

Educational-Welfare Policies «in the Name of the Nation»: A Comparative Study in the Greek-Orthodox Communities of Macedonia and Black Sea Region (1860-1923)

Políticas de bienestar educativo «en nombre de la nación»: Un estudio comparado de las comunidades greco-ortodoxas de Macedonia y la región del Mar Negro (1860-1923)

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Abstract: This comparative study attempts to describe and interpret the contribution of education and welfare policies to Modern Greek nationalism, focusing on two different contexts: Macedonia and the Ottoman Black Sea region. These two regions were chosen as the main research field for the following reasons: (i) both Macedonia and the Black Sea region were inhabited by a mixed group of Christian, Muslim, Jewish, etc. populations, (ii) the Orthodox populations of both areas fell under the intellectual auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, (iii) the Ottoman reforms were implemented in both areas, and (iv) both regions were influenced by the penetration and dissemination of Modern Greek Nationalism.

The main goals of this research were (i) to investigate whether there were any differences between the two contexts during the period mentioned above (1860–1923), (ii) to identify the reasons behind education and welfare policies in Macedonia and the Black Sea region, (iii) to identify the different types of education and welfare policies adopted in Macedonia and the Black Sea region, (iv) to determine the effects of implementation of these policies in each of the two reference frameworks, and (v) to examine whether and how this application of welfare and education policies in each framework was associated with the spread of Modern Greek Nationalism.

Keywords: Ottoman reforms; orthodox communities; welfare policies; education; nationalism; Macedonia; Black Sea.

Resumen: El estudio describe e interpreta la contribución de las políticas de bienestar educativo al nacionalismo griego moderno centrándose en dos contextos geográficos diferentes: el de la región otomana del Mar Negro y el de Macedonia. Se ha considerado el método científico para el estudio y a las dos regiones como epicentro del mismo por las siguientes razones: por un lado, tanto la región otomana del Mar Negro como la región de Macedonia fueron habitadas

por poblaciones mixtas compuestas por cristianos, musulmanes, judíos, etc. Por otro lado, la población ortodoxa en ambas regiones perteneció a la comunidad intelectual del Patriarcado Ecuménico de Constantinopla. Además, las reformas otomanas fueron implementadas en ambas regiones; e incluso comparten la instauración y difusión del nacionalismo griego moderno.

Los objetivos que pretende alcanzar este estudio son: 1) Analizar las diferencias entre ambos contextos, si las hubiesen, durante el período comprendido entre 1860 y 1923; 2) Establecer las razones que llevaron a la aplicación de políticas de bienestar educativo en Macedonia y la región del Mar Negro; 3) Identificar los distintos tipos de políticas de bienestar educativo llevadas a cabo en Macedonia y la región del Mar Negro; 4) Definir los efectos de la implementación de dichas políticas en cada uno de los contextos; y por último, 5) Evaluar si la aplicación de dichas políticas de bienestar educativo está asociada con la propagación del nacionalismo griego moderno.

Palabras clave: Reformas otomanas; comunidades ortodoxas; políticas de bienestar social; educación; nacionalismo; Macedonia; Mar Negro.

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1. Introduction: Aims, objectives, methodology, terminology issues

This study pertains to the area of Comparative Education (Bouzakis, 2004; Kalogiannaki, 1998; Mathaiou, 1997) since it attempts to describe and interpret the contribution of the educational and the welfare policies to the Modern Greek nation's construction focusing on two different contexts: the Macedonia and the Ottoman Black Sea region. The time under research is extended from the Tanzimat period which is considered as the starting point of the nationalization process, till 1923, date of the Lausanne's Treaty (Veremis, 1980; Matalas, 2002). It has to be marked that educational and welfare policies had acted in the past as stabilizing agents for the social system, and as tools for national homogenization (Fragoudaki & Dragona, 1997; Avdela, 1998; Lee, Slater, Walsh & White, 1992; Alexiadou, 1992; Althousser, 1977; Terlexis, 1987). Consequently educational and welfare policies had constituted the main mechanism of national homogenization when either the purity of the nation, or the cultural uniformity, seemed to come under threat.

The juxtaposition of the literature on the content and the components of nationalism is a necessary condition to determine the use of the concept in our essay and to fulfil the purposes of our research, as expressed previously. Regarding the content of the term «nationalism» we should first define the term «nation» and then consider whether the nation existed before nationalism or if nationalism created the concept of the nation. The dominant question is whether that national identity was to be considered «primitive» (Renan, 1996, pp. 41-55) or if it emerged as a special supplement in the political strategies. According to idealistic version the nation is an «a priori fact» of the human existence that is ahead of any human social interaction and that is basically unchanged. This theory perceives ethnic groups as physical entities, not as historical subjects. Extension of this assumption is the idea that ethnic communities are extensions of affinity

units, produced essentially by ties of generations' kinship in which the choices of cultural signs (language, religion and traditions) are made exactly to show this biological affinity. According to this conception the myths of common biological origin is a defining feature of ethnic communities (Handler, 1988, pp. 6-8). The term «nationalism» is generally used to describe two phenomena: the fitting that the members of a nation ensure the strengthening of their national identity and the actions taken by the members of a nation to achieve the liberation and the self-determination of the nation to which they belong (Brubaker, 2004, pp. 115-127). National identity is often defined in terms of the common origin of the members of the nation or in terms of the cultural ties of its members. On the other hand there are those who argue that the concept of the nation is basically a tool of a political strategy used by the interest groups to achieve secondary objectives such as the increasing of their wealth, or their power (Cohen, 1969).

