basic education of simple women simultaneously meant the creation of well-qualified patriotic mothers among the masses and, thus, the creation of reliable citizens who would be conscious of their duties to their country.⁵ Lessons in the Bible, reading, writing, Hellenic history, biographies (as the school's programme reported), arithmetic and basic home economics, with the voluntary participation of such leading teachers as Aspasia Kyparisi, Sophia Schliemann, Kalliope Kehayia, Theodoru Lambrou, Kalliope Kindyni, and

¹ The list of the journal's contributors, of 1892, is as follows: S. Leontias, S. Kallisperi, Krystallia Hrysovery, Eleni Livi, Kalliopi Kindini, Maria Papadaki, Maria Alvy, Pinelopi Panagiotidou, Eleni Papadaki, Agathoniki Antoniadou, Aristeia Kyriakou, Maria Aletson, Maria Pierre, Maria Pipiza, Eleni Georgiadou, Aglaia Syrma, Xanthipi Kalostypi, Eirini Oikonomidou, Evridiki Voila, Athina Siganou, Maria Nede, Panagiotoula Lioursi, Anna Serouiou, Marianthi Iliopoulou, Polyxeni Melandrinou, Parthenopi Kardara, Maria Pavlovits, Kaliopi Kehayia, Ageliki Papareskou, Maria Deon, Florentia Fountoukli, Levki Vieri, Maria Gennadi, Avra Sporas, Anthi Vasileiadou, Anna Medar, Maria Monen, Lavra Berner, Maria Vear, Helli Denar, Maria Obre, Anthipi Palamidou, Anna Otto, Bessi Massonos, Lavra Perle, Antigoni S. Douzina, Mary Demon, Sophia Resten, Maria Othonaiou, Koralia Rouseli, Maria Voa, Malvina Malataki, Efrosyni Karpou, Bilio Antoniadou, Maria Bail, Domna Thoma, Maria Ratassi, and Kalliroi Parren. *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 March 1892.

² E. Prenar (K. Parren), 'Programma', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887.

³ K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis ton Aporon gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 October 1889; K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 October 1889; K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 October 1889.

⁴ K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis ton Aporon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 October 1889.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Ai aporoi ergatides kai to Kyriakon sholeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 October 1891.

Aspasia Skordeli, became the ideological basis on which, Parren believed, would eventually rest the enlightenment of the female masses and the profound reform of society. In diametrical opposition to the previous ideals that had inspired an entire generation of *Hellenides* to become teachers, Parren explained, in the 1890s, that women from the privileged classes would enlighten the common *Hellenida* with lessons drawn from real life which could teach her how to be a mother and citizen. Such an education would transform her from a pathetic figure into the energetic and reliable citizen so needed by the Greek kingdom at that time.¹

However, in 1887, the state had still given no consideration to admitting women to the University of Athens. In 1885, Sevasti Kallisperi, after graduating from the *parthenagogeion* Hill and receiving further private tuition, enrolled as a student in the Department of Literature at the University of Paris (Sorbonne). At the same time, Maria Kalapothaki, also unable to study at home, had travelled to Paris to continue her studies in medicine at the Sorbonne.² In 1887, the University of Athens refused to admit a student from the *Arsakeio* on the grounds that its curriculum was not up to the standard of a secondary school for boys. But, in reality, such pretexts were merely a reflection of the underlying fear of the immorality which might result from men's and women's joint attendance at lectures.³ Through the pages of her journal, Parren disputed the decisions of those who still stood in the way of progress and refused to realise the influence of women's education on the entire nation. At the same time, she praised the public declaration of some university students who campaigned for women's admission to the university.⁴ Some years later, Parren would celebrate the success of her journal's campaign for the *Hellenida's* access to all levels of education. In 1890, the University of Athens accepted the first woman student, Ioanna Stephanopoli, in the Department of Philology. Significantly, it also rejected

¹ K. Parren, 'I sholi tis Kyriakis ton Gynaikon kai korasion tou Laou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 April 1890; K. Parren, 'Ai aporoi ergatides kai to Kyriakon Sholeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 October 1891; K. Parren, 'Logos enarktirios tis K. Parren', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 25 February 1890.

² S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 330.

³ K. Parren, 'Diati den tin dehontai eis to panepistimion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 September 1887.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Oi phititai mas ypsountes tin simaia tis pnevmatikis heiraphetiseos tis gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 October 1887.

applications from other women in that year.¹ None the less, the doors to university had opened for women as in 1892, the sisters Alexandra and Aggeliki Panagiotou were admitted to the Faculty of Medicine, Thiresia Roka, to Philology and Phlorentia Phountoukli to Mathematics.² Women's access to higher education was at last within reach. There soon followed a modification of the curriculum of the *Parthenagogeia* Skordeli-Simopoulou, which, in 1890, announced that henceforth it would function as a complete female *gymnasium*.³

Furthermore, in 1894, Parren celebrated the initiation of a series of public lectures which, for a fee, women could attend once a month at the *Parnassos* Association. For a small sum, students could benefit from the lessons of N. Politis on *Istoria kai exegesis ton Disidaimonion* ('History and the Explanation of Superstitions'), Sp. Labros on *I Arhaia Hellenis en ti Istoria* ('The Ancient Hellenida in History'), Sp. Sakelaropoulos on *I Arhaia Helleniki poiisis* ('Ancient Hellenic Poetry'), Sp. Miliarakis on *Oikiaki Votaniki* ('Home Gardening'), P. Zalokostas on *I chemia en ti Oikia* ('Domestic Medicine'), G. Sotiriadis on *Ai Gynaikes en ti Helleniki Epanastasi* ('Women in the Greek Revolution'), At. Miliarakis on *Geographika anagnosmata* ('Geography'), A. Apostolidis on *Vios kai metamorfosis ton entomon* ('The Life and Metamorphosis of Insects'), A. Kourtidi on *Psychologia tou kath ekastin viou* ('Everyday Psychology'), and Ar. Roukis on *Oikonomiki gia oikodespoinas* ('Economy for Homemakers'), while Saturday was set aside for religious discussion.⁴

In 1887, Parren's major initiative was to establish the first female vocational school with two years of courses in sketching, music, flower arranging, cutting (in tailoring), needlework, home economics, cooking, domestic pharmacy and hygiene.⁵ The school had a shaky start due to the small number of students. By 1897, however, under the auspices of the first Greek female organisation, the *Enosis Hellenidon* (*Hellenides* Union), and thanks to the personal

¹ K. Parren, 'Hellenis phoititria tis Sorvonis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 February 1888; 'Mia Hellenis ptyhiouhos tis Sorvonis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 July 1891; 'Hellenis prolytis tis Philologias', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 August 1891; S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 332.

