Ἄχεις μοι εἶπεῖν, ὥς Σώκρατεσ, ἃρα διδακτῶν ἢ ἄρετή; ἢ οὖ διδακτῶν ἄλλῳ άσκητῶν; ἢ οὔτε άσκητῶν οὔτε μαθητῶν, ἄλλὰ φύσει παραγίγνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ ἀλλώ τινι τρόπῳ.
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ABSTRACT
In Greece, the Pedagogy as a theory and as a science, from 1830 until to 1930, is affected to the degree that the Greek students, the educators or the teachers were trained at French, German and other European universities and, after their returning to Greece, were applying those theories in the framework of educational policy as well as in teaching. This paper aims to investigate these influences on Pedagogical theory and science in Greece into the wider framework of the internationalization of pedagogical theory during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. Whenever necessary, the examples derive from the arguments about the ‘child’ and ‘childhood’.

Keywords: pedagogical theory; childhood; Herbartian Pedagogy; New Education movement; Modern Greek educators

1. INTRODUCTION
This paper aims to present the influences on pedagogical theory in Greece during the 19th and early 20th century and to place those influences in the broader context of the internationalization of pedagogical theory. Whenever necessary, this paper focuses on the way that ‘child’ is considered by the Greek educators and, consequently, what affect it has on making the objectives of education and teaching methods. The present paper is following the issue over time and is based on historical - hermeneutics method.

2. THE DOMINATION OF HERBART’S AND FRÖBEL’S PERSPECTIVES IN GREECE IN THE 19TH CENTURY
The Pedagogy, as a theory and as a science in Greece from 1830 until to 1930 is affected to the degree that the Greek students were trained, mainly, in French or German universities and, after their returning to Greece, were applying those theories at the level of educational policy or at the level of educational practice.

During the 19th century in Modern Greek pedagogical thought, the ‘child’ is presented in Pedagogic Handbooks as wax, clay, marble or a sponge, a fact which affects the aims and the methods of teaching (Ziogou, Foukas, Chatzimpei, 2010).
Meanwhile, the views of Rousseau\textsuperscript{1} and Basedow\textsuperscript{2} undergo criticism and are viewed with some suspicion. However, the pedagogues who emphasize and re-signify the term ‘childhood’, thus creating new pedagogic trends, are not completely absent at this time. In 1802, Joachim Heinrich Campe’s book titled \textit{Morality of Children or Moral Discussions for Children} translated from French by Spyridon Destounis is published in Greece. In this book the translator, addressing the reader, highlights the importance of reading in the moral education of children and stresses that the most appropriate time for the molding of the spirit and the cultivation of the mind is childhood. Neofytos Doukas, in \textit{Children’s Depository} (1814), notes that books are the means of improving the relationships between children, as well as a way to educate and entertain. Dimitrios Darvares, in his book titled \textit{First Experience in Simplified Greek for Little Children} (1818), an extra-curricular recreational and educational book for young children, expresses his disagreement with the anti-educational books that are published at this time (Darvares, 1881: vi-xii).

Kostantinos Koumas, despite citing J. J. Rousseau’s \textit{Emile} among other sources in the introduction of his book \textit{Syntagma Philosophias} [Constitution of Philosophy] (1820), does not appear to have been influenced by it in any great or explicit way. Koumas relies on German influences, according to which Pedagogy is approached as a self-contained science, according to the terms of the era. In this context, Pedagogy now constitutes a distinct discipline of Philosophy. Further, the individual categories are recorded, the functions of nurturing and education are clearly distinguished and the object of study as well as the teaching methodology becomes systematic. Koumas’s Pedagogy is based on a naturalistic ethical argument, which concludes that a science which will cultivate the sum of all spiritual faculties of human beings - that is, mental, emotional and physical faculties which are necessary for the attainment of these goals- is necessary, and that this science can be none other than Pedagogy. Koumas defines pedagogy as a science of principles and rules which are addressed to the child and aim to mold the child’s mentality and spirituality in such a way so as to create “virtuous” people and “virtuous” citizens (Koumas, 1820: 297-298).

