

**GREEK EDUCATION
IN MONASTIR - PELAGONIA**

SOCIETY FOR MACEDONIAN STUDIES
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ANTONIS M. KOLTSIDAS

GREEK EDUCATION IN MONASTIR - PELAGONIA

**ORGANISATION AND OPERATION
OF GREEK SCHOOLS, CULTURAL LIFE**



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THESSALONIKI 2008

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FOREWORD BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE SOCIETY FOR MACEDONIAN STUDIES

In 1913, the Treaty of Bucharest put an end to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). Under its terms the Pelagonian city of Monastir was annexed to Serbia; and since then, in a succession of South Slav states, it has been known as Bitola. The native Greek inhabitants of the city had, indeed, used the name Bitolia as well as that of Monastir. From 1386 until October 1912 the city belonged to the Ottoman Empire, before that to its predecessor, the Byzantine Empire.

For more than five centuries, under Ottoman rule, it was an important city with a multiethnic population, a city that bore the stamp of the powerful presence of its native Greek residents and their vitally potent activity in the educational, economic and social spheres.

After 1913 the populous Greek community left the city and the many substantial towns and villages in the surrounding territory and resettled, as refugees, in Greek Macedonia, chiefly in nearby Florina and in Thessaloniki. Their memory, however, lives on, still vivid in 2008. Numerous public buildings, primarily schools and hospitals, their imposing mansions in the historic city centre, their splendid churches, including St Demetrios, which is still the Orthodox Cathedral, their surviving descendants in the city, and the many handsome tombs with epitaphs commemorating prominent families in the cemetery still used by the Helleno-Vlach Community of Monastir, are an important part of the history of this city, despite the fact that its population has soared and its composition has altered dramatically.

The History of Monastir, an extensively documented study by research scholar Antonis Koltsidas, was published in a 1243-page volume by the Kyriakides Bros Press in Thessaloniki in 2003. That entire project was sponsored by distinguished Thessaloniki lawyer Naoum Babatakas, who was born and raised in Monastir. In memory of his parents, Mihail and Vasiliki, the same generous sponsor enabled the Society for Macedonian Stud-

ies to translate into English and make available to the international community this present edition, which is also posted on the Society's website www.ems.gr

The Society for Macedonian Studies expresses its warmest thanks to its Bitolian benefactor, Naoum Babatakas, who has supported many of its studies and publications. All are dedicated to an open dialogue, strictly historical and unprejudiced, in the hope that the peoples, especially those who have cohabited for centuries, will come to know one another better and work together more closely for a future free of the fears and obsessions of the past.

Thessaloniki, April 2008

*Nikolaos Mertzos
President
The Society for Macedonian Studies*

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IN LIEU OF PREFACE
AND INTRODUCTION

MONASTIR AND ITS CULTURE
HISTORICAL REVIEW

A.1. Monastir is directly associated with the ancient city of Heraclea Lyncestis, a town in Pelagonia known and identified since the age of Homer. Today an important archaeological site, Heraclea was wholly rebuilt in 360-350 BC by Philip II of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, over the remains of an earlier settlement of the same name.

Over the course of its history Heraclea found itself in the sights of the political designs that accompanied the spread of Macedonian rule, Roman overlordship and Byzantine imperium, entering into their expansionist and strategic plans in the context of control over the road routes (Via Egnatia, valleys of the Aliakmon and Axios rivers) and the creation of, respectively, buffer states, tetrarchies and themes. Meanwhile, the town itself was expanding northwards and developing into a city conterminous with present-day Monastir.

Historical evidence records this greater Heraclea with the names Chlorinon and Boutelion (in the Byzantine age), Bitolia (in the period 1570-1612, on a map by Abraham Ortelius), and subsequently, from 1661 at least (Evliya Çelebi), as Monastir (on account of an old monastery church); the name Monastir is also attested in 1806 (Fr. Pouqueville).

2. The population of Monastir swelled with the arrival of whole Greek communities, displaced by the destruction of Moschopolis and its environs (1769), and later (1812) of Greek villagers from the Pindus massif who abandoned their homes in the face of Turkish oppression. Throughout this historical period Monastir was a city whose language and cultural consciousness were pre-eminently Greek, as was the majority of its population, whether as individuals they used the Vlach (the largest group), Greek, Slav or Albanian idiom. The commercial and industrial enterprise of the city's Greek population transformed Monastir in its most vitally active period into an important economic and cultural centre. Moreover, the enrichment of those citizens of Monastir who emigrated and prospered in other places proved doubly beneficial to the city, through financial support for its cul-

tural institutions and the leaven of enlightenment in respect of national rights and aspirations.

3. Monastir flourished in the wake of the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), when in the ensuing more liberal environment its citizens began to travel more widely and trade more extensively. It was in the 19th and early 20th century (until 1912), however, that it reached the peak of its prosperity, developing into one of the most dynamic cities in the Balkans (second only to Thessaloniki), its merchants and bankers and businessmen producing and distributing goods and wealth that flowed out through the entire region. Meanwhile, large numbers of expatriates from Monastir were active in the great markets of the Balkans (Semlin, Belgrade), Central Europe (Vienna, Brasov, Sib, Bucharest) and as far afield as London, Venice, Trieste and Alexandria. Everywhere they went they flourished as merchants and traders, and played a prominent place in both the business-economic and the intellectual and social life of the places where they settled.

4. The people of Monastir played a substantial and extremely important role in the nationalist struggle for independence and the establishment of the modern Greek state. Their participation in the Greek Revolution was patent and dynamic; and their subsequent contribution to the organisation and activity of the revolutionary movements that followed the War of Independence was of decisive importance for the outcome of the broader nationalist struggle in Western Macedonia. They played their part in the patriotic organisation “Casino” (1852), in the new *Filiki Etaireia* (Society of Friends, 1867), on the Macedonian Committee (1878), with Picheon and his bands of *andartes* (1896-1897), in the bands of the *Ethniki Etaireia* (National Association), in the resistance to Bulgarian atrocities and Romanian propaganda. They played their part during the Macedonian Struggle, too, with the three-member committee of Aristotelis Matlis, Argyris Zachos and Nikolaos Pirzas, with Ion Dragoumis’ “Macedonian Defence” or “Patriotic Defence” organisation, and with the active participation and sacrifice of thousands of fighting men and dozens of officers and chieftains (among them Antonis Zois, Philippos Kapetanopoulos, Theodoros Modis, Stephos Grigoriou and Petros Christou).

The resistance of the Greek population of Monastir and its environs was directed, equally and simultaneously, against the organised armed Bulgarian and Romanian action and against the fellow-travelling Turkish forces and the omnifarious Western and Central European political interventions

and aggravations. Their fight against propaganda in the educational, ecclesiastical and ideological spheres was incredibly vigorous and tenacious, and found expression both in armed conflict and in countless protests to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and the leaders of the European Great Powers of the day. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, for its part, provided substantial help to the Greek population of Monastir and its environs, both as part of its general assistance to the Greeks in the enslaved territories and, especially after the emergence of organised Romanian propaganda, with the aim of strengthening Greek ideology and binding the Christian population together as a single body in the face of the danger from the Bulgarian Exarchate and Western Catholic propaganda.

5. One important facet of the educational, intellectual and spiritual situation in Monastir was the cultural phenomenon of a single-minded, public-spirited popular base that competed in the performance of good works, offering whole-hearted national and financial service through the creation of dozens of national, educational and philanthropic societies, associations and fraternal organisations. These entities substituted for the non-existent official state welfare and protection, which was absent to such a point that it was impossible to determine the agency or authority which would have guaranteed their activity. In this sense, then, the admirably organised and smoothly operating Greek education system, on the one hand, with its famous schools, excellent teachers and thousands of students, and the various popular clubs and associations on the other, represented the authority that, notwithstanding the dependence and constraints of an alien environment, functioned within the whole ideological space of Hellenism and did so to such a degree that the people of Monastir constituted the national standard rather than following the model of the central authority in Athens.

6. Beyond these practical manifestations and their ideological projections, the social cohesion and cultural cosmogony of the Greek community in Monastir functioned as a particular cultural factor differentiating it from the other communities in the city. It should be noted in this connection that the Muslims as a rule had no rival social status of their own to display and were thus wholly assimilated into the Greek climate – another illustration of the impotence of the Porte to impose itself in human and cultural terms on those who were subject to its authority. The educational and social life of the people of Monastir encouraged emulation among the members of the community, progressed everyday life and communication and gave it horizons and vision. The Greek community thus dominated the whole social

entity, and its leading figures (benefactors and other notable intellectual, social and nationalist personalities) constantly sustained the Greek population of the region and its lofty aims and values.

7. Monastir did not remain isolated in its own particular culture, nor were its citizens content simply to remain as they were. Served by the still heavily used trunk route of the ancient Via Egnatia, by new roads branching out into the surrounding regions and, in the latter part of this period, by a railway line as well, it became the crossroads of the western gateway to the Orient, in some sort a counterpart to Constantinople, which was by right and as a matter of course the main gateway and crossroads of the east. Powered by this underlying dynamic, the city grew into a strong and self-sufficient commercial, financial, military, intellectual and administrative centre. In the latter regard Monastir was the equal of any other large and dynamic regional hub of the period: administrative authorities, seats of political and military power, public buildings and charitable foundations, diplomatic services and foreign missions, fiscal and institutional systems, banks, legal protection and tax measures, and the regulation of entities and institutions – all these things set Monastir apart and fostered its development as one of the most important centres of the Hellenic and the Balkan world.

8. This cultural phenomenon was not confined to the city of Monastir. The entire surrounding region with its numerous flourishing and equally vigorous Greek communities was bound together and to the hub by bonds of dependence and activity based on a shared ideology: fighting for union with the main body of Hellenism, furious rejection of foreign oppression and propaganda, cultivation of a self-sufficient and locally run Greek education system and an ideological constitution fostered by an ethnic sense of Greekness and the Orthodox Christian faith. Nor should it be forgotten that Monastir was a self-sufficient cultural centre frequented on a daily basis by people from outlying areas, while at the same time other regional communities (Jagovetsi, Gopesi, Krushevo, Megarovo, Tyrnovo, Milovista, Nizopolis, Resna, etc.) were themselves developing strong, well-organised and administratively self-sufficient economic and educational centres. One might say, in a word, that the whole dynamic of the region was far ahead of its time and that this fact may perhaps have provoked and aroused an aggressive and propagandising disposition in its historically and culturally weaker ethnicities. Ethnicities that, within the general climate of anarchy, turmoil and an increasing current of neo-nationalism, sought furiously to establish their own national and cultural identity.

9. The painful conclusion to be drawn from the iniquitous incorporation of Monastir into Serbia in 1912 is that the root cause of the tragic outcome lay first and foremost in the lack of co-ordination of Greek military operations in the region and the impotence of Greek diplomacy in the Balkans. The weakness of Greece's operational organisation became clear in the disagreement between Prime Minister Venizelos and Crown Prince Constantine concerning the order in which the cities and regions of Macedonia should be occupied. Venizelos' insistence that the bulk of the troops in the field should be dispatched to secure Thessaloniki weakened the western front, which was Prince Constantine's priority, with the result that Monastir was left undefended and empty of Greek forces, to be occupied, unopposed, by the astonished Serbs! As for Greek diplomatic efforts in the region, these came too late, and even then only under pressure of events that by that time were unfolding far too fast to be curbed or influenced.

The people of Monastir could not understand how a city and a region "without a single Serb" – as the Serb troops who marched into Monastir admitted – could have fallen so painfully and ingloriously to alien forces, which moreover occupied the city "in the name of the Greek Army"! This question continues to torment the unfortunate survivors to this day...

10. The sense of Greekness that continued to inhabit the people of Monastir and the surrounding area in their displacement and diaspora after 1912 remains strong and powerful to this day. The entire history and presence of the associations created by the refugees from Monastir, their force and the focus of their interest, have always been concentrated on three main points: striving to reverse the *fait accompli* in the hope that Monastir may some day be united with Greece, working together for the benefit of all their members and to help them solve their problems of survival, and keeping the memory of their ancestral home fresh and strong. It should also be noted that neither distance nor the freedoms and opportunities open to those who emigrated to, for example, New York, could veil the memory of and the longing for the lost and far-away homeland, but on the contrary sustained and magnified their desire and determination to continue to lead their customary "Monastiriote way of life" and to pursue the just and indefeasible rights of a free Greek Monastir.

11. In sum, the set of attitudes and values that characterised the people of Monastir was part of the common set of nationalist goals and visions shared by the Greek world as a whole. Its basic ideological media were Greek education, direct corporate militant struggle, organised self-sufficient

active social care, and the pursuit of any foreign and inimically corrosive intervention in national conviction and religious conscience.

Monastir, then, and the region in which it had lived as a Hellenic entity for so many centuries, nourishing with its spirit and example generations of outstanding nationalists and patriots, was beyond any sense of justice and order lost, without reason or cause, accidentally, absurdly: an historical, national, political and military “mistake” imputable to unforgivable Greek error, omissions and pusillanimity...

B. The most potent ideological weapon at the service of the people of Monastir was their education system, superbly organised and smoothly functioning, and the vitality of their general culture and cultural life. Greek education and culture was the cornerstone of Monastiriote society, which assumed unaided the task of building and maintaining schools, paying their teachers and assisting and protecting their pupils. The Greek education provided in Monastir was a model of self-sufficient community schooling, unique in the annals of the second half of the 19th century and first dozen years of the 20th, and paralleled only in Thessaloniki, Constantinople, Smyrna, Athens and a handful of other cities in the Hellenic world.

The flawless organisation and smooth operation of the schools in Monastir reflected the elevated national and intellectual inclination and determination of the city’s Greek population, which as a single and indivisible ethnic entity embraced absolutely the virtues of liberty and humanism, qualities that sprang integrally from within the school curriculum and the popular participation in educational affairs and the cultural goods these produced. At the same time, the cultural life of the people of Monastir found active expression on many levels, with associations, societies and organisations serving patriotic, educational and philanthropic purposes, with printers, booksellers, publishers and newspaper editors providing information and channels of communication, and with the good works of benefactors, donors and distinguished local citizens (professional people, teachers, freedom fighters, politicians, diplomats, scholars, writers, poets, social figures).

It is this Greek education, with its schools, teachers, and cultural life, that we will be presenting in this volume as a cultural mark distinguishing a dynamic and progressive people: the population of Monastir.

Thessaloniki, April 2008

Dr. – Dr. ANTONIS. M. KOLTSIDAS

I. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE GREEK WORLD

A. GREEK EDUCATION IN THE BALKANS: IDEOLOGICAL AND NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

THE OBJECT of the foreign nationalist movements that sprang up in the Balkan territories where Greek cultural influence was strong was to infiltrate – ideologically – the minds and morale of the local Greek population, with the ultimate aim of altering its ethnic composition and exsanguinating whole communities and districts. They appeared at a time when the Balkan peoples were developing a sense of national identity and a Balkan entanglement was emerging as a perceptible danger within the context of the thorny Macedonian Question. This menace loomed larger after the end of the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1870), and began to acquire specific and serious dimensions with the attempts of the Pan-Slavists to incorporate the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace into the Slav states. Meanwhile, similar endeavours on the part of Roman Catholicism through the Eastern Rite Catholic Churches and the Romanian movement in particular also sought to acquire influence and advantages, not of course with a view to immediate dominance in the Balkans but rather with an eye to securing ideological and political openings that could be exploited when the time and the diplomatic conjuncture were ripe.¹

1. Nikolaos Vlachos, *To Μακεδονικόν ως φάσις του Ανατολικού Ζητήματος 1878-1908* [The Macedonian Question as a phase of the Eastern Question 1878-1908], Athens 1935, 35-36; cf also *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia* [Ecclesiastical Truth], 1907, 36; Michel Paillarès, *L'Imbroglia Macédonien*, Paris 1907, 465; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ιδεολογική συγκρότηση και εκπαιδευτική οργάνωση των Ελληνόβλαχων στο βαλκανικό χώρο (1850-1913). Η εθνική και κοινωνική διάσταση* [Ideological constitution and educational organisation of the Greek Vlachs in the Balkans (1850-1913). The ethnic and social dimension], Thessaloniki 1994, 299.

2. The Greek populations responded instinctively to these dangers, which brought their true spirit to the fore, fired their patriotism and renewed their convictions and visions, and they reacted with the best possible defence: by bolstering their education system and in general increasing their educational and cultural activity. The Greeks in these regions thus mobilised education as a primary means of fortifying their national identity in the difficult years of the 19th and early 20th centuries, a time when national identities were being forged throughout the Balkans.²

The result was that Greek education spread and developed by spectacular leaps and bounds, aided to some extent by the general state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire following the introduction of the Tanzimat Reforms,³ but chiefly by the contribution of the Greek middle class in Macedonia, which rose on the foundations laid by Macedonian expatriate benefactors and led to great economic and intellectual growth. The stream of emigration from Macedonia and Epirus into Central Europe slowed, of course, after 1850; but the transfusion that these expatriates had already given their birthplaces stimulated a flourishing cultural environment that fostered a similar blossoming in education.⁴ Monastir and the rest of Pelagonia enjoyed an abundance of economic and cultural goods, assured by emigration and trade, which in those days were in full swing.

3. The leading role in Greek education was played as of right by the Macedonian expatriates (Greek-speaking and Vlach-speaking), who were the first in the Balkans to use their economic and social strength to exercise a cultural and social influence by founding and operating Greek schools and churches and cultivating scholarship and an intelligentsia through men of letters and spiritual representatives, and later disseminating these cultural goods throughout Macedonia by building schools, churches, hospitals and other socially beneficial institutions. Other agents of Greek education in Macedonia were the Greek state, through the “Society for the Dissemination of Greek Letters” (1869), Constantinople, through the “Greek Philological

2. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 299-300.

3. For Macedonia and the Tanzimat Reforms (1830-1870) see Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *Μακεδονία και Τουρκία 1830-1878* (Macedonia and Turkey 1830-1878), Thessaloniki 1987, 71-139; see also Tolis Kazantzis, “Η πνευματική και καλλιτεχνική ζωή στη Μακεδονία από το 1850 ως τις μέρες μας” (Intellectual and artistic life in Macedonia from 1850 to the present), in *Modern and Contemporary Macedonia*, Papazisis-Paratiritis, ed. Ioannis Koliopoulos and Ioannis Chassiotis), vol. II, 158 ff.

4. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 300.

Association of Constantinople” – the “Ministry of Education”⁵ of the unredeemed Greek populations – and the “Macedonian Fraternal Organisation of Friends of Education” (1871), which joined forces to try to stiffen defences against foreign nationalist movements. The contribution made by these societies was of incalculable value, for through their activities (establishing new schools, publishing books and textbooks, providing scholarships and bursaries, drawing up curricula, etc.) they played a substantial and decisive role in awakening, educating and cultivating the enslaved Greek population. Further, the various Macedonian associations, societies and fraternal organisations that with their support sprang up across Macedonia served as agencies for the organisation of the Greek population of the region and paved the way for the Macedonian Struggle. Education was, however, used as an ideological and nation-building tool by others as well, notably the foreign “pretenders” who pursued an unrelenting programme of activity through the creation of their own ethnic schools.⁶

B. GREEK EDUCATION IN MACEDONIA

The growth of Greek education in Macedonia (the *vilayets* of Monastir and Thessaloniki) in the second half of the 19th century and early years of the 20th was truly spectacular. Whereas in 1877 Edward Stanford could count 111 Greek schools with a total of 5361 pupils in the ecclesiastical district of Kastoria, Pelagonia, Velousa, Koritsa and Vodena,⁷ just a few years later (in 1886) Ioannis Kalostypis reported “*the total number of Greek schools in Macedonia*” to be 846 (3 gymnasiums (or ‘high schools’), 3 teaching training schools, one seminary, 71 ‘Greek Schools’ (or ‘middle schools’), 74 girls’ schools, 283 primary schools, 80 nursery schools and 331 elementary (or ‘dame’) schools), with 45,870 pupils.⁸

5. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *Ιστορία των Βόρειων Ελληνισμού - Μακεδονία* (History of the Northern Greeks - Macedonia), Thessaloniki 1991², 336.

6. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 300-301.

7. V. Bérard, *Τουρκία και Ελληνισμός. Οδοιπορικό στη Μακεδονία. Έλληνες – Τούρκοι – Βλάχοι – Αλβανοί – Βούλγαροι – Σέρβοι* (Turkey and Hellenism. Travels in Macedonia. Greeks – Turks – Vlachs – Albanians – Bulgarians – Serbs), Athens 1987, 278.

8. Ioannis N. Kalostypis, *Μακεδονία. Ήτοι μελέτη οικονομολογική, γεωγραφική, ιστορική και εθνολογική της Μακεδονίας* (Macedonia. An economic, geographical, historical and ethnological study.), Athens 1886 (rp: Thessaloniki 1991), 59. Comparable data for 1800 and 1885 in G. Chassiotis, *L'instruction publique chez les Grecs depuis la prise de Constantinople jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1881. See also the Table of Greek Schools in Macedonia in the



Figure 1. Ioannis Baras, a teacher in Monastir, and his family

There were also 9 or 10 Romanian schools, supported financially by the Macedonian-Romanian Association of Bucharest, with a total of no more than about 300 pupils, while Ottoman education was non-existent and

Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους (History of the Greek Nation) (IEE), Ekdotiki Athinon, vol. XIII, Athens 1977, 386; AYE, Consulates in Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 30 December 1885, no. 353.

Bulgarian education, despite all the efforts of the Exarchate and the Pan-Slavist movement, was limited to the larger towns (e.g. Thessaloniki, Serres and Monastir) where a handful of boarding schools educated children from all over Macedonia, whose expenses moreover were subsidised. It is thus clear that “*the number and excellence of the Greek schools in Macedonia is the best and most eloquent argument for its supremely Greek nature, as is admitted by all who visit this contested land in good faith and who study its affairs with scientific care and attention. Whatever is noble in Macedonia, whatever is splendid, whatever is flourishing, whatever is worthwhile, those things are Greek*”.⁹

2. According to the “Statistics for Greek schools in the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Bitolia in Macedonia in the school year 1894-1895” (Thessaloniki 1896), there were in that final decade of the 19th century 526 Greek schools with 728 teachers and 30,177 pupils in the vilayet of Thessaloniki and 384 Greek schools with 517 teachers and 23,456 pupils in the vilayet of Monastir.¹⁰

Again, based on maps drawn up by the Instituto Geografico di Agostini-Roma in 1906, the observations of the representatives of the Western Powers overseeing the implementation of the Reforms and the table of statistics on the schools of Macedonia (vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir) that was published in that year in Paris, there were at that time 521 Greek schools with 32,534 pupils and 787 teachers, 319 Bulgarian schools with 9544 pupils and 493 teachers, 10 Romanian schools with 383 pupils and 28 teachers and 21 Serbian schools with 532 pupils and 52 teachers in the vilayet of Thessaloniki, and 477 Greek schools with 27,106 pupils and 676 teachers, 242 Bulgarian schools with 8767 pupils and 380 teachers, 39 Romanian schools with 1619 pupils and 117 teachers and 32 Serbian schools with 1142 pupils and 60 teachers in the vilayet of Monastir, for a combined total of, respectively, schools, pupils and teachers: 988 Greek (59,640 and 1463), 561 Bulgarian (18,311 and 879), 49 Romanian (2002 and 145) and 53 Serbian (1674 and 112).¹¹

9. Ioannis N. Kalostypis, *Macedonia*, 61; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 301-302.

10. Nicolaidès Cléanthis, *La Macédoine. La Question macédonienne dans l'antiquité, au moyen âge et dans la politique actuelle*, Berlin 1899, 138-139, with detailed statistics.

11. I.K. Μαζαράκη-Αινιάνος, J.C. Mazarakis-Aenian, *Το Μακεδονικό ζήτημα. The Macedonian Question. La Question Macédonienne*, Athens 1992, 9, 18 and back inside cover, with maps of the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir; *Idem*, *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*

ΒΙΛΑΕΤΙ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ												
ΕΠΑΡΧΙΕΣ (ΚΑΖΑΔΕΣ)	ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ ↓				ΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΙ				ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ ↓			
	Ε	Β	Ρ	Σ	Ε	Β	Ρ	Σ	Ε	Β	Ρ	Σ
Μοναστήρι (πόλη)	11	11	4	5	42	39	29	21	1.695	1.113	327	293
Καζάς Μοναστηρίου	70	74	18	9	131	119	64	32	4.610	2.855	964	466
- Περλεπέ	8	30	1	9	8	60	3	11	182	1.714	30	318
- Οχρίδας	9	33	2	4	10	56	3	6	343	1.400	60	135
- Κίτσεβο	—	21	—	10	—	26	—	11	—	521	—	223
- Φλώρινας	45	—	4	—	53	44	4	—	1.841	751	88	—
- Κορυτσάς	41	—	6	—	77	—	13	—	3.452	—	203	—
- Κολονίας	11	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	390	—	—	—
- Καστοριάς	74	43	3	—	91	56	11	—	3.620	1.104	135	—
- Στάροβο	8	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	235	—	—	—
- Καϊλαρίων	16	11	—	—	23	18	—	—	896	366	—	—
- Ανασελίτσας	42	1	—	—	63	1	—	—	3.197	56	—	—
- Γρεβενών	68	—	5	—	78	—	19	—	2.788	—	139	—
- Κοζάνης	14	—	—	—	29	—	—	—	1.226	—	—	—
- Σερβίων	21	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	1.289	—	—	—
- Ελασσόνας	50	—	—	—	66	—	—	—	3.037	—	—	—
Σύνολο	477	242	39	32	676	380	117	60	27.106	8.767	1.619	1.142
Γενικό Σύνολο	998	561	49	53	1.463	873	145	112	59.640	18.311	2.002	1.674

* Ο παραπάνω πίνακας δημοσιεύθηκε το 1906 στο Παρίσι

Figure 2. Instituto Geografico di Agostini – Roma, 1906

Finally, according to the table compiled by Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, the total number of Greek schools, teachers and pupils in Macedonia prior to the Liberation was 558 (960 and 37,599), of which 483 (744 and 30,173) were in the vilayet of Thessaloniki and 1041 (1704 and 67,772) in the vilayet of Monastir.¹²

3. The significance of this striking growth in the number of Greek schools in Macedonia is all the greater in that they were established and run solely and exclusively with funds raised by the Greek communities, including of course those of Pelagonia, which maintained their schools and Greek education with the single-hearted moral and material support of those populations and the willing and generous financial support of expatriate members

(The Macedonian Struggle), Athens 1981, 116-119, with a table of schools (Greek - Bulgarian - Romanian - Serbian) in the vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir; cf. also N. I. Mertzos, *Εμείς οι Μακεδονές* (We the Macedonians), Athens 1992³, 112-113.

12. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική δραστηριότητα του ελληνισμού της Μακεδονίας κατά τον τελευταίο αιώνα της τουρκοκρατίας* (Educational and social action of the Greek population of Macedonia in the final century of Ottoman rule), Thessaloniki 1970, 228; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 302-304.

of those communities, merchants and benefactors, in Europe, at a time when the “*state budget made no provision for schools*”.¹³ This explosion in the educational activity of the Greek-speakers of Macedonia is also evidence of the natural ethnic consciousness of those parents and children, since the choice of school was wholly free and as an expression of personal will thus stood as a measure of their ethnic identity.¹⁴



Figure 3. View of Monastir

13. Ioannis N. Kalostypis, *Macedonia*, 57.

14. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 304.

II. GREEK EDUCATION IN MONASTIR ORGANISATION AND OPERATION

MONASTIR was the largest town in Greek west and northwest Macedonia and the heart of Greek educational activity in the region. Greek education in Monastir, which was chiefly and essentially cultivated by the strong and progressive Vlach-speaking population, was vigorous and well organised, with many excellent schools:¹⁵

A. THE GEOGRAPHY OF GREEK EDUCATION IN MONASTIR: GROWTH AND SPREAD OF GREEK SCHOOLS

1. The first “Greek school” was founded in 1830 by Demetrios Varnavas, who also taught in it. It had 8 classes (5 primary and 3 pre-secondary), and most of its graduates went on to teach in new schools as they were

15. For Greek education in Monastir and the surrounding region see Pantelis G. Tsalis, *To δοξασμένο Μοναστήρι. Ήτοι ιστορία της πατριωτικής δράσεως της πόλεως Μοναστηρίου και των περιχώρων από του έτους 1830 μέχρι του 1903* (Glorious Monastir. History of the patriotic activity of the city of Monastir and the surrounding district from 1830 to 1903), Thessaloniki 1932; I. G. Antoniadis, *To θρυλικό Μοναστήρι* (Legendary Monastir), ΜΗΣ 1949 (65-75); Konstantinos Vavouskos, *Η συμβολή του Ελληνισμού της Πελαγονίας εις την ιστορίαν της νεωτέρας Ελλάδος (Διάλεξις)* (The contribution of the Greeks of Pelagonia to the history of Modern Greece) (Lecture), Thessaloniki 1969; Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *Ο Βόρειος Ελληνισμός κατά τη πρόωμη φάση του Μακεδονικού Αγώνα (1878-1894). Απομνημονεύματα Αναστασίου Πηγεώνα* (The Northern Greeks in the early stages of the Macedonian Struggle (1878-1894). Memoirs of Anastasios Picheon), Thessaloniki 1983; Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *The Northern Greeks*; and chiefly Glykeria-Sophia Vouri, *Η ελληνική εκπαίδευση στο σαντζάκι του Μοναστηρίου 1870-1904 (Η εθνική διάσταση)* (Greek education in the sanjak of Monastir 1870-1904. The nationalist dimension), Ioannina 1988; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, (first doctoral dissertation), and esp. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Η εκπαίδευση των Αρωμούνων στη Δυτική Μακεδονία κατά τα ύστερα χρόνια της τουρκοκρατίας. Ένα πρότυπο αυτοδιοικούμενης κοινοτικής εκπαίδευσης* (The education of the Aromanians in Western Macedonia in the latter years of Ottoman rule. A model of self-run community education), Thessaloniki 2001 (second doctoral dissertation). For additional useful information on Greek education in Monastir see also IAM (Ιστορικό Αρχείο Μακεδονίας / Historical Archives of Macedonia), and specifically the Archives of the Holy See of Pelagonia with extracts from invaluable documents, school registers, general inspections, etc. of the Greek schools in Monastir.

founded in the city. The first graduates of the Varnavas School were: Spasis Papanoum, Konstantinos Papanoum, Konstantinos Georsis, Naoum Nakas, Georgios Papakosmas, Konstantinos Ktenas, Anastasios Tzerros, Charalambos Triantaphyllides, Stephanos Tzerros, Georgios Tsallis, Naoum Nikarousis, Anastasios Pischas and Athanasios Anesti.¹⁶



Figure 4. School fête – Gymnastics display at a school in Monastir

In 1851 geographer and historian Margaritis Dimitsas founded a private school (the “Margaritis Dimitsas Private School”) with places for 80 children. Dimitsas was its headmaster, assisted by teachers Anastasios Picheon, Serapheim Matlis and N. Chalkiopoulos. The school operated until 1865, by which time it had achieved its purpose, since more Greek schools providing a solid educational grounding had in the interim been established.¹⁷

16. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 8-11.

17. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 15-17; cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *Η εθνική δράσις του μητροπολίτου Πελαγονίας Ιωακείμ Φορόπουλου και αι εκθέσεις*

In 1869 Monastir had 7 Greek schools with a total of 1080 children.¹⁸ In 1872 there were 8 Greek schools (one Gymnasium, 3 elementary schools, 3 Lancastrian schools and 1 school for girls), while in 1874 there were 5 (an elementary school, a Lancastrian school, a nursery school, a girls' school and a gymnasium), with a combined total of more than 1200 children.¹⁹

In 1883 Monastir had 11 Greek schools with a total of 27 teachers (21 primary teachers (15 men and 6 women) and 6 secondary school teachers) and 1691 children: 3 nursery schools with 316 children and 3 teachers, 5 elementary schools (two of 4 and three of 3 classes)²⁰ with 773 children (respectively 286, 282, 96, 62 and 47) and 11 teachers²¹, one 'middle school'²² with 109 children and 3 teachers, one gymnasium²³ with 84 students and 6 teachers, and one girls' school with 409 students and 4 teachers.²⁴

αυτού (The nationalist action of Ioakeim Phoropoulos, Metropolitan of Pelagonia, and his reports), Thessaloniki 1968, 9. For a personal portrait of Margaritis Dimitsas, see Charisis Poullos, "Margaritis G. Dimitsas", *Μακεδονικόν Ημερολόγιον Παμμακεδονικού Συλλόγου Αθηνών* (Macedonian Chronicle of the Pan-Macedonian Society of Athens) (Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΠΣ) 1909, 301-305.

18. Cleitos, "Το Μοναστήριον" (Monastir), *Aristoteles* (periodical published by the "Supporters of Education" Society of Florina, no. 33-34 (1962), 77.

19. S. Iliadou - Tachou, *Οι δομές της Κοινοτικής εκπαίδευσης (μέσης και στοιχειώδους) στις εκκλησιαστικές επαρχίες Κοζάνης, Σισανίου, Καστοριάς και Μογλενών κατά την ύστερη τουρκοκρατία (1856-1914)* (The structures of communal education (elementary and middle levels) in the ecclesiastical districts of Kozani, Sisanion, Kastoria and Moglena in the late Ottoman period (1856-1914)), Thessaloniki 1998, 66-67; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 137.

20. The curriculum for pupils in the Greek primary schools in Monastir included: Language Arts, Old and New Testament, simple Mathematics, Geography (Macedonia – region of Monastir), Greek History, "Patridognosia" ('knowledge of one's country'), Writing, Drawing, Singing and Gymnastics.

21. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134

22. Pupils in the Greek School ('middle school' or, as it was sometimes called, the *Scholarcheion*) of Monastir received instruction in: Language Arts, Ancient Greek Literature (Xenophon, Lysias and Isocrates), Latin, French, Old and New Testament, Mathematics, History (Greek and Roman) and World Geography.

23. Gymnasium students were taught: Ancient Greek Literature (Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, Lysurgus, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Herodotus, Homer, Sophocles and Plato), Latin authors, French, Turkish, Old and New Testament, Mathematics, Experimental Physics, Botany, Zoology, History (world), Philosophy and Gymnastics.

24. In February 1884 there were 450 girls enrolled at the school for girls in Monastir (IAM: Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia (AMP) 1876-1917, file 12, extract from the General Roll of Students of the Bitolia Girls' School for 1882-1884).

ΣΤΑΤΙΣΤΙΚΗ
Τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Πελαγονίας κατά τὸ σχολικὸν ἔτος 1907—1908.

Αριθ. διδ.	Καθὸς	Πόλις, κωμόπολις ἢ χωρίον	Ὄνομα ἰδιοτέρων σχολῆς	Εἶδος σχολῆς	Βαθμ. σχολ. ὡς ἀναγρ. ἐν τῇ σχετικῇ Κυβερν. ἀδείῃ	Ἀρ. μαθητῶν			Ἄρ. διδ.	Τὸ δάον		
						Ἄρ.	Θηλ.	Σύν.				
1	Μοναστηρίου	Μοναστηρίου			Γυμνάσιον ἀρρένων	160	—	190	12	12		
2	"	"	Ἄδελφ. Δημητρίου	Παρθενγωγεῖον	" ὁθλίων	—	—	—	1	9		
3	"	"	"	"	Δημοτικὴ	581	—	581	1	9		
4	"	"	Μουσικαί	Ἀρρενωγεῖον	Ἀρρενωγεῖον	541	—	541	9	10		
5	"	"	"	" Νοσοκομείου	Δημοτικὴ	201	—	204	5	—		
6	"	"	Θεολογικαί	" Νέας συνοικίας	"	18	—	18	1	—		
7	"	"	"	" Ἰ.Α.Β. συνοικίας	"	30	—	30	1	—		
8	"	"	Κοντοβλαί	" Σὺν Ἀθροῦ	"	17	—	17	1	—		
9	"	"	Ἄδελφ. Δημητρίου	Νηπιαγωγεῖον Κεντρικόν	Νηπιαγωγεῖον	—	200	200	2	2		
10	"	"	Μαρία Οικονόμου	" Νοσοκομείου	"	—	140	140	3	3		
11	"	"	"	" Ἰ.Α.Β. Συνοικίας	"	—	73	73	2	2		
12	"	"	"	Αἰωνίης Βρύσης	"	—	125	125	2	2		
13	"	"	"	Συνακ. Ἀθροῦ	"	—	34	34	1	1		
14	"	"	"	" Νέας Συνοικίας	"	—	40	40	2	2		
15	"	"	"	" Σὺν Κήπων	"	—	124	124	2	2		
16	"	"	"	" Ὑδραγῶνα	"	—	30	30	1	1		
17	"	"	"	" Ἰεραικού Ἀθροῦ	"	—	56	56	1	1		
18	"	Βιλοσίνα	"	Ἀρρενωγ. καὶ Νηπιαγωγεῖον	Γραμματοδιδασκ.	37	—	39	25	1		
19	"	Γραβόνιστα	"	"	"	35	—	30	64	1		
20	Περλιπὶ	Γραβόνιστα	"	"	"	39	—	46	55	1		
21	Μοναστηρίου	Μοργιόβου	"	"	"	27	4	49	73	1		
22	"	Διγρόβον	"	"	"	26	—	27	63	1		
23	"	Ζάμπεταν	"	"	"	22	9	—	31	1		
24	"	Κλιμαπούστα	"	"	"	—	—	20	20	1		
25	"	Κέρινον	"	"	"	12	8	—	20	1		
26	"	Λαζαρεῖ	"	"	"	—	—	27	1	—		
27	"	Λάγτσι	"	"	"	25	5	40	70	1		
28	"	Μεγάρων	"	"	Ἰατρογενέσιον	6	—	—	5	—		
29	"	"	"	"	Δημοτικὴ	124	—	130	5	5		
30	"	"	Σταλβίτσι	Παρθενγωγεῖον	"	—	100	—	—	5		
31	"	"	"	Νηπιαγωγεῖον	Νηπιαγωγεῖον	—	—	203	—	3		
32	"	Μποκόβον	"	Ἀρρενωγ. καὶ Νηπιαγωγεῖον	Γραμματοδιδασκ.	27	11	131	169	2		
33	"	Μπέρτσι	"	"	"	21	4	—	25	1		
34	"	Μπρόσνικ	"	"	"	20	21	20	70	1		
						1466	743	1410	3608	55	51	112

Figure 5. "Ekklesiastiki Aletheia", 1907, page 139

In 1886 there were in Monastir "a total of 13 schools with 1646 pupils" (a gymnasium and teacher-training school with 136 students, an Orthodox Seminary with 43 students, a 'Greek School' with 572 students, 2 elementary schools with 100 pupils, a girls' school with an enrolment of 300, and 3 nursery schools with 354 children).²⁵

Towards the end of the 19th century two new primary schools (*astikes scholes*) were founded in Monastir, one for boys and one for girls.²⁶ The city also had nine nursery schools and five elementary schools (one for girls and four for boys).²⁷

In 1900 a total of 2800 children were enrolled in the Greek schools of Monastir, whose exemplary teachers included the "invincibly Hellenist Gymnasium Headmaster Tzoumetikos, and no prefectural capital in Free

25. Ioannis N. Kalostypis, *Macedonia*, 60.

26. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134, 171.

27. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134.

Greece could match the educational organisation of Monastir in those days".²⁸

In 1906 Monastir had 17 educational establishments²⁹ ("houses of the Muses") with 54 teachers and 2380 pupils/students,³⁰ while by the following school year (1907-1908) these numbers had risen to 66 and 2403.³¹

The details of the "Statistics for the Province of Pelagonia for the 1907-1908 school year" for Monastir are reproduced in the table 1.

In the 1907-1908 school year these 17 schools had a total enrolment of 2403 with 66 teachers.³²

Finally, in the last years of Turkish rule, the 55 teachers in the city's 17 educational establishments served a total of 2500 students.³³

28. Demetrios K. Chatzis, *Ιστορία του Μακεδονικού Αγώνα*, (History of the Macedonian Struggle), Athens 1971, 46.

29. At that time the level of Greek education was so high that the Jewish community, which maintained its own schools, hired Greek teachers to teach the required Greek classes and graduates from its school went on to the Greek schools in Monastir to complete their education (Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 41; Konstantinos Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 10; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, Thessaloniki 1994, 418, n. 74).

30. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *Όσα έγραφα στο Μοναστήρι 1903-1912* (My writings from Monastir 1903-1912), Thessaloniki 1984, 14-15, with statistics (compiled by the excellent staff journalist of *Nea Aletheia* (New Truth) of Thessaloniki and *Phos* (Light) of Monastir, known also as "Pygmalion") for the Greek schools of Monastir in 1906. We note them here for the purposes of our history: recognised Gymnasium (9 teachers - 210 students), Mousikeios Primary School (7-517), Demetriou Bros School for Girls (11-512), "Hospital District" Boys' School (4-131), "Hospital District" Nursery School (3-160), "New District" Boys' School (2-26), ... Nursery School (...-65), "Hydragora" Nursery School (...-50), Lefki Vryssi Nursery School (2-80), "Lofos District" Boys' School (...-20), "Lofos District" Nursery School (1-19), "Lofos District" Nursery School ... (1-75), "Kipi District" Nursery School (2-95), Central Boys' Nursery School (1-120), Central Girls' Nursery School (3-200), "Albanian District" Boys' School (2-30) and "Albanian District" Nursery School (2-70).

31. *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* (Ekklesiastiki Aletheia), 1907, 139-140, with "Statistics for the Province of Pelagonia for the 1907-1908 school year". In addition to the 17 Greek schools with their 66 teachers and 2403 children recorded for the city of Monastir, Pelagonia had another 54 Greek schools with a total of 4644 children (1983 boys - 916 girls - 1765 nursery s) and 136 teachers (74 men - 65 women). Cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138, which gives these figures.

32. *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, 1907, 139-140 ("Statistics for the Province of Pelagonia for the 1907-1908 school year"); Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138 (which publishes these figures).

33. LPP, "Όλίγαι στατιστικά πληροφορία εκ Μοναστηρίου" (A few statistics from Pelagonia), Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ 1908; Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134; cf. also Athanasios Karathanasis, "Τα ελληνικά σχολεία στην τουρκοκρατούμενη Μακεδονία" (The Greek Schools in Turkish-ruled Macedonia), in *Mod-*

TABLE 1
Schools in Monastir

Statistics for the Province of Pelagonia for the 1907-1908 school year				
<i>Name of private school</i>	<i>Kind of school</i>	<i>Level</i>	<i>Enrolment</i>	<i>Staff</i>
Demetriou Bros	School for Girls	Gymnasium (Boys)	190	12
" "	"	" (Girls)		10
" "	"	Elementary	581	10
Mousikeios	School for Boys	Primary	541	10
	Hospital District "	Elementary	204	5
Theocharaios	New District "	"	18	1
	Albanian District "	"	30	1
Kontouleios	"Lofos" District "	"	17	1
Demetriou Bros	Central Nursery School	Nursery school	200	2
Maria Economou	Hospital District "	"	140	3
	Albanian District "	"	73	2
	Lefki Vryssi "	"	125	2
	"Lofos" District "	"	34	1
	New District "	"	40	2
	Kipi District "	"	124	2
	Hydragora District "	"	30	1
	"Prasinos Lofos" "	"	56	1
Total		17	2403	66

"In the last school year, i.e. 1912, the total school population was 2595 boys and girls and a teaching staff of 67. Of these 250 were enrolled in the six-class gymnasium, 518 in the Central Primary, 173 in the 2nd Elementary, 86 in the Economou Nursery School, 65 in the New District Elementary School, 72 in the New District Nursery School, 78 in the Albanian District Elementary School, 91 in the Albanian District Nursery School, 164 in the Central Nursery School, 213 in the Kipi Nursery School, 65 in the two schools in the Lofos (Bair) district, 62 in the Lefki Vryssi Elementary

School, 686 in the Central School for Girls and 62 in the Teachers Training School.³⁴

TABLE 2
Number of schools, teachers and pupils in Monastir (1913)

Schools of the Greek Orthodox Community of Monastir Teachers and Pupils						
	Kind of School	Number of classes	Number of teachers		Enrolment	Observations
			Men	Women		
1	Gymnasium	4	11			
2	Middle school	3				
3	Teacher training school	2	5			
4	Mousikeios Primary	5	8			
5	“Hospital” Elementary	4	3			
6	Albanian District Boys’	3	1			
7	Lofos Boys’	3	1			
8	Central Girls’	10	1	11		
9	Central Nursery	2		2	More than 2300 boys and girls in total.	
10	Economou Nursery	3		2		
11	Mousikeios Nursery	2		2		
12	Albanian District Nursery	3		2		
13	New District Nursery	3		1		
14	Lefki Vryssi Nursery	3		2		
15	Lofos Nursery	2		1		
16	Prasinos Lofos Nursery	3		1		
17	Kipi Nursery	5		3		
18	Hydragora Nursery	3		2		
19	New District Boys’	3		2		

34. Cleitos, *Monastir*, 77; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 138.

Another source cites a figure of 3000 Greek schoolchildren in Monastir in 1912.³⁵

In 1913, Monastir had 1 full (six-class) Gymnasium with 11 senior and 19 junior teachers, a School for Girls with a full (six-class) primary and a middle school, with 11 teachers and an enrolment of 627, a Primary School for Boys with 6 teachers and 280 pupils, and a Central Nursery School with 2 teachers and 125 children.³⁶

Σχολαὶ καὶ ὑποδιδασκῶν ἐν τῇ Κοινότητι Μοναστηρίου, Καθημερινῆ, Διδασκαλείου καὶ Ἐπαγγελματικῆς.

Σχολαί	Ἔδρα Ἑργασίας	Ἑπίδομα Τεχνικῶν	Ἑπίδομα		Ἐπαγγελματικῆς	Συνολικὸν Ἑπίδομα
			Διδασκαλείου	Κοινότητος		
1	Γυμνάσιον	4	11			
2	Ἑργασταίον	3				
3	Διδασκαλείον	2	5			
4	Ἐπισκοπικὸν Ἑργασταίον	5	8			
5	Ἐπισκοπικὸν Διδασκαλείον	4	3			
6	Ἐργασταίον Ἰσοπέδου	3	1			
7	Ἐργασταίον Ἰσοπέδου	3	1			
8	Κοινότητος Ἐργασταίον	10	4	11		
9	Κοινότητος Ἐργασταίον	2				
10	Ὀμογενεῶν Ἐργασταίον	3		2		
11	Ἐργασταίον Ἐπαγγελματικῆς	2		2		
12	" Ἐργασταίον	3		2		
13	" Νέου Ἐργασταίον	3		1		
14	" Νέου Ἐργασταίον	3		2		
15	" Ἰσοπέδου	2		1		
16	" Ἰσοπέδου	3		1		
17	" Ἐργασταίον	5		3		
	" Ἐργασταίον	3		2		
	Ἐργασταίον Νέου Ἐργασταίον	3		2		

Ἐπίδομα τῶν Ἐργασταίων Ἐπαγγελματικῆς καὶ Κοινότητος Ἐργασταίων καὶ τῶν Ἐργασταίων Ἰσοπέδου. Ἐπίδομα τῶν Διδασκαλείων Ἰσοπέδου καὶ τῶν Ἐργασταίων Ἰσοπέδου.

Figure 6. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMΠ (Archives of the Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37.

Finally, the last detailed record from the Diocese of Pelagonia shows that in 1913 the city of Monastir had 19 schools, 61 teachers (30 men - 31 women) and 2300 schoolchildren³⁷ – table 2.

35. Konstantinos A. Vavoukos, *The contribution*, 22, n. 6.

36. G. Hadjikyriakou, "Ἡ ζωτικότητα καὶ υπεροχή του ελληνικοῦ στοιχείου της Μακεδονίας" (The vitality and supremacy of the Greek population of Macedonia), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1913, 55; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 138-139.

37. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37.

2. The most noteworthy of these schools were the Demetriou School for Girls, with an enrolment of 500-600, the Mousikeios Primary School with 450-550 children, the Orthodox Seminary (1884-1885) and the Gymnasium, which had 200-250 students, a well-stocked library and a number of teaching aids (discussed in detail in a subsequent section).



Figure 7. School fête – Gymnastics display at a school in Monastir

3. All the Greek schools in Monastir were founded, operated and maintained exclusively by the local community and expatriate benefactors, like the Demetriou brothers from Egypt, who built their School for Girls in 1880, and Demetrios Mousikos from Bucharest, founder of the primary school that bears his name, others who furnished libraries, supplied equipment or provided meals for the children of the poor, and educational societies and fraternal organisations (“Evangelismos”, “Pronoia”, “Karteria”, to

name but three of them), which provided and cared for the school buildings, the teachers and the pupils.³⁸

4. The success with which the people of Monastir cultivated Greek letters was due to their excellent educational organisation, their competent and irreproachable teachers, and the keen and unflagging interest of their superintendents of schools. They were proud of their schools and philanthropic institutions “*which were built and maintained for centuries by the struggles of the people, not with foreign gold*”.³⁹



Figure 8. *Gymnastics display at the Greek School of Monastir*

Article 41 of the 1869 “Regulations of the Orthodox Greek Community of the city of Bitolia” set out the qualifications required of a teacher: “*When choosing teachers the following must necessarily be considered: First, whether the person is of irreproachable conduct; Second, whether they hold a diploma, in accordance with the regulations for Gymnasium*

38. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134-140.

39. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 366.

teachers if they are being considered for the Gymnasium and from a teacher training college or gymnasium if they are being considered for an elementary or primary school; and Third, whether they have shown themselves to be diligent, hardworking and capable of teaching and transmitting the subject matter. Anyone who does not meet these requirements will be rejected". Articles 36-46 set out the duties and competences of the school boards, which have (Article 46) "a special seal which is kept by the President and which bears the words "Seal of the School Board of the Greek Orthodox community of Monastir".⁴⁰

B. THE BEST KNOWN SCHOOLS, THEIR TEACHERS AND PUPILS

1. Monastir as a centre of education

The arrival of new settlers from Moschopolis (1769) transformed Monastir into a populous and dynamic financial and intellectual centre, which soon became the region's most important (after Moschopolis) educational centre, with numerous fine schools that cultivated Greek letters to the highest level and prepared their Vlach- and Greek-speaking students for post-secondary studies. The city's famous schools for boys and girls, middle schools, gymnasium – whose Leaving Certificate entitled the holder to enrol in the University in Athens "without examination" – and teacher training school, together with the many elementary schools where pupils were taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, constituted an illustrious set of educational institutions within the broader context of Greek education and letters. Monastir also spurred and supported the development of education in neighbouring communities in Pelagonia and throughout the region: Ano Beala, Kato Beala, Ochrid, Yagovetsi, Gopesi, Krushevo, Megarovo, Tyrnovo, Milovista, Belkameni, Neveska, Negovani, Nizopolis, Perlepe, Pisoderi, Resna, Struga, etc.⁴¹

40. Charalambos K. Papastathis, *Οι κανονισμοί των ορθόδοξων ελληνικών κοινοτήτων του οθωμανικού κράτους και της διασποράς* (The regulations of the Greek Orthodox Communities of the Ottoman Empire and the Diaspora), vol. 1, Thessaloniki 1984, 191-193 and 187-195, which contain the 1896 Regulations in their entirety, and 196-203 which contain the 1905 Regulations of the Greek Orthodox Community of Monastir).

41. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 153.

2. The best-known Greek schools in Monastir

a) *The Varnavas School*

Monastir's first "Greek School" was founded in 1830 by Demetrios Varnavas. It had 8 classes (5 in its primary division and 3 in its middle school), one teacher (Varnavas) and a priest who served as his assistant, and was supported by the Church and by contributions from the community.

It was a small school, with no more than 25-30 pupils, who initially were taught Ancient Greek Literature, including Sophocles and Aeschylus in the final class, Mathematics, History of the Greek Revolution, the Songs of Rigas Pheraios and Dionysios Solomos, and Gymnastics. Later the curriculum was expanded to include Language Arts, Ancient Greek Literature (Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, Sophocles, Aeschylus), the Songs (heroic and martial) of Rigas Pheraios and Dionysios Solomos, Latin, French, Old and New Testament, Church Liturgy, Mathematics (Algebra), History (Roman, Greek Revolution), Geography (the five continents) and gymnastics.⁴²

One may say that this school also functioned as a teacher training institute, since: a) Varnavas was assisted by a priest who "*taught the liturgy to prepare readers, cantors and priests*" and b) many of its graduates were, after Varnavas' death, hired as teachers in other schools in Monastir.⁴³

Of the pupils who successfully completed all eight classes of the school, the Greek community subsequently hired as teachers: for the Central Primary School, Georgios Papakosmas, with Charalambos Triantaphyllides as his assistant; for the "Greek" (Middle) School, Konstantinos Georsis, Naoum Nakas and Anastasios Tzerros; for the Second Primary School, Spasis Papanauom, Konstantinos Georsis, Naoum Nakas and Konstantinos Papanauom; and for the Third Primary School, Konstantinos Ktenas. Stephanos Tzerros, meanwhile, assumed the position of archdeacon to the Metropolitan of Pelagonia and performed his duties admirably for 40 years.⁴⁴

This school was still operating in 1883, with 3 teachers and 109 pupils.⁴⁵

42. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 9.

43. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 8-11.

44. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 8-11; cf. also Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 63; Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

45. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 159-160.

b) The Gymnasium of Monastir

The Gymnasium of Monastir opened in the latter part of the 19th century, with places for approximately 200 students from the city and the surrounding region. It had a library with a fine collection of books⁴⁶ and unusually advanced equipment for teaching science. The Gymnasium of Monastir replaced the earlier semi-gymnasium, which had served as a *lykeion* since 1838,⁴⁷ and occupied a new and very handsome set of buildings built with money raised from the people of the city.



Figure 9. The Greek Gymnasium in Monastir

46. The library of the Gymnasium in Monastir was removed to Florina during WWI by a priest called Germanos Christidis, who received it from the hands of the then Deacon of the cathedral of Pelagonia (and later Ecumenical Patriarch) Athenagoras (Germanos Christidis, “Μια βραδιά εις το Ηρωικόν Μοναστήριον” (An evening in heroic Monastir), *Aristoteles* 55 (1966), 18-22).

47. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 22, n. 5.

The curriculum and the quality of the teaching at the Gymnasium were of the highest level, and the school itself was one of the seven oldest and best-known Greek high schools in the Ottoman Empire, from Dyrracchium to Trebizond.⁴⁸ The Gymnasium was “*recognised by the Greek Government*”⁴⁹ and by the University of Athens, which admitted its graduates without requiring them to sit entrance examinations.⁵⁰

What is more, and more astonishing, is that European universities, including that of Paris, admitted graduates of the Gymnasium of Monastir without entrance examinations.⁵¹ The school also attracted young people from the city and district of Florina⁵² (e.g. from Krushevo, Mega-



Fig. 10. Archimandrite Germanos Christidis, who removed the Gymnasium Library to Florina

48. Georgios Modis, *Ο διηγηματογράφος του Μακεδονικού Αγώνα* (The storyteller of the Macedonian Struggle), Thessaloniki 1972 (EMS), 14.

49. Charisis Poullos, “Σύντομος έκθεσις περί της εν Μακεδονία καταστάσεως των γραμμάτων. Από της αλώσεως της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453) μέχρι των αρχών της ΙΘ΄ εκατονταετηρίδος” (Brief account of the state of letters in Macedonia. From the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the beginning of the 19th century), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 4 (1911), 205.

50. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, periodical *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 65.

51. Naoum Babatakas archives (information from interviews with surviving students and others on the education and the supremacy of the Greek population of Monastir and its environs, see appendix) – Georgios Maïmoukas Archives.

52. Demetrios N. Pepis, “Η πνευματική κίνηση στο Νομό Φλωρίνης πριν από την απελευθέρωση” (The cultural movement in the Prefecture of Florina before the Liberation), *Aristoteles* 59-60 (1966), 70.

rovo, Milovista, Gopesi, etc.), who completed their secondary education in Monastir so that they could continue on to a university.

In the school years 1876-1877 and 1878-1880 the Gymnasium had 3 classes, with 19, 23 and 27 students respectively, and in 1880-1882 4 classes with 39 students in the first year and 60 in each of the other three. It also had a “middle school” division, occasionally referred to as the “scholarcheion” of Monastir, with 3 classes and enrolments of 89 (1876-1877), 72 (1878-1879), 78 (1879-1880), 80 (1880-1881) and 71 (1881-1882).⁵³

According to the “General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir” in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia (AMP), enrolment in the school in the school years 1876-1877 and 1878-1882 was:⁵⁴



Figure 11. The Hydragoras Bridge in Monastir – Lithograph, 19th c.

53. Table showing enrolment in the Gymnasium and Middle School of Monastir in the school years 1871, 1877, 1879-1883; see also Glykeria-Sophia Vouri, *Greek education*, 107.

54. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 16 (1876-1882 – General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir); Antonis M. Koltzidas, *The education*, 157.