As regards the question whether national communities created consciously, or if they grow based on existing cultural communities, the constructivists view the national identities as a product of historical circumstances, and they often consider them as a recent phenomenon, even if they appear very old, while postmodernists and Marxists consider nations as entirely modern and constructed (Hroch, 1996, pp. 78-97). Specifically postmodernists and Marxists argue that the nations are real but distinctly modern creations, identified during the period of the capitalism's genesis (Gellner, 1983). Gellner, as a pragmatist defends the view that nations are entirely contemporary creations, he supports that they are descendants of the industrialization and the state and that they invent a past to gain a similarity between this and the antiquity and to strengthen the concept of continuity. Specifically he writes: «Nationalism is not the awakening of the consciousness of nations: nationalism invents nations where they do not exist» (Gellner & Smith, 1996, pp. 357-370). He argues that the nation and the concepts of the national pride such as nationalism are inventions, appearing only in the modern period of the world history. He argues that before this period there was not the ideal of the ethnic homogeneity and that this homogeneity was not considered essential factor for the formation of the societies. Benedict Anderson (2006) captures the nation as «imagined community» because the members of even the smallest nation do not know anything about the most of the members of the nation in which they co-owned. Unlike Gellner, Anderson attributes the creation of nations to the imagination and to the creativity of their members. O Anthony D. Smith (1991, pp. 3-23) has developed an intermediate position emphasizing the importance of pre-existing *ethnies* in the development of nationalism and attempts a distinction between national nations and political nations. There is however general agreement that nations are linked by default with the States, if they are based on a common national identity.

Following the post-modern version of the nation's and nationalism's interpretation this survey considers that the national identities are social constructions referring to a concrete period of history (Jenkins, 1994, pp. 28-63). These national identities are used by the interest groups of the society in order their political ethnical or economical strategies to be achieved. According to the circumstances these identities are treated as a subject of negotiation concerning their constitutive elements, that is to say their values, their symbols or their stereotypes. In our case identities are considered as social constructions that date back to the borderline between the frame of «millet» and the strengthening of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire.

The comparative study has been elected as research method and the two regions the Greek-orthodox communities of Macedonia and the Black Sea region have been chosen as main research field for the following reasons: Both Macedonia and the region of the Black Sea were inhabited by mixed Christian, Muslim, and Jewish etc. populations. Secondly the orthodox populations of both areas belonged to the intellectual climate of Ecumenical Patriarchate who was acknowledged just after the conquest of Instabul (Constantinople) by Mohamed the Conqueror (1453) as the head of the Rum millet (Kardaras, 1996) thanks to the privileges (veratia) granted to him (Runciman, 1968). Hence the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire was in essence transformed into an institution to the exclusive jurisdiction of which included the organization of the Rum millet's education or social welfare, namely the organization of the education and welfare of the orthodox population (Konortas, 1998). For example those who were under the religious sovereignty of the orthodox Patriarch, could be recognized as members of the Rum millet's community (Carmichael, 2007) and could take part to the orthodox millet's community operations (Turczynski, 1971, pp. 468-486; Hobsbawm, 1991, pp. 46-49). It has to be remembered that until the middle of the 19th century the millets in the ottoman context were considered as purely religious-cultural communities (Marantzidis, 2007) which determined the identities of the Sultan's subjects (Stamatopoulos, 2006). Accordingly the millet system may be defined as a political organization which granted to the non-Muslims the right to be organized into communities possessing certain delegated powers under their own ecclesiastical heads.

Moreover the ottoman reforms were implemented to both areas, Macedonia and Black Sea. With regard to the Greek orthodox communities the *reform period* could be considered positive as it created the perspectives for their intellectual and economic development. The consequences were of a main importance: the institution of the local communities' schools, the creation of the conditions of a mass elementary education, the construction of the perspectives for an institutional educational frame, according to the *National Regulations* (Papastathis, 1984).

Even in the two regions occurred both penetration and dissemination of the Modern Greek nationalism. Specifically just after 1908, both in Black Sea and in Macedonia region the ideological current of Turkish nationalism prevailed. This change was reflected either to the level of ideology or to the structures of the Empire itself. A secular constitutional state started to replace the millet's structures (Berkes, 1964). In this context the millet's discriminations based on the traditional ethno-religious identities had to be redefined (Ziogou-Karastergiou, 1998; Papastathis, 1984; Anagnostopoulou, 1998, pp. 462-464).