It thus becomes clear that Pedagogical theory in the newly-established Greek state, in the beginning of the 19th century, focuses primarily on the profile and the role of Primary School teachers and, secondarily, from 1877 onwards, on Secondary School teachers. In Greek Primary School education from 1830, the monitorial method, which is transferred from its French version by pedagogue Ioannis Kokkonis through a translation of his teacher’s works (Charles Sarazin), is dominant. Kokkonis’s role is decisive in the organization and form of Greek Primary School Education up until the middle of the 19th century (Tzikas, 1999). Thus, in the first

\textsuperscript{1} J. J. Rousseau (1712-1778) declares the child’s autonomy and believes in \textit{Emile} that from the age of two the child needs education and knowledge. Its initial education, however, according to Rousseau, should be negative. This consists of teaching neither the good nor the true, but in order to protect the child’s heart from bad habits and its spirit from mistakes (Kitromilides, 2004: 122-123).

\textsuperscript{2} J. B. Basedow (1723-1790) is the main supporter of the Philanthropists movement in Germany, affected by Rousseau’s work. (Reble, 2002: 242-243; Kitromilides, op. cit., 111-112).
years of independence of the Greek state, the instilling of ethics in people and, by implication, in society, constitutes a dominant element of pedagogical theory and the role of the teacher is multifaceted and crucial. In this context, education, since it relies on the monitorial method, takes on a strictly penal character. It begins with the careful monitoring of students and, after a series of punishments, can reach their public humiliation (Demaras, 1973: 19-20). To this we should add a series of punishments involving the hanging of signs on the neck, which is anticipated by the *Guide to the Monitorial Method* by Ch. Sarazin. The student is obligated to follow his teacher’s orders closely and through these orders it becomes clear that the child is viewed as a ‘little adult’ and is expected to act as such by both the teacher and the state. Anything that befits the individual character and mentality of children is forbidden. A typical example is play, which is viewed as an almost forbidden activity for the pupil (Kokkonis, 1960: 292). Every action of the child is watched closely by the teacher, as opposed to what Rousseau argues. The account of pedagogue Grigorios Pappadopoulos is illuminating in *Practical Pedagogic Instructions* addressed towards teachers in 1866, he notes that all student movement must be orderly and the students must never be without teacher supervision (Pappadopoulos, 1866: 42-43).

The first pedagogical journal entitled *Pedagogos* [Pedagogue] and published in the newly-established Greek state in 1839 by Kokkonis, is in the same vein. In this journal, the fact that Rousseau’s and Basedow’s pedagogy are detailed and promising is emphasized, as well as that this pedagogy cannot train future citizens (*Pedagogos* [Pedagogue], 1839: 76; Tzikas, 1999). These particular education policies are criticized, of course, by some pedagogues, with little effect. Neofytos Vamvas’s view is enlightening; he highlights that teachers, rather than behaving in a sweet and humble manner towards their students, act like tyrants. Indeed, he criticizes teachers, arguing that by following such pedagogic methods, students are made to hate both learning and teachers themselves (Demaras, 1973: 9).

In 1873, pedagogue Konstantinos Xanthopoulos underlines that pedagogical teaching aims towards the perfection of human beings, thus identifying the term ‘child’ with the term ‘human being’. The aim of Pedagogy, according to Xanthopoulos, is to introduce the notions of virtue, justice, decency and duty into the students’ consciousness. Through the Xanthopoulos work, the notion of love in the pedagogical relationship between teacher and student is introduced in Greek education in the last quarter of the 19th century. Influenced, perhaps, by Pestalozzi, the exemplary “pedagogue of love”, Xanthopoulos notes that the teacher should not dominate but mold, should not order but guide, should not punish but aim to improve, should not seek revenge but love (Xanthopoulos, 1873: 9).