² Ibid., p. 334.

³ Ibid., p. 228.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Syllogos Parnassos. Ta mathimata dia kyrias', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 23 October 1894.

⁵ K. Parren, 'I Hellenis heirafetoumeni dia tis ergasias kallitehnikai kai Praktiki sholi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 October 1887.

efforts of Parren, the school was functioning successfully.¹ Within the space of the last decade, Parren had been able to celebrate a series of significant changes in women's lives, such as women's admission to the University of Athens and to the Polytechnic in 1894, the first female art exhibition, the opening of the first library for women, the establishment of the first female examination board for schools in 1892, the appointment of the first female inspectors in the *parthenagogeia* in 1895, the publication of Pappadopoulou's novel and the continuing success of *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*.² Pointing to such achievements in philanthropy, literature and female education, Parren, in 1892, called upon her readers to take pride in their accomplishments. She explained that they had become the gateway to the liberation of *Hellenides* from the Eastern world of theocracy and the world of the Oriental woman (*Anatolitida*). Hence, their actions and ideas were equal in importance to the bravery of their female ancestors: 'With tears the Queen [the heroines] of 1821 embraced the *Hellenis* of 1892 and exclaimed: the country is grateful and God gives His blessings.'³ However, what Parren failed to realise at that time was that her theory came dangerously close to the traditional view of womanhood from which she and her colleagues were trying to escape.

The category of gender was probably the most important classification in Parren's orientation in life. Only by understanding that the condition of women was socially constructed and not ordained by God or nature, and by realising the underlying unity of the female sex as a biological and social group were Parren and her colleagues able to break new ground and glimpse the destiny awaiting the *Hellenida*. Furthermore, the link between *Hellenides* issues and the international women's movement was unquestionably vital, as it confirmed the *Hellenida*'s perceptions and validated them with the experience of other women. In 1895, after participating in the International Council of Women in Chicago in 1894, which was inspired by the Anglo-American idea of coordinating world women's charities and philanthropic groups, Parren could not contain her

¹ K. Parren, 'Exetastiki Epitropi ek Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 June 1892; K. Parren, 'Ai filologoi mas kai paidagogoi mas ektopatrizontai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 October 1894.

² K. Parren, 'Exetastikes epitropes Kyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 June 1892; K. Parren, 'Gynaikeies epitheoritriai parthenagogeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1895; K. Parren, 'Dekaton Etos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 10 March 1896.

³ Athis, 'Eikon ek tis KE Martiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 April 1892.

enthusiasm. 'The real enlightenment of humanity knows no borders and no country. One's country is the entire world; one's family, all of humanity', she explained to her readers.¹ Hence, after her participation in Chicago, on her return to Greece, Parren became the prime mover for the founding of a national women's organisation.

The idea of founding a women's organisation was not new. Since 1889, when Parren had participated in the *Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines* in Paris, she had urged *Hellenides* to join forces and to follow the example of their sisters in America, France, Britain and Russia, who had managed through organisation and effort to free themselves from their long slavery and to form a national organisation.² What was new in 1896 was Parren's fear, after the Chicago council's decision to create a permanent international women's council with the participation of female national delegates from all countries, that the absence of a national female organisation in Greece would lead to *Hellenides'* exclusion from this organisation. Furthermore, she was well aware that she would have to pay her own way to such international meetings, being the only representative from the Greek kingdom. At the same time, women in Bulgaria had not only formed their own national organisation but also had obtained state financial support.³ Faced with such a reality Parren undertook yet another venture. In 1896, with Queen Olga and Princess Sophia as its patrons, A. Laskaridou as president and Parren as secretary, the *Enosis Hellenidon* (*Hellenides'* Union) was eventually founded in Athens. With departments of domestic economy, literature, pedagogy, domestic hygiene, nursing, philanthropy, female employment and the arts, the association would be the means through which Parren would try to accomplish the goal for which she had campaigned for nearly a decade: the unification of *Hellenides'* efforts, the provision of proper domestic and vocational training, and the transformation of the *Hellenida* from passive homemaker into productive mother and citizen.

¹ K. Parren, 'Ai gynaiikes kata tou ekfylismou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 7 May 1895; K. Parren, *Imerologio tis Ephimeridos ton Kyrion*, vi (1894), pp. 78-112.

² K. Parren, 'Oi en Parisiois peri Hellenidon logoi mas kai ta peri avton', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 September 1889; K. Parren, 'Oi en Parisiois peri Hellenidon logoi mas kai ta peri avton', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 October 1889.

³ K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., p. 459.

Feminist consciousness obviously helped Parren to locate *Hellenides* in a partly autonomous sphere and, to use Gerda Lerner's phraseology, to justify 'an alternative vision of societal organisation in which women as well as men will enjoy autonomy and self-determination'.¹ It was feminist consciousness which provided the perspective that allowed *Hellenides* to organise themselves in their own interests and then 'to think their way out of patriarchy'.² But, although *féminisme* was a major influence, in the world in which Parren lived in 1887, it was more an orientation than a doctrine. By the 1880s, a new generation of writers, such as Psycharis, Palamas, Karkavitsas and Xenopoulos, had tried to produce a literature more relevant to the current needs of the nation, while contemporary writers harked back to the days of 1821, declaring that the world and ideas of the revolutionaries were equal to and, even more important, than those of antiquity. Underpinning this new generation of intellectuals, including those who had called for the formation of a more pragmatic and realistic generation, those who continued to prefer the idiom of *katharevousa* or *demotiki*, those who supported the *neoteristiko* (modernizing) party of Trikoupi and those who supported the *ethnikistiko* (national) party of Deligiannis, was a fundamental and keen desire shared by all to expand state boundaries and to unify the nation politically. A strong belief in a Great Idea, the prevailing civic ideology, ruled the existence of these people, while military and physical exercises were obligatory in men's education. Within this intellectual and social framework, Parren would try to formulate the borders of her *féminisme* by adopting *Hellenides'* symbols from the modern Greek state. The environment within which she lived is reflected in a poem that Palamas dedicated to Parren, stressing the expectations that this 'rational' generation still had from the *Hellenides*.

We salute you, Woman, Athena, Mary, Helen, Eve. Your time has come! Test your beautiful wings and climb and, as you become ethereal, you will shed your slavery. March first to the future Holy Land and prepare a new life . . . and take care of man there . . . Oh! you Love, Harmony, Beauty, Spirituality and Virginity.³

¹ G. Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness from the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy*, op. cit., pp. 3-46, 274-283.

² Ibid., p. 246.

³ K. Palamas, *Apanta* (Athens, 1960), 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 174.