Consequently the main goals of this research are the following: a) To investigate if there were differences in the two contexts during the period mentioned above (1860-1923); b) To identify the reasons enforced welfare educational policies in Macedonia on one and in the Black Sea on the other; c) To identify the different types of educational-welfare policies undertaken in Macedonia and Black Sea; d) To determine the effects of the implementation of these policies in each of the two frames; e) To examine whether this application of welfare-education policies in each frame is associated with the spread of modern Greek nationalism.

2. The context in Macedonia and in Black Sea region (1860-1923)

Focusing initially on the educational and welfare policies developed in Macedonia we should come to the conclusion that after the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 in the wider geographical region of Macedonia the identity of «Exarch» was established in dialectical counterpoint to the identity of «patriarchal». This identity was perceived by a part of the inhabitants of the region not necessarily as a movement of ethnic self-identification (Smith, 2000) but mainly as a secessionist movement been directed against the Orthodox commonwealth (Iliadou-Tachou, 2004, p. 13). According to the latest approaches these identities were not referring to ethnic groups but to political parties (Gounaris, 1993). The transformation of the peculiar religious separatism in ethno-racial self determination movement was due to the general climate of nationalism which dominated during this period. It corresponded to the newly emerging Bulgarian elite's demands and efforts to transform the passive exarchate *ethnie* to a politically active ethnic community, which could be able to act as a historical subject (Smith, 2000). Within this context, the whole effort of the newly emerging Bulgarian elites put into question the legitimacy base of millet and attempted to build a Bulgarian national identity.

Especially in Macedonia the development of welfare policies was related to the development of urban centers, such as the Monastery (Bitola) Thessaloniki, Kozani, Siatista, Kastoria, or Serres (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003). This is easily

interpreted. Actually the commercial mobility of the Greek urban strata which undertook the retailer's role in the process of penetration of the European products inside the Empire created the necessary conditions for the urban classes' hegemony (Boeschoten, 1993). Using caravans initially and the railway in the late 19th century, the Greek merchants' companies coming from the urban centres of Macedonia traded goods and ideas, accumulated wealth and supported with educational endowments schools and churches in their homeland communities. Furthermore the financial contribution of the wealthy bourgeois class to the Greek schools' foundation was substantially facilitated by the Tanzimat period's reforms. In this context an educational institutional regime was established and thus the unimpeded operation of the Greek schools was ensured (Iliadou-Tachou, 2001, p. 32).

It should also be noted that the spread of the Greek schools became feasible thanks to the dissemination of the European Enlightenment's ideas to the progressive layers of the Greek communities. Since the Greek Enlightenment had given impetus by the Greek predominance in trade in the Ottoman Empire the emerging bourgeoisie contributed decisively not only to the genesis but to the spread of the schools as well. Consequently this fact was instrumental in the national consciousness' among the community members shaping and helped cohesion to be strengthened and national homogeneity inside the community to be achieved (Iliadou-Tachou, 2006, pp. 34-35). On the contrary the strengthening of the national identification created the conditions for the differentiation from the national «other» in the wider context and contributed to the disintegration of the Orthodox commonwealth. Consequently the new emerging nations in the Balkans adopted conflicting strategic goals, characterized them necessary for their national integration and became engaged in ethnic conflicts and rivalries. So and the degradation of the rum millet and the presence of the rival nationalisms activated the patriotic reflexes of the bourgeoisie inside the Greek communities of the Macedonian centers. Concerning the Greek inhabitants of Macedonia their integration to the Greek state was perceived as national primary objective for the achievement of which all the forces of «Hellenism» worked collectively (Iliadou-Tachou, 2006). In this conflict of a main importance was the manifestation of donations, bequests, grants sponsored by the bourgeoisie that should be considered either as a product of the Greek irredentism or as a consequential of the Modern Greek nationalism.

However, even after the integration to the Greek state, the previous schismatic religious *ethnie* remained in some cases active and resisted in the legitimizing function of the Greek education, a fact that was reinforced by two main factors. The first factor concerned the successive conquests of Macedonia

during the First World War and the propaganda's activity practiced by Serbs and Bulgarians in the region (Iliadou-Tachou, 2006). Actually these conditions were fueling the previous identities in the context of liquidity. The second and the most important reason was related to the Asia Minor's refugees' settlement in the Greek Macedonia after 1923 (date of the Lausanne's Treaty), a parameter that redefined the demographic data of the region. According to the literature the identity of the «refugee» had been just emerged in dialectical counterpoint to the identity of the indigenous (Vermeulen, 1984; Shein, 1974; Danforth, 1993; Karakasidou, 1993; Boeschoten, 2003; Angelopoulos, 1995).

Taking into account the above context it should be mentioned that the implementation of a national educational policy in the Greek Macedonia was characterized by an important peculiarity: the educational strategy should take into consideration the presence of the allophone population in the region who were asked to integrate into the Greek education and then into the Greek national body (Iliadou-Tachou, 2006). So education in Macedonia served as part of a broader national strategy, the goal of the national homogeneity (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003). Consequently legacies contributed decisively, to the successful fulfilment of the purpose of national cohesion and to the implementation of the objectives of the educational policy. Therefore the grants offered by individuals or associations in order the above goals to be achieved were the main feature of the period 1923-1930 in Macedonia (Andreou & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007).