Meanwhile, from 1837 in the Normal School of Athens –a school which trains teachers– German Pedagogy is taught. Georgios Pagon translates and teaches the pedagogic work of D. A. H. Niemeyer, *Axioms of Education and Teaching*, which was published in 1796 for the first time. Influenced by Niemeyer and Fichte, he attempts to turn theory into practice and in this effort, self-action constitutes a dominant
motif of his philosophical and pedagogic thought (Pagon, 1853-54).

During the last quarter of the 19th century, the influence of German Pedagogy, and mainly of Herbart and his students, T. Ziller, K. Stoy and W. Rein, on Greek Pedagogical thought are strong in Primary as well as Secondary Education, either through translations of German Pedagogy texts and through the creation of original essays influenced by German Pedagogy or in education practice, influenced by Herbart’s stages of teaching. The Association for the Propagation of the Greek Language proves conducive towards this direction, since, from 1871, the Association sends graduates of the Faculty of Philosophy of Athens to Göttingen, to Leipzig and to Jena for further pedagogical studies, on scholarship. These recipients of scholarships are obligated, upon their return to Greece, to undertake the direction of a Normal School and impart the new pedagogical principles and methods. In 1880 the monitory method is officially abolished by law and is replaced by the Herbartian method of teaching (Kyprianos, 2004: 336; Foukas, 2005: 63-72; Demaras, 2013: 62-63).

In Greek Secondary and Higher Education, Herbartian ideas initially become known through philosophy professor Christos Papadopoulos, who translates General Pedagogy [Allgemein Pedagogy in German], in which the pedagogical principles of Herbart are presented, by G. A. Lindner, professor at Prague University. Papadopoulos, influenced by Herbartian Pedagogy, notes that the most important aspect of education is the malleable nature of the student’s mind. The ‘child’ is treated as susceptible to external influence and is likened to clay, which takes any form it is given. He does however add a modifier: The form the child can take from childhood is directly dependent on its natural predispositions (Papadopoulos, 1892²: 3). It is within these limits that Papadopoulos locates the sensitive and particularly important role of education (Papadopoulos, 1892²: 4). However, he does not refrain from addressing child punishment measures, which the teacher must take since the nature of the child is inclined towards destruction (Papadopoulos, 1892²: 105-106).

In time, the Herbartian orientation of Pedagogy, through the translation of relevant works as well as their application in education practice, is diffused and prevails with its major proponents being pedagogues Dimitrios Zaggogiannis, Dimitrios Georgakakis, Nikolaos Kapetanakis, Dimitrio Lampasas, and, mainly in the 20th century, professor of Pedagogy of the School of Philosophy of Athens, Nikolaos Exarhopoulos (Foukas, 2005).

I should note here that in the Pre-school education, Pestalozzi’s student, Fröbel, plays significant role in its pedagogical establishment and propagation in Greece. Fröbel’s ideas become known in Greece after 1860. Particularly, an important factor for the diffusion of the Fröbelian method within the Greek space is the pedagogical and teaching work of Aikaterini Laskaridou (Ziogou, 1986: 177-178; Charitos, 1998: 168-180; Ziogou & Chatzistefanidou, 2009: 207-250; Betsas, 2010: 251-265), who, from 1880, through lectures, articles and practical application in her girl’s school, commits herself to the propagation of the Fröbelian method (Kyprianos, 2007: 81).
sends Ifigenia Dimitriadou to Paris to study the operating practices of French asylums (salles d’asile). Upon her return, she translates Marie Pape-Carpantier’s method and introduces it in the Nursery Schools of Filekaideftiki Etaireia (Ziogou, 1986: 176; Kyprianos, 2007: 78).