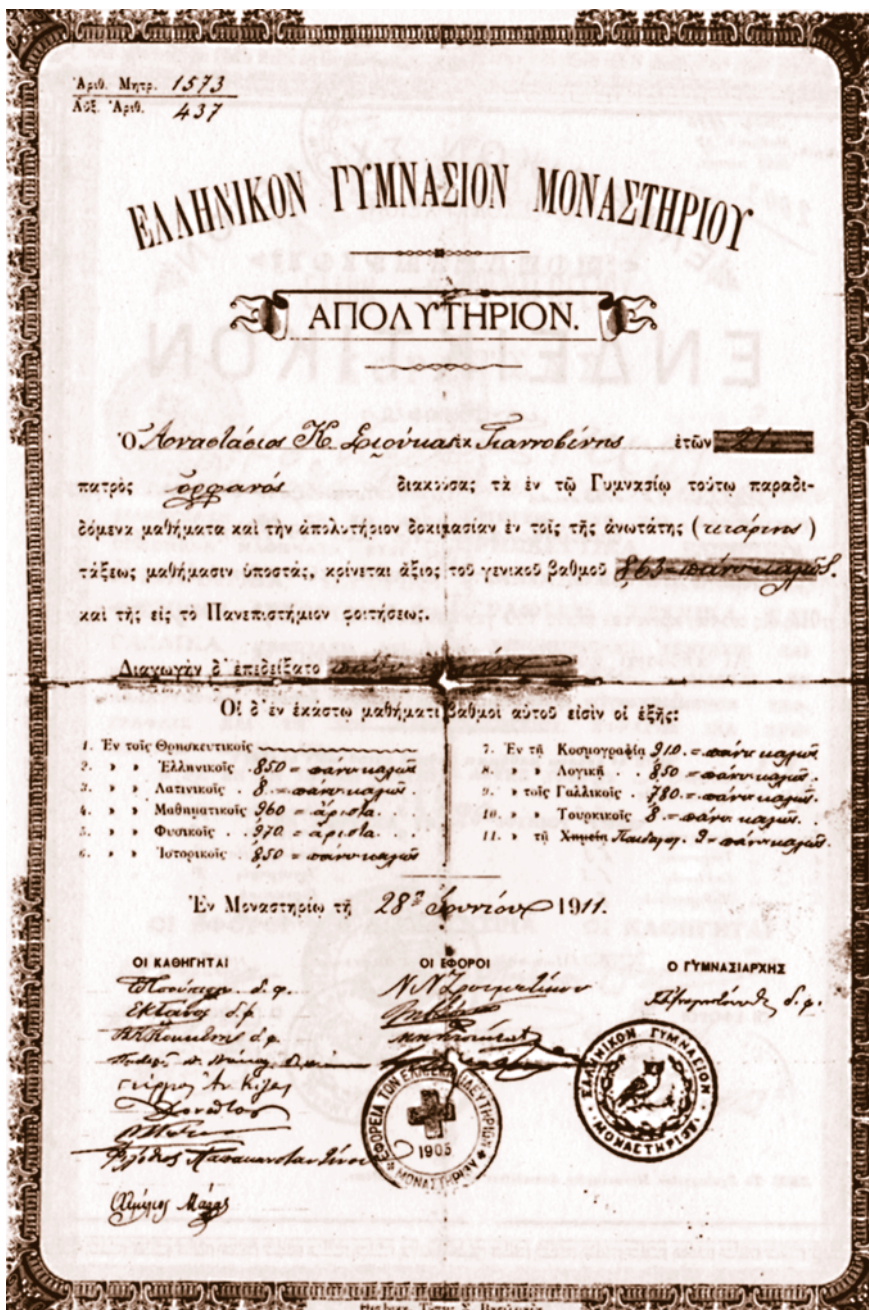


Figure 12. Monastir Gymnasium School Leaving Certificate of Anastasios Sioukas, 1911



Figure 13. Monastir Middle School Report Card for Lazaros Liaskos, 1912

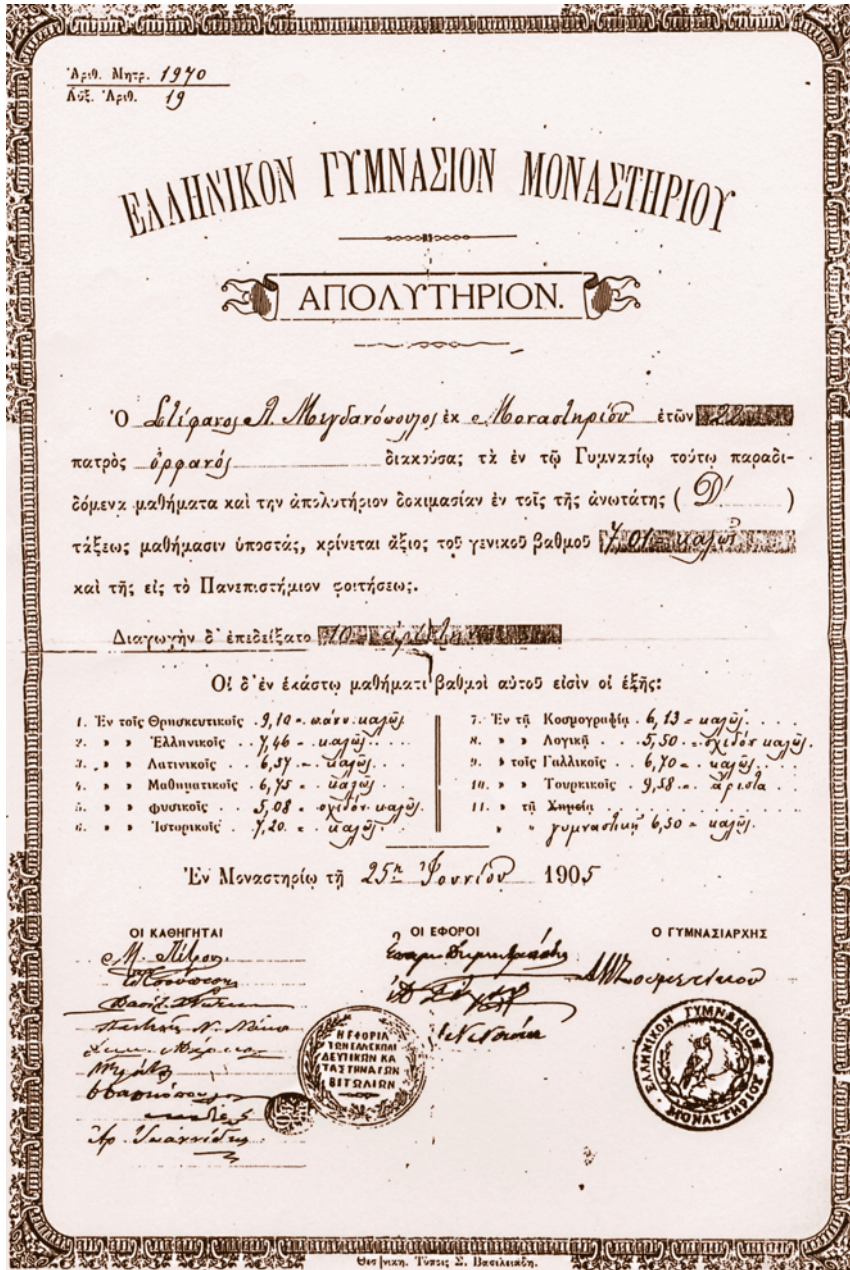


Figure 14. Greek Gymnasium School Leaving Certificate of Stefanos Megdanopoulos, 1905

TABLE 3
*Classes – students in the Monastir Gymnasium / Middle School
 (1876-1877, 1878-1882)*

Gymnasium of Monastir			Monastir Middle School		
<i>School year</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>School year</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Students</i>
1876-1877	1	8	1876-1877	1	43
	2	6		2	31
	3	5		3	15
	Total	19		Total	89
1878-1879	1	13	1878-1879	1	32
	2	5		2	17
	3	5		3	23
	Total	23		Total	72
1879-1880	1	13	1879-1880	1	41
	2	11		2	21
	3	3		3	16
	Total	27		Total	78
1880-1881	1	15	1880-1881	1	39
	2	11		2	26
	3	9		3	15
	4	4		4	
	Total	39		Total	80
1881-1882	1	19	1881-1882	1	47
	2	19		2	–
	3	14		3	24
	4	8			
	Total	60		Total	71

In 1883 there were 84 students at the Gymnasium in Monastir, and a teaching staff of 6. By 1906 the numbers had risen to 210 students and 9 teachers.⁵⁵ According to an extract from the surviving Student Register, there were 250 students on the roll in the 1911-1912 school year, and 94 in 1912-1913 – that, at least, is the number enrolled, for the register is not

55. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 14.

marked “εκλείσθη” (closed), as it is at the end of the 1911-1912 school year.⁵⁶

Other sources record that in 1912 there were 250 students at the school⁵⁷ and that in 1913 the Gymnasium was “full, with 6 classes, 11 teachers and 192 students”.⁵⁸

A total of 36 well known and highly esteemed teachers taught in the Gymnasium of Monastir over the course of its history (their names are listed below, in section B.3.), of whom the following served as Headmaster⁵⁹ - table 4.

TABLE 4
Headmasters of the Gymnasium in Monastir

Gymnasium of Monastir (1884-1912)			
<i>Name</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Years</i>
Tsioulkas, Kon.	1884-1885	Anagnostopoulos, G.	1893, 1912
Samartzides, Ch.	1885-1887	Zoumetikos, Alex.	1897 1902-1905
Antoniades, L.	1888-1891	Nikolaïdes, Kon.	1905-1906
Palierakis, N.	1892	Papapavlou, Leon.	1906-1907

The general curriculum of the Greek Gymnasiums included: Ancient Greek Literature (Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Herodotus, Homer, Sophocles and Plato), Latin authors, French, Turkish, Old and New Testament, Mathematics, Experimental Science, Botany, Zoology, History (world), Philosophy and Gymnastics.

In the school years 1876-1877 and 1878-1882, according to a Report in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia, the curricula of the 3 and later 4 classes of the Gymnasium and the 3 classes of the Greek Middle School were as follows⁶⁰ - table 5.

56. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 22 (1911-1913 – Student Register of the Greek Gymnasium in Monastir – Extract).

57. Cleitos, “Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 77.

58. G. Hadjikyriakou, *The vitality*, Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΕ 1913, 55.

59. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 156-158.

60. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 16 (1876-1882 – General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir).

TABLE 5
*Subjects taught in the
 Monastir Middle School and Gymnasium
 (1876-1877, 1878-1882)*

	Monastir Middle School	Gymnasium of Monastir
<i>Year</i>	<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Subjects</i>
1876-77	Religion, Greek, Mathematics, History, French, Geography.	Religion, Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, History, Psychology, Science.
1878-79	Religion, Greek, French, Mathematics, History, Geography.	Religion, Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, History, Psychology.
1879-80	Religion, Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, History, Psychology.	Religion, Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, History, Psychology.
1880-81	Greek, French, Mathematics, Geography, History, Religion.	Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, Philosophy, History, Religion.
1881-82	Greek, Latin, French, Mathematics, History, Geography, Religion.	Greek, Latin, French, Turkish, Mathematics, Philosophy, Zoology, Science, History, Religion.

Another source of valuable information about the subjects taught in the Gymnasium of Monastir and the authors of the schoolbooks used in its classes is the “Lesson Book of the Gymnasium of Monastir” for the school years 1899-1908.⁶¹ An outline of the lessons taught by Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos in the school year 1899-1900 is presented below (“Curriculum”).

The subjects taught in the final year of studies in the Gymnasium of Monastir are also indicated by the leaving certificates of: a) Stephanos L. Megdanopoulos, who graduated in 1905, which lists Religion, Greek, Latin,

61. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 23 (9-7-1899 / 28-6-1908 – Lesson Book of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract).

Mathematics, Science, History, Cosmography, Logic, French, Turkish and Gymnastics, and b) Anastasios K. Sioukas, who graduated in 1911, which lists Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Science, History, Cosmography, Logic, French, Turkish and Paedagogy.



Figure 15. The graduating class of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir in the school year 1897-1898 (photo: G. Liontas)

According to the curriculum of – most probably – the school year 1906-1907, the subjects taught in the Middle School were⁶² - table 6.

62. S. Iliadou-Tachou, “Το ανέκδοτο πρόγραμμα του σχολαρχείου Μοναστηρίου” (The unpublished curriculum of the Middle School of Monastir), *Aristoteles* 219-220 (1993), 20-25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, Thessaloniki 2001, 300.

TABLE 6
Curriculum of the Middle School of Monastir

Middle School Year One		
Similar to the programme of the 5 th grade of Primary School		
Middle School Year Two		
<i>Subject</i> <i>Author of textbook</i>	<i>Textbook</i> <i>Prescribed subject matter</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Religion: G. Devros	New Testament.	2
Ancient Greek: Zagogiannis, Philikos –	Xenophon “The Anabasis” - Grammar	8
Modern Greek:	Reading – interpretation of texts.	3
Mathematics: Anargyrou, Zoukos, Leon.	Practical geometry.	6
Turkish: M. Lygias.	Reading and writing - Grammar.	6
French: Ger. Pierobonis.	Reading and writing - Grammar.	2
History: Vrachnos.	Greek - Roman - Byzantine.	2
Geography:	Geography of Europe – map-drawing.	2
Science: N. Germanos	Plants and animals.	
Drawing:		
Gymnastics:	Swedish exercises, “with regular practice”.	
Middle School Year Three		
Religion:	Greek Orthodox Catechism – Liturgy	2
Ancient Greek: Zagogiannis, Philikos –	Xenophon “The Anabasis” - Grammar	6
Modern Greek:	Reading – interpretation of texts.	6
Mathematics: Anargyrou, Zoukos, Lekos.	Arithmetic – Geometry.	
Turkish: M. Lygias.	Readings, Grammar, Calligraphy	
French: C. Markopoulos.	Reading and writing – Grammar.	
History:	Greek (Fall of Constantinople - early 19 th c.).	
Geography: G. Metaxas	Balkans.	

The subjects taught in Year One of the Middle School of Monastir are also indicated by the report card for the school year 1911-1912 of Lazaros

G. Liaskos, which lists: Religion, Greek, Turkish, French, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Calligraphy, Drawing, Gymnastics and Singing.



Figures 16-21. Seals of the School Board of Monastir
(Mousikeios School – Greek Gymnasium), Megarovo and Tyrnovo

The Gymnasium of Monastir also functioned as a teacher training school (as did the Girls' School), for “each year it graduated some 35-40 students who, imbued with the national idea, were sent forth here and there throughout the region to teach in the various towns and villages”.⁶³

63. Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34, 1962, 66.

Careful examination of the seals on documents and certificates of the Gymnasium and Middle School of Monastir and documents of the Greek School Board in Monastir enables us to provide the following descriptions:

a) Seal of the “Greek Educational Establishments of Bitolia” (Monastir – on a document dated 1888 and on a Leaving Certificate from the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir dated 1905): Circular seal with perimetric ornament of a laurel wreath with a small opening at the top and inscribed within it in capital letters forming a circle the words: *SUPERINTENDENCE OF GREEK EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF BITOLIA*.⁶⁴

b) Seal of the “School Board of Monastir”: Article 46 of the 1896 “Regulations of the Orthodox Greek Community of the city of Bitolia”: “*The School Board has a special seal which is kept by the President and which bears the words “Seal of the School Board of the Greek Orthodox community of Monastir”. This seal is used on all documents issued by it and on the teachers’ contracts*”.⁶⁵

c) Seal of the “School Board of Monastir” (on a report from the Greek Middle School of Monastir for the school year 1911-1912 and a School Leaving Certificate from the Gymnasium of Monastir from the school year 1910-1911). Circular seal with perimetric inscription in capital letters: *SUPERINTENDENCE OF GREEK EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF MONASTIR*. Parallel to this lettering and concentric with the outer rim of the circle is an inner circle, the centre of which contains (on a white ground) in two vertical (not intersecting) blocks the shape of a cross with the date 1905 inscribed on its base.⁶⁶

d) Seal of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir (on a School Leaving Certificate from the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir for the school year 1904-1905 and on a report from the Greek Middle School (*Scholarcheion*) of Monastir for the school year 1911-1912). Circular seal with perimetric

64. Georgios Paesios, “Ολίγα περί των εκπαιδευτηρίων Νεβέσκης (νυν Νυμφαίου)” (A few words about the schools of Neveska, now called Nymphaion), *Aristoteles* 3-4 (1957), 53, n. 16; Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina – Leaving Certificate from the Greek School of Monastir, 1905.

65. Charalambos K. Papastathis, *The regulations*, 192 (Regulations of the Greek Orthodox Community of the city of Bitolia).

66. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37 – Report for Year One of the Greek School of Monastir, 1912; Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou Archives, Thessaloniki, and Archives of the Association of Monastiriotes of Thessaloniki “I Karteria”, Thessaloniki – Greek Gymnasium of Monastir Leaving Certificate.

inscription in capital letters: *GREEK GYMNASIUM OF MONASTIR*. Parallel to this lettering and concentric with the outer rim of the circle is an inner circle, containing the outline of an owl standing on an olive branch.⁶⁷



Figure 22. The Greek Gymnasium of Monastir

c) The “Margaritis Dimitsas Private School” in Monastir

In 1851 Margaritis Dimitsas, a geographer and historian from Ochrid, founded a private school (the “Margaritis Dimitsas Private School”) with complete primary and middle school sections plus one year of secondary

67. Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina – Leaving Certificate from the Greek School of Monastir 1905; IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37 – Report for Year One of the Greek School of Monastir, 1912; Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou Archives, Thessaloniki, and Archives of the Association of Monastiriotes of Thessaloniki “I Karteria”, Thessaloniki – Greek Gymnasium of Monastir Leaving Certificate; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 387-388.

school (gymnasium). It had places for 80 children, and a staff of – usually – 4 teachers, among them founder Margaritis Dimitsas, Anastasios Picheon (who served as its first Headmaster),⁶⁸ Serapheim Matlis and N. Chalkiopoulos.⁶⁹



Figure 23. The Greek Girls' School (Parthenagogeion) of Monastir

The school, some of whose pupils were boarders from elsewhere in the region, remained open until 1865, “when it was closed for the reason that several good schools had been opened in the Community, making its further operation unnecessary. Nonetheless it did in those 14 years of splendid [operation] bear fruit, having educated a considerable number of young residents of Monastir and its environs”.⁷⁰

68. Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 9

69. Konstantinos A. Vavoukos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

70. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, Thessaloniki 1932, 15; Antonis M. Koltzidas, *The education*, 170.



Figure 24. Graduating class of the Girls' School of Monastir, 1902 – In the centre, Headmistress Sappho Theiou

d) “Central Girls’ School of Monastir” (Demetriou Brothers School for Girls)

The Central Girls’ School of Monastir was built in 1880 by benefactors Ioannis and Theochares Demetriou (from Egypt) and had an enrolment of 581.⁷¹ In 1883 the school had an enrolment of 409 (177 in the Nursery School, 186 in the Lower School, 46 in the Upper School) and a staff of 4; a year later (1884) the number of girls had climbed to 450.⁷² In 1906 there were 512 girls in the school, and 11 teachers.⁷³ In 1912 the school had

71. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 134.

72. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 31(3) (1882-1884 – *General Register of the Girls’ School of Monastir* - Extracts).

73. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 14.

an enrolment of 686,⁷⁴ while in 1913 the school had a six-class Primary School and a Gymnasium, with 11 teachers and 627 girls.⁷⁵

From 1906 to 1912 the Girls' School also had a teacher training college, whose Director in that final school year (1911-1912) was Nikolaos Stephanou Tzouphes (1887-1971) of Kapesovo in the Zagori district.⁷⁶



Figure 25. The Central Nursery School (part of the Girls' School) of Monastir

Over its three decades of operation (1880-1912), a total of 47 teachers (7 Headmistresses, 21 primary teachers and 19 upper school teachers) taught at the Central Girls' School of Monastir⁷⁷ - table 7.

74. Cleitos, "Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 77.

75. G. Hadjikyriakou, *The vitality*, Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ 1913, 55.

76. Koula Xeradaki, *Από τα Αρχεία του Ελεγκτικού Συνεδρίου. Παρθενιαγωγεία και δασκάλες υπόδουλον Ἑλληνισμό* (From the archives of the Audit Commission. Girls' schools and teachers in the unliberated Hellenic territories), vol. 2, Athens 1973, 20.

77. Koula Xeradaki, *From the archives*, 12, 14; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 162-164.

TABLE 7
The 47 teachers of the Central Girls' School of Monastir

“Teaching staff of the Girls’ School over the years of its operation” (1880-1912)		
<i>Headmistresses</i>	<i>Primary teachers</i>	<i>Senior teachers</i>
Ephrosyne Vachari- dou, from Adriano- ple	Aspasia Avrasi Ioulia Avrasi (1887-1968) – (1903- 1912)	Konstantinos Angelis Athanasios Vosniakos Alexandros Gounaris
Evgenia Ghiourti, (1874-1952) – (1892-1893, 1908- 1913)	Maria Athanasiou (1890-1961) – (1906-1913) Thaleia Ghika, nursery teacher – (1887-1912)	Georgios Kizas Triantaphyllos Kyrou Ar. Konstantinides Iosif Lazarou
Sappho Theiou (1883- 1956), graduate of the Zappeion School in Constan- tinople – (1902- 1903)	Maria Evangelou (1879-1961) – (1897-1901) Maria Efthymiou (1888-1968) – (1903-1914) Mathilda Leitmer Zappis Efthychia Ioannidou	Emilios Mazos Alexandros Makkas Demetrios Markou K. Michail Georgios Michailides Pantelis Nakas
Aikaterini Kontidou (1889-1890)	Loukia Ioannidou († 1951) – (1892- 1917)	Naoum Vasilios Notis
Maria Moschou – (1903-1905)	Fani Kaptsi – (1911-1914). Zoe Misia	Isidoros Xanthopoulos Alexandros Papanaooum
Iphigenia Paschalidou – (<i>circa</i> 1895-97)	Tasitsa Moschou Vassiliki Bellou – (<i>circa</i> 1907)	Michail Petrou Konstantinos Spathis
Eleni Picheon (1872- 1953) – (1905- 1908)	Domna Nikarousi Urania Michail († 1968) – (1907- 1912) Vassiliki Palasi Efthymia Pilli Olympia Routsoni Fani Stoyannou Domna Stralla Fani Tsiona – (<i>circa</i> 1907)	E. Tsouptsis

In another source, the list of Headmistresses of the school includes the name of Sophia Ghika (1891-1892), who was embroiled “*in a great scandal, which reverberated throughout the whole community*” of Monastir. In 1892 Sophia Ghika had an affair with Esat Effendi, the official interpreter of the Prefecture, whom the Greek community in Monastir had hired to teach Turkish in the Gymnasium, and whom she was accustomed to meet in the Boarders’ Residence of the school, of which she was Matron.

The affair horrified the school board and citizens of Monastir, and after a series of recriminations between the Turkish Governor, the Metropolitan Bishop Alexandros Rigopoulos (1891-1895) and the people, the intervention of the Patriarch and the Foreign Minister, who ordered the Governor “*not to intervene in the affairs of the Greek Orthodox people*”, she was relieved of her position; shortly afterwards Esat Effendi was also relieved of his duties at the school.



Figure 26. *The Central Nursery School (part of the Girls' School) of Monastir*

This affair illustrates the importance that the people of Monastir attached to the question of morals in their community life, a fact that Pantelis Tsallis stresses most particularly in his account of the matter, commenting emphatically that “*To make no bones about it, the said Sophia Ghika was no Monastiriote*”, meaning that she had behaved in a way unbecoming to the community in which she lived.⁷⁸

The subjects taught in the Girls’ School were: Language Arts, Greek History, Mathematics, World Geography, Drawing, Calligraphy, Handwork and Singing.

Like the Gymnasium of Monastir, the Girls’ School also served as a teacher training college, for “*each year it graduated some 35-40 students who, imbued with the national idea, were sent forth here and there throughout the region to teach in the various towns and villages*”.⁷⁹

In 1884, upon their graduation many of the 450 ordinary students attending the school, along with the 30 foundationers, took up teaching positions in schools in Northern Macedonia.

Much detailed information about the life of the foundationers (students and prospective teachers) at the Monastir Girls’ School is to be found in the 1833 “Regulations of the Residence of the Greek Girls’ School in Monastir”, whose 10 chapters cover respectively the purpose of the institution, its administration and the admission of boarders (Chapter I), the hours at which the girls were to rise and to go to bed and their diet (Chapter II), church attendance and walks (Chapter III), parental visits and outings (Chapter IV), boarders’ obligations and the penalties for any breaches (Chapter V), the duties of the headmistress and matron (Chapter VI), the duties of the monitor (Chapter VII), the duties of the housekeeper (Chapter VIII), the duties of the “wardrobe monitor” (Chapter IX) and the duties of the house steward (Chapter X).

These “Regulations”, which were forwarded to the “*Committee for the strengthening of the Greek Church and Greek Education*” in 1889 by the Greek Consul in Monastir Guglielmo Fontana, are reproduced in full below.⁸⁰

78. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 51-53.

79. Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34, 1962, 66.

80. AYE - File 1883, no. 593/14-1889; cf. Sophia Vouri, *Πηγές για την ιστορία της Μακεδονίας. Πολιτική και εκπαίδευση 1875-1907* (Sources for the history of Macedonia. Politics and education 1875-1907), Athens 1994, 99-105.

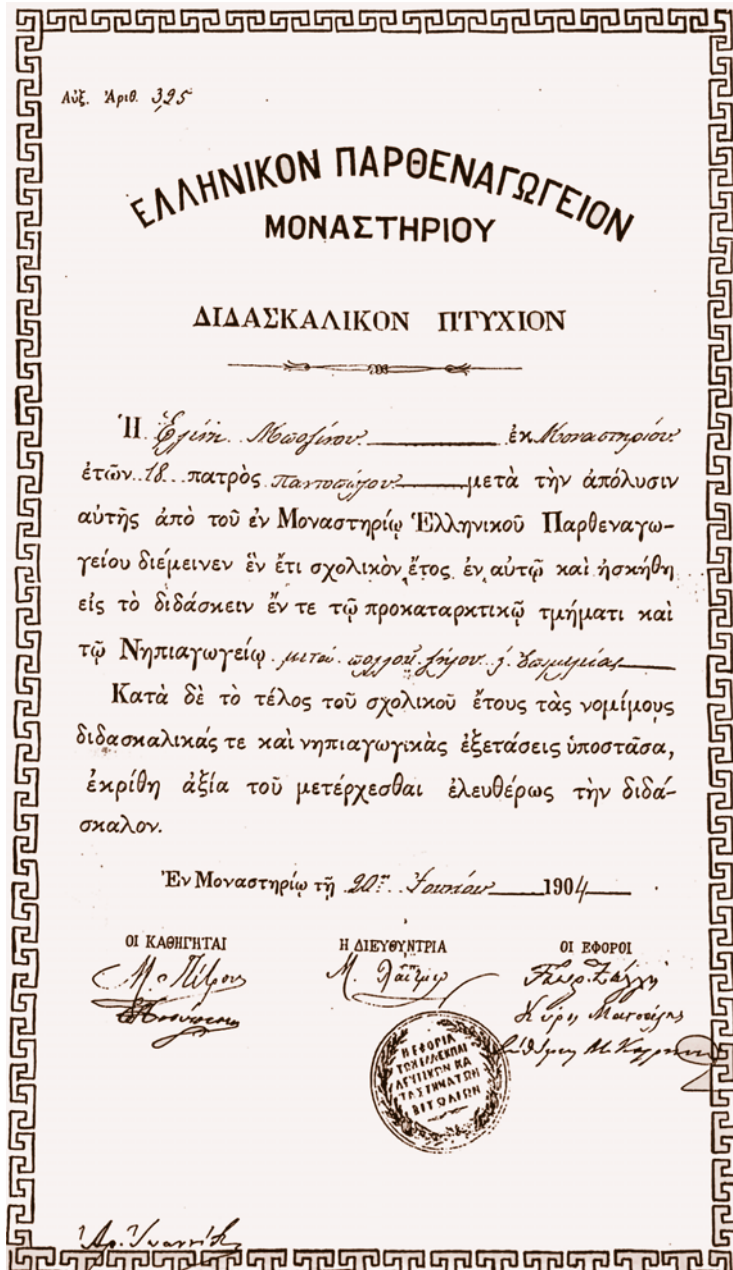


Figure 27. Teaching certificate from the Greek Girls' School in Monastir awarded to Eleni Bozinou in 1904



Fig. 28. School leaving certificate from the Greek Girls' School in Bitolia - Monastir awarded to Sebaste Nikolaou in 1897

**REGULATIONS OF THE RESIDENCE
OF THE GREEK GIRLS' SCHOOL
IN MONASTIR
(1883)**

Chapter I

1. The purpose of the Residence is to assure the Christian and moral education of the girls boarding there and to equip them to be good Greek women and teachers.

2. The Residence is governed by the Headmistress of the Girls' School or one of the lady teachers employed there. The duties of Inspector are assigned permanently, by His Reverence the Metropolitan Bishop and the School Board, to the Headmaster of the Gymnasium, under their supreme supervision.

3. Foundationers are admitted by decision of the competent authorities. The expulsion of any foundationer and any other change in the staff of the Residence is decided by the headmaster of the Gymnasium upon the recommendation of the Headmistress of the School and must be approved by the Metropolitan and the School Board.

4. Foundationers are admitted on September 1 and remain at the School until the school examinations.

5. Foundationers are subject to annual examination at the end of the school year and if necessary during the course of the year as well, and those who fail the tasks assigned to them will be expelled. Those remaining at the school after the examinations must behave virtuously and diligently, on pain of expulsion.

6. Girls seeking admission as foundationers must be sound of body and in good health.

7. Each foundationer must, in order to be admitted, present a creditable guarantor who will provide a written bond guaranteeing that the student, upon graduating from the School, will when required serve as a teacher for a period of three years, otherwise the bond will be forfeit as compensation to the School.

8. Non-maintained students may eat in the school refectory for a fee of nine Ottoman liras per annum.

Chapter II

1. Girls will rise at 5:30 a.m. from September 1 to the end of February and at 5:00 a.m. from March 1 until the end of the school year. One half hour after rising time all girls will assemble for prayers, together with the matron, the monitor and the housekeeper; after prayers they will breakfast and then proceed to their study halls to study until school begins. Girls will retire to bed at 9 p.m. in the winter and 9:30 p.m. in the summer, after prayers with the matron, the monitor and the housekeeper. The hour of the evening study period varies with the time of year.

2. The students' diet must be healthy, sufficient, and prepared according to the highest standards of cleanliness. The following meals are prescribed:



Figure 29. Teachers at the Girls' School of Monastir – 1908

Breakfast: Milk or coffee, with a piece of bread (coffee will be served from September 1 to the end of April, and milk from May 1 to the end of the school year).

Lunch: One serving of meat with broth, plus cheese or fruit.

Dinner: Vegetables or legumes with meat; twice a week roast meat with salad, cheese or fruit. On Thursdays and Sundays rice or macaroni instead of cheese.

In fasting periods the meals will be prepared from fish, vegetables, legumes, rice and pasta.

3. No other foods or wine will be supplied to any person dining in the refectory save by express order of the doctor.

4. The matron, monitor and housekeeper share a common table with the students.

5. Boarders must wear the required uniform.

Chapter III

1. On Sundays and on all official holidays the girls will be escorted to church by the matron and the monitor. The rest of the day will be spent reading religious and moral books or listening to the explication of the prescribed passage of Scripture. Girls may also occupy themselves with practising their music and drawing.

2. Twice a year, viz. at Christmas and Easter, all students will go to confession and partake of Holy Communion.

3. The matron fixes the day and the time at which the girls are taken for a walk accompanied by the monitor, the housekeeper and the house steward.

Chapter IV

1. The parents and guardians of girls in residence may visit their daughters or wards in the parlour on Sunday mornings after church, by permission of the matron. Those parents and guardians living at some distance away and who rarely come to the city may visit their children or wards on other days of the week as well. In no case are beverages served to visitors, who are furthermore requested to refrain from smoking while on the premises.

2. No boarder may leave the residence without the matron's permission except on: a) December 2 - 27; b) January 5 - 7; c) Holy Wednesday to Easter Tuesday; d) October 26, the feast day of St Demetrios; e) February 2, Candlemas Day; and f) Ascension Day.



Figure 30. Teachers in the Girls' School of Monastir - 1910

Chapter V

1. Boarders must obey the matron in all things, accepting without complaint any remarks, reprimands or punishments. Disobedience to the matron or her representatives, the monitor or the housekeeper will be punished severely.

2. Decorum and dead silence must be observed at rising and retiring and during study periods.

3. Anyone with a complaint to make must address it to the monitor, who will if necessary carry it to the matron.

4. Girls must keep themselves, their clothing and their books and notebooks scrupulously clean.

5. It is strictly forbidden to associate with or talk to the servants.

6. It is forbidden to enter the dormitories except at the prescribed times.

7. It is not permitted, on pain of severe punishment, to purchase garments without the knowledge of the monitor.

8. Breaches of these rules will be punished, according to the circumstances, in one of the following ways: a) By counselling. b) By reprimand in private. c) By reprimand in public. d) By room detention. e) By imposition of a fast.