On the other hand the spread of the Modern Greek nationalism within the communities of Black Sea contributed to a redistribution process of wealth and power which started to being established since the weaker sections of the community began renegotiating their relationship with community network of power. Encouraging the participation of the vulnerable groups in organized community's operations was occurred through the expansion of the educational opportunities, the management of the social assistance, the organization of charity and benefaction.

The reflections of the nationalization process in the Greek-orthodox education in the Black Sea communities (1860-1923) were decisive. According to elite's point of view the first objective, as it was reflected in the texts of the period, was the cultivation and dissemination of the Modern Greek national consciousness (Kapetanidis, 1920). The achievement of this goal presupposed the implementation of an educational reform in order to be the education's access feasible to larger sections of the population. Specifically the cultivation of a national language accessible to all social strata within the Greek-orthodox communities was considered by the nationalist intellectuals as significant (Chourmouziadis, 1914, pp. 141-145; Kapetanidis, 1920).

Theorists of the nationalist ideas in the Black Sea communities were the teachers, the journalists-editors of newspapers, who decisively shaped the public opinion of their time or the other members of the local elite as local administrators in the community context and of course the local clergy. Specifically Chrysanthos, Bishop of Trebizond was the one who shaped the aims and the objectives of the primary and secondary school in his articles edited in his magazine, *Komninoi* (Chrysanthos, 1916, p. 238; Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 450). Through implementing a content analysis to Chrysanthos' discourses it has to be concluded the following: According to Chrysanthos the schools aimed to a current and to a future perspective. In contemporary purposes we can record «the national advancement of Greeks in Black Sea region». Chrysanthos considered that «the school was intended to create the conditions of the Greek elements' prominence in the new state of affairs». In the same context, interpreting the expectations of the other nations, he referred to the role of the teachers in Black Sea into the adverse circumstances. He featured that «the teachers' role was hard, high and noble. The purpose of education in his point of view was the national self-awareness on one hand and the national sovereignty on the other hand. This could be achieved through the capture of the Turkish state superstructure». A serious drawback in order to achieve the objectives mentioned above was, according to Chrysanthos, «the materialistic consideration against the vision of Great Idea» which landed the Greeks to realistic options (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 450-452).

However the most significant supporter of Modern Greek education was Nikos Kapetanidis, the editor of the newspaper *Epohi* (in English *Season*) who was influenced not only by the modern Greek nationalism but by the Greek educational reformists as well, as he took into account the question of the educational language's reform (Kapetanidis, 1920; Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 460). Kapetanidis hosted on his newspaper articles written by the reformist educator Penelope Christakis (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 458) known by her conflict with Metropolitan of Demetrias-Volos during the persecution of Delmouzos after the events in the Girls' school of Volos (Charitos, 1989). It is also supposed that he developed relationships with the Education Group of Egypt in which George Scliros-Konstantinidis coming from Trebizond and consequently his compatriot played the dominant role (Stauridou-Patrikiou, 1988; Noutsos, 1992). Nevertheless the idea of founding a national Greek school in the Black Sea region was also expressed by Nikos Kapetanidis who declared that he was deeply affected by Delmouzos in the newspaper edited by him, in the 4th of July 1920 and blamed the teachers of the East because in his point of view «The reform has to be materialized at last by the Great National Principle. The East does not create Delmouzos neither will ever create.. and asked for freelance tutors who would speak about the truth. The truth had to be attached strongly

in soul and spirit teens» (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 454). According to him «education is the tool for achieving national cohesion». The component elements of the national discourse of Kapetanidis are the following: a) The request for democratization «which includes the fight against servility and superstitions, the fight against the closed patriarchal structures characterized by the power of the elders and the clergy». b) The need of modernization and progressivism that focuses on the restriction of the religion's affection in the East (Fotiadis & Iliadou, 2007, p. 464). c) «The support of the educational demoticism, the puristic Greek's substitution by the demotic (colloquial) Greek, the creation of the conditions for an education that would condemn the emptiness and the sterile memorization» (Kapetanidis, 1920). d) The conformation of the modern national culture that should be far from the sterile ancestor worship, far from the *archaiomania* and would be guided by the faith to the regeneration of the nation's power (Epohi, 8.10.1920). Kapetanidis seemed to be influenced not only by the Modern Greek nationalism but by the Greek educational reformists as well, as he took into account the issue of the educational reform and particularly of the educational language's reform.

3. The educational-welfare policies in western Macedonia and in Black Sea region

The majority of the legacies in Macedonia took place during the Ottoman reforms, when the emergency of the bourgeoisie in the city centers of the Empire in conjunction with the community authorities' establishment created the conditions for the benefaction's manifestation. The sponsors sought through the bequests to configure the national identity and to strengthen the national cohesion. The terms of the sponsor, his position to the local community, his participation to the national competitions, his performance of the Greek culture, his origins were of a main importance. Even the person who undergoes the sponsorship behavior and his integration into the national ideology consist the other side of the benefaction which should be investigated (Kanner, 2004).