Studying the pedagogical texts of the 19th century, I observe that two dominant trends take form:

a. A conceptual identification between the terms ‘child’ and ‘person’. The child is treated by pedagogues in the 19th century as a ‘little adult’. Herbart’s proponents emphatically stress Rousseau’s fallacy with respect to the specific nature of the child and attempt to justify their identification between child and adult on a theoretical level as well. Adult characteristics are attributed to the image of the “good student”. The good student is tidy, respectable, courteous, disciplined. And a good teacher is one who can control his students and impose discipline in the classroom through punishments and other penal measures (Pantazides, 1879: 214-265). It is within this framework that Pedagogical theory and educational practice unfold.

b. From the second half of the 19th century, I observe a turn towards the education of children through the establishment of Nursery Schools, the training of their teachers, the designation of moral models for children and young people and the outlining of a specific social organization. With respect to this parameter, an especially important factor is the publication of the first children’s journals3, and particularly that of the magazine Diaplasis ton paidon [Children’s Edification] from 1879 until to 1948, the most long-lived children’s journal in Greece. Amongst the journal's associates, key figures are pedagogue Aristotle Kourtides until 1894 and writer and literary author Gregorios Xenopoulos until 1948. The pedagogical aspect of the journal is found in the designation of moral models and the outlining of a specific social organization (Patsiou, 1986: 517-522; Katsiki-Givalou, 1995: 17).

3. THE “NEW EDUCATION” MOVEMENT AND THE INFLUENCES ON GREEK CASE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the beginning of the 20th century, the science of Pedagogy places emphasis on the child, which now constitutes the center of attention as well as the starting point of education. Familial education is given special attention, which connects pedagogical theory and educational practice with the views of Pestalozzi, Key and Montessori. In Preschool education the Fröbelian method is questioned and

3 During the 19th century the following children’s journals are published in Greece: Paidiki Apothiki [Children's Depository] (1836), Filostorgos Mitir [Loving Mother] (1862-1866), I Efimeris ton paidon [The Newspaper of Children] (1868-1893), Athinais [Athenian] (1876-1882), Periodiko ton Mathiton [Student’s Magazine] (1891, 8 issues), Paidiki Efimeris [Children’s Newspaper] (1896, 2 issues). The contents of these magazines and journals, supplementary to the school curriculum, deals with mythology, history, physics, religion and encyclopedic knowledge, and they reflect the general attitude of the time in regards to education, which is briefly stated in the magazine Diaplasis ton paidon [Children’s Edification]: “entertain as well as teach”.
Montessori’s method begins to prevail. The likening of the child as a “plant” which grows presupposes the appearance and propagation of new pedagogic notions.

The dominance of Herbart’s pedagogical views lasts for roughly fifty years in Greece and starts to be questioned in the first decades of the 20th century by Greek Pedagogues, who, again, study in Germany (Alexandros Delmouzos, Dimitrios Glinos, Miltos Kountouras, Michalis Papamavros) (Kontomitros, 2006). Herbart’s ideas have, of course, been questioned and abandoned long ago in Anglo-Saxon and Germanic countries. In Greece, however, developments exhibit certain “inertia”; thus, while Herbartianism was being criticized and abandoned in its cradle, Nikolaos Exarchopoulos continues to teach with the Herbart’s method (Demaras, 2013).

Exarchopoulos, the only professor of Pedagogy in Greece in the beginning of the 20th century, had studied beside W. Rein in Jena, W. Wundt in Leipzig, and Fr. Guex in Lausanne. In 1923, he establishes a “Workshop of Experimental Pedagogy” at Athens University, influenced by German pedagogues, E. Meumann and W. A. Lay. In this Workshop he places emphasis on pedologic research, conducts body measurements, examines the anatomic physiology of children and introduces intelligence testing in Greece. The aim of the education, according to Exarchopoulos, is to contribute to the progress of culture and the ethical progress of society (Antoniou, 2011: 143-145). In order to achieve these aims, the teachers must mold the child’s will and refine the child’s personality. The ‘child’ is now viewed not just as soul, but as body as well. Thus, Experimental Pedagogy and the Psychology of the child are emphasized (Ziogou, Foukas, Chatzimpei, 2010).