If after punishment as above the fault should be repeated, then after consultation with the Headmaster of the Gymnasium a more severe punishment may be imposed, namely temporary removal or expulsion from the residence, in which case the guarantor will be required to compensate the institution.

Chapter VI

The duties of the matron (in addition to those set out elsewhere in the Regulations) are as follows:

1. She must attend to the Christian moral education and training of the girls through the development of their sense of piety and other Christian and social virtues, advising them like a mother and reinforcing their admonitions by her own moral example. She must attend prayers with the girls every day.

2. She must ensure that every person in the residence performs his or her duties properly.

3. She must inform the Headmaster of the Gymnasium promptly of anything concerning the residence.

4. She must watch vigilantly over the health of the students, taking care that their food is healthy and adequate and ensuring that the premises are kept scrupulously clean. If any girl should fall ill, she must ensure that the doctor's orders are carried out and that the patient is nursed.

5. She must keep two books. In the first of these, she will keep an accurate list of all the furnishings and other objects belonging to the residence and note any change to any of them. In the second, which is kept by the housekeeper, she will record the year's purchases of food and other materials for use in the residence. At the end of each month she must render to the Headmaster of the Gymnasium an account of the consumption of these supplies and of all daily expenditures.

Chapter VII

The duties of the monitor are as follows:

1. She shall replace the matron in her duties if the latter is absent or otherwise prevented from performing them and shall be responsible to her for anything that may occur at the residence in her absence.



*Figure 31. Graduating class of teachers from the Girls' School in Monastir – 1910
In the centre, their teacher, Elena Venizelou, the Head of the School*

2. She shall supervise the girls as they rise and retire at the hours prescribed, keeping order as befits the life of the girls in the residence. She shall attend prayers with the girls.

3. She shall supervise the girls in the study hall, during recreation time and at holidays. She shall also answer any questions the girls in the lower classes may have about their work.

4. She shall accompany the girls on their walks.

5. She shall handle all correspondence between the girls and their parents or guardians, apprising herself first of the contents of all letters.

Chapter VIII

The housekeeper:

1. Shall keep two books. In the first of these, she shall record the year's purchases of all materials for use in the institution and shall add the purchases made by the house steward on each occasion, having first weighed them, noting the number of units of weight or the number of items and the price at which they were purchased. In the second book she shall note each day the quantity of material used from the year's supply or the daily purchases of food, and shall take the books to the matron for her inspection once a week, or earlier if the matron so requires.

2. Following consultation with the matron she shall give the house steward the orders for the day's purchases of food.

3. She shall supervise the preparation of all food and hand out the necessary supplies.

4. She shall ensure that the building is heated adequately whenever required.

Chapter IX

The wardrobe monitor shall keep a record of the clothing supplied by each girl, and shall take charge of it, supervising and assisting with their condition and distributing the necessary garments to each girl every Saturday.

Chapter X

The house steward:

1. Shall execute the orders given him by the matron and the housekeeper.

2. Shall do the daily marketing in good time and take care that all items are of good quality. He shall deliver his purchases to the housekeeper and afterwards shall remain in the residence to help with any work that is required. At night he shall sleep in the residence, and may not absent himself without leave from the matron.

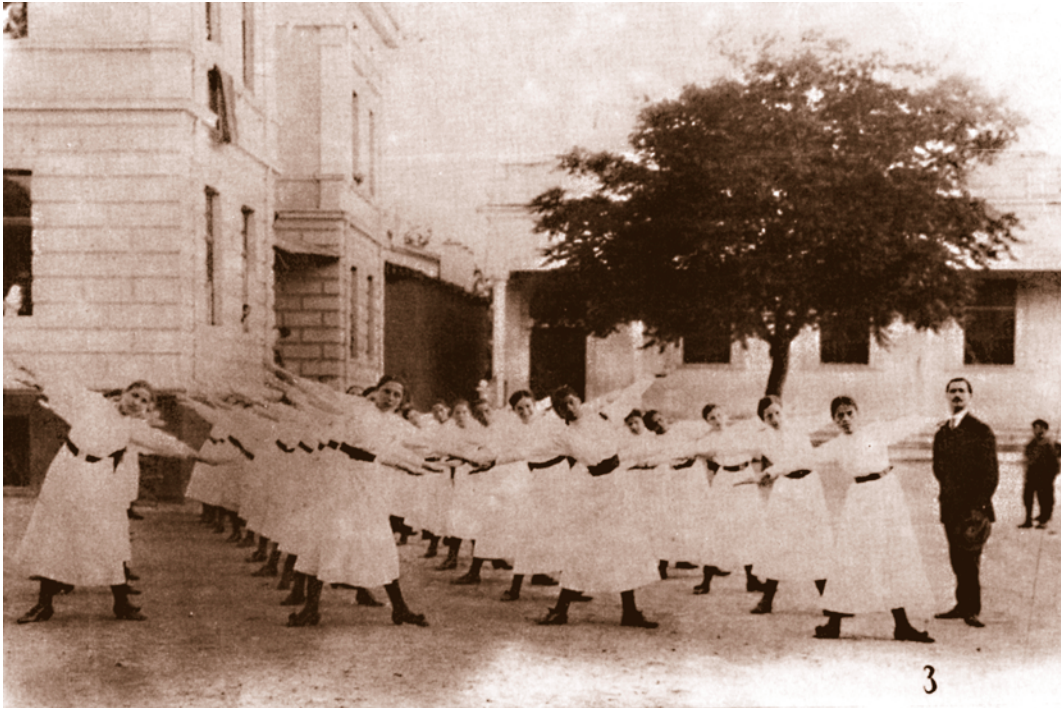


Figure 32. Gymnastics display at the Monastir Girls' School

The archives of the Audit Commission show that a total of 87 teachers graduated from the Monastir Girls' School,⁸¹ all of them from the general region of Monastir⁸¹ - table 8.

81. Koula Xeradaki, *From the archives*, 14-15; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 313.

TABLE 8
87 teachers from the Monastir region

The teachers who graduated from the Girls' School – Teacher Training College of Monastir		
<i>Gov. Gazette B / 24-11- 1914</i>	<i>Gov. Gazette B / 1915 (p. 96)</i>	
Vaporidou, Anna	Tegou, Dimitra	Konstantinou, Elisavet
Vasiliou, Polyxeni	Tosiou, Chrysanthi	Mara, Pandora
Vasiliou, Chryssi	Traïmannou, Evanthia	Margaritou, Victoria
Voukaveli, Anastasia	Christidou, Aikaterini	Meziltzi, Charikleia
Georgala, Eleni	Christidou, Aspasia	Michail, Eleni
Graikou, Thaleia	Christou, Victoria	Michail, Ourania
Delinoussi, Evdokia	Argyriou, Costanza	Bisini, Anastasia
Despo, Olga	Vasiliadou, Calliope	Myrtsi, Anastasia
Zamaouli, Charikleia	Vourgouroni, Athena	Nantza, Maria
Ioannou, Vasiliki	Georgala, Efterpi	Nikolaou, Angeliki
Ioannou, Eleni	Dimitriou, Eleni	Economou, Aphrodite
Karatza, Ourania	Douflia, Aikaterini	Palasi, Vasiliki
Ketsentzi, Olga	Evangelou, Eftychia	Panteli, Evgenia
Kosma, Andromache	Evangelou, Maria	Papageorgiou, Ermeneia
Konstantinou, Aspasia	Efthymiou, Maria	Paraschou, Athena
Lyka, Konstantina	Efthymiou, Michailina	Pavlou, Aspasia
Mantzari, Victoria	Zachou, Evgenia	Pavlou, Domna
Metzidie, Eleni	Zitsa, Virginia	Plati, Chrysavgi
Bella, Victoria	Zotou, Victoria	Raptou, Evangelia
Binekou, Andromache	Zotou, Chrysanthi	Saïtidou, Aglaia
Myrtsi, Anastasia	Thoma, Polyxeni	Skalera, Anna
Paza, Evanthia	Karakosta, Irini	Stoyannou, Fani
Papageorgiou, Aikaterini	Kokkinaki, Terpsichore	Strapelli, Athena
Papagrigoriou, Vasiliki	Kondizi, Vasiliki	Sotiriou, Evgenia
Roufou, Ioulia	Kousoureta, Athena	Tolfou, Eleni
Siounta, Artemis	Kretsoveli, Theano	Tousimpti, Calliope
Smyrniou, Philomene	Kretsoveli, Katina	Hadji Efthymiou, Maria
Stergiou, Domna	Kyriakou, Styliani	Hadji Stefanou, Olga
Stefanou, Olympias	Konstantinou, Vasiliki	Psatha, Olympias

e) The Orthodox Seminary in Monastir

The Orthodox Seminary in Monastir, which operated from 1884-1887, “prepared proper priests or rather missionaries of the struggle scattered in various places”⁸² and was part of the city’s short-course teacher training college (*hemididaskaleion*). P. Kondis taught at the seminary in 1884-1885,⁸³ and was also one of those who served as its directors: K. Kalogianides (1885), Tr. Grezos (1886), An. Amylides (1886), P. Kondis (1887).⁸⁴

The Seminary had two sections. One was for ordinary students, who would upon graduating become teachers and priests with a solid background in current national affairs. The students in the other section were trained for service in mixed villages that had no priest and had been infiltrated by the Bulgarian nationalist movement.⁸⁵

The Seminary (1884-1885) was also counted among the teacher training institutions, since it was part of the city’s short-course teacher training college and supplied priests and teachers to the surrounding region.

A note from the “Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters” to Konstantinos Panourias, Greek Consul in Monastir, concerning the administration, curriculum, classes and maintenance of the Seminary and the obligations of its foundationers (no. 496, Athens 2 August 1886), reads as follows:⁸⁶

*Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters
Athens, 2 August 1886*

*To Mr K .D. Panourias,
Greek Consul in Bitolia.
no. 496*

The maintenance and administration of the Seminary in your city were from the beginning assumed by this Association. It is felt that some thought

82. Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 66.

83. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 8-11; cf. also Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 63 (The first school in Monastir); Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

84. Glykeria-Sophia Vouri, *Greek education*, 333.

85. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *History*, 364; for greater detail, Idem, *The Northern Greeks*, 183-189; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 168-169.

86. AYE – KY - File 1886, 23/9, no. 496 (Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters); cf. Sophia Vouri, *Sources*, 122-124.

should now be given to a re-organisation of that institution, which does not to date seem to be accomplishing the object for which it was established. We consider it essential first of all that the teaching programme of the Seminary be revised, and even more important that some way be found to make this teaching more effective.

The fact is that the education it provides is in no way different from that of the average Greek school. The Seminar should seek to train young people who can speak and write our Greek language with a measure of facility, who can understand the language of the Holy Scriptures, who can develop and interpret the prescribed readings from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, who are familiar with the Liturgy and the rites of the church in general, and who above all are competent to perform the music of the church. It is to ensure these things that we think that the curriculum of the seminary needs to be revised.

But, as we have said, the best programmes are useless if they are not brought to life by competent teachers, who can inspire in their students a sense that they are being prepared to perform a great national service, to which they have a duty to devote themselves body and soul, as you very ably noted in a discussion of this subject in your report of 8 July, no. 327 on the Greek schools in your district. We know that it is very difficult to find such teachers, but we have a duty to seek out the best and to strengthen them through good counsel, encouragement and monitoring.

Leaving the subject of teaching and returning to that of the improvement or better administration of the existing organisation, we note that it is imperative that:

- 1. All students wear the habit.*
- 2. Those in the senior class be ordained as readers.*
- 3. The total number of foundationers be restricted to 35, who must be not less than 18 years of age or more than 25.*
- 4. The Seminary be divided into three classes, implementing a three-year programme of studies.*
- 5. Graduates of the Seminary remain in Bitolia during the holidays to complete their practical teacher training under the guidance of the Director.*
- 6. Those who graduate with honours be able to continue for one further year as students in the Training College (hemididaskaleion), in order to fit them to serve as teachers as well as priests.*

Moreover, we think that the cost of maintaining the School can be estimated, on a monthly basis, as follows: Rent: Ottoman liras 7. Food: Ottoman liras 35. Director's salary: Ottoman liras 10. Salaries of two teachers: Ottoman liras 12. Salary of a monitor: Ottoman liras 4. Total per month: Ottoman liras 68, and per annum: Ottoman liras 816.



Figure 33. The Greek Middle School (Astike Schole) in Monastir

In our view these things would serve to improve the Seminary, but before we take any final decision we would like to hear your opinion, Mr Consul, and those of the Right Reverend Metropolitan of Pelagonia and the Headmaster of the Gymnasium, Mr Samartzides, and the newly appointed director of the School. Wherefore we pray you, Mr Consul, to confer with those gentlemen on the matters we have laid before you and to let us know the results of your deliberations.

With great respect

*K. Paparigopoulos,
President*

f) Central Boys' Primary School of Monastir

The Central Boys' Primary School (*Astike Schole*) of Monastir opened in the latter part of the 19th century with 460 pupils.⁸⁷ In 1905-1906 it had a staff of 8 primary teachers and one nursery teacher (their names are given below in section B.3.). In 1912 enrolment stood at 518,⁸⁸ while the following year (1913) the school had 6 teachers and just 280 pupils.⁸⁹



Figure 34. The Greek Primary School (Astike Schole) in Monastir

87. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 135.

88. Cleitos, "Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 77.

89. G. Hadjikyriakou, *The vitality*, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1913, 55; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, Thessaloniki 2001, 169-170.

g) *Mousikeios Primary School*

The Mousikeios Primary School (*Astike Schole*) was established by national benefactor Demetrios Mousikos, a native of Blatsi living in Bucharest. It regularly had an enrolment of 450-550 pupils, and was for many years run by Headmaster Pan. Sokrateides.⁹⁰ In 1906 the school had 517 pupils and 7 teachers.⁹¹

The figures for staff and pupils at the Mousikeios School in the school years 1907-1908, 1908-1909 and 1909-1910 are shown below⁹² - table 9.



Figure 35. Pupils and teachers at the Mousikeios Primary School in Monastir

90. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

91. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 14.

92. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27 (1903-1911 – Reports, General Registers, general results, statistical tables for the Mousikeios *Astike Schole* in Monastir - acephalous and without terminal formula); Antonis M. Koltidas, *The education*, 170-171.

TABLE 9
Pupils – Teachers
at the Mousikeios Primary School in Monastir

Statistical table of the registered pupils and the teaching staff at the Mousikeios Primary School in Monastir (1907-1910)					
<i>Year</i>		<i>School year</i>			<i>Teachers (1907-1910)</i>
		<i>1907- 1908</i>	<i>1908- 1909</i>	<i>1909- 1910</i>	
1		101	97	73	Papanaoum, Alex. K.
2	section A	45	59	49	Gounaris, Alex. K.
	section B	48	59	48	Koukantsis, Pant. L.
3	section A	44	50	51	Vosniakos, Athan. S.
	section B	43	49	50	Rousakis, Christos
4	section A	37	41	51	Tsongos, Demetrios
	section B	38	35	40	Toskou, Themistocles An.
5		61	71	64	Tsourillas, D. A.
6		67	40	46	Nitsas, Petros D.
<i>Total</i>		484	501	472	9

According to the “*Reports, General Registers, general results, statistical tables for the Mousikeios Astike Schole in Monastir*”, the subjects taught in the six classes of this primary school in the school year 1909-1910 were⁹³ - table 10.

The seal of the Mousikeios Primary School, as it appears on the General Registers for the school years 1903-1911: Circular, with perimetric inscription in capital letters: MOUSIKEIOS ASTIKE SCHOLE OF MON-ASTIR. Parallel to this lettering and concentric with the outer rim of the circle is an inner circle, the centre of which contains (on a white ground) in two vertical (not intersecting) blocks the shape of a cross. Beneath the stem of the cross (between the beginning and the end of the lettering) is an asterisk (*).⁹⁴

93. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27 (1903-1911); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 301.

94. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27 (1903-1911).

Επιτελεσθέντα μαθήματα κατά το 1908-9

Επίπεδο	Αριθμ. μαθητ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Επίπεδο μαθητ.		Επίπεδο διδασκ.		Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ. (αποδ.)	
					Αριθμ. μαθητ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ.	Αριθμ. διδασκ. ημερ.										
A'	97	1	73	8	20	49	12	20	44	15	2							
B'	59	8	45	6	3	18	14	3	19	1	1							
B''	39	6	49	2	9	32	6	10	20	11	2	1						
Γ'	50	12	34	4	23	11	4	19	10	9	1							
Γ''	49	9	37	3	11	19	10	11	14	14	1							
Δ'	41	10	27	4	6	13	10	6	6	6	9	1						
Δ''	35	5	28	1	9	14	9	9	7	9	1							
E'	71	9	57	5	1	35	20	6	19	20	4	2						
F'	40	5	32	2	15	11	8	15	23	7	4							
501		19	382	33	9	116	199	93	13	11	18	133	83	19	3			
			501	47	417	417			36									

Ερ. Μουσικησκησίου 2: 21. Ιουνίου 1909
 Ο Διευθυντής
 Παναγιώτης Μουσικησκησίου




Fig. 36. Statistical table for the Mousikeios Primary School for the school year 1908-9

TABLE 10
Subjects taught in the Mousikeios Primary School in Monastir

School year 1909-1910	
Year	Subjects
1	Religion, Greek, Arithmetic, "Object-teaching", Calligraphy, Singing, Gymnastics.
2	Religion, Greek, Arithmetic, "Object-teaching", Topography, Calligraphy, Singing, Gymnastics.
3	Religion, Greek, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Nature Study, "Object-teaching", Calligraphy, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics.
4	Religion, Language Arts, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Natural History, Calligraphy, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics.
5	Religion, Greek, Arithmetic, Geometry, History, Geography, Turkish, Physics, Experimental Physics, Calligraphy, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics.
6	Religion, Language Arts, Turkish, Arithmetic, Geometry, History, Geography, Natural History, Experimental Physics, Drawing, Calligraphy, Singing, Gymnastics.

3. Teachers in the schools of Monastir - General record

The total number of teachers who taught at one time or another in the schools in Monastir was 138 (106 men and 32 women):

a) The principal teacher and headmaster of the first "Greek School" ('middle school') was Nikolaos Varnavas. The teachers in this school in the school year 1870-1871 were: Kon. Michail, A. Zeros, A. Michail, Dem. Vasiliiades, K. Georsis, Epam. Demetriades and V. Michail.⁹⁵

b) The Margaritis Dimitsas Private School had a staff of 4 (their names are given above, under (c) *The "Margaritis Dimitsas Private School" in Monastir.*

95. AYE, *Consulates in Macedonia*, Monastir, 18 January 1871, no. 17 (file 1872: Consular reports, education – Report by P. Logothetes, Consul in Monastir, to the Foreign Ministry. *Curriculum of the Gymnasium and Middle School in Monastir, 1871*); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 437.



Figure 37. Teaching staff of the Greek schools in the Vilayet of Monastir

c) A total of 36 distinguished teachers taught in the Gymnasium of Monastir: i) Konstantinos Tsioukas, who was also its first Headmaster;⁹⁶ ii) In 1870-1871, Nakas, Dem. I. Demetriades, Nik. Nikarousis and Dem. I. Lallas;⁹⁷ iii) Christophoros Samartzides, who was Headmaster in 1885-1887 and Alexandros M. Zoumetikos (1880-1888, 1896-1912), who also served as Headmaster (1903, 1905⁹⁸); iv) In the school years 1893-1896 and 1903-1913 (Headmaster in 1912), Georgios Anagnostopoulos (1858-1935) of Didymoteichon; v) In the school years 1894-1912, Petros Kyriazis; vi) In the school years 1894-1905 and 1908-1913, Pantelis Naoum Nakas (1871-

96. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

97. AYE, *Consulates in Macedonia*, Monastir, 18 January 1871, no. 17 (file 1872: Consular reports, education – Report by P. Logothetes, Consul in Monastir, to the Foreign Ministry. *Curriculum of the Gymnasium and Middle School in Monastir*, 1871).

98. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 43.

1937); vii) In the school year 1902-1903, Alexandros M. Zoumetikos (Headmaster), M. Petrou, Vas. Notis, Dem. Makrou, Pan. Nakas, E. Tsouptsis, Ar. Ioannides, Papanikolaou, Tasiopoulos and A. Delivasilis; viii) In the school year 1905-1906, Konstantinos Nikolaïdes (Headmaster), G. Hatzopoulos, S. Tanos, K. Angelis, G. Kizas, D. Hatzopoulos, Ch. Pasatis, I. Malliades and G. Mylonas;⁹⁹ ix) In the school year 1906-1907, Leonidas Papapavlou (Headmaster);¹⁰⁰ x) In the school year 1911-1912, Vas. Notis, E. Tsouptsis, Georgios Kizas, Pant. Nakas, Athanasios Vosniakos, Konstantinos Spathis, Alex. Papanaooum, Emilios Mazas and Iosif Lazarou; xi) In the school years 1911-1913, Savas Chariton Spyridonides (who taught French).¹⁰¹



Figure. 38. Teachers and children from Monastir on an outing – 1904

99. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25 (1900-1907 – Minutes of the meetings of the School Board of the Community of Monastir - without terminal formula and with gap between pages 6 & 7 / Meeting XXII, 2 September 1905).

100. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 65.

101. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 19, 20.

Finally, there were Konstantinos Dem. Spathis (1874-1940) and Orpes, two outstanding musicians and music teachers who taught music and dancing at the Gymnasium, at the Girls' School and for the "Philharmonic" Society.¹⁰²

d) The number of staff at the Central Boys' School in Monastir varied, but in the school year 1905-1906 there were 8 teachers plus one nursery teacher. They were: Thomas Zisis (Headmaster), Alexandros K. Gounaris, Alexandros K. Papanauom, Sotirios Toutountzis, Athanasios S. Vosniakos, Alex Strallias, Pantelis Koukantzis, Nikolaos Skodras and Amalia Miltiadou.¹⁰³

e) For many years Pan. Sokrateides¹⁰⁴ served as Headmaster of the Mousikeios Primary School, which in the school years 1907-1910 had a staff of 9 (their names are given above, under (h) *Mousikeios Primary School*).¹⁰⁵

f) The Central Girls' School of Monastir (Demetriou Brothers School for Girls) employed at one time or another over the course of its history (1880-1912) a total of 47 renowned teachers (7 Headmistresses, 21 primary teachers and 19 senior teachers¹⁰⁶ - their names and other details are given above, under (d) "*Central Girls' School of Monastir*" (*Demetriou Brothers School for Girls*). In the 1905-1906 school year the school had a staff of 10 (2 men and 8 women): Eleni Picheon (Headmistress), G. Michailides, K. Michail, E. Konstantinidou, Aspasia Avrasi, Loukia Ioannidou, Maria Dimitriou, Domna Stralla, M. Akrivopoulou and E. Mavroudi.¹⁰⁷

g) The Central Nursery school in Monastir had 3 teachers in the 1905-1906 school year: Efthalia Ghika (Director), Domna Hadji-Talli and Domna Nikarousi.¹⁰⁸

h) Turning to Monastir's Elementary and Middle Schools:

102. G. Ch. Modis, "Αναμνήσεις από την ζωή των σωματείων Μοναστηρίου" (Memoires of the life of the societies of Monastir), *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 70-72.

103. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 439.

104. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 26, n. 45.

105. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27.

106. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 12,14.

107. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 439.

108. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25.



*Figure 39. Teachers in Monastir – 1895
On the extreme left, Sebaste Tremse*

The teachers in the Central Elementary School were Georgios Papanakos and Charalambos Triantaphyllides..

The teachers in the Middle School were Konstantinos Georsis, Naoum Nakas and Anastasios Tzerros.



*Figure 40. Sotirios Kontoulis,
philologist and teacher*

The teachers in the Second Elementary School were K. Georsis, N. Nakas, Spasis Papanakos, Georgios Siardos (who served for many years as Deputy Head and as Headmaster, upon the retirement of Konstantinos Papanakos, for another 10), and Konstantinos Papanakos (Headmaster). *“The said Konstantinos Papanakos retired on account of his age and having completed 50 years of service as a teacher. Those fifty years were celebrated by everyone in the city, including the Greek Consul, who bestowed upon him the service medal of the Greek Government, and the Metropolitan*

Bishop, who bestowed upon him the title of Megas Logothetes of the province of Pelagonia".¹⁰⁹

Finally, Konstantinos Ktenas taught at the Third Elementary School.

i) The Orthodox Seminary (1884-1887) had a teaching staff of 4, who also served as directors of the institution (their names are given above, under (e) *The Orthodox Seminary in Monastir*).

j) The Director of the Teachers' Training College in Monastir in the school year 1911-1912 was Nikolaos Stefanou Tzoufis (1887-1971) from Kapesovo in the Zagori district,¹¹⁰ and his counterpart at the Junior Teachers' Training College was, in various years, Mr Economou (1884), Ph. Sakellariou (1885, 1887) and D. Vasiliades (1886).¹¹¹

k) Further sources record the names of other distinguished teachers who taught in the various schools in Monastir: Vasilios Michail, Michail Petrou, Vasilios Notis, Pantelis Nakas, Evangelos Tsouptsis, Vasilios Kokkinis, Evangelos Tanou, Demetrios Markou, Georgios Kizias¹¹², Sotirios Kontoulis and, in 1881-1913, Georgios K. Siardos (1886-1945), and in the 1911-1912 school year Ioannis Georgiou Semanteras of Resna, who earned his teacher's certificate in Thessaloniki.¹¹³

l) Finally, the benefactor of Neveska Michail Tsirlis taught in Monastir and in various Vlach-speaking villages around Monastir and Florina for a short time *circa* 1860.¹¹⁴

4. Teachers from Monastir in Macedonia

The table below presents a list of teachers who taught in Monastir and its environs or elsewhere in Macedonia¹¹⁵ - table 11.

109. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 76-81; cf. also Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou, *Μοναστήρι. Ιστορική περιπλάνηση στην πάτρια γη* (Monastir. Historical wanderings in the land of my fathers), Thessaloniki 1996, 77.

110. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 20.

111. Glykeria-Sophia Vouri, *Greek education*, 333.

112. Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 66.

113. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 19, 21.

114. Nikolaos Loustas, "Αρχοντες και αρχοντικά Νυμφαίου (Νέβεσκα)" (Moneyed men and mansions of Nymphaion-Neveska), *Aristoteles* 35-36 (1962), 105.

115. Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou, *Historical wanderings*, 18; Antonis M. Koltzidas, *The education*, 205-206.

TABLE 11
Teachers from Monastir

Teachers from Monastir in Macedonia		
Argyria, Marika	Kousouretta,	Raptou, Theano
Vasiliadou, Ch.	Kretsovali,	Roufou,
Vasiliou, Christina	Kretsovali, Theano	Saipidou, Vasso
Voukaveli, Maria	Kyriazi, A.	Samartzidou, E.
Vourvouroni, Thomae	Konstantinou, E.	Siounta, Maria
Georgala,	Konstantinou, Fr.	Sirma, Fani
Georgiou, Ermione	Lia, Xanthippe	Skaleri, M.
Gertsou, Thaleia	Lika	Smyrniou, Magdalini
Girtsi, M.	Mara, Pandora	Smyrniou, Philomene
Gogoli, Victoria	Melitsi, Thomae	Sofianou, Ch.
Graikou, Victoria	Metzidie,	Stergiou,
Delikousi, Konstantina	Mirtsii, Vasiliki	Stefanou, E.
Despo,	Michail, Despina	Stoyannou, Christina
Dimitriou, Mara	Michail, F.	Strambeli,
Diamantopoulou, E.	Bella, M.	Sotiriou, D.
Douflia, Ermione	Nantsa, M.	Tachou, Efterpe
Evangelou, Maria	Nikolaou, Polyxeni	Tegou, Aspasia
Evangelou, Polytimi	Xafa, Eriphylli	Tolfou, Anna
Efthymiou, M.	Economou, Despina	Tosini, Anna
Zachou, P.	Paza, Vasiliki	Toskou, G.
Zitsa, Maria	Palasi, Christina	Traianou,
Ziogou, Iphigenia	Panteli, Despina	Tsalli, Athena
Zotou, Vasiliki	Papageorgiou, E.	Tsanti, Virginia
Zotou, Chrysanthi	Papazisi, Evanthia	Tsanti, Elisavet
Ioannou, Meropi	Paraschou,	Tsili, Virginia
Ioannou, Fani	Pavlou, M.	Chalkiopoulou, E.
Karakosta, Despina	Pavlou, Margarita	Hatzi, Polyxeni
Karabataki, E.	Pelitsi-Parisi, D.	Hatzigrigoriou, V.
Karatza,	Plati, E.	Hatzistefanou,
Ketzetzi, Maria	Polymeri, Penelope	Christidou, D.
Kondyli, S.	Polyxeni, Eleni	Christou, Efterpe

5. The students: origin, social class, age – scholarships, school meals

a) Some of the pupils and students in the schools in Monastir were natives of the city, while others came from nearby villages or more distant places. The Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir lists students from Monastir, Krushevo, Megarovo, Tyrново, Resna, Koritsa, Nizopolis, Neveska, Milovista, Gopesi, Ochrid, Belkameni, Klisoura, Pisoderi, Yagovetsi, Ano Velista and other places.¹¹⁶



Figure 41. Students at a school fête in Monastir

b) The children who came to school in Monastir from neighbouring villages were generally from poor, lower class families, whose parents were for the most part drovers, stockmen, cheese makers, weavers and shopkeep-

116. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 22 (1911-1913 – Register of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract).

ers. The social origin of those who lived in Monastir was generally higher, and the occupations of their parents covered the entire social, cultural and educational spectrum, including those of hotelier, teacher, doctor, etc.:



Figure 42. Teacher Ephrosyne Nikolaou

Indeed, the list of occupations recorded in the “Father’s Occupation” column of the Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir¹¹⁷ and the General

117. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 22 (1911-1913 – Register of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract).