If we attempted to distinguish the bequests which served the diverse manifestations of the Macedonian Question we should classify them using the following criteria: a) To which they were addressed, b) The objectives they aimed c) The ulterior motives of the sponsors, d) The factor conducted to the bequest. According to the above criteria, the legacies of the Ottoman period were a) Community, since the management was organized by the community institution which drew its legitimacy from the National Regulations of the Patriarchate, and b) Individual, since it was managed by a group of individuals according to Internal Regulations determined by the benefactor such as in the case of

Trambatzion High School in Siatista or in *Valtadoreion High School* in Kastoria. Since joining to the Greek State the bequests in Macedonia were distinguished to a) local legacies when they satisfied the local needs (*Nikeios High School* of Nymfaion or Neveska) and b) nationwide legacies when they served national policy's goals (National Boarding house, *Velieion bequest*) (Andreou & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007).

The donations in Macedonia a) are recorded in the collective subconscious b) reached us through the names of the schools c) are listed in the directories of the schools d) are included in private archives e) are recorded in contracts and covenants that have been preserved. The sigillum with the official delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarch was the dominant mode of legacy assets (Kornoutos, 1953). However, the solution of the handwritten contracts compiled in front of the witnesses who were the elected representatives of the community, was often used. (Iliadou-Tachou, 2004, pp. 15-17). Conclusively the bequests were defined as educational when they covered educational needs (donations for buildings, financial subsidies for educational expenses, fellowships, or endowments to poor students).

As representatives educational endowments in Macedonia are reported the following: a) In Bitola (Monastiri), The *Mousikeios* urban School (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 230), the *Central Girls' school* sponsored by the Dimitriou brothers (Tsalis, 1932; Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 231), the *Theochareios* primary school (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 230), the *Kontouleios* primary school (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 239), the *Oikonomieion nursery school* (Antoniadis, 1908, p. 67; Tsalis, 1932, p. 30; Arvanitou, 1909, p. 104; Vavouskos, 1959, p. 20; Papadopoulos, 1970; Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 230), b) The Marasleion Greek Practical and Commercial School of Thessaloniki (Ziougou-Karastergiou, Vaharoglou & Foukas, 2006) c) The *Stylideia schools* in Megarovo (Macedonian Diary of Pam-Macedonian Association, 1908 & 1910: pp. 226-227 & 245-246; Vakalopoulos, 1958, p. 31; Papadopoulos, 1970), d) The *Bebeion* school of Nizopolis (Tsalis, 1932, pp. 84-85; Andreou, Iliadou-Tachou & Mpetsas, 2011), e) The *Tsirleion* school of Nymfaion (Neveska) (Vakalopoulos, 1958, p. 338; Papadopoulos, 1970; Andreou, Iliadou-Tachou & Mpetsas, 2011), f) The *Bageion* High school of Korca (Korytsa) (Bairactaris, 1916, p. 32; Kallimahos, 1958, p. 277; Kourillas, 1909, p. 284; Dragoumis, 1908, p. 287, Vakalopoulos, 1958, p. 32; Karmitsis, 1888, pp. 15-16; Ismirliadou, 1997) g) The «Baltadoreion» school of Kozani (Lioufis, 1924; Papadopoulos, 1970, Iliadou-Tachou, 2001, p. 260).

It is worth mentioning as representative the legacy of Archimandrite George Minoidis-Modestos, which was submitted to the *General Central Fund of the Holy Sepulcher* in order to cover the study's expenses of 5 children coming from

Pisoderi, homeland of the sponsor, enrolled either in the High School of Monastir or in the University of Athens (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 272; Iliadou-Tachou, 2005; Papadopoulos, 1970). Finally decisive was the role of *Manouseion legacy* and *Vellieion legacy* (Papadopoulos, 1970; Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 160) which were mechanisms for fellows' selection. Especially with the *Vellieion* endowment the conditions for teachers' training were created but also the creation of an urban class which should direct the society in educational and cultural issues, having received a strong Greek culture, was carefully prepared (Iliadou-Tachou, 2003, p. 164).

On the contrary the social welfare in Black Sea communities can be classified in two categories. The first category concerned the provision for the inhabitants' education. The second was related to the benefaction and charity. The first type of social welfare was of a main importance under the community's regulations as it was directly connected with social mobility. In the first type of social welfare the provision for the schools' establishment and maintenance, the establishing of scholarships and grants related to poor students' education or to textbooks' reconsideration can be included (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 230) On the other hand the creation of associations aiming to relieve people from the evil of war can be seen in the broader context of care and should be identified as charitable. What should become clear is that the coexistence of welfare policies with social interventions concerning educational goals not only makes it extremely difficult to distinguish the above categories but confers to social welfare objectives related to ethnic homogeneity's achievement and nationalization's process's completion. Furthermore based on the operating framework the types of social welfare can be categorized as follows: a) The community social welfare implemented by the organized Greek-orthodox communities b) The educational and charitable associations recommended by the bourgeoisie of the Greek-orthodox communities and c) The benefaction operations implemented thanks to the donations or grants coming from bishops or by the bourgeoisie.