It was within such principles and expectations that Parren and her colleagues challenged the definitions of history and authority proposed by men and, by extension, the state. In 1889, Parren announced the publication, in one volume, of her book entitled *I istoria tis gynaikos apo ktiseos tou kosmou mehri simera* (*The History of Women from the Creation of the World until Our Days*). This history, she explained, was designed to examine 'our history as mother, woman, wife, daughter, and citizen in relation to men, throughout different civilisations and times.' 'Instead of myths and falsehoods from the past' Parren explained 'women for the first time, will be able to learn their real story primarily as human beings.' Such a commemoration of an international female past would throw light on the disadvantages of a woman with a Greek birthright.¹ At the same time, Parren and her colleagues would enter into *their* past not for its own sake, but in commemoration of a female past that dealt with particular events and factors. 'Enough of *arhaiomania* (obsession with ancient times),' Parren exclaimed.² Only a commemoration of a recent heroic past, according to contemporary beliefs, could truly reveal the appropriate zeal for the country. 'We've already said it, the women of 1821 outshone their classical ancestors . . . We celebrate the union between country and religion and weep at the memory of these first female martyrs.'³

Parren was no more realistic than the rest of her society and nor could she escape the Great Idea that daily shaped the existence of these people and helped them recognise their world's horizons, and vital answers to questions of their existence. She continued to believe, as Kehayia had before her, that the role of women was to remedy men's injustice and social corruption.⁴ None the less, when, in 1887, Parren informed her readers of the founding of the Danish women's association that aimed to end the scourge of war, she explained that although *Hellenides* obviously shared this aim, they could not join such an

¹ K. Parren, 'Oi en Parisiois peri Hellenidon logoi mas kai ta peri avton', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 August 1889; K. Parren, 'I istoria tis gynaikos apo ktiseos tou kosmou mehri simeron', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 February 1889.

² K. Parren, 'Ti na anagnoskomen', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 30 January 1894; K. Parren, 'Etos ID', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 March 1900.

³ K. Parren, 'O evagelismos kai i 25 Martiou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 24 March 1891.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Ai Hellenides en ti Philanthropia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 July 1900.

association, as 'thousands of our brothers are still under a tyrannical yoke.'¹ At the same time, while an entire generation of writers praised the cult of the country, Parren assumed that the role of the modern *Hellenida*, within the contemporary circumstances of economic and scientific progress, material prosperity, and the continuing import of a Westernised tradition and ideas, was to sustain her nation's authenticity and prosperity. Such an understanding led Parren to ask *Hellenides* to imitate their queen's patriotic attitude and adopt the folk costume henceforth in their official appearances.² She further suggested to her readers that their choices in needlework should henceforth be exclusively inspired by themes from their national history and tradition.³ Finally, she assured her readers that in the conditions under which *Hellenismos* had to be maintained, men who did not marry were 'social drones who do not produce even one soldier'. She also lambasted women who seemed to ignore the fact that, in Hellas, 'motherhood was an almost obligatory duty.'⁴

However, Parren did not try to avoid the title 'apostle of female emancipation' that Roidis ironically gave her in 1896. The same year, Roidis used this title to translate the French word *féministe* into Greek, in his article *Ai apostoloi tis Gynaikias heirafetiseos* ('Apostles of the Female Emancipation'). His use of the word *féministe* to refer to both women and men who campaigned for women's emancipation, political rights, access of women to masculine jobs and high office and even sexual freedom is an important indication of when and how the term *féministe* entered the Greek vocabulary. Equally important is how Parren viewed Roidis' characterisation of her.⁵ Initially, Parren accepted the title, because as she explained, Plato, Jesus Christ, Victor Hugo, John Stuart Mill, Alexandre Dumas *fi*ls, and other writers and philosophers were also apostles of female emancipation. However, she rejected Roidis' definition, explaining that

¹ 'O polemos kai I ekpaidevsis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 April 1887.

² K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 56-66; K. Parren, 'Adelfato Slavon Gynaikon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 20 December 1887.

³ Ibid., in 'Adelfato Slavon Gynaikon'.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Foros epi ton agamon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887; El. Meandrou, 'Kai pali peri ton agamon. Kai apantisis tis K. Parren', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Mi omen misoteknoi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 16 August 1887.

⁵ E. Roidis, 'Ai apostoloi tis gynaikias heirafetiseos', in A. Aggelou (ed.), *Emmanouil Roidis. Apanta 1894-1904* (Athens, 1978), 5 vols, vol. 5, pp. 258-263; E. Roidis, 'Ai grafousai Hellenides', in Aggelou, op. cit., pp. 121-132.

women's emancipation instead meant real steps towards humanity and progress and claiming that 'I am and I will be the apostle and pioneer of female emancipation, through which women will be educated and able to understand their mission in the world.'¹ However, her attempts to reconcile female solidarity with the complex language of nationalism gave rise to profound philosophical contradictions.

Such were Parren's ideological concerns when news of the Cretan rebellion against Turkish rule, aimed at Crete's unification with the Greek kingdom, reached the Greek kingdom in 1896. Deligiannis' government, responding to intense popular pressure, prepared to act, troops and ships arriving at the island early in 1897. This was followed by a general mobilisation, and, in March 1897, irregular bands crossed the northern frontier of Greece into Thessaly. A month later, war broke out between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Parren, a native of Rethymno in Crete, succumbed to the first euphoric waves of patriotism that rolled over the Greek kingdom. The *Enosis Hellenidon* founded a nursing school headed by Dr. Maria Kalapothaki, who had returned to Athens, after graduating from the Sorbonne, in order to train nurses for the *Enosis Hellenidon* military hospitals (g.e. Athens, Volos and Lamia) and the military surgeries that, soon after the war broke out, under the auspices of the Red Cross had followed the Greek army to the northern frontiers of the country.² However, while the war was fought on the northern frontier of Greece (Thessaly), the effects of the defeat were soon visible on the streets of Athens. The *Enosis* offered comfort to the thousands of refugees streaming in from Thessaly and Crete through a number of war-related enterprises. The care of war victims, abandoned children, orphans, widows, the provision of work to 1500 women from refugee and soldiers' families and the establishment of two kindergartens for the workers' children were just some of the *Enosis Hellenidon* tasks.³ These developments led Parren, just a year after her declaration in Chicago that 'one's country is all humanity', to state, during the hostilities 'It is probably the first

¹ K. Parren, *I Zoi enos Etous*, op. cit., pp. 22-26.

² Ibid., pp. 323-438, 301; K. Parren, 'Pos ergazetai to Ethniko Tmima tis Enoseos ton Hellenidon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 February 1897; K. Parren, 'To Aionion Arren', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 27 July 1897.