Registers of the Mousikeios School¹¹⁸ is astonishingly broad: Primary school teacher, priest, grocer, banker, money-changer, café keeper, hotelier, merchant, collector, woodcutter, landowner, tailor, pastry cook, doctor, judge, clerk, shoemaker, lawyer, goldsmith, estate agent, building contractor, agent, cooper, cattle trader, mason, greengrocer, cook, butcher, barber, coppersmith, bookseller, flour seller, secretary, verger, drover, money-lender, watchmaker, blacksmith, high school teacher, inspector of works, head shepherd, etc.

c) The classes in the city's schools were large, and the ages of the children generally corresponded to their grade: they attended primary school up to the age of 12, and secondary school from 13-18. In many cases, however, there were also older students in the secondary school classes: for example, in the school years 1911-1913 there were students of 19, 20, 21 and even 22 years of age in the Gymnasium of Monastir.¹¹⁹

d) The family circumstances of the children in the city's schools varied according to the financial and social position and possibilities of their parents, but were in general restricted. For this reason the benefactors and patrons of the schools and the educational societies and organisations provided meals for schoolchildren and scholarships for poor students from local and more distant communities so that they could continue their studies. For example, in the late 19th and early 20th century funds provided by local donors and expatriate benefactors provided regular meals for some 300 poor schoolchildren, most of them children of victims of the Macedonian Struggle.¹²⁰

118. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27.

119. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 22 (1911-1913 – Register of the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract).

120. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 135.

III. FOUNDATION, ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SCHOOLS IN MONASTIR

1. The self-operated community model, social structures, local dignitaries, financial support

THE EDUCATIONAL activity of the local dignitaries. In Monastir, the leaders of the local community spent 5000 liras a year on the operation and maintenance of the city's schools, the salaries of their teachers and the sustenance of poor children.¹²¹

One of these prominent citizens was Georgios D. Maïmoukas, whose activities in the educational arena, as a Custodian of the Holy Sepulchre (an honour conferred upon him, by order of the Patriarch, by the Protosyngelos of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre Serapheim in person in Monastir in February 1852), acquired particular significance.¹²²

b) *Financial support - donations.* The greatest supporters of the city's schools were the wealthy expatriates whose donations financed their construction, maintenance and operation. Among them were: Ioannis and Theochares Demetriou of Alexandria (Egypt), who in 1880 built the celebrated Central Girls' School, at a cost of 4000 pounds sterling, the First Nursery school (3000 pounds sterling), the Third Elementary School, known as the Theochareio or Theocharideio,¹²³ and the superbly organised multiunit Evangelismos Hospital; Baron Nikolaos Doumbas of Vienna, a native of Moschopolis, who founded the city's Gymnasium (1885); Demetrios Mousikos of Bucharest, a native of Blatsi, who founded the Primary School that bears his name; I. Kontoulis of Odessa, who built the Lofos District

121. Konstantinos A. Vavoukos, *The contribution*, 23, n. 12.

122. Georgios D. Maïmoukas, *Μοναστήρι! Χαμένη πατρίδα* (Monastir! Lost Fatherland), Athens 1954, 28-30; Georgios Maïmoukas Archives, Athens.

123. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 10.

Elementary School; and Maria Economou, who founded the Second Nursery School.¹²⁴

2. Support, supervision and administration of the schools – school boards, superintendents, treasurers

a) *School committees, School boards.* The school committees and school boards that supervised the schools in Monastir were responsible for: 1) Operating and maintaining the schools, with appropriate financial support from the community. 2) Auditing and signing their accounts (school budgets, income and expenditures). 3) Paying the teachers' salaries. 4) Issuing certificates to the teachers in respect of various professional, service and educational matters.

These bodies¹²⁵ were presided over by a chairman, and they elected a treasurer and a secretary,¹²⁶ who kept the minutes of their meetings. They issued receipts for donations, audited and signed the schools' accounts (school budgets, income and expenditures) and issued certificates to those concerned.

*“These bodies worked with enthusiasm, zeal and exceptional diligence. Never was there the slightest shadow of mistrust over any of them, even when they handled large sums of money. They were and were seen to be above all suspicion, just like Caesar’s wife. A more shining example of self-governance is impossible to imagine. That is the reason why it became customary for all citizens of Monastir to leave a sum of money in their will to all these institutions”.*¹²⁷

b) *Superintendents of schools.* Georgios Tsallis, Naoum Nikarousis, Anastasios Pischas and Athanasios Anesti, all graduates of the Varnava School, “served for dozens of years as superintendents of schools and

124. Andreas I. Arvanitou, “Μοναστήριον” (Monastir), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1908, 170-171; Cleitos, “Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 76-77; Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 66.

125. A.K.G., *Τύρνοβον-Μεγάροβον* (Tyrnovo-Megarovo), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1908, 227, 229.

126. Charalambos K. Papastathis, *The regulations*, 192 (Regulations of the Greek Orthodox Community of the city of Bitolia).

127. Georgios Ch. Modis, “Το Μοναστήρι” (Monastir) (Lecture given on 18 January 1961 to the Society for Macedonian Studies in Thessaloniki), *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 40.

churchwardens, ensuring that there was money enough to maintain the schools and pay the teachers".¹²⁸

The minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir, kept in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia, attest to the fervour with which the superintendents of that school, who attended those meetings, carried out their duties: they were Ioannis Sontis, Theodore Pisourikas, Demetrios Nakas and Nikolaos Kokantasis for the year 1898-1899 and Iakovos Kazazis, Georgios Kyriakou, Chertouras and Naoum Zoumetikos in 1900-1901.¹²⁹

Similarly, the minutes of the meetings of the school board of the community of Monastir reveal the activity of school superintendents S. Demetriades, A. Zachou, I. Noustas, M. Christou, D. Vafeiades, A. Christides, Tsingaras, D. Svolos and N. Nalbandis.¹³⁰

In some cases, educational zeal led to conflict with the local Turkish authorities: this was the case of school superintendents Georgios Papazoglou, Georgios Tsallis, Christos Doumas and I. Naltsas, who were court-martialled for teaching the Greek Revolution in the region's Greek schools. This "*was an indirect way of terrorising those responsible for our community affairs, because all four of the accused, and especially Mr Papazoglou and Mr Tsallis, were among those who continuously took part in running the affairs of the community, and were patriotically devoted to the national idea*".¹³¹

c) *School board treasurers.* The School Board Treasurer:

1) Received and disbursed school funds by order of the School Board, which met in special session for that purpose.

By way of example, we cite the minutes of the 7th meeting of the School Board of the Greek community in Monastir, which accepted the resignation of School Board Treasurer Epaminondas Demetriades, who was moving to Thessaloniki, and arranged to appoint a replacement.¹³²

128. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 11.

129. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meetings: I, 25 August 1898 – I, 25 August 1900).

130. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25.

131. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 47.

132. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis. M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 272-273.

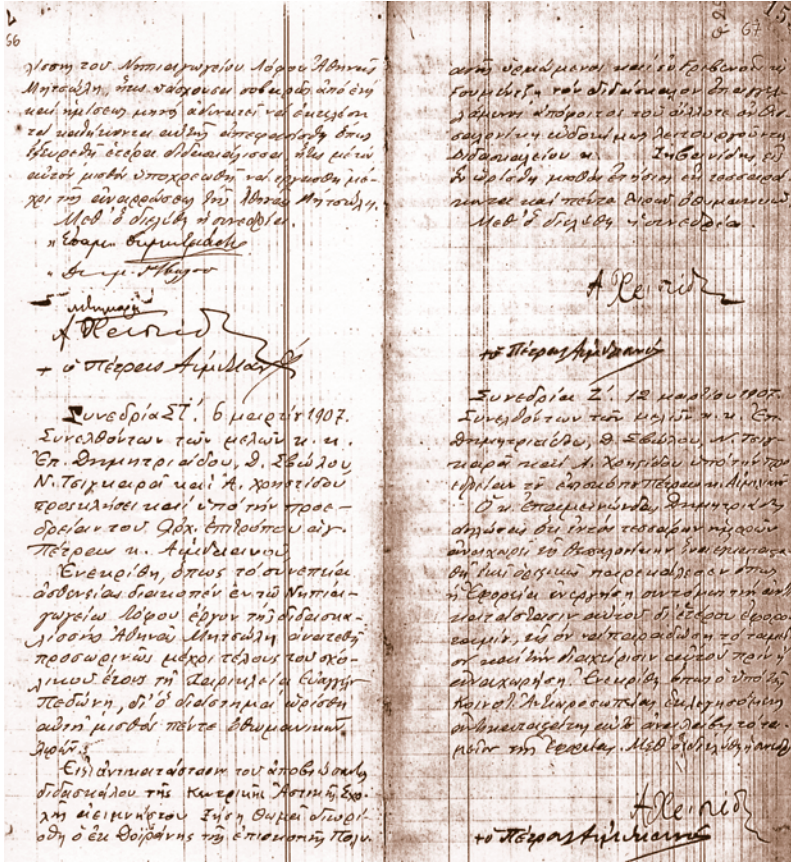


Fig. 43. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMΠ (Archives of the Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25

Session VII, 12 March 1907

Presiding Officer: the Rt Rev. Emilianos, Bishop of Petra

Present: Ep. Demetriades, D. Svolos, N. Tsingaras, A. Christidis.

Mr Epaminondas Demetriades told the meeting that he was moving to Thessaloniki permanently in four days time, and asked that the Board select another Treasurer to replace him as soon as possible, so that he could hand over the cash and his responsibilities before he left. It was agreed that the community representatives would elect a replacement to take over the duties of Treasurer. This being decided, the meeting came to a close.

The Board
(signatures)

(signature)
Emilianos of Petra

2) Signed receipts on behalf of the School Board for monies received from contributions for the city's schools:

For example, Treasurer Ch. D. Doumas signed a receipt for a donation of 12 Turkish liras from Michail Nikolaïdes:¹³³

Receipt for =12= liras

Received this day on behalf of the School Board of the Greek Community of Monastir from Mr Michail Nikolaïdes, the sum of twelve (12) Turkish liras as his subscription to the Greek Schools for the year 1885.

Monastir, 22 November 1888

For the 4-member School Board
Ch. D. Doumas
Treasurer

By way of information we note that Ch. D. Doumas served as School Board Treasurer in Monastir from 1880-1890, and Epaminondas Demetriades from 1900-1907.¹³⁴

3. Support of the Metropolitan Diocese and the Greek Consulate for educational affairs in Monastir

a) *The supervision of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia.* The active interest of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia¹³⁵ in the educational

133. Georgios Paesios, "A few words", *Aristoteles* 3-4 (1957), 53, n. 16; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 274.

134. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25.

135. The Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia ran not only the schools, but also the ecclesiastical, conventual and charitable institutions and in general the Orthodox communities in the province of Pelagonia, as stated in Article 2 of the 1906 Provincial Regulations (*Provincial Regulations voted by the Provincial Council on 22 January 1906*), which are signed by Metropolitan Ioakeim: "Article 2. All the Orthodox Communities as under Article 1, as well as their ecclesiastical, conventual, educational and charitable institutions shall be administered by the Metropolitan Diocese, by virtue of the rules of the Church, the general national regulations and the specific by-laws of the individual community, assisted in these

affairs of the Greek community in Monastir and the surrounding region, channelled through the personal intervention of the Bishops, has already been seen in earlier chapters. This interest found concrete expression in, e.g., the establishment and maintenance of schools and boarding facilities, the appointment of teachers, the inspection and supervision of the schools' work, the provision of financial support for poor children, the distribution of schoolbooks free of charge, and so on.

And this interest was vital and unflagging, with the Bishops regularly attending the meetings of the school board and signing school and other related documents.

One particularly interesting such meeting was that of 2 September 1905, at which Metropolitan Ioakeim ratified the "*training of staff employed in the schools*".¹³⁶

b) *The interest of the Greek Consulate in Monastir*. The concern of the Greek Consulate in Monastir for the Greek population in the city and throughout Macedonia (as illustrated in various places in preceding and subsequent chapters), and particularly in connection with matters relating to education, is evident in the passage cited below, by Pantelis Tsallis:

*"With Georgios Dokos – a man of great wisdom and imbued with patriotic sentiments – as Greek Consul, and interpreter Christos Graikos, a native of Monastir, a fanatical patriot and one of the oldest and ablest of the consular employees, as his right-hand man, and with the help of Stephanos Dragoumis of blessed memory, who was always willing to support the Macedonians in any national need that arose, the funds in our community coffers were substantially augmented, on the one hand through a generous annual grant from the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters in Athens, and on the other through subsidies from the Greek Foreign Ministry. At the same time, the citizens also substantially increased their subscriptions for the schools, each striving to outdo the other... When Mr Dokos was transferred elsewhere, he was replaced by Konstantinos Panourias, who was also an indefatigable worker for the country".*¹³⁷

matters by the Metropolitan of Pelagonia and the local bodies elected by the provincial council" (Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 107-108).

136. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25.

137. Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 65-66; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 287.

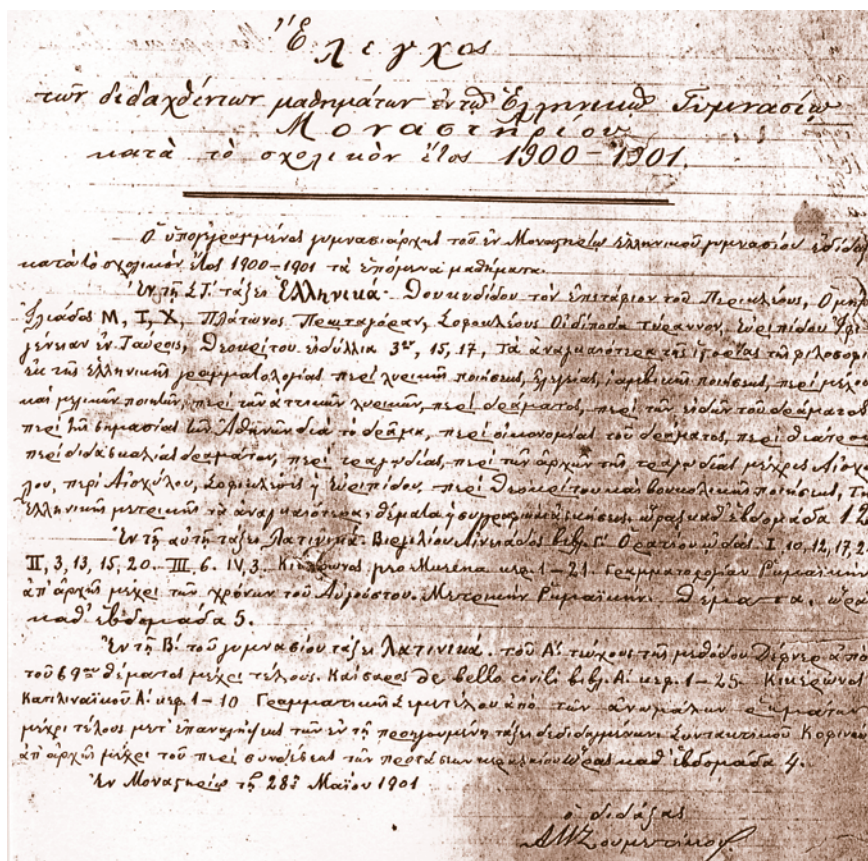


Fig. 44. Lesson book – Report on the subjects taught in the Greek Gymnasium in Monastir in the 1900-1901 school year... by A. Zoumetikos, IAMAMPI, file 23

D. THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN MONASTIR

1. The internal structure of the schools: curriculum, subjects taught, schoolbooks

Curriculum, subjects taught. The curriculum and the subjects taught in the schools in Monastir were decided by the college of teachers in each school at the beginning of the school year. The programme was drawn up for the whole year, and the teachers were required to teach the chapters specified, and to note them each day in their “book of material taught”.

TABLE 12
Schoolbooks used in the schools of Monastir (1912-1913)

Books ordered from booksellers Pillis and Zallis			
<i>Title - author</i>	<i>Bookshop</i>		
	<i>Pillis</i>		<i>Zallis</i>
	<i>Copies</i>	<i>Volume</i>	<i>Copies</i>
“Mikros physiognostes” (nature study)	7		4
Geography - Asimakopoulos	20		19
Catechism - Vafeiadis	9		9
Grammar - Kalogeropoulos	4	I	4
" "	16	II	7
Religion - Kiantos	8	III	22
Arithmetic - Sokrateides	14	I	15
" "	12	II	13
Experimental Physics - Manos	7	I	8
Natural History - Manos	4	IV	4
" " "	9	III	9
" " "	4	II	4
Reader - Manos	7	VI	7
" "	9	V	9
History - Kalousis	4	IV	4
Geography - P. Angelides	11	I	6
Sacred History - Xeroudakis	7	III	
Arithmetic (Exercises) - Angelides	11	II	2
Melissa	5	IV	5
Melissa I(a)	19	I(a)	12
Melissa I(b)	13	I(b)	12
Ecclesiastical History	7		
Arithmetic (Exercises)	10	III	
Biographical History - Vlousos			18
Geometry - Sakellaropoulos			19
French			5
Notebooks for poor children			1

The curricula and corresponding subjects are presented above under “The best-known Greek schools in Monastir”.

b) *Schoolbooks*. The archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia provide invaluable information about the schoolbooks used in Monastir's schools, and their authors, in 1912-1913.

From the list of "books ordered" from booksellers Pillis and Zallis, we know that they used (among others, of course) the following textbooks¹³⁸ - table 12.

βιβλίον	Κυ. Έκδ.	Πιστ.	Έκδ.	σε.	Προβ.	Σύνολο
X Μουσ. Φωκίων	"	3			3	4
X Γεωγ. Νουμανουρίου	"	20			20	19
X Καθ' ἑνας Παυλίδου	"	9			9	9
X Γραμμ. Καρυσσοπούλου	"	4		μικρ. Α'	4	4
"	"	16		Β'	16	7
X Γεωγ. ἰσθμ. Κιλιάρη	"	8		Γ'	8	12 + 10
X Αρ. Συρματάρη	"	8 + 6		Δ'	14	13 + 2
X " " "	"	12		Β'	12	13
X Γεωγ. Σταυρ. Μαύρου	"	7		Δ'	7	8
X Δ. Τσιλιπιά Μαύρου	"	4		Ε'	4	4
X " " "	"	9		Γ'	9	9
X " " "	"	4		Β'	4	4
Εδωπ. Μαύρου	"	7		Στ'	7	7
X " " "	"	9		Ε'	9	9
X Κωπία Κασοίτη	"	4		Γ'	4	4
X Γεωγ. Π. Αγγελίδου	"	6 + 4		Δ'	10	6
X Γεωγ. ἰσθμ. Εμμανουήλ	"	7		Γ'	7	
X ἰσθμ. Διονυσίου Αγγελίδου	"	3 + 4 + 4		Β'	11	8
X Μετ' 1000	"	5		Γ'	5	5
X Μετ' Α. Α.	"	13 + 4 + 2		Α' α'	19	12
X Μετ' Α. Β.	"	13		Α' β'	13	12
Εμπνευστ. Μετ. Σελή		7			7	
Απ' ἑξῆς βιβλίου		10			10	5

Figure 45. List of "Books Ordered from Booksellers Pillis and Zallis", IAM / AMΠ 1876-1913, file 37

138. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37; Antonis M. Koltidas, *The education*, 302.

What is surprising about this list is that it does not include the *Alphabetarion*, or “Primer”, published by Anastasios Zallis in 1911,¹³⁹ and brought out in a second edition by Pillis in 1912.

The fate of this book thus remains unknown, since we do not know which schools used it or in which school years; but presumably it must have been used in the schools in Monastir and those of the Greek- and Vlach-speaking communities in the region. However that may be, “*the “Primer” was a product of the set of initiatives taken by the Greek Consular Authority in Monastir to detach the educational activities of the region from the overlordship of the Church*”.¹⁴⁰

2. The teaching staff – Formal and other qualifications

a) *Moral and professional qualifications – training.* The qualifications required of a teacher being considered for a position in any of the schools in Monastir were not confined to academic and paedagogic training, but also included irreproachable conduct; and in their teaching they had to be “*diligent, hardworking and capable of teaching and transmitting the subject matter*”, otherwise “*Anyone who [did] not meet these requirements [would] be rejected*”.¹⁴¹

b) *Formal qualifications – Schools, Teacher training colleges.* The schools in Monastir were staffed by able and well-trained teachers, for the most part graduates of gymnasiums, teacher training colleges or academies; many of the headmasters and those who taught in the high schools (Gymnasium) held liberal arts degrees from the University of Athens²⁵ or foreign

139. An. G. Zallis (publisher), *Η εποπτική διδασκαλία της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας. Αλφαβητάριον* (Visual Aid to Teaching Modern Greek – *Alphabetarion*), Monastir 1911 – Macedonian Library, no. 2 (Printed by the Commercial Press).

140. D. P. Souliotis, *Το «Αλφαβητάριον» του Μοναστηρίου και ο συγγραφέας του. Ένα δείγμα πρώιμου εκπαιδευτικού δημοτικισμού (1911)* (The Monastir *Alphabetarion* and its author. An early example of demoticism in education), Florina 1994, 3.

141. Charalambos K. Papastathis, *The regulations*, 192 (Regulations of the Greek Orthodox Community of the city of Bitolia. Article 41 of these regulations set out the qualifications required of a teacher: “*When choosing teachers the following must necessarily be considered: First, whether the person is of irreproachable conduct; Second, whether they hold a diploma, in accordance with the regulations for Gymnasium teachers if they are being considered for the Gymnasium and from a teacher training college or gymnasium if they are being considered for an elementary or primary school; and Third, whether they have shown themselves to be diligent, hardworking and capable of teaching and transmitting the subject matter. Anyone who does not meet these requirements will be rejected*”.

universities, while not a few of them had post-graduate qualifications or doctoral degrees.

In the 1882-1883 school year, for example, there were: 1) in the Gymnasium of Monastir, 2 graduates of the University of Athens, 1 French teacher with a post-secondary qualification, and 3 top graduates of teacher training colleges; and 2) in the Monastir Middle School, 1 graduate of the University of Athens and 2 top graduates of the Gymnasium.¹⁴²

3. Teaching staff: hiring, salaries, format of agreements and contracts, hours of work, lesson book, attendance register, teachers' records

In Monastir the hiring and remuneration of teachers was the exclusive responsibility of those who supported and maintained the schools, the school superintendents and the school commissioners, who handled the financial donations made by citizens celebrated and anonymous, the councils of elders, the assemblies of the communities and the school boards, which were presided over by the Metropolitan Bishop. Teachers were also hired and paid by the city's Friends of Education Societies, the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia, and the Greek Consulate in Monastir.

Every hiring, every salary agreement and every payment was attested by a contract or agreement or receipt, confirming the deed with the rights and obligations attached to it. The format of these acts was virtually stereotyped: they all contained the names of the contracting parties, their capacities and competences, the context of their obligations, the date and place of the transaction, and the signatures and corresponding seals.

a) *Teachers' salaries – expenditures on education.* The table of teachers and salaries in the schools in Monastir included in the minutes of the twenty-second meeting (2 September 1905) of the Monastir School Board, which is preserved in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia, provides invaluable information on this subject (the data relating to the best-known schools are reproduced below)¹⁴³ – table 13.

142. AYE, *Consulates of Macedonia*, Monastir, 12 October 1885, no. 537.

143. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 330.

TABLE 13
Salaries of teachers in Monastir schools

Annual salary of teachers in Monastir School year 1905-1906			
<i>Name</i>	<i>Liras</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Liras</i>
Gymnasium		Nik. Skodra	21
Konstantinos Nikolaïdes (Headmaster)	130	Amalia Miltiadou	24
G. Hatzopoulos	90	Central Girls' School	
S. Tanos	85	Eleni Picheon (Headmistress)	70
K. Angelis	75	G. Michailides	70
G. Kizas	75	K. Michail	40
D. Hatzopoulos	75	E. Konstantinidou	34
Ch. Passatis	50	Aspasia Avrasi	30
I. Malliades	72	Loukia Ioannidou	21
G. Mylonas	60	Maria Demetriou	18
Primary School		Domna Stralla	22
Thomas Zisis (Headmaster)	50	M. Akrivopoulou	32
Alex. Gounaris	43	E. Mavroudi	35
Alex. Papanoum	42	Central Nursery School	
Sot. Toutountzis	40	Efthalia Ghika (Head)	35
Athan. Vosniakos	34	Domna Chatzitalli	30
Alex. Strallias	27	Domna Nikarousi	24
Pant. Kokkantzis	26		

The Greek Consul's detailed report (1902) to the "Committee for the support of the Greek Church and Education" on the Greek community in Monastir's expenditures on education in the period 1897-1901 is a mine of information. Here we shall cite only the figures for teacher's salaries: a) 1897: 1,616.77 liras; b) 1898: 1,593.02 liras; c) 1899: 1,677.76 liras; d) 1900: 1,737.81 liras; e) 1901: 1,753.75 liras.¹⁴⁴

144. AYE, *Consulates in Macedonia*, Monastir, 20 July 1902, no. 383 (file 1902: Education budgets – Report by Greek Consul K. Pezas in Monastir to the "Committee for the support of the Greek Church and Education", with appended tables showing the income of

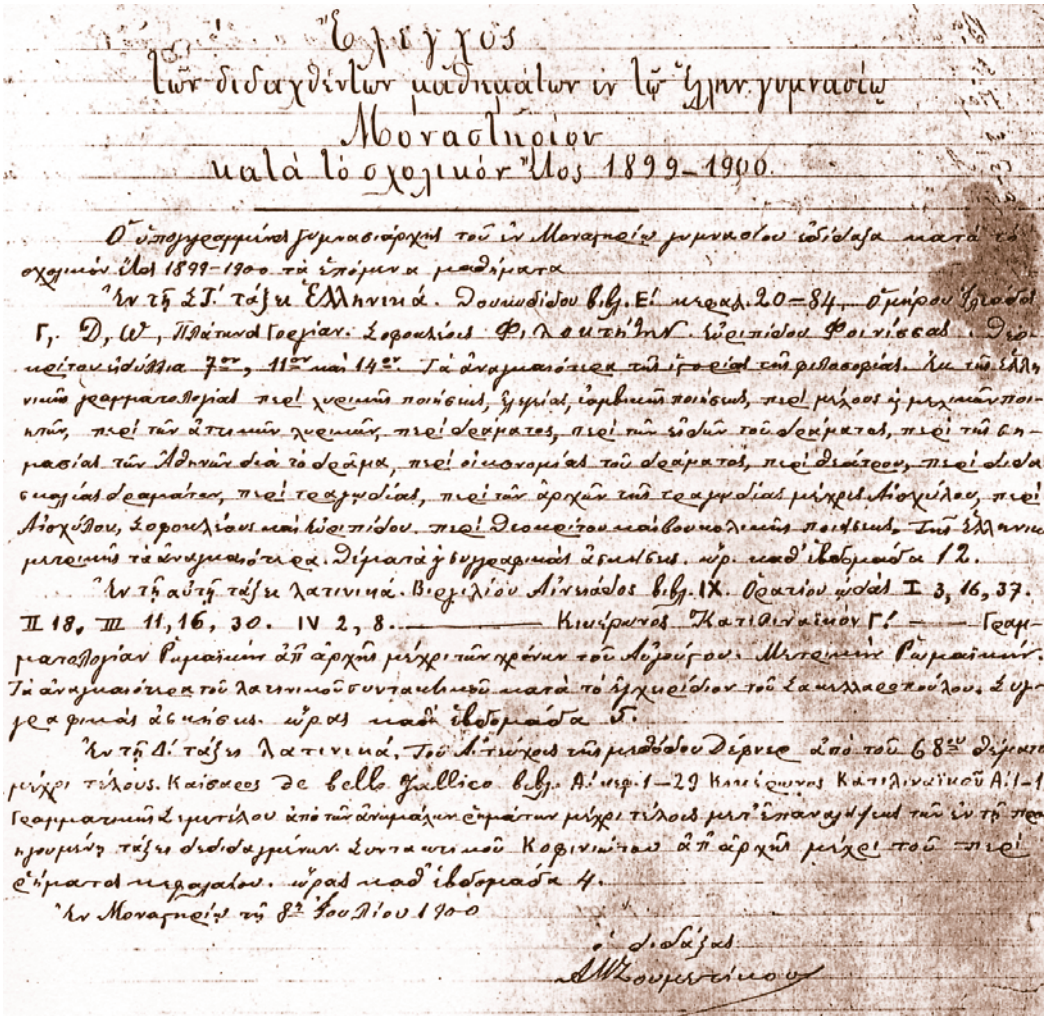


Fig. 46. "Lesson Book" – Report on the subjects taught in the Greek Gymnasium in Monastir in the 1900-1901 school year... by A. Zoumetikos, IAM/AMII, file 23

the Greek community in Monastir for the years 1897-1901, drawn up by Metropolitan Ambrosios of Pelagonia; cf. also Sophia Vouri, *Εκπαίδευση και εθνικισμός στα Βαλκάνια. Η περίπτωση της Βορειοδυτικής Μακεδονίας 1870-1904* (Education and nationalism in the Balkans. The case of Northwest Macedonia), Athens 1992, 118-119.

b) *Hours, "lesson book", attendance register.* While we have no comprehensive information for the schools in Monastir concerning the weekly workload of their teaching staffs, the "Lesson Book of the Monastir Gymnasium" does provide some figures for that school for the school years 1889-1913, although it does not, of course, tell us whether any of those teachers also taught in other schools as well.

According to this record, in the 1899-1900 school year Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos taught 21 hours a week and his colleague Evangelos Tsouptsis 26 hours; the workloads of other teachers were similar.¹⁴⁵

Nor do we know for certain whether all the schools in Monastir kept a teachers' attendance register, as recorded in the minutes of the second meeting of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir, which noted its importance for "*preventing unjustified absences*" on the part of teachers.¹⁴⁶

c) *Minutes of teachers' meetings.* The "Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir" for the school years 1887-1901, which are preserved in the Historical Archives of Macedonia, contain a wealth of information about the current administrative activities of the institution.