Meanwhile, however, the liberal views of the so-called “Laboratory School” or “New Education” begin to appear. These views are initially adopted in Greece by a small group of pedagogues and teachers, the demoticists -those in favour of the use of the spoken, everyday Greek language becoming the official state language (Terzis, 2013: 282-293). In the first decades of the 20th century the contact, as well as, the dependency of Greek Pedagogy from the Germanic countries continues, given that a large number of Greeks studies beside German professors. The ideas of E. Spranger, G. Kerschensteiner, P. Natorp and H. Lietz spread through their students in Greece and create a new orientation in Pedagogy (Kontomitros, 2006).

These ideas however, are neither created nor adopted in a sudden or random manner. At a theoretical level, the development of the science of Psychology, and particularly, Child Psychology, propels these ideas forward. The notion of the human soul is replaced by the notion of the soul of the child. Psychology is considered a necessary supplementary science for Pedagogy (Hofstetter & Schneuwly, 2005: 73-99). The developments brought on by Charles Robert Darwin’s theory signal a widespread interest for the child, in conjunction with Emile Durkheim’s socialization theory, the developmental theories of Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky, and Sigmund Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis (Kyprianos, 1997: 99). In 1920, Papamavrou, in an

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4 We indicatively mention Alexandros Delmouzos, Dimitris Glinos, Miltos Kountouras and Michalis Papamavros, whose contribution was significant to the diffusion of the ideas of ‘New Education’ movement in Greece.
article in the journal Pedologia [Pedology]5, argues that

...It is mainly within two worlds in Pedagogy that its contents are exhausted: the culture of the society into which the child must be introduced and the child itself, which must be molded for this aim... (Pedologia, [Pedology], 1920: 28).

Within this context, the pioneers of the education reform of 1917-1920 in Greece, publish two new school books and transcribe or edit another eleven, in which the focus is the child and his/her interests. The school atmosphere now becomes saturated with images of everyday life, with a radically different – compared to the past– process of instruction and learning, and with a child-centric pedagogic relationship (Terzis, 20132: 310; Demaras, 2013: 156-161). All this discussion culminates in 1923, when Dimitrios Glinos, philosopher and pedagogue, argues that the correct simile for education is no longer the potter, who gives form to clay, nor the sculptor, who carves the image in his mind on marble. The child is rather a “plant” which will grow and blossom and contains within himself/herself his future power. Within the child there is the fundamental potential, the general force and the main directions for his/her development (Glinos, 1971).

Alexandros Delmouzos, professor of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Thessaloniki from 1928, includes a unit relating to the psychology of the child, his/her spiritual development, physical growth and interest in learning, in his teaching. He further includes pages from John Dewey’s book, Laboratory School, which is translated into Greek by Kostas Sotiriou, in his course’s required reading (Foukas, 2010: 265-289). These views, however, do not prevail, since the traditional ideological structure of the Modern Greek society resists innovations (Terzis, 1993: 56-59).

In the first decades of the 20th century the emphasis given by the Greek government to issues of school hygiene contributes to the study of Pedologia [Pedology] and its development as an independent science. Child mortality, which in Greece in 1920 reaches 10.6% for children aged 6 to 10 and 6.7% for children aged 10 to 15, is due mainly to the ignorance of parents about the importance of hygiene in the feeding and care of babies. For this reason the state makes provision for the establishment school doctors and emphasis is placed on the hygiene of both students and schools (Theodorou & Karakatsani, 2002; Theodorou & Karakatsani, 2010). Despite the initial fears and doubts of teachers, the school doctor becomes their basic co-worker and assistant and contributes to the child’s physical and mental development (Ziogou, Foukas, Chatzimpei, 2010). On 1920 the Greek Pedologic Association is established. Among the members of the association’s board of directors there are some well known Greek educators. President of the association is the professor of pediatrics, Chr. Malandrinos who notes after his

5 The influence, even in the title, of the journal from a similar journal published in England in 1889 is obvious. The publisher of the Greek journal in the first issue refers to the efforts made in Europe, America and Japan (April 1920).
...The child needs a lot of attention. The child is the father of the human being and we must study it, take care of it and protect it...
(Pedologia, [Pedology], 1920: 72-73).