³ Ibid., pp. 301-302.

time in my life that I really understood such words as “home”, “husbands”, “parents”, “relatives”, “friends” in short, all those things which are summarised in one word: “country”.¹

The ensuing conflict lasted approximately a month, during which the Ottoman army soon defeated the Greek forces and crossed into Greek territory. The financial cost of the war to Greece was not great and it even brought Crete one step closer to an eventual unification with the Greek kingdom, as the great powers forced the Ottoman government to give the island an autonomous status. However, the fact that Greece was forced after her defeat to pay an indemnity and was required to allow an International Control Commission to examine the handling of port revenues in order to enable Greece to pay its debts, was regarded among the population as a humiliation. For most of the public, such external interference indicated plainly, beneath the façade of their dreams, the true political, military and economic weakness of the Greek kingdom. For Parren, however, the 1897 war had the positive outcome of proving what *Hellenides*, united, could accomplish in charity and public welfare. In addition, the war of 1897 forced issues to the front that had been marginalised for some time. The once prevailing assumptions of enlightenment and material progress through emulation of the West now came to be questioned, while, for Parren, there was an uncomfortable feeling that the *Hellenides* mothers’ inability to raise real men, ‘men, who are worthy of their race’, was the cause of the defeat in 1897.² ‘I am not frightened, I am sad . . . when I think that our men, brothers, sons, are all trembling with fear,’ she wrote in the weeks following the defeat.³

Referring to the past, Parren had nothing but compliments for the female generation which had managed to rear the brave and patriotic men who fought in the War of Independence. The same could not be said for their successors. In Parren’s estimation, modern *Hellenides* had failed to create the ideal *Hellenida* and the authentic *Hellenic* home. Home was the area in which women in 1821 had managed to build love for the country in their children’s hearts, simultaneously

¹ K. Parren, ‘Kathimerinai entyposeis’, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 June 1897.

² K. Parren, ‘Kathimerinai entyposeis’, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 May 1897; K. Parren, ‘Kathimerinai entyposeis’, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 May 1897; K. Parren, Kathimerinai Entyposeis’, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 May 1897.

³ K. Parren, ‘Kathimerinai entyposeis’, *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 May 1897.

providing the entire society with a touchstone of patriotic values. The defeat by the Turks, in Parren's estimation, was caused because of the *Hellenides'* neglect of their domestic sphere and native culture. Parren believed that the solution to this problem lay in a greater preparation of *Hellenides*, a procedure which needed to assert *Hellenides'* identity anew in order that they would try more harder to become *Hellenikoterai* (having behaviour and attitudes in accordance with the *Hellenismos* principles). She advised her readers to look inward to find the sources of strength within their native folk culture, while simultaneously concluding that native tradition would also allow *Hellenides* to match the dynamism of European women.¹ In addition, if the decline of domesticity had contributed to the loss of the war, then it was necessary that home, as previously, take back its place and become the hearth from which *Hellenides* ought to begin the regeneration of their society.² Like the generation of 1821, *Hellenides*, Parren explained, ought to become attuned to the ideas of their time and act on them. After a decade of achievements in science, education and philanthropy, *Hellenides* should henceforth be in the forefront 'of a *national and domestic* movement because only this can change our social and moral status'.³

The modern *Hellenis* should now follow the example of *Hellenis* throughout the centuries and epochs . . . *Estia* (home) should once again become the principal goddess. Let our domestic school be the altar . . . on which we will see good homemakers from all social classes . . . who are conscious of their duty to keep the holy fire of the domestic hearth burning night and day.⁴

After the war of 1897, Parren announced the creation of the first two female vocational schools in the Greek kingdom in the *Enosis Hellenidon*. The *Oikokyriki scholi* (Homemaking School) emphasised lessons in home economics, including domestic accountancy, cooking, tailoring, needlework and ironing, and the *Epagelmatiki scholi* (Professional School) offered a primarily vocational training in teaching and other female employments (e.g. dressmaker, florists).⁵

¹ K. Parren, 'Pros tas Hellenidas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 2 June 1896.

² K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., p. 487; K. Parren, 'I Oikokyriki Morfosis ton Hellenidon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 14 September 1897.

³ K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai entyposeis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 May 1897; K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai entyposeis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 May 1897.

⁴ K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 487-88.

⁵ K. Parren, 'Ehomen miteras', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 March 1887; K. Parren, 'Dispistomen pros tas ntantas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 23 August 1887; K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 418-421.

But, if home and hearth gained such vital importance in Parren's philosophy in the autumn of 1897, in view of the doubts of national regeneration and the misfortune that had overtaken the country, issues linked to the survival of the race also became crucial. In 1887, Parren had explained to her readers that it was abnormal for women not to want children. The crisis of 1897 obviously left no space for further consideration. Hence, when Vlasios Gavrilidis, editor of the journal *Akropolis* in Athens, in his discussion of women's emancipation, concluded that *Hellenides* had the right to practise birth control, Parren could not accept such a proposal.

Keep your hands off . . . this great woman's power . . . Let the French, German, or Russian mothers continue their murders . . . Look to the women of Crete, the heroines of the Mediterranean Sea. . . how could Crete have had all these heroes, if these women had not borne them.¹

In 1899, Parren received an anonymous letter urging her to continue her struggle for women's right to work and her campaign for women, particularly for impoverished girls, who should be urged not to aim only at marriage but to learn to support themselves with dignity.² The letter had arrived too late, for, in 1899, Parren had no time for arguments which ran counter to the patriotic waves of the period.³ Parren, who had struggled for a decade to reconstruct the female past, employed a revealing line of argument in her response to the letter.

What gives you the right to deprive humanity of its great benefactors and your country of names such as Kanaris and Syngros, by using the paradoxical theory that because their parents were poor, they should not have married?⁴

After the defeat of 1897, Parren would not be able to recover from the nationalist stereotypes of the period. With the mood of distaste for the condition of society around her and fears that the nation was in a state of decay, she would try to justify her priorities in life. She continued to have faith in the values of the upper middle class, to which she belonged, and the nationalist dreams that she lived for. Echoing Kehayia's earlier plea for uniqueness of experience, Parren continued to urge her readers to strengthen their qualities and not transform themselves into a harder and stronger sex. She wanted to see particular qualities

¹ K. Parren, 'Ai Adikousai kai Adikoumenai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 11 August 1898; E. Varika, op. cit., p. 239.

² Anonymous, 'Prepei na ypandrevontai ai ptohai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 March 1899.