By way of example we cite here the minutes of the first meeting, of 18 August 1897, which was convened by Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos to discuss registration for the new school year, the entrance examinations and the re-examination of those referred to September.¹⁴⁷

145. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 23 (9-7-1899 / 28-6-1908 – "Lesson Book" of the Gymnasium in Monastir - Extract).

146. 146. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting II, 16 January 1906: "... firstly it was decided to activate the regulation concerning a teachers' daily attendance register in the schools, with teachers required to notify the Headmaster in writing if they should be absent on account of illness, in order to prevent unjustified absences, as had occurred in that year".

147. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 346-347.

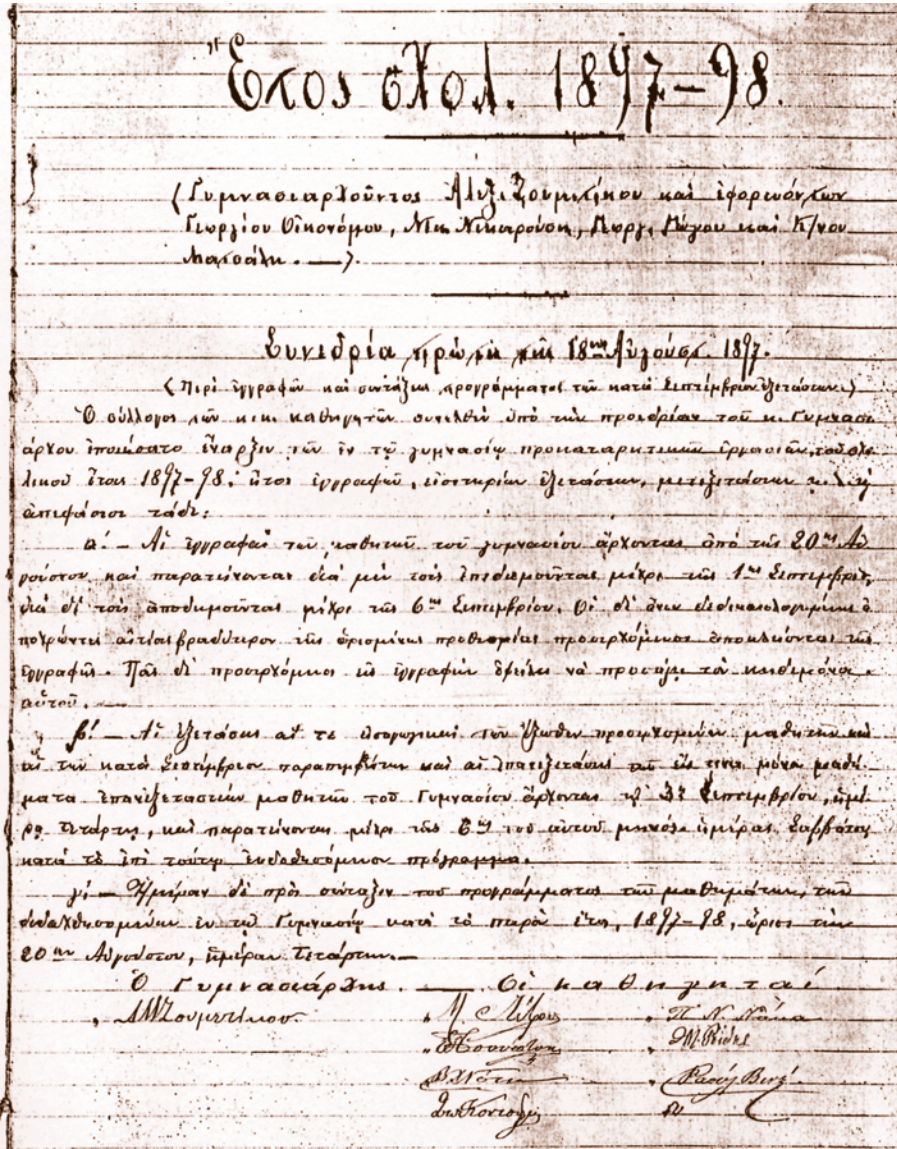


Fig. 47. Gymnasium of Monastir, First meeting, 18 August 1897 – concerning registrations and the timetable for the September examinations, IAM/ AMI, file 24

School year 1897-98
Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos and superintendents
Georgios Economou, Nik. Nikarousis, Georgios Gogos
and Konstantinos Matsalis.

First Meeting, 18 August 1897.

Concerning registrations and the timetable for the September examinations

The college of teachers convened by the Headmaster set in hand the preparations for the school year 1897-98, to wit registrations, entrance examinations, re-examinations, etc., and decided that:

a – The registration of students for the Gymnasium will begin on August 20 and will continue until September 1 for those resident in the city and until September 6 for those resident elsewhere. Late registration will not be permitted save for serious reason, which must be justified. All students presenting themselves for registration must be accompanied by their guardian.

b – The entrance examinations for students coming to the school from outside and the examinations for students of the Gymnasium referred for re-examination in one or more subjects in September will begin on Wednesday September 3 and continue until Saturday September 6, according to the timetable to be drawn up.

c – Wednesday August 20 was appointed as the day when the timetable for the subjects to be taught in the Gymnasium in this new school year 1897-98 is to be drafted.

The Headmaster
(signature)
Al. M. Zoumetikos

The teachers
(signatures)

E. THE INTERNAL OPERATION OF THE SCHOOLS. EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN MONASTIR

1. School year / teaching year, registration, holidays / vacation

The school year / teaching year. In Monastir the school year began on September 1 and ended on June 30, for all schools. This last day of the school year was usually celebrated with a “school day”, or fête. The teaching year began on September 10, with the first day of classes,¹⁴⁸ and ended sometime between May 22 and June 5, depending on the grade.¹⁴⁹

b) Registration. Children were registered for school by their parents or guardians between August 20¹⁵⁰ and the beginning of September, with a few extra days allowed for out-of-town students: “*The registration of students for the Gymnasium will begin on August 20 and will continue until September 1 for those resident in the city and until September 6 for those resident elsewhere*”.¹⁵¹

c) Holidays and vacation. The dates of school holidays and summer vacation were fixed by the local school boards and colleges of teachers, and were more or less the same for all schools.

According to the minutes of the sixth meeting of the Monastir School Board, the dates of school holidays and summer vacation for the schools in Monastir were fixed as follows¹⁵² - table 14.

148. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting I, 25 August 1898).

149. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901) – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting of 30 April 1899).

150. Charalambos K. Papastathis, *The regulations*, 192.

151. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia), 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting I, 18 August 1897).

152. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 363.

Ἔτος σχολ. 1898-99.

(Γυμνασιάρχουτος. Αλέξ. Βουμαλίαν καὶ ἑφευρέων
των Δωδ. Δούτη, Διοδ. Πιθαυρίνα, Διμή. Χάλα καὶ Ν.
καὶ Κωνσταντίνου).

- Δουκέρια, πρῶτη ἡμέρ. 25^ῃ Σεπτεμβρίου 1898 -
- (ἡμέρ. τῆς προπαιδαγωγικῆς ἑργασίας τῆς ἀρχῆς)

Δουκέρια ἡ σύλλογος τῶν κ. κ. καθιερῶν τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς
καὶ Γυμνασιαρχίας ἐπισημασίου ἡμερῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκπαιδευτικῇ παρακαταρξί-
κῆς ἑργασίᾳ, τοῦ σχολ. ἔτους 1898-99, ἡτοια:

1) Αὐτηγητικαὶ μαθηταὶ δι' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγγλίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμερῆς
τῶν μαθητῶν γενήσονται πρὸ 10^{ῆς} Σεπτεμβρίου, αἱ δὲ ἑργασίαι μαθ-
ησῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 1-3 π. μ. ὥρας παρακαθίστανται κατὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸ τι-
μὸν τῶν παρθεσίων σ.χ. ἔτους ἀπεφασισθέντα μέχρι τῆς 1^{ῆς} μὲν Σεπτεμβρίου
ἐπὶ τῶν παρθεσίων, μέχρι τῆς δευτέρης δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν. ἐπὶ τῶν δ.
μαθησῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς προσεχομένοις πρὸς ἑργασίαν ἐπὶ τῶν
καὶ προσεχόντων τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῖς.

2) Ὁρίζεται τὸ ἀναγνώσιον πρόγραμμα ἡμῶν κατὰ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐπιση-
μασίου καὶ μεταγενετέραν ἡμερῶν ὅπως καὶ διαρῶνται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ
πρῶτον (3) ἡμέρας ἡμέρ. ἀπὸ τῆς 1^{ῆς} 3^{ῆς} τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τὰς δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
αὐτῆς ἡμερῶν μαθητῶν ὥρας.

Ὁ Γυμνασιάρχης - Οἱ Καθηγηταὶ

Αλέξανδρος Βουμαλίαν - Μελίτης

Διοδ. Πιθαυρίνα - Τ. Χ. Χάλα

Διμή. Χάλα - Σπυρίδης Χαλκιάς

Διοδ. Πιθαυρίνα

Κωνσταντίνου

Figure 48. Gymnasium of Monastir, First meeting, 15 August 1898 – concerning preparation for the new school year – beginning of classes, IAM / AMII, file 24

TABLE 14
School holidays – vacation

Dates of school holidays observed in the schools in Monastir	
Article 142 of the existing school regulations concerning feast days on which the schools will be closed has been amended by the community council as follows	
8 and 14 September. 26 October. 8 and 21 November. 6, 12, 24, 25, 26, 27 December. 1, 6, 7, 18 and 30 January. 2 February. 9 and 25 March. 23 April. 1 and 21 May. The Feast of the SS Theodore.	Holy Wednesday to Holy Saturday. “Chaste Week”. Ascension Day. Whit Saturday and Whit Monday. Summer vacation from the end of the ex- aminations until August 31.
Ioakeim of Pelagonia	

2. Attendance / absence of students – justification, qualification of attendance, performance and conduct

a) Attendance. In Monastir children attended school five and a half days a week: Monday-Friday plus Saturday morning. The school day was divided into a morning session, usually of three hours, from 9 to 12, and an afternoon session, again of three hours, from 1 to 4.

This was not absolute, however, and some schools followed a different timetable: in the Varnavas Middle School (est. 1830), for example, classes began at sunrise and ended at sunset.¹⁵³

b) Absences and justification. A register of absences was kept by the class monitors – the best and most assiduous pupils in the class – and signed by each successive teacher throughout the day.

The form teacher entered the absences into the attendance book at regular intervals, and the college of teachers – usually at the last meeting of the school year – reviewed the attendance record for each student and on

153. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 9.

that basis (the critical number of absences was not the same in every school) decided whether the student had attended regularly or not. In the latter case he would not be admitted to the general examinations in June, but would be referred to the second examination period in September.



Figure 49. Girl from Monastir (Thomae) – 1910

Absences had to be justified by the child's guardian in person at the school, or by a doctor's certificate. A doctor's certificate was also required to excuse a child from taking part in the required physical education classes, and indeed in such cases those absenting themselves were checked very strictly and debarred from the school if they did not produce the required note from the doctor.

One such case is recorded in the minutes of the meetings of the Monastir School Board, when Konstantina Argyriou, a student at the Monastir School for Girls, absented herself without justification from her physical education class:¹⁵⁴

Meeting II, 16 January 1906

Chairman and convenor: Metropolitan Bishop ...

Present: MM S. Demetriades, D. Vafeiades, A. Christidou and N. Tsingaras

The meeting discussed the case of Konstantina Argyriou, a student at the School for Girls, who was absent from the Physical Education class and has refused to produce a doctor's certificate excusing her for reasons of illness, as the Headmistress of the school required her to do. It was decided the Mr Demetriades should inform the said student on the 19th of this month that she fails to produce the required doctor's certificate by the 21st she shall no longer be accepted as a student as of the 23rd of the month..

This being done the meeting was brought to a close.

*The superintendents
(signatures)*

*(signature)
Ioakeim of Pelagonia*

The table below, which reproduces the "absences" column of the General Record of the Mousikeios *Astike Schole* in Monastir for Year 3 (section a) gives a general picture of the variation in numbers of absences¹⁵⁵ - table 15.

154. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 365.

155. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 366.

TABLE 15
*Absences of Year 3 pupils
 at the Mousikeios Astike Schole in Monastir*

Mousikeios Astike Schole Monastir					
School year 1909-1910 – Year 3, section A, enrolment: 51					
<i>Name</i>	<i>Absences</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Absences</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Absences</i>
E. Dalengas	99	I. Spyrou	21	N. Karou	32
P. Ilias	31	E. Vatsinaris	22	K. Angelides	
Th. Chrisafis	52	M. Karademos	12	A. Picheon	32
D. Molas	9	P. Pallikaris	31	P. Traïnou	2
D. Demetrias	288	V. Kotzaïas	23	E. Servinic	92
I. Giannakis	63	G. Virettas	13	L. Tzimas	22
D. Momides	32	A. Pylagoras	53	K. Thomas	
A. Theodorou		I. Motsanos	50	K. Yangoulas	105
Th. Nenas	61	K. Christou	33	K. Troskas	336
Ch. Christidis	59	S. Konstantinou	6	G. Gounaris	22
G. Konstantinou	2	M. Papanastasiou	42	P. Katsanis	22
E. Veltsos	53	P. Pirlitas	129	M. Sotiriou	
G. Michail	43	P. Konstantinides	33	N. Demetriou	
S. Georgiou	6	N. Papageorgiou	22	N. Matsou	87
Th. Kosmas	24	V. Anastasiou	59	N. Romos	106
D. Mazas	4	Th. Trochides	48	A. Grammatikou	22
K. Vlysnakos	32	Th. Georgiou		P. Graikos	1

c) Assessment of attendance, performance and conduct. The schools in Monastir used a common system for rating pupil attendance, performance and conduct¹⁵⁶ - table 16.

156. For example: IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 16 (1876-1882 – General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 367.

TABLE 16
*Assessment of pupil attendance, performance and conduct
 used in the schools of Monastir*

Qualification			
<i>Attendance (absences)</i>	<i>Performance (marking 1-6 or 1-10)</i>	<i>Conduct</i>	
satisfactory	Excellent	Commendable	Quite Good
unsatisfactory	Very Good	Excellent	Fair
	Good	Very Good	Censurable
	Quite Good	Good	Reprehensible
	Fair		

In the schools in Monastir, the attendance, performance and conduct of the pupils and students were assessed at a special meeting of the teaching staff held at the end of each term after the written examinations. The minutes of one such meeting (of the teachers in the Gymnasium of Monastir) are cited below:¹⁵⁷

*Fifth meeting, 8 January 1900
 (On the conduct of the students in the 1st semester)*

The college of teachers was convened by the Headmaster and having assessed the conduct of each student in the first semester of the year did enter their rating in the record book.

*The Headmaster
 (signature)
 Al. Zoumetikos*

*The Teachers
 (signatures)*

157. 14. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir -Extract / Meeting V, 8 January 1900); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 367.

Επίσημο βιβλίο αναγωγών και διαγωγών των μαθητών του γυμνασίου μοναστηρίου 1876-77

Όνομα και πατρώνυμο	Ηλικία	Επίσημο	Αναγ.	Κατάταξη	Μαθ.	Σολογ.	Προσφ.	Ποσοστό	Επίσημο βαθμό	Διαγωγή	Σημειώσεις
<i>Ταβ. Α'</i>											
1. Γεωργίου Κωνσταντίνου	5	3/4	4	4	4	3/4	4	4	2. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
2. Κωνσταντίνου Βασίλειου	3	2	2	2	2	2/4	2	2	1. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
3. Γεωργίου Γεωργίου	3	3/4	3	3	3	3/4	3	3	2. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
4. Κωνσταντίνου Μανώλη	5	3/4	3/4	5	5	3/4	5	5	3. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
5. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	5	4	4	6	5	5/4	5	5	4. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
<i>Ταβ. Β'</i>											
6. Γεωργίου Κωνσταντίνου	4	2	2	1	2	2/4	2	2	1. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
7. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	4	5	4	4	5	6	6	6	2. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
8. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	2	2/4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
9. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	3	3/4	3/4	3	3	4	4	4	4. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
10. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	2	2/4	2	2	2	3	3	3	5. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
11. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	4	5/4	5	6	5/4	5/4	5/4	5/4	6. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
<i>Ταβ. Α'</i>											
12. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	5	5/4	5	5	5	5	5	5	7. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
13. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	3/4	5	5	5	4	5/4	5/4	5/4	8. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
14. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	3/4	4/4	3	4	3	3/4	3/4	3/4	9. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
15. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	4	5	5/4	5	4/4	6	6	6	10. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
16. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	3	3	3/4	3	3/4	4	4	4	11. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
17. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	4/4	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	12. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
18. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	2	3/4	3	3	3	3/4	3/4	3/4	13. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω
19. Κωνσταντίνου Κωνσταντίνου	2	3/4	4	3	3	3/4	3/4	3/4	14. κατ'επίσημο	κατά	Παραπάνω

Figure 50. Report on the diligence and conduct of the students attending the Gymnasium in the school year 1876-1877, IAM / AMII, file 16

3. General Registers, Individual Student Records

The General Registers and individual Student Records of the schools in Monastir provide a record of their teaching procedure and the progress of the children who attended them. Unfortunately, however, very few of these precious records have survived.

The General Registers record: The names of the children enrolled in each institution, by grade and by school year, the performance of each one, with his final mark and overall assessment, conduct rating and sundry remarks. The individual Student Records contain: The name of the child, his place of birth (and his religion if he is not Greek Orthodox), his age, his father's occupation, the grade in which he is registered, the number of children in the class, the attestation of registration, the name of his guardian, the "school fees", and sundry remarks:

TABLE 17
General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir

Report on the diligence and conduct of the students in the Gymnasium in the school year 1876-77								
<i>Name</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Mathematics</i>	<i>History</i>	<i>Overall Assessment</i>	<i>Conduct</i>
Year 3*								
I. Yangou	5	3 ^{3/4}	4	4	4	3 ^{1/2}	Σ.Κ. 3 ^{3/4}	Λ.Κ.
N. I. Vellos	3	2		2	3	2 ^{1/2}		Κ.
A. Vlatsiotis	3	3 ^{1/2}	3	5	3 ^{1/2}	4 ^{1/2}	Σ.Κ. 3 ^{1/2}	Λ.Κ.
P. Bikas	5	3 ^{3/4}	3 ^{1/4}	5	3 ^{1/2}	5	Σ.Κ. 3 ^{1/2}	Κ.
I. Pischas	5	4	4	6	5	5 ^{1/2}	Κ. 4 ^{3/4}	Κ.
Year 2								
D. Nikarousis	1	2	2	1	2	2 ^{1/2}	Μετεξ.	
V. Notis	4	5	4	4	5	6	Λ. Κ.	Λ.Κ.
K. Nousias	2	2 ^{1/4}		2	2	3		
V. Matzaris	3	3 ^{3/4}		2 ^{1/2}	3	4	Σ. Κ.	Λ.Κ.
I. Milosis	2	2 ^{1/2}	2	2	3	3	Μετεξ.	
N. Tsigaras	6	5 ^{1/2}	5	6	5 ^{1/2}	5 ^{1/2}	Λ.Κ.5 ^{1/2}	Λ.Κ.
Year 1								
N. Dedis	5	5 ^{1/2}	5	5	5	5	Λ. Κ.	Μ.
N. Pemas	3 ^{1/2}	5	5	5	4	5 ^{1/2}	Κ.	Μ.
G. Stavrou	3 ^{1/2}	4 ^{1/2}	3	4	3	3 ^{1/2}	Σ. Κ.	Α.
D. Zallis	4	5	5 ^{1/2}	5	4 ^{1/2}	6	Κ. 4 ^{1/2}	Μ.
G. Siardos	3	3	2 ^{1/2}	3	3	4	Σ. Κ.	Μ.
M. Kalderon		4 ^{1/2}	4	5	5	5	Κ. 4 ^{1/2}	Κ.
A. Mexis	2	3 ^{1/2}	3	3	3	2 ^{1/2}	Σ. Κ.	Μ.
I. Karousis	2	3 ^{1/2}	4	3	3	2 ^{1/2}	Σ. Κ.	Λ.Κ.
* The curriculum for Year 3 also included: Psychology and Physics (Yangou 4/4, Vellos 2/2, Vlatsiotis 3/5, Bikas 4/5 and Pischas 4/5).								
Legend: A (Arista = Excellent), Λ.Κ. (Lian Kalos = Very Good), Κ. (Kalos = Good), Σ.Κ. (Schodon Kalos = Quite Good), Μ. (Metrios = Fair), Μετεξ. (Metexetasteos = Referred).								

4

ΜΑΘΗ

Σχ. Γυμνασίου τῆς Μοναστηρίου

Αξιὸν ἀριθμὸς	ΟΝΟΜΑ ΜΑΘΗΤΟΥ	Τόπος γεννήσεως, ἢ τὸ ἀπογένηται καὶ τὸ ὄρφανός, ἢ τὸ συγγενὴς ἐγγράβει	Ἡλικία	Ἐπιγρᾶμμα πατρὸς	Χρόνος ἐγγραφῆς
1803	49 Ἀγγέλου Βασίλειος	Μοναστήριον	12	Ζηζυμίου	19 Σεπτεμβρίου
1712	50 Ἀδριάνου Ἀθανάσιου	Μοναστήριον	13	μεσίτης	" "
1804	51 Γεωργίου Κωνσταντίνου	Μοναστήριον	16	ὄρφανός	" "
1805	52 Ἀγγελουδάκη Σ. Παναγιώτης	Τύρροβον	15	ὄρφανός	" "
1691	53 Σπύρου Κ. Ἀδριάνου	Μοναστήριον	18	ἕμιστος	20 "
1598	54 Χατζηγιάννη Γ. Ἀλέξανδρου	Μεγαρόβον	17	παντοιοπούλου	" "
1806	55 Βλαστάκη Π. Κωνσταντίνου	Τύρροβον	13	ὄρφανός	" "
1723	56 Σωφρονίου Σ. Εὐαγγέλου	Μοναστήριον	15	"	21 "
1807	57 Πασαχάδου Ἰερόθεου (Ἀμαρτί)	"	16	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1688	58 Σαββᾶτος Α. Πατριᾶς	"	15	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1419	59 Σουλῆτος Γ. Γεωργίου	"	17	ἕμιστος	" "
1808	60 Κωνσταντίνου Γεωργίου	"	12	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1809	61 Πρωτοπλάτη β. Θωμάς	"	11	βραβευμένον	" "
1810	62 Βλαστάκη Ἀντ. Παναγιώτης	βάρβα	13	σταθμάρχου	" "
1695	63 Τίτλητος Ν. Κωνσταντίνου	Μοναστήριον	14	παντοιοπούλου	" "
1811	64 Ἀρπαγιῶτη Ν. Δημήτριος	"	13	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1451	65 Σωφρονίου Σ. Εὐαγγέλου	Μοναστήριον	18	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1402	66 Σωφρονίου Σ. Εὐαγγέλου	Μοναστήριον	19	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	22 "
1704	67 Νίκου Σ. Δημήτριος	"	13	ἐπιτελεσθέντος	" "
1399	68 Σωφρονίου Σ. Εὐαγγέλου	"	19	ὄρφανός	" "
1812	69 Κωνσταντίνου Εὐαγγέλου	"	13	ὄρφανός	" "
1624	70 Χατζηγιάννη Γ. Ἀποστόλου	Μεγαρόβον	16	"	23 "
1720	71 Σωφρονίου Τελέμαχος	Μοναστήριον	15	ἕμιστος	" "
813	72 Τριπολιτῆς Ἀντ. Εὐαγγέλου	"	12	ὄρφανός	" "

Figure 51. Student Record from the Greek Gymnasium in Monastir for the school year 1911-1912, IAM / AMIT, file 22

a) *The General Registers*. The General Registers of the Gymnasium of Monastir and its associated Middle School that are preserved in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia allow us to follow their “*Report[s] on the diligence and conduct of the students*” for the school years 1876-1877 and 1878-1882. Of this body of material we cite here, by way of illustration, the details presented below, which give an overall picture of the Gymnasium of Monastir in the 1876-1877 school year¹⁵⁸ - table 17.

The General Registers of the Mousikeios School and the corresponding Reports, General Results and Statistical Tables yield similar information.¹⁵⁹

b) *The individual student records*. The extant individual student records from the Gymnasium of Monastir (extracts) also provide invaluable information about the education it provided its students in the school years 1911-1912 and 1912-1913.¹⁶⁰

4. School certificates

1. At regular intervals the students and pupils in the schools in Monastir were awarded certificates attesting their attendance, conduct and performance – in other words, their diligence and progress. These certificates were school reports, certificates of promotion, and leaving certificates.

In each school, the school reports were drawn up by the college of teachers and delivered to the children’s guardians at the end of each school semester, that is, at the end of January and the end of June. The second semester report recorded the child’s performance over the whole school year; if this was satisfactory, it was also his certificate of promotion to the next grade. A School Leaving Certificate (*apolyterio*) was awarded upon successful completion of the final year.

We cite below the minutes of a meeting of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir “*concerning the results of and reports for the*

158. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 16 (1876-1882 – General Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 369.

159. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 27.

160. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 22 (1911-1913 – Register of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract).

winter examinations” for the school year 1899-1900:¹⁶¹

*Meeting six, 22 January 1900
(concerning the results of the winter examinations)*

The college of teachers having been convened by the Headmaster did proceed to determine the results of the winter examinations from the scripts handed in by the students, enter these into the report book together with the daily progress marks noted in the class register, and draw up the diligence and conduct reports to be distributed to each student, all of which were signed by the Headmaster and the responsible form teacher.

*The Headmaster
(signature)
Al. Zoumetikos*

*The Teachers
(signatures)*

2. During the course of our research we unearthed and recovered from the depths of time, oblivion and the lumber-rooms of the now elderly students of these schools and their descendants a number of these certificates; the ones described below are reproduced above in the section on the best-known schools in Monastir:

a) School Leaving Certificate from the Girls’ School in Bitolia. Awarded on 21 July 1897 to Sebaste Nikolaou, who graduated from the Monastir Girls’ School with the overall mark of 3 ½, “Quite Good”.¹⁶²

b) School Leaving Certificate from the Gymnasium of Monastir. Awarded on 25 June 1905 to S. L. Megdanopoulos, who graduated from the Greek Gymnasium Gymnasium of Monastir with the overall mark of 7.01 (Good).¹⁶³

161. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting VI, 22 January 1900); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 373.

162. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 11.

163. Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina; Archives of the “*Elpis* Association of former residents of Monastir and environs of Florina”, Florina; “Album of Monastiriotes”, published by the *Elpis* Association of former residents of Monastir and environs of Florina, Florina – Prespes 1996, 47, with a photocopy of the School Leaving Certificate; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 377.

c) *School Leaving Certificate from the Gymnasium of Monastir*. Awarded on 28 June 1911 to Anastasios K. Sioukas, who graduated from the Greek Gymnasium of Monastir with the overall mark of 8.63 = Very Good.¹⁶⁴

d) *Monastir Middle School Report Card*. Delivered on 25 June 1912 to L. G. Liaskos, certifying that he had successfully completed Year 1 of the Monastir Middle School with the overall mark of 7.07 = Good.¹⁶⁵

5. School punishments

1. One aspect of the education of schoolchildren was chastisement and the imposition of punishments. Up to a certain point, of course, they were disciplined by correction as an example to their classmates. The most usual punishment was one-day expulsion, imposed by the Head of the school and the college of teachers; longer expulsion was a matter for the school board and the superintendents.

2. One typical example of a school punishment is noted in the “Minutes of the meetings of the School Board in Monastir” for the year 1905-1906: eleven students at the Monastir Middle School were expelled from class for “trouble-making”, nine of them for one day and two for the remainder of the year. Since, however, the college of teachers thereby overstepped its authority, the matter was raised in a joint meeting with the School Board, which alone had the right to impose the heavier penalty. This meeting having ruled that “*the punishment inflicted on those shown to be the instigators is excessively harsh*”, the college of teachers met again and this time proposed that the School board “*reduce the period of expulsion of Middle School Year 3 students Santis and Vakratsis to one month*”, a recommendation which was in the end accepted by the School Board.¹⁶⁶

164. Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou Archives, Thessaloniki; Archives of the “*Karteria* Association of former residents of Monastir and environs of Thessaloniki”, Thessaloniki; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 378.

165. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37 – Certificate of Promotion from Year 1 of the Greek School (*scholarcheion*) of Monastir, 1912; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 379.

166. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 391-392.

6. Examinations, marking, inspections, prizes

a) *EXAMINATIONS*. Another aspect of school life was examinations. These were usually set for each school by its college of teachers, and were of four kinds, some or most of which were used by all schools: *winter examinations*, *ordinary* or *general examinations*, “*half*” examinations and *September examinations*. The examination dates were set and announced by the college of teachers of each school, and in general the timetable, once announced, was adhered to. Not infrequently, however, the examinations had to be rescheduled for one reason or another, and in these cases new announcements were made:

Winter examinations. The winter examinations at the Gymnasium of Monastir were *written* papers, and took place after the Christmas and New Year’s holidays, usually between the 11th and the 14th of January, and were followed by two days’ holiday: “*The winter written examinations will begin on Monday, January 11 and end on Thursday January 14, according to the published schedule. After the examinations the Gymnasium will remain closed for two days to allow the students to rest and the teachers to mark the papers*”.¹⁶⁷

Ordinary or *general examinations*. These were both written and oral. The *written* examinations were usually held between the 14th and the 20th of June, and were followed by the *oral examinations*, which began on June 20 and ended with pomp and ceremony on June 30, the last day of the school year. On that last day the children were questioned by their teachers on the coursework for the year, in a sort of final public examination in front of their parents and guardians and other spectators, and were awarded their promotion or leaving certificates. In many schools the official examinations ceremony took place on June 25 rather than June 30, “*when the school leaving certificates will be given out and some students will be examined in some subjects*”.¹⁶⁸

“*Half*” examinations. These examinations, which took place on the Feast Day of the Three Hierarchs (January 30), the patron saints of literacy,

167. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir- Extract / Meeting IV, 17 December 1898).

168. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting VI, 22 January 1900).

were a review of the half of the year's subject matter that had been covered up to that point.

September examinations. The September examination period was for students refused admission to the ordinary year-end examinations, for *resits* and for *entrance examinations* to higher-level schools, e.g. gymnasiums.¹⁶⁹

b) Marking. Once the written and oral examinations were over, the college of teachers announced the results and the marks that were to be noted on the reports and certificates. The final marks for each semester were calculated from the mark awarded for the written and oral examinations and the “*daily progress*” mark (for each student), *recorded in the classbook*”,¹⁷⁰ that is, the “oral mark” for classroom performance as still used today.

The overall average mark and corresponding performance assessment was worked out for each student by his or her form teacher. The “*two papers with calculations of student marks and averages*” in file 37 of the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia provide more valuable documentation for the history of education in Monastir.¹⁷¹

Those students who “*have not acquired the requisite strengths or qualifications*”, either because they missed too many days of school or because they failed to pass their written and oral examinations during the course of the school year, were not permitted to sit the ordinary examinations in June but were referred to the September examination period at the beginning of the next school year.¹⁷²

169. “*The entrance examinations for students coming to the school from outside and the examinations for students of the Gymnasium referred for re-examination in one or more subjects in September will begin on Wednesday September 3 and continue until Saturday September 6, according to the timetable to be drawn up*” (IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting I, 18 August 1897); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 393-394.

170. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting VI, 22 January 1900).

171. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 37 (*Six reports to the School Board of the community of Pelagonia (1887-1899) – Three documents with accounts of the school boards of Monastir (1912-1913) – Lists of teachers in Tyrnovo, Monastir, Megarovo and Nikopolis – Two papers with calculations of student marks and averages – List of books ordered – Certificates of the Greek Gymnasium in Monastir (1912) – Mark sheet – Student record sheet (1912-1913)*).

172. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings

In addition, students who failed in one or two subjects could resit these examinations in September.

c) *Inspections*. The Metropolitan Bishops of Monastir often served as school inspectors, as did the Greek consular authorities, who reviewed the schools and expressed their opinions on educational matters.

All the above school and educational tasks were determined and ratified by – usually – the last meeting of the college of teachers, which dealt with the “*results of the general examinations and the final tasks of the teaching staff*”. At this meeting the college of teachers drew up the list of those who were to be promoted, those who were to be re-examined and the subjects they were to resit, and those who would graduate. It also reviewed and graded “*the conduct and totalled up the absences of each student, noting these on the final report*”, prepared and signed the reports and certificates and set the dates for registration for the next school year and for the September examinations.¹⁷³

d) *Prizes*. In the schools in Monastir prizes were awarded: a) As a moral reward for diligence, and b) As financial assistance to good students and indigent or orphaned students, from funds left as legacies and bequests. Prizes were given out in an official prize-giving ceremony.

For example, at the school fête of the Central Girls’ School in Monastir at the end of the 1906-1907 school year, Headmistress Eleni A. Picheon proposed a list of candidates for the prize of 100 Turkish liras left by Ioannis Demetriades in his will; this list included:

“1. *Emilia Vladika of Monastir, aged 17, fatherless, graduating with a final average of 8.85 = Very Good, and of excellent conduct.*

2. *Urania Michail of Monastir, aged 17, father: gunsmith, graduating with a final average of 8.61 = Very Good, and of excellent conduct.*

3. *Aglaia Mitsoli of Monastir, aged 17, fatherless, graduating with a final average of 9.20 = Very Good, and of excellent conduct.*

4. *Maria Athanasiou of Monastir, aged 17, father: labourer, graduating with a final average of 6.55 = Good, and of excellent conduct*”.¹⁷⁴

of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting VIII, 3 June 1900).

173. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 24 (10-9-1887 / 9-5-1901 – Minutes of the meetings of the college of teachers of the Gymnasium of Monastir - Extract / Meeting IX, 10 July 1900); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 394-396.

174. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25.

	α.	β.	γ.	δ.	ε.	ζ.	η.	θ.	ι.	κ.	λ.
α.	5	9.5	47.5	9	45	8.5	32.5	9.5	47.5	9	45
β.	6	9	54	8	48	7	28	7	42	7	42
γ.	5	10	50	9	45	8	40	8	40	8	40
δ.	4	10	40	9.5	38	9	36	9	36	8	32
ε.	4	9	36	8	32	7	28	8	32	8	32
ζ.	5	10	50	9	45	6.5	32.5	9	45	7	35
η.	4	9	36	7	36	7	28	10	40	7	28
θ.	4	10	40	9	36	9	36	8.5	34	8	32
ι.	4	10	40	9.5	38	7.5	30	10	40	7.5	30
κ.	5	6	30	7	35	7	28	8	40	7	35

Πατρων.	Ερ. Μ. Χαν.	Γουλιμ.	Λευκ.	Χ'λιδ.	Κουρβουζ.						
8.5	42	8	40	7	15	8	40	6	30	9.5	47.5
6	36	5	30	6	36	7.5	45	6.5	39	6.5	39
8	40	5	25	6	30	8	40	6	30	7	35
9	36	6	24	6	24	8	32	7	28	8	32
6	24	6	24	6	24	8	32	6	24	7	28
6	30	5	25	7	35	5.5	27.5	7	35	6.5	32.5
8	32	7	28	8	32	9	36	9	36	10	40
7	28	6.5	26	7.5	30	8.5	34	6	24	8	32
8.5	34	7.5	30	6	24	6	24	5	20	7.5	30
9	45	9	45	8	40	7	35	7	35	8	40

Figure 53. Loose sheet of paper on which a teacher in Monastir worked out “student marks and averages” – IAM/AMIT 1876-1913, file 37



Figure 54. Students of Monastir schools at a religious festival and ceremony in honour of school benefactors the Demetriou brothers

7. School events

a) School fêtes and related programmes, “schools day”

1. The schools in Monastir marked religious festivals (the Three Hierarchs, Feast of St Thomas, etc.) and “schools day” (the closing day of the school year) with elaborate celebratory programmes. Searching in the Historical Archives of Macedonia (IAM) we found interesting programmes recorded in the Minutes of meetings of the School Board in Monastir and preserved in the Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia (AMII), referring to various occasions celebrated in schools in Monastir.

2. We cite here, by way of example, the programmes for two such fêtes:

a) The joint programme with which all the schools in Monastir marked the Feast Day of the Three Hierarchs in the 1905-1906 school year¹⁷⁵ - table 18.

TABLE 18
*Programme for the celebration of the Feast of the Three Hierarchs
by the schools of Monastir*

<i>Programme for the Schools Day Fête on January 30</i>	
<i>Meeting 3, 23 January 1906</i>	
The meeting, convened by the Reverend Bishop who acted as chairman and attended by MM S. Demetriades, D. Vafeiades, Christides and Tsingaras, discussed the programme for the upcoming Schools Day Fête on January 30, Feast Day of the Three Hierarchs, which was agreed as follows:	
1) Religious service in the school hall 2) “Eternal be the memory” sung while the Bishop descends and dis- robes. 3) Interlude by the band while the Bishop re-enters: 4) Anthem to the Great Sultan. 5) Speech by the Headmaster. 6) “Hamidias” performed by the band.	7) Benefactors’ Song. 8) Band (short interlude). 9) Two songs performed by students. 10) Band (short interlude). 11) Two songs performed by students. 12) Band (short interlude). 13) Two songs performed by students. 14) Public address by the Bishop to his flock.
As regards the rest of the programme, it was decided that the Board should adjourn to the Gymnasium and there work out the remaining details. With regard to invitations, it was decided to continue as in the past. This done, the meeting was brought to an end.	
The Board (signatures)	Ioakeim of Pelagonia (signature)

175. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 402.

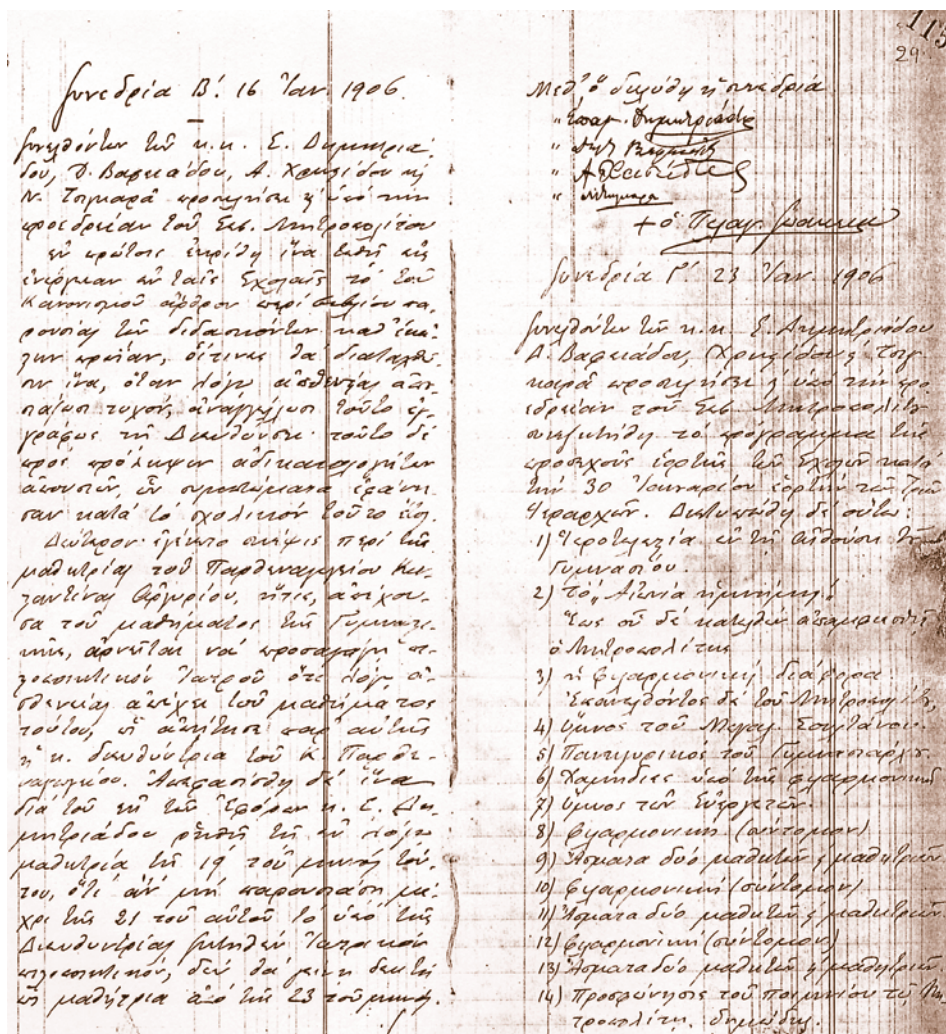


Figure 55. Programme for the school fête for the Feast of the Three Hierarchs
 – IAM / AMΠ, file 25

b) The “programme for the fête marking the Feast of St Thomas at the Central Girls’ School” of Monastir in the school year 1906-1907¹⁷⁶ - table 19.

176. IAM (Historical Archives of Macedonia) / AMP (Archives of the Metropolitan Diocese of Pelagonia) 1876-1913, file 25; Antonis M. Koltidas, *The education*, 404.

TABLE 19
*Programme for the St Thomas' Day fête
 at the Central Girls' School in Monastir*

<i>“Programme for the St Thomas' Day fête at the Central Girls' School in Monastir”</i> <i>Meeting IX, 16 April 1907</i>	
Religious service. 1. Hymn. 2. The Sultan's anthem. 3. Band (<i>Hamidie</i>). 4. Ode to the founders. 5. Drawing of lots. 6. Founders' song. 7. Band. 8. Monologue (“The boy”).	9. Song (“The goldfinch”). 10. Dialogue (“Fatherland”). 11. Band. 12. Poem (“Black grief”). 13. Song (“The cross”). 14. Poem (“Menoceus”). 15. Song. 16. Poem (“The forest of despair”). 17. Blessings and prayers for long life.
This done, the meeting was dissolved <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> The board (signatures) </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> (signature) Emilianos of Petra </div> </div>	

3. The following passage from the article by Nikolaos Georgiades (under the pseudonym *Pygmalion*) who covered the celebration of the “Feast of the Three Hierarchs in Monastir - 1905” for the Thessaloniki journal *Aletheia* (published 12 March 1905)¹⁷⁷ will help convey the festive atmosphere of these school fêtes and can serve as an example of a typical school event in Monastir:

“...*This year's celebration* (of the Feast of the Three Hierarchs) *was in no way inferior to those of the past. The splendid service in the church set the tone for the day. After the dismissal the great crowd, led by the clergy with our own Metropolitan Ioakeim, the Greek Consul Sp. Lebides and the Vice-Consul Ph. Kontogouris, made its way into the spacious hall of our Greek Gymnasium, which in an instant was packed with thousands of music-lovers, all of them Greeks, among whom we distinguished the notables of our Community and the chief among its lettered and professional citizens.*

177. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings*, 43-44; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 403-404.



Figure 56. Students of Monastir schools at a religious festival and ceremony in honour of school benefactors the Demetriou brothers

The liturgy for the day was followed by a varied programme, which was carried out in an admirably orderly fashion. At the podium Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos spoke most eloquently on “friendship”, basing his discourse on the self-evident and undying beliefs of our ancestors. The songs of the children, all of them inspirations of the popular Muse, created a most excellent impression; the success of their performance is once again due to Mr Alexandros Gounaris, who as a teacher is not content merely to inspire in these young boys and modest girls, our valiant hope for the future and the noble mothers of the next generation of our people, a love of learning and a sense of the responsibility of education, but also through music to cultivate in them a love of the arts and of the nation. Praise must also go to the “Lyra” Musical Society, which adorned the occasion with a selection of pieces...”.

b) Cultural and artistic events (theatre, music, handwork), gymnastics displays, parades and marches, church attendance

The schools in Monastir also offered a wealth of cultural and artistic activity. Some of these events were organised by the students, others by the progressive local education societies.



Figure 57. "The Wiles of Ulysses", a theatrical performance in Monastir - 1910

Theatre. According to the statutes of the "Friends of the Arts Society"¹⁷⁸ and other educational and progressive associations, school halls (of-

178. The objects of the Friends of the Arts Society were: 1) National, cultural and social, for the young people of Monastir. 2) Organisation of a mandolin ensemble. 3) Creation

ten the large hall in the city's Gymnasium) were used for – among things – performances of plays like “Old Nicholas and his Lyre”, “The Apple of Discord” and “The Wiles of Ulysses” (1910).¹⁷⁹

On one such occasion, in a play organised by the “Friends of the Poor” association, the female role was played by Argyrios Exarchou, a boy from the Gymnasium, because women did not go on the stage.¹⁸⁰

Music, gymnastics, handwork. The “Lyra” Music Society (1891), the “Gymnastics Society of Monastir” and the “Athena Ergane” crafts workshop run by the “Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir” organised splendid musical concerts, annual gymnastics displays and exhibitions of handwork in the school in Monastir, and presented varied and delightful festive programmes.¹⁸¹

Ηπειρώται, Μακεδόνες
με τουφέκια με σπαθιά
οπλισθήτε, σας φωνάζει
η θεά Ελευθεριά.

Τα δικά της παλλικάρια
σαν ξευτέρια πολεμούν
και τα στίφη των βαρβάρων
προς την Σόφιαν κυνηγούν.

Το κανόνι θα βροντήσει
και θα φέρομεν παντού
με την Νίκη ενστεμμένη
την σημαίαν του Σταυρού.

Απ' τον Όλυμπον στον Αίμο
μια ακούεται κραυγή,
«Στης πατρίδος μας το χόμα
Βούλγαρος να μη σταθή».

Να η Κρήτη η ανδρειωμένη
μας κυττάζει από μακρυνά,
και γλυκό φιλί προσφέρει
στης Στεριάς την λεβεντιά.

Ας ταχύνωμεν το βήμα
ιδού έφτασ' η στιγμή
να ξεπλύνωμεν στο αίμα
της σκλαβιάς την εντροπή.

of a choir. 4) Organisation of arts *soirées*. 5) Organisation of performances and dances. 7) Teaching dances.

179. “Album of Monastiriotes”, published by the *Elpis* Association of former residents of Monastir and environs of Florina, Florina – Prespes 1996, 11, with a photograph of “The Wiles of Ulysses” (1910).

180. P. Neskos, “Αναμνήσεις από την ζωή των σωματείων Μοναστηρίου” (Memories of the life of the associations in Monastir), *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 72-73.

181. I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 1949, 65-75.

Parades – marches. During school parades, at their gymnastics displays and school fêtes and in their school music lessons, the children of the schools in Monastir sang patriotic marches and songs.

One such march, written by Th. N. Philadelphous and set to music by Alex Grek, is preserved in the 1908 Macedonian Chronicle of the Pan-Macedonian Society of Athens:¹⁸²



Figure 58. *Gymnastics in a Greek school in Monastir*

This stirring song, freely translated, reads: *Men of Epirus and Macedonia, take up your rifles and your swords, for the goddess Freedom is calling. The cannon will thunder, and we will carry everywhere the victory-crowned flag of the Cross. Lo, valiant Crete watches us from afar and sends a sweet kiss to the young men of the mainland. Her gallant stalwarts fight like hawks and drive the hordes of barbarians back to Sofia. From Olympus to Haemus a single cry is heard: "No Bulgarian shall stand on the soil of our fatherland". Let us quicken our step, for the moment has come to wash away the shame of slavery with our blood.*

182. Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ 1908, 173.

Church attendance. Regular church attendance on Sundays was a requirement for schoolchildren and their teachers throughout the school year. They also usually attended Vespers on the eve of the major holidays and morning service on the day itself.

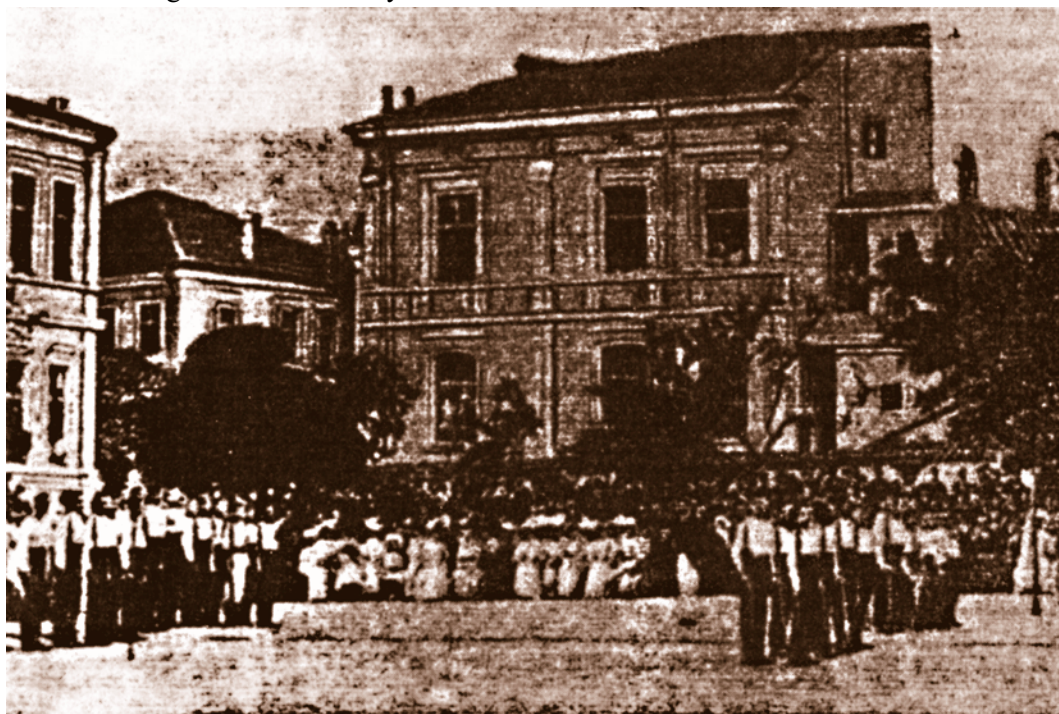


Figure 59. Gymnastics display in a Greek school in Monastir

8. The Educational Societies of Monastir in the context of educational activity in the city

Ensuring a Greek education in Monastir was one of the primary objects of the city's various educational societies and organisations – the “Casino”, “Evangelismos”, “Pronoia”, “Karteria”, the “Gymnastics Society of Monas-

tir”, the “Friends of Music Society”, “Melissa”, the “Theatre Society” – and all the other progressive, philanthropic and nationalist associations.¹⁸³

All these bodies provided recreational and educational activities and opportunities for the city’s young people, organising concerts, plays and lectures, setting up reading rooms, workshops and schools and furnishing them with tools, instruments, books and periodicals. More concretely they: a) organised reading rooms, lectures and social events, distributed books, taught children and adults and set up “Association Schools”; b) set up committees to deal with educational matters; c) founded and maintained schools; d) published and purchased schoolbooks; and e) hired and paid teachers.

The chapter devoted to the various societies, associations and organisations that flourished in Monastir in this period, including educational, patriotic and philanthropic bodies, contains much interesting information about their activity in support of schools and their general concern with the education of children and adults alike. At this point, however, we wish to dwell on their specific activity in connection with education committees, the founding and maintaining of schools, the mass procurement of schoolbooks and the hiring and payment of teachers:

a) Committees concerned with educational matters

The “Greek Club” of Monastir, founded in 1908, was a cultural and educational association devoted to “improving and promoting the education of our fellow” Vlach- and Greek-speaking Hellenes through a “Permanent Education Committee”¹⁸⁴ set up to solve education-related problems.

183. See also Anonymous, “Σωματεία και συντεχνία εν τω νομῷ Μοναστηρίου” (Societies and guilds in the Prefecture of Monastir), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317, with a list of societies and guilds.

184. The nine members of first Board of Directors of the “Greek Club” (1908) were: N. Nikarousis, Chairman, K. Matsalis, physician, Vice-Chairman, Petros Graikos, clerk in the Anatolian Bank, Secretary, M. Sontis, merchant, Treasurer, P. Nakas, mathematics teacher, Special Secretary, K. Makris, lawyer, Ephoros, and Dem. Vafeiades, physician, N. Tsigaras, lawyer and Sp. Doumas, merchant, Members. Besides the “Permanent Education Committee”, the “Greek Club” had another two permanent committees: the Journalism and the Commercial - Agricultural - Industrial committees (Cleitos, “Αι εν ἔτει 1859 και 1908 εν Μοναστηρίῳ ἰδρυθεῖσαι ἐλληνικαί λέσχαι” (The Greek clubs founded in Monastir in 1859 and 1908), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1910, 88).

b) Founding and maintaining schools

The “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education, founded in 1880, worked tirelessly to build, maintain and operate schools in poor neighbourhoods in the city and its environs.¹⁸⁵

In the school year 1880-1881, for example, it spent 7200 Turkish liras on school maintenance and teachers’ salaries, and another 5750 the following year.¹⁸⁶ In 1880-1881 it also received, via the Education Society of Thessaloniki, the sum of 76 Turkish liras, which were a contribution from the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the schools “*of the Helleno-Vlach communities around Monastir*”. This money was distributed to the Vlach-speaking towns and villages around the city: 30 liras to Gopesi, 20 to Perlepe, 14 to Milovista, 10 to Nizopolis, 10 to Yagovetsi, 15 to Megarovo, 5 to Tyrново, 5 to Ano Velitsa, etc.¹⁸⁷

Another organisation that carried out important philanthropic and educational work in Monastir was the “Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir”, which was founded in 1903. Among its other activities, some of which have already been noted, it set up and organised “Athena Ergane”, an excellent workshop-cum-school for needy girls. This institution took in 80-100 needy girls every year, and taught them to cut and sew, weave, embroider, and so on.¹⁸⁸

c) Publication – procurement of schoolbooks

The “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education distributed a total of 890 schoolbooks to schools in Monastir and neighbouring communities (Milovista, Nizopolis, Megarovo, Tyrново, etc.), most of them purchased from booksellers in Monastir. In addition, in response to an appeal from the

185. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 72.

186. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Οι Ελληνικοί Φιλεκπαιδευτικοί Σύλλογοι ως φορείς εθνικής παιδείας και πολιτισμού στη διαφιλονικούμενη Μακεδονία (1869-1914)* (The Greek Educational Societies as vehicles of nationalist education and culture in contested Macedonia), Thessaloniki – Athens 1996, 128.

187. I. Fikis, *Πρώτον έτος της εν Μοναστηρίω Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητας “Καρτερία”*. *Λογοδοσία* (First year of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education. Account rendered.), Thessaloniki 1882, 6-8.

188. I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ*, 1949, 72.

“Melissa” Students’ Association of Monastir, it also gave a substantial number of books to that organisation.¹⁸⁹

In the 1880-1881 school year, “Karteria” bought 58 liras worth of schoolbooks, and received donations of 70 books from Charisios Papamarkou as well as a large number of schoolbooks from the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters in Athens. These books were distributed to the “Melissa” Students’ Association of Monastir, the local school board, the Megarovo Fraternal Association for Education, neighbouring towns and villages, and to needy students in Monastir.¹⁹⁰

The “Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir”, which was founded in 1903, also supplied schoolbooks for needy children in Monastir.¹⁹¹

d) Hiring and paying teachers

The “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education, which was founded in 1880 by A. G. Tsallis, V. Notis, G. Dimitsas and Ioannis Fikis, was also very active in the sphere of hiring teachers and providing for their salaries. In the first year of its operation, the Association had 216 members; and the approximately 300 liras in its coffers went to pay the salaries of teachers in and around Monastir and in schools in Milovista, Nizopolis, Megarovo, Tyrnovo and elsewhere.¹⁹²

In the 1880-1881 school year the Association also hired 7 teachers (4 primary teachers, 2 nursery teachers and one teacher’s assistant) to teach in schools in five communities in the vicinity of Monastir.¹⁹³

9. Other Educational Societies active in and around Monastir

The Monastir-based progressive associations described above were not the only organisations that worked to promote and support Greek education in the city and its environs: this was also a primary object of the various

189. *Πρώτον και δεύτερον έτος της εν Μοναστηρίω Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητας “Καρτερία”, Λογοδοσία αναγνωσθείσαι τη 30 Ιανουαρίου επετείω αυτής εορτή* (First and second year of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education. Account rendered at the fête on January 30, anniversary of its founding), Thessaloniki 1882, 10-13.

190. I. Fikis, *First year*, 10, 12.

191. I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ*, 1949, 72.

192. *First and second year*, Thessaloniki 1882, 4-13.

193. I. Fikis, *First year*, 9.

educational societies that flourished in free Greece and throughout the Greek-speaking territories, whose activities included providing financial assistance to Greek communities in Pelagonia for schools, books, teachers, school maintenance, etc.

a) “Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters”

In 1871, the Association’s Education Committee sent the education authorities, the Metropolitan Bishops, the education associations and the school boards of Macedonia two circulars and a questionnaire, for the purpose of gathering information about the education situation in the region, assessing the problems and helping to solve them. One of the education authorities that responded – with letters – to this invitation was that of Pelagonia, which described its problems and asked for assistance.¹⁹⁴

In response to this appeal the Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters raised funds to build (in 1871) a School for Girls in Resna, which had been housed in rented quarters since its establishment two years previously.¹⁹⁵ The Association also provided funds for schools, societies and teachers in Ochrid, Resna (in addition to the construction of the Girls’ School), Megarovo, Monastir and Chroupista.¹⁹⁶

The Athens Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters performed sterling service in writing, publishing and assembling schoolbooks and distributing them to needy students in Macedonia. Between 1869 and 1877 it handed out 111,614 copies of primary and middle school textbooks, as well as religious and other works, spending in the process a total of 75,221.79 drachmas.¹⁹⁷ Of these books a substantial percentage was donated to schools in Monastir, Moschopolis, Koritsa, Blatsi, Krushevo and Milovista.¹⁹⁸

194. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 106-107.

195. Konstantinos Andreades, “Resna”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΠΣ*, 1910, 218.

196. The Athens Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters – Report on activities for the years 1876 and 1877, 62; Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 121, 150.

197. The Athens Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters – Report: a) On activities from date of founding to the present (1869-1871), b) On activities for the years 1872-1873, c) On activities for the year 1874, d) On activities for the year 1875, and e) On activities for the years 1876 and 1877 – passim.

198. Congress of Greek Associations, Acts of the first meeting held in Athens in the year 1879 – Report on the activities of the Athens Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters, Athens 1879, 159.

b) “Greek Philological Association of Constantinople”

During the ten years of its educational activity among the Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire (1871-1880), the Association provided financial assistance (in Turkish liras) to the “Evangelismos” society in Monastir and to the Pelagonian towns of Ochrid, Megarovo, Monastir, Nizopolis, Perlepe and Resna¹⁹⁹ - table 20.

TABLE 20
*Financial support
to communities in Pelagonia (1872-1874)*

Greek Philological Association of Constantinople					
<i>Association Communities</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Liras</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Liras</i>
Monastir:			Monastir	1872-1873	30
“Evangelismos”	1873-1874	80	Nizopolis	1872-1874	15
Ochrid	1872-1874	25	Perlepe	1872-1874	25
Megarovo	1872-1874	15	Resna	1872-1873	10

c) “‘Love One Another’ Fraternal Educational and Philanthropic Organisation”

In 1882-1883 this organisation donated 2000 piastres to educational establishments in Moschopolis and another 2000 to institutions in Perlepe.²⁰⁰

d) “Thessaloniki Friends of Education Society”

Over the period 1873-1892 this association supplied 180 teachers to schools of all levels across Macedonia, 8 of whom were assigned to schools in Pelagonia: Monastir (1), Perlepe (3), Megarovo (2), Krushevo (1) and Resna (1)²⁰¹ - table 21.

199. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 119; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 428.

200. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 123.

201. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 53, 149, 238-244; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 429.