4. CONCLUSION

Pedagogy in Greece for a long time intended to cover practical purposes. Most Pedagogical Handbooks titled General Pedagogy and Teaching. Pedagogy as a science begins to acquire prestige in Greece during the last decades of the 19th century (1899), when established chair of Pedagogy in Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Athens.

At the level of pedagogical theory: During the 19th century, the views of Rousseau and Basedow are viewed with suspicion since they do not cater, to a satisfactory degree, to the practical needs that emerge in the newly-established Greek state. The views of Pestalozzi find a partial application during the first years of freedom of the Modern Greek state, mainly, that is, during the Kapodistrian era (Mavroskoufis, 1996: 141). From the period of the Regency up until the final quarter of the 19th century, the influence of Frenchman Ch. Sarazin’s monitorial method is clear. From the end of the 19th century, German Pedagogy and, mainly, the views of German Pedagogue Herbart and his students’, assume a predominant position in Greek pedagogical theory. In the beginning of the 20th century, Modern Greek pedagogical thought is influenced by the principles of the “New Education” movement and of the “Laboratory School”, a movement which positions the student at the center of the education process, is interested in his/her interests and aims towards his/her development and evolution based on his/her personal experiences.

At the level of educational practice: During the 19th century there is a liberty of pedagogical measures. 'Child' is still treated as a "little adult", which confirms the plethora of penalties imposed on students of the Greek educational system (see i.e. The Guide of Monitorial System). The publication of many ministerial circulars for the prohibition of corporal punishments (1848, 1854, 1867, 1884) expresses this reality (Lefas, 1942: 162-164). The school memories of students of the time, which are published in the printed media of the time, are illuminating. A single indicative example from an 1899 student’s description follows;

...The teachers... having learned a few things, which they were called upon to impart- they imparted them as best they could, according to their degree of ability, always reinforced with the help of the stick, the ruler, and hardly rarely, the whip... Punishment prevailed in that education system. Above all, punishment... For this reason, all punishments had a spectacular component. All punishments, even if it was not always their direct aim, always resulted in the student’s humiliation...
(Ethniki Agogi [National Training], 1899: 129).

The ideas of the “New Education” movement will have to become diffused, before we can pass from child punishment to the ideology of rewards and
punishments.

Since the early 20th century Modern Greek pedagogical thought, along with the J. F. Herbart’s pedagogical theory, which still taught and diffused in Greek education, particularly through the professors of the University of Athens, is influenced by the principles of New Education’s movement, which locates the student at the center of the educational process, emphasizes on the interests and the aims in the development and evolution and finally based on his/her personal experiences. The 'child', therefore, viewed by educators as a vehicle for action and 'childhood' as a distinct phase of life.

Concluding, the different treatment of the ‘child’ affects on his/her education. Thus, the main characteristics of the child, as they are put forth by pedagogical theory, can be outlined in two main categories: on the one hand, the child is characterized by an ethical inexperience, a malleable character, innocence, weakness, and, on the other, by spontaneity, curiosity, joy and movement. Both these categories affect the process of education: The pedagogues of the first group view the child as an object of care and tenderness and believe that the interpersonal relations between parents and children, as well as teacher and student, should be defined by tenderness, though mainly by ethical punishment. On the other hand, the pedagogues of the second group argue that the child is his/her own teacher. In this context, the teacher simply provides the proper environment which will motivate the child’s curiosity and appetite for exploration. The child reacts actively and his/her needs are approached and satisfied based on the present.

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