³ Ibid.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Prepei na ypandrevontai ai ptohai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 April 1899.

and experience, which women had gained as a result of their domestic tasks throughout the centuries, displayed in government, because the nurturing qualities which constituted womanliness (the care of the sick, gentleness, obedience to conscience, obedience to duty, morality and purity) had hitherto being totally lacking in political life. She asked *Hellenides* to avoid imitating the strong, pretentious, formal and rigid woman that progress had produced in Europe. She advised her readers that although they also ought to follow progress, they should none the less express their feelings and emotions: 'Let your tears flow freely, be charitable, compassionate, lovable and happy with those who are joyful and lend a hand to those who ask for your aid.'¹

Like Kehayia before her, Parren could not accept violence as a tactic for women. In 1895, when students at the University of Athens rioted against state legislation, Parren criticised the active participation of a female student, and warned her readers that women's prestige in the university would be greatly endangered if women ever forgot that their most vital virtues were modesty and silence. Therefore, the journal explained, in similar cases in the future, female students must remember that they should stay behind, leaving men to be the bearers of their opinions.² When some university students had criticised her conservatism in women's issues, she retorted that the journal had never hidden that, although it battled for the awakening of the *Hellenidas'* consciousness as a citizen, it had constantly tried to keep *Hellenides* aware of the characteristics and appropriate behaviour that they ought to show as women.³

In company with such contemporary literary figures as Neokles Kazazis and Georgios Drosinis, Parren did not take the defeat of 1897 to mean that *Hellenes* had been defeated by a superior power. Like Kazazis, the president of *Ellenismos*, a society devoted to nationalist causes, she believed that the loss of the war had simply to do with the excess of imagination on the part of the Greeks which had prevented them from being properly prepared.⁴ 'What is the benefit, tell me, of all this self-admiration and the imaginary notion of *Hellenismos*

1 K. Parren, 'I typiki kai akamptos Gyni', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887; K. Parren, 'Ta dimiourgimata tou aionos mas', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 April 1887.

2 K. Parren, 'Foititria stasiazousa', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 February 1895.

3 K. Parren, 'Ti enooumen gynaikeia heirafetisi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 26 February 1895.

4 G. Augustinos, *Consciousness and History*, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

superiority?', she asked in the weeks following the defeat by the Turks, concluding some lines later, 'but now whatever was done, was done.'¹ As previously, a *Hellenoprepos* (in accordance with *Hellenismos* principles) education and upbringing were, according to Parren, essential for the *Hellenidas'* regeneration.

I believe that there is no greater people than the Hellenic people. And when I say 'people' I do not exclude women. . . . One thing is missing today, the upbringing, the national education, which responds to the principles, traditions and genius of our people.²

Guided by such an assumption, she criticised members of her class who continued to provide their children with a European education at the hands of foreign governesses or in foreign schools, as she was deeply concerned that such children would grow up lacking proper national ideas. Furthermore, she asked her readers, to remember the pleas of Kehayia, Ktena-Leontias and Leontias, to be, from now on, *hellenikoterai*, meaning women who are thrifty, charitable and mindful of their domestic duties.³ With such profound beliefs, Parren applauded the founding of the *Ethnikon Parthenagogeion* (National *parthenagogeion*) in 1890, by the Athens-based Association for the Dissemination of the Female Education. Under the directorship of Kehayia, this *parthenagogeion* aimed to provide an education exclusively designed for the upper classes, meaning, in fact, a general and national education.⁴

In addition, she continued to believe that the national culture was based on the common woman and she tried to lift the female masses up from ignorance and backwardness.⁵ She continued to struggle for an amelioration of female workers' conditions of life and for women's access to public office, as she believed that women's independence could lead to vital social changes. But from

¹ K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai entyposeis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 May 1897.

² Ibid.

³ K. Parren, 'Kahtimerinai entyposeis. Koukla anti gynaikos', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 22 February 1898; K. Parren, 'Kathimerinai entyposeis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 4 May 1897; K. Parren, 'Oi goneis kai to oikokyrion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 13 July 1897; K. Parren, 'Merikai pikrai alithiai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 18 May 1897; K. Parren, 'To kata tis polyteleias zitima', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 19 October 1897; K. Parren, 'I enhorios viomihania kai I polyteleia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 5 October 1897.

⁴ K. Parren, 'Ethnikon protypon Parthenagogeion', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 April 1890.

⁵ K. Parren, 'I Eklissia kai ai korai tou laou', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 12 December 1899; K. Parren, 'To Gynaikeion zitima eis tin Vouli', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 April 1900; K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 34-48, 56-66.

1897, the argument for a solid national female education and women's financial independence had gained an extra dimension rooted in the conviction that only (*Hellenoprepos*) educated *Hellenides* could provide the country with a truly national and unified culture. In 1911, Parren erected a living monument to her plan in the *Lykeio Hellenidon* (*Hellenides Lyceum*), the primary aim of which was the maintenance of popular traditions and folk costumes, the development of popular art and the dissemination of Hellenic dances and songs.¹ 'Our lyceum . . . emphasises above all else the enlightenment of the Hellenic psyche through Hellenic habits and customs . . . and the education of the masses,' Parren declared.²

Parren certainly did not struggle for the *Hellenida's* franchise. She remained with the 1887-1917 generation of feminists who centred their efforts on women's access to secondary and higher education, work, civil rights and the right to vote in local elections. Nevertheless, it was Parren who made the women's question a broader public issue in Greece, publicising its complexities. In locating *Hellenides* as a group, in both time and space, Parren placed them at the centre of their society and allowed them to develop an alternative vision of the future. It was Parren who showed *Hellenides* the power they shared when united and who taught them about the boundaries between the female and male worlds that should henceforth be respected by both sexes. Furthermore, although Parren never directly supported the idea of women's right to vote in general elections, it was she who explained to her readers that such an exclusion was not a reflection of women's personal failure, but instead of sex discrimination. While the question of women's franchise, albeit in a negative sense, moved male pillars of Athenian society, such as the director of the National Bank, S. Streit, writers, such as Andreas Karkavitsas and Palamas, politicians, and many other well-known Athenian literary and political figures to defend the women's franchise - and access to work - Parren may have decided against throwing the support of her journal behind the women's ballot in the national elections because she was

¹ S. Moshou-Sakorafou, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

² K. Parren, 'Logodasia tou Lykeiou Hellenidon 1912', in E. Avdela and Ag. Psara (eds.), *O feminismos stin Hellada tou Mesopoleμου*, op. cit., p. 45.

conscious of the opposition that such a demand might provoke.¹ Nevertheless, she informed her readers that in England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Russia, Finland, Austria, Croatia, Switzerland (Bern canton) and Italy women had already won the right to vote in municipal elections. In North America, she added, women had also achieved the right to stand for election in their municipalities. In this way, she once again demonstrated that *Hellenides'* exclusion from political rights was social and not natural or innate, because, as Parren explained, in Greece 'the state still treats women not as citizens, but as 'the lowest Turk or Bulgarian porter'.²

Parren was also a pioneer in tackling the poverty of working-class women through her journalism. She stressed the value of education and economic independence and the moral imperative of women of her class to help common woman to obtain these things. Like Leontias and Kehayia, she believed that all women had a particular role in charities and literature, and she advised single women, particularly of her class, to escape boredom and idleness by being active in this sphere.³ She tried to improve the relationships of couples, suggesting that love and confidence ought to rule relations. She suggested to both men and women that their best friend was their spouse, arguing that interference from either close friends or relatives should not be tolerated.⁴ But, more importantly, it was Parren who, within the particular system of values, beliefs and power bases taught women that there were alternate doors to power. To use G. Lerner's definition, she made *Hellenides* conscious that 'they belong to a subordinate group, have suffered wrongs as a group, their condition of subordination is not natural but is societally determined.'⁵ Similarly, it was Parren who paved the way for 'the development of sisterhood, the autonomous definition by women of

¹ K. Parren, *I zoi enos etous*, op. cit., pp. 193, 210-16, 235, 273-79.