An example of the social solidarity that worth noting was the institution of *Casing Policy* based on the assumption that the distribution of the tax burden should be proportionate to the income of each community member, an institution which was in force till 1844 and contributed to secure the money for the construction of the Trebizond's Tuition Center's building (Triantafyllides, 1870, p. 111; Chrysanthos, 1933, p. 746). It is also significant to mention the *Educational and Cultural Associations* been founded in Trebizond which contributed alongside with the communal administration's operators to strengthen the prospects of educations' evolution. We can mention the Educational Association named *Xenophon* (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 230-231) which supervised the schools of the around Trebizond provinces according to the *Operation's Regulation*

of the year 1900. (Terzopoulos, 1975; Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 234). Furthermore the social responsibility for education was implemented through the institution named the *Commission which supervises the around of Trebizond schools* (in Greek «Η επί των έξω σχολείων Επιτροπή») which, according to Chrysanthos, (1933, p. 642) was established by a Bishop named Gregory Kalliades. This Committee however had been proposed to be founded by Pericles Triantafyllides even from 1869 (Ioannides, 1870, p. 227). Another example was the *Welfare's Association of Trebizond* which had been established to support the evolution of the Greek Letters in Trebizond (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 240-241) or the *Greek Club* established in Trebizond in 1860. Another example was the Association *Kyriakidis* founded in 1910 in Gumushane (Argyroupoli) and contributed significantly to the education's expansion in the lower classes since a large number of people attended popular lessons (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 248-249). The aim of all the Associations mentioned above was to implement a dynamic social intervention that would favor either the social mobility or the national homogeneity. The *Brotherhood of those who came from Trebizond* was founded in 1881 in Instabul (Constantinople) named *The Providence*. This Brotherhood tried to raise money by organizing a lottery, a purpose that managed to be realized thanks to the benefactions of Zarifis and Zappas (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 236-237). Triantafyllides argues that the development and the progress of the community schools in Trebizond should be attributed to these associations' activities.

In the second category, namely in the category of charity associations we can integrate the *charity Ladies' Association named Merimna*. In fact in the early 1904 five ladies coming from the urban class, Vaso Aslanidou, daughter of the banker Elias Constantinides, Melpomene Kogkalidou Domna Capayannides and Eleni Theofilaktou conceived the idea of founding a Ladies' Brotherhood provided material financial support to fellow girls through offering them an appropriate for their sex work opportunity. In order to achieve this goal they gathered 600 ottoman pounds through contributions from members and non-members who lived in Trebizond or abroad, or through benefactors of lottery bonds and donors. So, on November 9th, 1904, the founding *Regulation of the Trebizond's Ladies' Brotherhood* was signed under the assistance of the Trebizond's Church and the Bishop's Constantius. The consequences of these initiatives were social and national: social because *Merimna* as it is admitted contributed to the improvement of the women's status across the Black Sea. Ethnical because the charity of the bourgeoisie served the goal of national cohesion during those critical times.

Additionally it has to be mentioned the *Commercial Club of Trebizond* under the name *East* which was founded in 1865 in order to organize interviews, lectures,

theatrical performances, dances with charity and social purposes (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 243). In the hall of the *Commercial Club* lectures were held by distinguished persons as Doctor Konsatntinos Theofylaktou attended by many people. The lectures were preparing the diffusion of the national ideas among young educated people and the money gathered were available on one side to cover the school expenses and on the other to support the economically weaker, namely the association was intended to consolidate the social and national cohesion. On the other hand the *Charitable Brotherhood* was founded in Trebizond in 1911 by its President Andreas Metaxas (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, pp. 240-241). The Brotherhood aimed to take care for the financially weak members of the community and sponsored the Greek Hospital named *Akritaion* by the name of its benefactor, in order to fulfill its purposes (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 241). In this case also the exercise of the designed welfare policy by the economically powerful members of the community was intended to broadening the national base of the Greek-orthodox population. Therefore the actors of the welfare policy aimed to cultivate a sense that these who suffer the providence and those who practice it belonged in the same ethnic community and this sense could be considered as the main motive of beneficence provided.

Another chapter was the benefaction which originated from the orthodox clergy of all grades and concerned the money offering in order schools and churches to be built or bequests to be given in order their operating costs to be covered. For example, Ignatios Fytianos, Bishop of Chaldia stood in 1723 valuable helper for the schools of Gumushane (Argyroupoli) and the schools of the surrounding communities (Kandilaptis, 1970). Likewise Ieremias, Bishop of Neokaisareia built in 1866 with money of his own a monastery including a primary school for the children coming from the neighbouring communities. The resources were guaranteed by contributions offered by the residents Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 201).