² K. Parren, 'Ai gynaiques kai I parousa Dimotiki Eklogi', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 15 November 1887; 'Ai gynaiques kai ai Dimotikai Eklogai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 17 September 1895; 'Ai gynaiques kai ai Dimotikai Eklogai', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 1 October 1895.

³ K. Parren, 'Poia I thesis tis gerontokoris en ti koinonia', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 6 December 1887; Prothymos Marias K., 'Epistoli Graias Koris', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 29 November 1887; K. Parren, 'Ti prepei kai ti den prepei', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 9 June 1891.

⁴ K. Parren, 'I agapomeni ypo tou syzygou ehei anagi pistis philis', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 21 July, 1891; K. Parren, 'Oi ehthroi ton neon syzygon', *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*, 8 December 1891.

⁵ G. Lerner, op. cit., p. 274.

their goals and strategies for changing their condition and the development of an alternate vision of the future.¹

Hence, although in 1897 and thereafter Parren would not be able to escape the nationalist fears of her period, it was none the less she, as well as Ktena-Leontias, Kehayia, Leontias and the many anonymous contributors to *Ephimeris ton Kyriou* and *Eoridiki* who discovered the symbols of a 'feminine world' and proposed another authoritative language that helped them and their colleagues to deconstruct the existing patriarchal definition of what constituted the political sphere and make *Hellenides* conscious of both the rights and obligations that women had as citizens. Moreover, she helped them develop an 'alternative vision' and understanding of life of which women ought also to be a part as citizens of the state. It was within this ideological background that the second wave of feminists would emerge in the Greek kingdom in 1920, propagating their demands, such as women's right to vote, the end of discrimination in jobs and legislation, women's right to work and protection for unemployed and refugee women through a powerful autonomous women's press.

¹ Ibid.

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth century, women, such as Aikaterini Ktena-Leontias, Sappho Leontias, Kalliroe Parren, beyond the ideological concept of the Great Idea, envisaged creating a parallel form of politics that aimed at completing the tasks which male formal politics handled poorly, if at all, such as women's education, health and social policy in general. They achieved this not through electoral politics but through autonomous sources of power, such as the organisations that included moral reform societies and local charitable organisations, where they pressed for reforms in education and social policy in general. It was women's attributes - their physical weakness, sentimentality and purity - that were the factors disqualifying them from traditional public politics: that is to say, the right to vote and hold office. Yet what was an obstacle to 'formal politics' legitimised women's authority in the private sphere, where they pursued the important task of upholding the nation's authentic character and ensuring the moral order. Together with the social division of the sexes and women's informal methods of influencing politics, the National Idea provided the basis for a distinctive nineteenth century women's political culture. However, the aftermath of the Asia Minor 'catastrophe' or 'disaster' (1919-1922), as it came to be known in Greek history, which signalled the collapse of the Great Idea would consequently put an end to women's ideology, modes of participation and goals of earlier years.

From the late nineteenth century to the eve of the Asia Minor debacle, Greece tasted the fruits of both economic and territorial gains so that, for the first time, the 'Great Idea' seemed to shift from the realms of fantasy into the realms of possibility.

A military revolt in 1909 helped to bring into power the most charismatic politician of the first half of the nineteenth century, Eleftherios Venizelos. After winning a majority in parliament in elections held in 1910, Venizelos and his political party, the *Komma Fileleftheron* or Liberal party, embarked on a program of domestic reform and political and economic modernisation combined with an aggressive policy in the pursuit of the *Megale Idea*. His efforts towards modernisation that met wide support among the general populace soon paid off when Greece participated in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 against the Ottoman Empire. Greece's area and population was increased by more than 70 percent and additional fertile farming areas.¹ However, on a domestic level, Venizelos was only able to pursue his programme of reform until about 1915, when a growing dispute between himself and King Constantine over Greece's position in the Great War drove the country to the brink of political peril. In contrast with King Constantine, who had strong attachments to the alliance of the Central Powers, Germany and Austria-Hungary, Venizelos was anxious to place Greek troops on the side of the *Entente* made up of Britain, France and Russia. In 1917 Venizelos and his Liberal Party broke with the King and created the revolutionary government in Salonica, the major city and a leading port in the newly acquired territories recently released from the Turks. However, although Venizelos won a victory of a kind - as King Constantine was forced to step down under pressure from the *Entente* Powers and to abdicate the throne in favour of his second son Alexander - the political schism that split the country into two confrontational and often embattled camps continued bitterly to divide Greece. However, Venizelos'

¹ R. Clogg., op. cit., pp. 75-100.

efforts to force Greece to side with the *Entente* powers seems to have paid off as hostilities ended in favour of the *Entente* powers. When the peacemaking got under way, Venizelos attempted to secure the position of the Hellenic world in Asia Minor by capitalising on Greece's reward for her devotion to the *Entente* cause. In 1919, after achieving the agreement of France, Britain and America, which had been anxious with the landing of Italian troops in south-west Asia Minor (Antalya), Greek forces were landed in Smyrna. However, if in August 1920, more than a year later, the Treaty of Sevres provided Greeks with the administration of Smyrna for the following five years. Turkish sovereignty would be retained but at the end of the five-year period the region could finally be annexed to Greece if the local parliament, whose creation was provided for, so requested it. This news was accepted in Greece with great enthusiasm. But Greece now had to face Turkish nationalist forces under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (subsequently Attaturk). The return of King Constantine to Greek political life after Venizelos' defeat in the national elections in 1920 provided France and Italy with a useful additional pretext for making their peace with Mustafa Kemal and abandoning Greece to confront the Ottoman Empire alone. In 1922 Greek troops were badly defeated and the Turkish leader demanded a population exchange. In the aftermath of this tragic episode Greece was overwhelmed by an influx of one and a quarter million refugees.¹ However, if the chaos followed the aftermath of the episode in Asia Minor signalled the ignominious end of the Great Idea, this episode also brought an abrupt change to popular understanding of life. The Great Idea, or the mission of the Hellenic nation in the Middle East, could no longer play

¹ G. Augustinos., *Consciousness and History*, op. cit., pp. 135-143.

a part in the range of discourses and figures that shaped the orientation of modern Greece. A new set of symbols, manners and morals, in short a new 'respectability', was to emerge, enabling both women and men to discover new horizons in their lives and the world they lived in.

By the 1920s the 'women's movement' was about to begin, or rather women's movements, for there were to be three of them: the National Council of Greek women (*Ethniko Symvoulío Hellenidon*, founded in 1908), the League of Women's Rights (*Syndesmos gia ta Dikaiomata tis Gynaikas*, founded in 1920) and the Socialist Association for women (*Sosialistikos Omilos Gynaikon*, founded in 1919) conservative, radical and socialist respectively. Hence, in the years when Greece was politically, economically, as well as geographically removed from the centres of Greek mercantile development (Constantinople and Smyrna), and its image (both as cultural construct and as social system) was beginning to be conceptualised within the borders of the Greek kingdom and its explicit desire for centralisation and domestic development, this second generation of feminists would endeavour to propagate through a powerful autonomous press - e.g. *I Hellenis* (*Greek woman*, founded from the National Council of Greek Women in 1921), *O Agonas tis Gynaikas* (*Women's Battle*, founded from the League of Women's Rights in 1924) and the *Sosialistiki Zoi* (*Life under Socialism*, founded from the Socialist Association for women in 1928) - their demands for the political, economic, social and institutional equality of women, a state that could provide welfare policies and overall women's involvement in politics.¹

¹ K. Xiradaki, *To Feministiko Kinima stin Ellada. Prototypes Hellenides 1830-1936* (Athens, 1988), pp. 111-129.

They believed that the content of electoral politics - voting and holding office - could benefit from women's special talents. They believed that women, with their involvement in electoral politics, could secure - besides legislation for what they assumed was the source of social problems (e.g. better education and employment for women, better hygiene, and protection of children and mothers from men's abuse) - a morality that could introduce a new stability which was so much needed in Greek political life. However, in their reasoning, even the most radicals among them continued to ground their demands for involvement in what had long been identified as masculine territory - in electoral politics - by celebrating women's exceptional qualities: woman was selfless, pious, sentimental and kind. The language that suffragists employed in 1925 is significant.

We ask the right to vote because . . . [we want to] improve legislation concerning women and children; to improve education for Hellenic women, making universal access to primary schools possible; for both women and men to have access to any kind of employment; . . . to fight against maltreatment of children; to fight against prostitution . . . to improve health-care and sanitation in our cities and in the schools of our children; to establish welfare policies.¹

The results wrought by all this publicity and women's mobilisation would be impressive: a bright galaxy of female writers, journalists, and lawyers, parliamentary provisions protecting women's work (1920), reforms in women's education, provisions of welfare policies, a widespread acceptance of women's equality among male intellectuals and - after the public demonstrations of 1928 and 1929 organised from the League of Women's Rights - the first parliamentary legislation that allowed women to vote during the municipal elections of Salonica in 1930. However, when in 1932, a committee asked the then prime minister

¹ 'Giati Zitoume tin Psipho', *O Agonas tis Gynaikas*, 20 (1925), in E. Avdela, and A. Psara, (eds.) *O Feminismos stin Ellada tou Mesopolemou* (Athens, 1985), pp. 501-503.

Panayis Tsaldaris for women's franchise in general elections. The negligible attention that the women's committee received from the Greek government forced women to act alone. In 1933 the Female Committee of Electorates (*Gynaikeia Epitropi Eklogeon*) was founded in Athens to propagate women's franchise. None the less such efforts would soon collapse with the exile of leading figures of the Greek feminist movement, such as Roza Imvrioti (1898-1977) and Maria Svolou-Desypri (1895-1976) and the immediate closure of the League of Women's Rights by the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas in 1936. In the decades that followed, feminists were forced to fall in with the cultural and historical changes taking place around them, splitting themselves into different interest groups and political parties.

It took until 1952 before women in Greece finally gained the right to vote. However, what Greek history probably goes without saying is that men granted women with the right to vote without the existence of a suffragist movement. In fact in 1952, lacking a sense of common ground, women could no longer act as a separate political or cultural bloc as they had simply doubled the size of the electorate. Patriarchy had emerged as a key component of the Greek state as it had elsewhere and the logic of its actions was primarily an outcome of this consensus. In the aftermath of World War II, women in Greece, as elsewhere, became both the objects of reform and the proponents of state welfare reforms, but women became highly visible as citizens in such programmes, with their identity being over-determined by their potential for maternal nurturing in both the private and public realms. By contrast, important positions in parties and government still went to men. Legislation, policy making, higher level administration and major cultural

associations remained predominantly male preserves. More important, Greek history had ignored several generations of female intellectuals; poets, writers, teachers, doctors and lawyers. These had struggled in Greece and the Greek communal world in Asia Minor from 1870 and 1936 to construct a recorded history for both sexes and an alternative definition of citizenship through a powerful, independent women's press. Yet until as late as the 1980s, Greece's highest institutes of learning were continuing to teach students of both sexes that the general franchise had been introduced in 1844 (referring of course to the male franchise). Politics were strictly considered by contemporary scholars as the formal structures that consisted of franchise, political parties and the holding of office, and within such a definition there was no reference in Greek history to these 'private actors' of the nineteenth century.

There is much more we need to learn about the political involvement of women, and what scholars now call female culture. Gaining a new definition of public and politics and discovering new contexts in which both formal and informal means of influence could be embraced, beyond the definition of 'political' offered by nineteenth century men (the franchise, parties, and holding offices), is probably one way that may assist us in gaining further understanding of the way that patriarchal relations have been prefigured in the transition to new forms of politics and thus, aware of women's silence as an imposed condition of relatively recent origin. This insight could provide us with lessons already set out in the nineteenth century and may assist us in gaining a new understanding of the

problems that politics, policy making, citizenship, culture and history continue to give rise to, even to this day.¹

¹ P. Baker, 'The Domestication of Politics' in L. Gordon (ed.), *Women, the State and Welfare* (London, 1990), pp. 55-92; J. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1994).; G. Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman. Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States 1630-1970* (New York, 1994).