In fact the benefaction that dominated in the Greek communities of this period was practised by the middle class and the bourgeois. The middle class of the Black Sea Greek orthodox communities used to immigrate to Russia and to send from there through the banks of Kapagiannidis, Theophylaktos or Fostropoulos money for the survival of their family members who had stayed behind. Sometimes the middle class invested in markets of real estate or in the trade of the European capitalism's products. However the money raised from this trade were subjected to continuous inflationary pressures and it was possible to lose much of their value so as the middle class could easily fall into the category of the poor in a context characterized by a constant downward social mobility. Moreover, the middle class was the one that suffered the negative impact of the war conditions in the Black Sea so as the insecurity prevailed in the

countryside of Black Sea, due to the dysfunctions of the ottoman administration, in combination with the loss of expectations for a Russian protection, after the Bolsheviks' predominance. Nevertheless despite all the difficulties mentioned above on the political field the intermediate class acted jointly with the upper class in the Greek-orthodox education's organization and monopolized the local ranks. Finally in the ideological field the middle class adopted progressively the national Greek identity (Triantafyllides, 1869).

The upper class consisted of those who had settled before in the tsarist Russia and had created funds exploiting the sources of wealth offered by the country. The contribution of this class in the national identity's shaping was decisive because they offered amounts for the establishment and operation of schools, of charitable institutions, of churches and in general they were specialized in concrete donations or they undertook actions concerning charitable big scale initiatives that ensured the family prestige (Kanner, 2004).

So for example in Trebizond was founded in 1897 the *Theofylakteion nursery school*, at the expense of K. Theofylaktou (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 210) and in 1902 the *Pavlideia schools* in the parish of *Theoskepastos* with the legacy of P. Pavlidis (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 204). In 1881 the Bishop Gregory of Trebizond erected at the expense of Konstantinos Theofylaktou and Philippos Koussis lucrative estates to meet the needs of the schools (Chrysanthos, 1933, p. 644). Additionally the construction of the building of the Trebizond's *Tuition Centre* (1899-1902) was proved feasible thanks to the contribution of the *Building and Fundraising Committee*, which was chaired by Konstantinos Theofylaktou (Chatzisavidis, 1993, p. 91). Actually P. Triantafyllides on his book *Fugitives* (1870, p. 134) informed us that Konstantinos Psomiades, an Istanbul (Constantinople) resident, originated from Ordu (Kotyora) subsidized in 1870 the construction of a stone-built building in which was housed the new community school, the one that went down in history as *Psomiadeios school of Ordu* (Kotyora). Patriarchal *sigillum* was delivered for the content and the conditions related to the above donation according to the newspaper *Faros Anatolis* (1910, 19th May). Similarly, the Greek school and the Girls' school in Sinopi (Sinop) was founded at the expense of George Tzouvaltzi, originated from Sinop (Sinopi) a trader who had been established in Caucasus (Fotidis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 194) while in January 1911 the orthodox community of the city of Samsun (Amisos) led by the Bishop Germanos did the inauguration of the building of *Tzinekeion 6grades High School* in 1911 and honored the great benefactor Chatzidimitrios Tzinekis during a ceremony held at the site of the new High School (Fotidis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 311). Another type of benefaction was the grant concerning the writing of national self-awareness books. As for the communities of the Black Sea the originating from Pontus

George Symvoulides, a chariest doctor sponsored in 1869 the writing of a history book focused on the place of his origins and put conditions similar to those which had been adopted by the *Greek Philological Association of Constantinople* in similar cases.

4. Conclusions

The research's implementation in the communities of the Black Sea and in Macedonia leads us to the following conclusions:

Both in Macedonia and in Black Sea the millet context had prevailed. It was based on the religious and cultural discriminations such as the religion and the language. It was an *ethnie* and enjoyed relative autonomy in managing its religious, educational, administrative matters. In this context the Rum millet was recognized as the community of the Empire's orthodox population and was under the Ecumenical Patriarch's spiritual jurisdiction. The orthodox-Greek communities' operation before the ottoman reforms was not associated with any kind of national revival processes.

The process of the transformation of the Greek-orthodox communities to national ones started in both areas, Macedonia and Black Sea, taking place in the context of modernization and westernization of the Ottoman Empire which constituted the necessary condition. The transformation of the Ottoman Empire to a modern and secular constitutional state released forces within the communities which directly raised the issue of their national self-determination. The role of the community education has been proved the most crucial factor in this nationalization process. Consequently the nation and the concepts of the national pride such as nationalism appeared in the last period of the ottoman state in both areas and were connected with the reforms' period and the modernization's process.