Tables

Table 1

Advisers to *Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia*

G. Kountouriotis (1836-1843), also director from 1836 to 1843
G. Gennadios (1836-1840)
I. Kokkonis (1836-1840)
M. Apostolides (1836-1844)
G. Ainian (1836-1840)
A. Ragavis (1836-1840)
K. Schinas (1836-1840)
K. Asopios (1843-1850)
L. Melas (1843-1844, 1866-1872), also director from 1866 to 1872
N. Vamvas (1844-1849)
G. Typaldos (1848-1850)
S. Koumanoudis (1856-1860)
M. Renieris 1860
A.T. Soutsos (1860-1861)
P. Robotis (1861-1872), also director from 1872 to 1880
Ch. Filadelfevs (1864-1880)
A.G. Soutsos (1870)

Source: N. Kostis, *I Ekatontaetiris tis Filekpaidevotikis Etaireias* (Athens, 1936), pp. 28-32.

Table 2

Number of graduates of the <i>Didaskaleio</i> of the <i>Filekpaidevotiki Etaireia</i> during the years 1836-1886	
1836-1846	90
1846-1856	102
1856-1866	470
1866-1876	592
1876-1886	750

Source: G. Vionis, op. cit., pp. 29-32.

Table 3

Schedule of lessons of the *Filekpaidevotikis Etaireias' Didaskaleio* in 1842

Subjects	Hours per class			
	A	B	C	D
Ancient Greek	13	10	10	10
French	-	3	3	3
Religious history	2	2	-	-
Catechism	-	-	2	-
Christian morality	-	-	-	2
Arithmetic and basic geometry	3	2	2	-
Greek and general history	-	2	2	3
Geography	3	2	2	2
Physiology and physics	-	2	1	2
Singing	-	3	3	3
Calligraphy	3	3	3	3
Handicrafts in remaining periods				
Total	24	29	28	28

Source: S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 90.

Table 4

Schedule of lessons for the state's *Hellenika* schools in 1836 and 1855

Subjects	Hours per class			(1855)	A	B	C
	(1836)	A	B				
Ancient Greek		12	12		9	9	9
Grammar		-	-		6	6	6
Arithmetic		3	3		4	4	-
Religious history		2	-		3	2	-
Geography of Greece (and Turkey)		3	2		3	2	2
Natural history		3	3		2	2	-
Calligraphy		2	2		2	2	-
History	-	3	3	-	3	3	
Basic principles of geometry		-	-		-	-	4
French		4	4		-	2	3
Catechism		-	2		-	-	2
Latin		-	-		-	-	2
Syntax		-	-		-	-	2
Basic morality		-	-		-	-	-
Total		29	31		29	32	33

Source: A. Dimaras, *I Merarythmisi pou den egine* (Athens, 1987), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 66; D. Antoniou, *Ta programmata tis Mesis Ekpaidevsis* (Athens, 1987) 2 vols, vol. 1, pp. 118-119.

Table 5

Number of girls' 'secondary' schools in the academic years 1836-1859			
	City	Schools	Directors
1831-1842 and 1853 and onwards	Athens	Hills'	Francis and John Hill
1835-1840		Volmerange	Volmerange
1837		F.E..	Ioannis Kokkonis
1842-1859		Korck	Korck
1855		Sourmeli	Aspasia and Dimitrios Sourmelis
1850	Ermoupoli	Magaki	Magaki
1854	Patra	Voreli	Voreli

Source: S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

Table 6

According to E. Varika, eighteen women participated frequently in the journal’s editorial activities. Of this number, eight were teachers, three journalists, one a doctor, and two poets.

Editors of the Ladies’ Journal (1887-1907)

Name	Employment
Agathoniki Antoniadou	teacher, poet
Anthi Vasileiadou	doctor
Eleni Georgiadou	teacher
Eirini Zavitsianou	poet
Marianthi Iliopoulou	
Xanthipi Kalostypi	journalist
Kalliopi Kindyni	teacher
Toula Kokali	
Eirini Lahana	teacher
Sappho Leontias	teacher, philologist, poet
Panagiota Liourdi	
Eirini Nikolaidou	teacher
Kalliroe Parren	teacher, journalist, writer
Maria Pineli	
Marika Pipiza	poet
Maria Filipidou	journalist
Florentia Fountoukli	teacher, poet
Krystalia Hrysovergi	teacher, poet

The table was taken from E. Varika, op. cit., p. 216.

Table 7

Curriculum of Studies of <i>didaskaleio</i> for men (1878)						
Subjects			A	B	C	Total
Religious education		3	3	3	9	
Ancient Greek	8	8	10	26		
Modern Greek		3	3	3	9	
History		3	3	-	6	
Geography		2	2	-	4	
Physics		2	2	3	7	
Zoology, botany		3	2	-	5	
Mathematics		5	3	-	8	
Music		5	4	3	12	
Calligraphy		2	2	-	4	
Sketching		2	1	2	5	
Gymnastics		1	2	-	3	
Gardening		1	1	1	3	
Hygiene		-	-	3	3	
Pedagogy:						
Method of Teaching		3	3	-	6	
Practice of pedagogy		-	2	-	2	
Theory of pedagogy		-	-	2	2	
History of pedagogy		-	2	-	2	
Philosophy		-	3	-	3	
Total		43	46	42	131	

The table was taken from S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 153.

Table 8

Curriculum of subjects of the <i>didaskaleio</i> for women (1877), <i>Parthenagogeio Filekpaidevtikis Etaireias</i>						
Subjects	A	B	C	D	E	Total
Religion	2	2	2	1	1	8
Ancient Greek	9	9	9	9	5	41
Arithmetic	2	2	2	2	-	8
Geometry	-	-	-	3	-	3
Geography	2	2	2	-	-	6
Physics	-	-	-	4	3	7
History	2	3	3	2	-	10
French	5	5	5	5	5	25
Calligraphy	2	2	2	1	1	8
Singing	3	2	2	2	2	11
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1	1	5
Home economics	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pedagogy	-	-	-	-	2	2
Global geography	-	-	-	-	1	1
Teaching practice	-	-	-	-	7	7
Total	30	30	30	32	31	153
Handicrafts and sewing the rest of the working hours						

The table was taken from S. Ziogou Karastergiou, op. cit., p. 154.

Table 9

Weekly journals in Athens (1892)

Title	Year of founding	Copies
<i>Logos</i>	1868	1200
<i>Aristophanis</i>	1873	1500
<i>Galinos</i>	1879	1000
<i>Ermis</i>	1882	800
<i>Romios</i>	1883	6000
<i>Ephimeris ton Kyrion</i>	1887	5000
<i>Themis</i>	1890	1500
<i>Oikonomologos</i>	1892	3000

Yet, it is interesting to mention that at the same time the newspaper *Akropolis*, first in circulation amongst daily journals, was selling 10,000 copies. The table was taken from E. Varika, op. cit., p. 211.

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