The difference in the frame of Macedonia and in the frame o Black Sea was this: although in Macedonia rivals nationalisms were developed which led to the armed *Macedonian Struggle* and to the parallel evolution of competitive schools' networks (Andreou, Iliadou & Mpetsas, 2011) in the Black Sea communities the modernization of the Empire had provided the opportunity for an economical and spiritual development. Consequently in Macedonia the situation imposed the endorsement of the other orthodox nationalisms as adversaries' nationalisms and mitigated the confrontation with the Turkish conqueror till the Balkan wars that redefined the previous data. So it has to be noted that the Modern Greek nationalism in Macedonia came into conflict with other rival nationalisms and struggled to survive in unfavorable conditions. Consequently it didn't manage to

be productive and creative. On the contrary, in the case of the Black Sea regions the emergence of an extreme Turkish nationalism combined with the Greek presence in Asia Minor from 1919 during the 1st world war and the consequent exaltation of the Modern Greek nationalism are the factors that accelerated the exodus of the Greek populations from their homelands. Obviously this national exaltation was ended violently after the Greek army's defeat in 1922.

Additionally although social welfare is considered as a social policy, community welfare in both contexts was developed in order nation's building policies to be achieved. Therefore, both education and community social welfare were integrated to the Great Idea's service and everything was designed and materialized *in the name of the nation*, till the end of the Asia Minor campaign. And of course it would be unfair to assume that the regional and the local elite of the Greek orthodox communities in Black Sea rebuilt its national identity in the period of the Modern Greek nationalism without rethinking critically its constitutive elements and without redefining them. Actually in both areas education took advantage of the glorious ancient Greek past to emphasize the idea of continuity and supported the need for the consistency of the Greek nation. In fact all those who rebuilt the national identity within the new revised ottoman context had been influenced by a national culture which encouraged them to reconsider their national themselves.

Specifically the social/community groups who hold the management of the social welfare in Macedonia and in the Black Sea were first the clergy of the area who collaborated with the middle and upper classes to broaden the base of Rum millet through the widening of the access to cultural goods and to the social mobility. Then the middle class and the upper class which managed the community welfare, participated in charitable Community aggregates and promoted the benefaction either in education or in philanthropy issues. Actually it is beyond any doubt that the educational-welfare policies been practiced in Macedonia and in the Black Sea area have important similarities: they intended to support the Greek educational mechanism and they were influenced by the Great Idea, as an aspect of the Greek nationalism.

In this context, in both areas the opening to the lower social strata attempted by the upper layers under the management of the community functions such education or social welfare should be interpreted within the existing preconditions. Really moving towards the nationalization of the Rum millet the broadening of the social base of the Greek orthodox communities which would ensure the ethnic homogeneity and cohesion could be considered as a prerequisite, in order the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a national community to be achieved. And certainly this feeling of belonging could be materialized by the management

of poverty, namely by the development of welfare policies towards the poor layers of millet and of course by the Greek-orthodox education's expansion.

We should also make it clear that the educational donations in Macedonia was focused on the schools' operation, while in the Black Sea, the bourgeoisie had already undertaken initiatives that had embraced the society as a whole. Mainly while in Macedonia the formation of social Associations was facilitated by the operation of the Consuls and the intervention of the Greek State's organizations, the absence of an aggressive nationalism in the Black Sea region and the early urbanization in Trebizond (Fotiadis & Iliadou-Tachou, 2007, p. 105) created the conditions for a national urban culture.

The matter of the educational language in both circumstances has to be taken into serious account. In Macedonia the issue of the educational language became a part of the whole national question, since the linguistic hellenization was considered a precondition for the national integration. So we must accept that in Macedonia the local elites juxtaposed with articles in the press on issues related to the educational language but their confrontation was integrated to the controversy among the supporters of Venizelos and his opponents. The purist or popular Greek option remained a condition without a social background. However in the Black Sea the passing from the ottoman Rum millet to the Greek nation was considered that required the replacement of purist Greek by the colloquial Greek language. It is noted that in the Black Sea region the spiritual environment favored the development of a national revival movement which identified educational goals and proposed the use of the spoken language as a tool to achieve them. Consequently the movement of the *educational demoticism* on the Black Sea Greek communities had beyond its national dimensions, a critical point of view which was addressed to the contemporary society and was directed against the conservative education. Specifically the journalist N. Kapetanidis directed against the obsolete structures of the Ecumenical Patriarchate that, in his point of view corresponded to former historical circumstances and claimed directly for national education with revised structures, accessible to all who belonged to the Greek nation. On the same wavelength was also the Bishop of Trebizond Chrysanthos Philippides who supported the Greek national claims to the *Peace Conference* and acted in the diplomatic field in order the independent *Republic of Black Sea* to be founded. Joint point of their action was the rupture with the ottoman millet's system of values and the counterattack against Turkish nationalism through the acceptance of the principles and values of the newly emerging in Asia Minor Modern Greek nationalism.

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923) put an end not only to such strategies shaped by the Greek nationalism in the Black Sea region. So we must indeed conclude

that while Macedonia was incorporated into the Greek state, the Greeks of the Black Sea due to the international circumstances and their improper management by the Pontiac elite or by the Greek political elite remained out of the strategic plans of the Great Powers, and were engaged to abandon their homes and settled in Macedonia, conveying a peculiar ideology of irredentism, as a vestige of the old visions and illusions having been reinforced by the Modern Greek nationalism and its supporters.

5. References

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