TABLE 21
*Teachers appointed to
 schools in Pelagonia (1873-1892)*

Thessaloniki Friends of Education Society			
<i>Name</i>	<i>School year</i>	<i>Kind of school</i>	<i>Community</i>
Aikaterini G. Masaltzi	1877-1878	Nursery	Perlepe
Angeliki Michail	1878-1879	Girls	Megarovo
Kalogiannis Orfanides	1879-1880	Elementary	Perlepe
Polyxene Mina	1880-1881	Girls	Megarovo
Fani G. Vaïnanidou	1881-1882	Girls	Monastir
Aikaterini Mantouka	1881-1882	Girls	Perlepe
Anna Ioannou	1881-1882	Nursery	Krushevo
Eleni Demetriou	1881-1882	Nursery	Resna



Figure 60. Bust of Aeschines

III. THE INSIGNIFICANT ACTIVITY OF THE ROMANIAN PROPAGANDIST MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION IN MONASTIR. OTHER “FOREIGN SCHOOLS”

THE FLOURISHING educational scene in Monastir was the target of intense propaganda activity on the part of the Bulgarians, the Serbs and, thanks to the efforts of Apostolos Margaritis, the Romanians. Margaritis promised the Lazarists to try to win the “Rumanising” Vlach populations over to Eastern Rite Catholicism in exchange for the Mission’s support for his activity among the Vlach-speakers of Monastir; and indeed they furnished vital assistance in obtaining the permits for the founding and operation of the first Romanian schools:²⁰²

2. The first Romanian school in Monastir was the Boys’ Elementary School, founded in 1878; it was followed by a Gymnasium (1880) and a Girls’ Elementary School (1881). In 1883-1884 these 3 institutions had a total of 180 pupils (more than 70 of them receiving financial assistance) and 7 teachers.

The 2 Romanian elementary schools were attended by 130 children, whose 4 teachers (2 men and 2 women) taught them Romanian, Greek and French. The Romanian Gymnasium had 50 children and 3 teachers, who taught them Latin and Turkish.²⁰³ V. Bérard²⁰⁴ reported that the “Vlach Gymnasium” in Monastir had 100 students (60 of them assisted) and a staff

202. AYE, *Consulates in Macedonia*, Monastir, 17 February 1887, no. 87; cf. also Eleftheria I. Nikolaïdou, *Ξένες προπαγάνδες και εθνική αλβανική κίνηση στις μητροπολιτικές επαρχίες Δυρραχίου και Βελεγράδων κατά τα τέλη του 19ου και στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα* (Foreign propaganda and nationalist Albanian movement in the Metropolitan provinces of Dyrrachium and Belgrade in the late 19th and early 20th century), Ioaninna 1978, 11, n. 1; Antonis M. Koltzidas, *Ideological constitution*, 344.

203. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *The Northern Greeks*, 181, and Idem, *History*, Thessaloniki 1991, 364.

204. V. Bérard, *Turkey and Hellenism*, 308.

of 10 who taught them Romanian, German, Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Science, Latin, Ancient Greek, History, Religion, Geography, Italian, Turkish and French.

For purposes of comparison, there were at the same time 11 Greek schools with 27 teachers and 1691 children.²⁰⁵

3. Moreover, most Romanian schools found it impossible to maintain their enrolment, as children tended to be transferred to the Greek schools. The Romanian semi-gymnasium in Monastir, for example, had 85 children in 1884-1885²⁰⁶, but fewer than half that number (40) registered for the following school year, and all of those were children from the surrounding countryside, who were eligible for assisted places. The drop in numbers was all the more damaging to the Romanian movement in that those who remained were all boarders whose education was subsidised.²⁰⁷

4. Romanian educational policy, then, was a case of the mountain labouring and bringing forth a mouse, for despite the increasingly large sums of money that were poured into supporting existing schools and establishing new ones, in 1904 (when 58,276 francs were spent on the Lycée in Monastir alone and another 26,500 on the Girls' Vocational School²⁰⁸) there were only 140 children enrolled in all the Romanian schools in Monastir, of whom just 10 were from the city and the remainder "*were mustered from among the distressed of other provinces*".²⁰⁹

205. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 344-345.

206. In 1884-1885 the Romanian propaganda movement was operating 7 elementary schools and 1 semi-gymnasium in the province of Pelagonia (with 172 children), 8 schools with a total of 417 children in the province of Ochrid and Prespa, and 4 schools with a total of 126 children in the province of Kastoria.

207. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 345.

208. In 1914 a set of regulations for the Basic Romanian Girls' Vocational School in Monastir ("Regulamentul Școalei Normale Profesionale Române De Fete Din Bitolia – Serbia", Salonic-Imprimeria Acquarone - 1914) was published. Its 161 articles were grouped into 21 chapters, dealing with the: 1) Basic Vocational School (general matters), 2) Registration of pupils, 3) Entrance examinations, 4) Admittance to the Residential School, 5) The Residential School, 6) Registers and records, 7) Supervision of classes (holidays, etc.), 8) Assessment of pupils' work, 9) June examinations, 10) Conditions for promotion (rejection, etc.), 11) Repeat and referral examinations, 12) Examinations for students coming from private schools, 13) Diplomas, certificates and copies, 14) Director, 15) Secretary, 16) Monitors, 17) Lectures by teachers, 18) School archives, 19) Teachers, 20) Students, and 21) Workshops.

209. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1904, 224-226.

A few years later Monastir had the following Romanian schools: a Gymnasium with 70 students and 11 teachers, a School for Girls with 90 students and 13 teachers, an elementary school with 30 pupils and 3 teachers, and 3 nursery schools with 61 nursery teachers and 7 teachers. In all these schools “*the salaries of the staff, the rental of the premises and all other school costs without exception were covered by the Romanian propaganda organisation, which provided books and other supplies to the children free of charge, and in many cases provided them with food and clothing and assistance for their families*”.²¹⁰

The number of children enrolled in the 6 Romanian schools in Monastir rose somewhat in 1907, reaching a total of 251, but then declined again, not only in the city but throughout Macedonia.²¹¹

5. Finally, some mention must be made of the other “foreign schools” in Monastir. In 1910-1911 these were:²¹²

Bulgarian: 1 Gymnasium, 1 Middle School, 5 Elementary Schools and 1 School for Girls; Headmaster: Dimitrov.

Turkish: 1 Gymnasium, 1 Middle School, and 9 preparatory schools. Also one Imperial Civilian and Military Academy.

Serbian: 1 Semi-gymnasium, 1 School for Girls and 1 Elementary School.

Jewish: 1 community school; Headmaster: D. Arie.

French: 3 Catholic Brothers’ and Convent Schools. Heads: P. Lazarides and M. Heypert.

210. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 179-180.

211. *Aletheia* newspaper, published in Thessaloniki, Friday 21 November 1908, no. (842) 126; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 345-346.

212. Inglesis Nikol. G., *Οδηγός της Ελλάδος. Απόσης της Μακεδονίας, της Μικράς Ασίας μετά των νήσων του αρχιπελάγους και των νήσων: Κρήτης – Κύπρου – Σάμου. Οικονομία, δημόσια έργα, εμπόριον, βιομηχανία, ναυτιλία, γεωργία, κτηνοτροφία, τοπογραφία, αρχαιολογία, γράμματα, τέχναι, στατιστική, μεταλλειολογία, χρηματιστήριο, συγκοινωνία κτλ. Μετά πολλών οδοιπορικών και τοπογραφικών χαρτών* [Guide to Greece. All of Macedonia, Asia Minor, with the islands of the archipelago and the islands of Crete, Cyprus, Samos. Economy, public works, trade, industry, shipping, agriculture, livestock raising, topography, archaeology, letters, arts, statistics, mining, stock exchange, transportation, etc. With many itineraries and maps], 3rd year, vol. I, 1910-1911 – printed by Apostolopoulos (Monastir: 88-95).



Figures 61, 62. Streets in the centre of Monastir – early 20th c.



Figure 63. Typical neighbourhood – “The clock in Monastir”, 1904. Postcard, early 20th c. (personal collection, Tassos Kyriakides)



Figures 64, 65. Views of the archaeological site of Heraclea



*Figures 66, 67. Above: Parts of the Small Basilica.
Below: Seating in the ancient theatre*

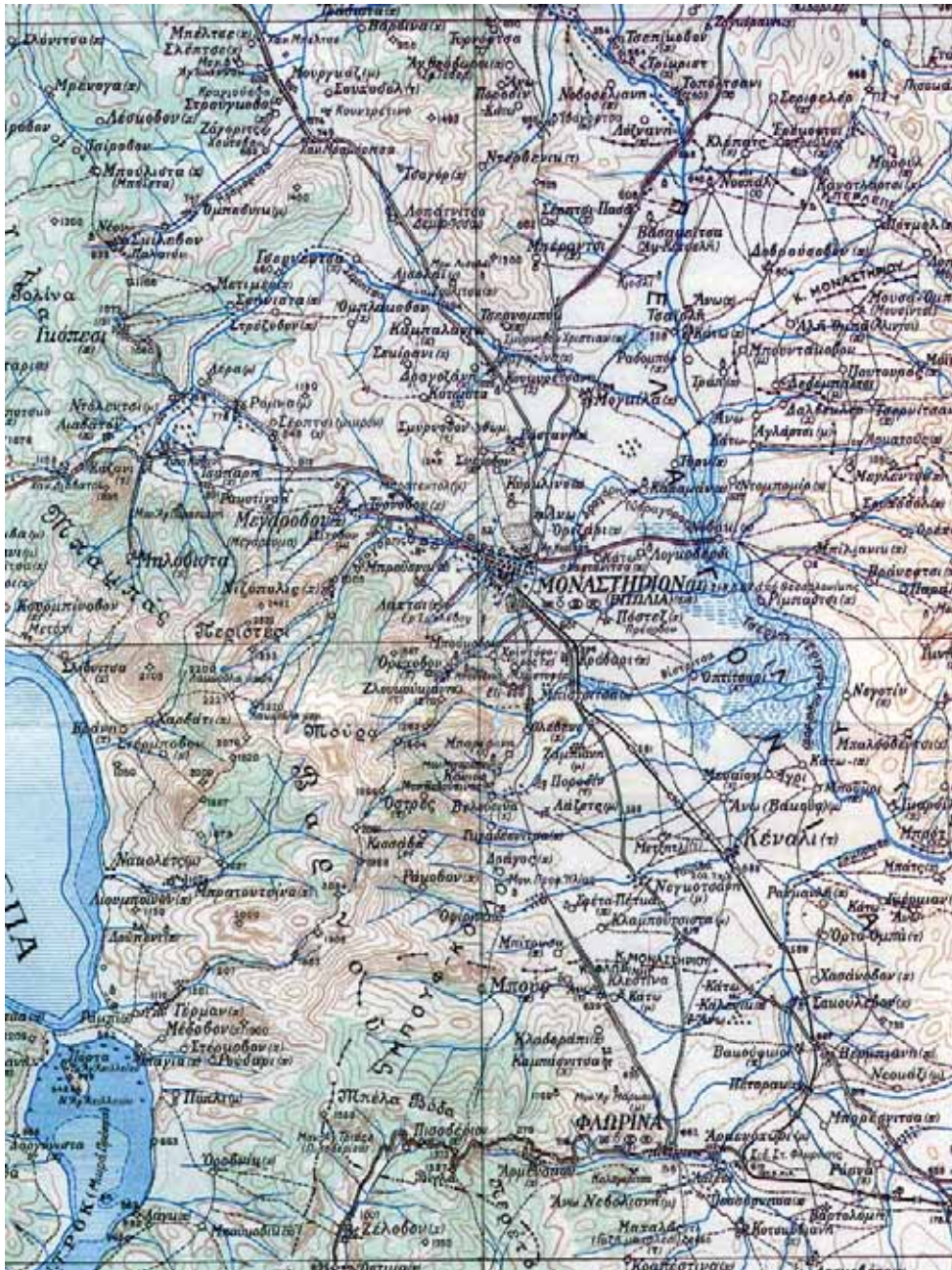


Figure 68. “Monastirion” – Ed. G. KONTOGIANNIS



Figure 69. Vilayet of Monastir – Christian schools (I.G.A. – Roma, 1906)

MONASTIR TODAY

THE GREEK MANSIONS STILL STAND PROUDLY...



Figure 71. "A thought (a picture) from Monastir" - Coloured advertisement for a photographer's studio in Monastir



Figure 72. The former Greek Consulate-General in Monastir



Figures 73, 74. Above: Part of the former Greek Consulate General in Monastir (right) and next to it the present Town Hall – Below: The house of leather merchant Michail Babatakas, once the English Consulate in Monastir



*Figures 75, 76. Above: The house of wealthy merchant G. Economou in the main square (next to the clock), once the Austrian Consulate in Monastir.
Below: Greek mansion, once the Russian Consulate in Monastir*



Figures 77-80. Mansions. Above: The houses of Egyptian merchant Doukas (left) and confectioner Georgios Kalyvas – Below: The house of doctor Konstantinos Makalis (left) – entrance, street door of a Greek mansion



Figures 81-83. Mansions: Above: The Tsallis house (left – corner) and Dr Dem. Vafeiades' house – Below: The Tsallis house (first on the right) with a view of the main street



*Figures 84, 85. Mansions of wealthy merchants on the main street of Monastir:
Above: The house of Efthymios Karintis – Below: The Danavasis house*



*Figures 86, 87. Mansions: Above: The house of the Xyftas family
Below: The Makalis house*



Figures 88, 89. Mansions: Above: The house of the Nalbandis family – Below: The house of confectioner Gerasimos Sotiriou (who had the first steam-powered workshop in the city)



Figures 90, 91. Mansions in Monastir. Above: The house of surgeon Avraam Valavanides –
Below: The house of composer D. Lallas, today the Lallas Museum



Figures 92, 93. Greek mansions in Monastir



Figures 94, 95. Greek mansions in Monastir



Figures 96, 97. Above: Greek mansion – Below: Chest from Monastir with exquisite wood-carving, 19th c. (M. Taliadoros, private collection)



Figures 98, 99. Above: The cathedral church of St Demetrios, Monastir – Below: The central portion of the carved wooden screen



*Figures 100-102. Above: The east side of St Demetrios, Monastir.
Below: Part of the screen (left) and the pulpit (Maria Vergeti Archives)*



Figures 103, 104. Above: St Demetrios' with its bell tower – Below: inscription over the door of the church – 1830 (archives of the publisher Tassos Kyriakides)

***IV. MONASTIR AS CULTURAL CENTRE:
ORGANISATIONS, INFORMATION, GOOD WORKS,
NOTABLE CITIZENS***

**A. PATRIOTIC, EDUCATIONAL
AND PHILANTHROPIC ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS**

T HE STREAMS of money, ideas and cultural goods channelled by expatriate Monastiriotés and other Pelagonians into their birthplaces helped rebuild these places and fuelled a remarkable cultural and



Figure 105. View of Monastir

social development throughout the second half of the 19th and the first dozen years of the 20th century. This progressive and forward-looking development was also fostered by the educational policy of the free Greek state and the various intellectual organisations operating in Athens (University of Athens, “Association for the Dissemination of Greek Letters” - 1869) and Constantinople (“Greek Philological Association”), and the “Macedonian Fraternal Organisation of Friends of Education” (1871), in the framework of the Ottoman Tanzimat reforms.

The Tanzimat period, during which the Porte granted constitutional equality of civic rights to the subject peoples of the Empire, created a climate that was favourable to the spectacular development and organisation of the Greek schools and that fostered the spread of Greek education. The educational system could now operate within a supporting framework of cultural and social activities, with a variety of educational and philanthropic societies and fraternal associations, public service bodies and foundations, nationalist revolutionary organisations, and with the active involvement of the leading citizens in promoting local problems and nationalist insurrectionary struggles and claims.²¹³

The societies (patriotic, educational, philanthropic) listed below are here presented succinctly, since their work is cited in other parts of this text:

1. Patriotic Societies

a) *The “Casino” or “Demotikon Katastema”*

In 1852 a group of graduates from the Varnavas School in Monastir set up a patriotic organisation which they called the “Casino”. Also known as the “Demotikon Katastema” (or “Town Hall”), this body had but one purpose: to *“rekindle the patriotic sentiment of the people and to protect the Christians from acts of violence of all kinds on the part of the Turks”*.

With a membership including ardent and active citizens like G. Tsakas, M. Bistas, N. Ziouzos, K. Papanauom and K. Georsis, this society organised the Greek resistance across Western and Northwestern Macedonia, and further stepped up its activity on the eve of the Cretan uprising.²¹⁴

213. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 406-407.

214. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 17-20; Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 136-137, who places the founding of the “Casino” in 1859; cf. also

b) The “Society of Friends”

During the Cretan Revolution (1866-1869) a secret patriotic society was founded in Monastir and called the “Filiki Etaireia” or “Society of Friends”, after the great pre-revolutionary organisation of that name.

Its founders were teacher and freedom fighter Anastasios Picheon of Ochrid, physician Ioannis Argyropoulos of Klisoura and Gymnasium headmaster Nikolaos Philippides of Monastir. The organisation mobilised the Greeks of Western and Northwestern Macedonia and undertook mop-up operations against the Turks.

c) The “Macedonian Defence” Organisation – “Higher Committees”

The “Macedonian Defence” Organisation was organised in the latter part of 1902 by a group of men from Monastir including Theodoros Modis, Philippos Kapetanopoulos, Tsamis Papastavros, Aristoteles Matlis, Naoum Kalarytes and Christos Doumas.

Meanwhile, Ion Dragoumis was encouraging the formation of “Higher Committees” in the larger urban centres in Western Macedonia (Krushevo, Megarovo, Tyrnovo, Nizopolis, Gopesi, Milovista, etc.) to co-ordinate and rally the insurgent Greek population.²¹⁵

d) The “Club” or “Greek Club” (Elliniki Lesche)

In 1908, following the proclamation of the new Turkish Constitution, yet another association was created in Monastir: this was the “Club”, or “Greek Club” (*Elliniki Lesche*), a nationalist organisation set up to promote intellectual and political progress and professional training and development in the Greek population. Its first President was Spyros Doumas, one of the prime movers of the Internal Revolutionary Organisation (the Greek Committee) of Monastir.

The Greek Club occupied space in the Tsiogos Building, and the cream of Monastir society gathered there frequently. (It also organised the first Turkish elections). It was run by a nine-member Board and had three permanent com-

Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *Macedonia and Turkey*, 160; Athanasios Karathanasis, *The Greek schools*, 155; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 407.

215. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *Ἴων Δραγούμης. Μαρτύρων και ηρώων αίμα* (Ion Dragoumis. Blood of martyrs and heroes), Thessaloniki 1991, 158-165; cf. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 14, who refers to the organisation as the “Patriotic” rather than the “Macedonian” Defence Organisation.

mittees, covering educational, journalistic and commercial-agricultural-industrial matters.²¹⁶ In 1909 N. Nikarousis took over as President, and P. Graikos became Secretary.²¹⁷

There had been a “Club” in Monastir in 1850-1853 (during the Crimean War), but it was a revolutionary organisation whose members trained in the use of arms. It was persecuted by the Turks, and on the pretext of a hanging its members were exiled to Asia Minor and the “Club” was disbanded.²¹⁸

2. Educational Associations

a) *The “Society” or “Demotikon Katastema”*

In Monastir, the “Society” or, as it was called at the time, the “Demotikon Katastema”, which had been founded in 1859 by the “*honest burghers of the city of Monastir and of the neighbouring purely Greek villages of Megarovo and Tyrnovo*”, set up a well-stocked reading room as a means of furthering adult education.

Among the works in this library were the twelve-volume *History of the Ottoman State* (in French – a gift of the British Consul in Monastir) and various Greek periodicals and newspapers, while every day there arrived one French and one German newspaper. This facility existed until 1862, when it was closed by the Turkish authorities on some pretext.²¹⁹

b) *“Evangelismos”*

We know that an educational society known as “Evangelismos” existed in Monastir in 1874,²²⁰ but no information regarding its activities has survived.

216. I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΣ* 19 (1949), 72; Cleitos, “The Greek clubs”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1910, 87-88; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 409.

217. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317.

218. P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 73.

219. Cleitos, “The Greek clubs”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1910, 85-87; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 410.

220. Greek Philological Association of Constantinople (ΕΦΣΚ), Reports of the Education Committee “*On the state of education in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire*”, *ΕΦΣΚ* 8 (1874), 260.



Figure 106. Women of Monastir wearing local dress

c) “Pronoia”

The “Pronoia” Society, founded some few years after 1874, maintained relations with the “Parnassos” Literary Society,²²¹ but of its educational activity we know nothing.

d) “Karteria”

The “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education, founded in Monastir in 1880 by A. G. Tsallis, V. Notis, G. Dimitzas and I. Fikis, all of

221. Emmanouil Dragoumis, “Λογοδοσία περί των εν τω Συλλόγω κατά την β’ προεδρείαν αυτού γενομένων (έτος ΙΕ’)” (Report on the activities of the society during his second term as president (Year 15)), *Parnassos* 4 (1880), 985.

Monastir,²²² made a substantial contribution to Greek education in Pelagonia (Monastir, Megarovo, Tyrnovo, Nizopolis, Milovista, Gopesi, Krushevo, etc.),²²³ providing 300 liras for teachers' salaries and supplying books for poor children.

In its first year the association had 216 members. It organised lectures, started a library and reading room, raised money for scholarships and donated 890 books to communities in the environs of Monastir.²²⁴ In its short life – for it was rapidly dissolved by Turkish authorities suspicious of its activities – “Karteria” distributed books, clothes and other supplies to indigent children, subsidised poor schools and paid their teachers, and organised school and social events and theatrical performances,²²⁵ pursuing in this manner its objects, which were to “*promote Greek letters, particularly through the education and development of the young*”,²²⁶

The “Karteria” Association did more than supply books to poor children in the Greek villages around Monastir: it also promoted adult education through lectures and seminars²²⁷ and established a reading room and a remarkably well-stocked library.²²⁸ In 1880-1881 it organised “Readings”, a series of four lectures, with a view to creating a sort of “*folk school*”,²²⁹ and provided 3 scholarships for penniless students to enable them to continue their studies.²³⁰

222. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 38; Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 12; Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 138-139; Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *The Northern Greeks*, 165.

223. ΑΥΕ, “Μακεδονικόν Ζήτημα” (Macedonian Question), Monastir, no. 569, without other information.

224. First and second year of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education of Monastir, *Account rendered*, Thessaloniki 1882, 4-13.

225. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 38.

226. Greek Philological Association of Constantinople Reports, *ΕΦΣΚ* 14 (1884), 96 (report for the years 1879-1880); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 408.

227. Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies* 1996, 183.

228. First and second year of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education of Monastir, *Account rendered*, Thessaloniki 1882, 4-13.

229. M. Lallas, *Λογοδοσία των κατά το Β' έτος 1881-82 πεπραγμένων της εν Μοναστηρίω Φιλεκπαιδευτικής Αδελφότητας “Καρτερία”*, (Account rendered of the second year 1881-82 of the activities of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education of Monastir), insert in I. Fikis, *First year*, Thessaloniki 1882.

230. First and second year of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education of Monastir, *Account rendered*, Thessaloniki 1882, 10-13; cf. also Kyriakos Th. Bonides, *Educational societies*, 137; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 412.

e) “Lyra”

The “Lyra” music society, founded in Monastir in 1891, was in charge of organising and supervising the annual end-of-year school fêtes.²³¹

Its artistic and social events were always red-letter occasions for Monastir society, as one may gather from the following notice of an “A *soirée* with dancing” published in the local newspaper *To Phos*:²³²

“This Saturday evening, after dinner, the beautiful hall in our Gymnasium, rendered even lovelier by the simple but elegant decorations, will open its doors for the first evening of music and dancing of this year’s winter season, organised by the ambitious “Lyra” Society.

The programme for the evening, as we have learned by asking those in a position to know, will be exceptionally interesting and varied.

Judging by the number of tickets sold and the eagerness with which so many families have received them, the success of the evening is a foregone conclusion.”

In 1909 P. Graikos was the President of the “Lyra” Society, and P. Talides the secretary.²³³

The “Lyra” Society, which was also known as the “Orpheus”, was the subject of a short poem by Petros Kyriazis:

Ο “ΟΡΦΕΥΣ”

Με των πνευστών οργάνων το ρυθμό
και με τους ήχους τους εναρμονίους
μου κοιμίζε του στήθους τον καημό,
μου ξύπναε παλμούς τους πιο αγίους.

Με λιγερές ελάμπρυνε μολπές
κάθε γιορτή, καθ’ εθνική χαρά μου
φτερώνοντας ελπίδες χαρωπές,
χρυσώνοντας αιθέρια όνειρά μου!

[With the rhythm of the wind instruments
and the harmony of its sounds
it soothed the sorrows in my heart
and awakened the most sacred enthusiasms.

With graceful songs it brightened
every celebration, every national joy,
lending wings to joyful hopes,
and gilding empyreal dreams.]

231. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317; I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 19 (1949), 73; G. Ch. Modis – P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 70-74; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 409.

232. *To Phos*, Greek political, literary and commercial journal, published every Saturday. Owned and managed by Vasileios Chr. Notis, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79 (vol. 2); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 412.

233. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317.



Figure 107. The Gymnastics Society of Monastir

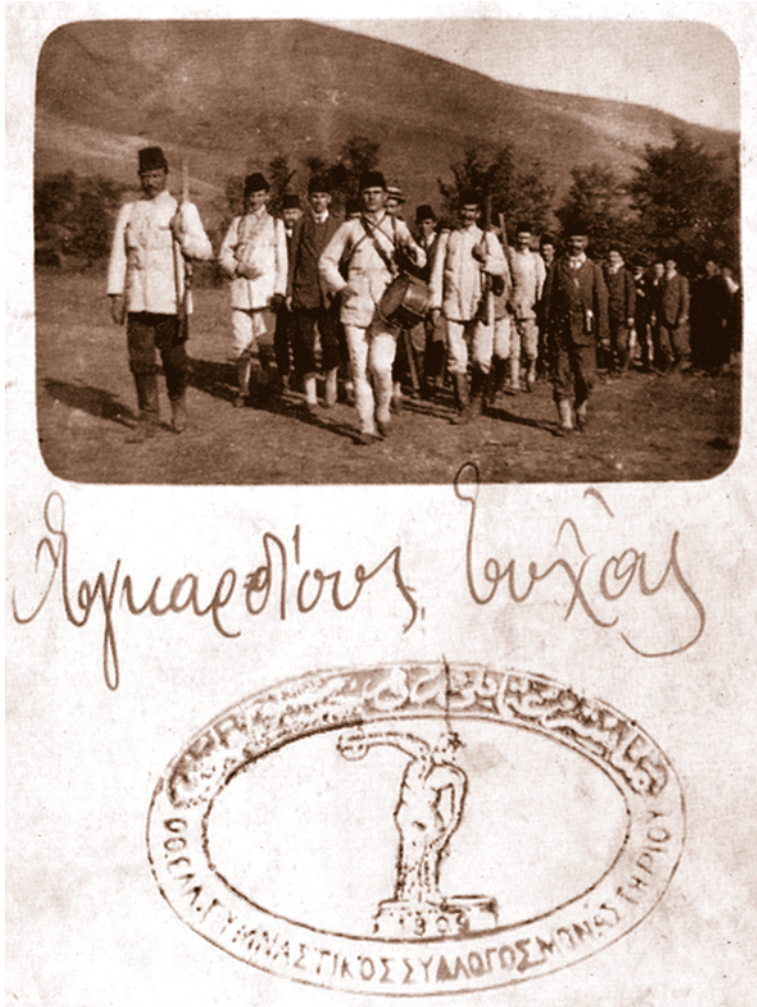
f) The “Gymnastics Society of Monastir”

The “Gymnastics Society of Monastir”, founded in 1891, organised and supervised the annual end-of-year school gymnastics displays.²³⁴ Its members were drawn from the youth of the “Friends of the Arts Society”, and its funds came from the proceeds of their performances and from grants from the Monastir School Board under the motto “Temple of Health”.

The “Gymnastics Society of Monastir” used the grounds of the Gymnasium of Monastir, but it also built a winter facility with a spacious and well-equipped hall at the edge of its grounds, where the young people of the city

234. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΤΙΣ* 1909, 317; I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 19 (1949), 73; G. Ch. Modis – P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 70-74; Antonis M. Koltidas, *Ideological constitution*, 409.

could learn and practise running, discus-, hammer- and javelin-throwing, jumping, wrestling, Swedish gymnastics, target shooting and fencing.²³⁵



*Figure 108. The Gymnastics Society of Monastir
(Italian post card – 1908)*

In 1911, a stir was caused by the emotional speech made by its President, Petros D. Pisourikas, at a New Year's event attended by Metropolitan

235. P. Neskos, "Memories", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 73.

Stephanos of Pelagonia, which concluded with the words: “*Bringing these lines to a close, I wish our beloved Society a long life, and beg its worthy members and all our good fellow citizens and the multitude of our fellow Greeks, in the name of the entire Board of Directors, that in its distinguished patriotism, devotion and sacrifice, they may never cease to be solicitous of and work for the welfare and progress of our dear and precious Ottoman Greek Gymnastics Society!*”²³⁶

For many years, and until 1912, the Society enjoyed the services of the well-known gymnast Demetrios Andreades,²³⁷ a “suave and ambitious” man with a law degree who was also a certified gymnastics teacher.

The Society was also known for the walking trips it organised to villages in the vicinity of Monastir and even as far as Kastoria and Krushevo, which always attracted a great number of participants under the guidance of Christodoulos, the “lively and enthusiastic” grey-haired wine-seller.²³⁸

g) *The “Friends of the Arts Society”*

The “Friends of the Arts Society” founded in Monastir in 1903 had an initial membership of 80 young people. MM G. Demetriades, Nik. Georgiades, G. Naïdes, Al. Tsopis, K. Grammatikos, Th. Tompsos and Nik. Chatzimichail constituted its first Board of Directors, and its objects, as stated in its constitution, were: 1. National and cultural association. 2) Organisation of a mandolin ensemble. 3) Creation of a choir. 4) Holding social evenings. 5) Organisation of performances and dances. 7) Teaching dances.

The “Friends of the Arts Society” had its own comfortable and spacious premises in a two-storey building, where, taught by music teachers (like Orpes) and dance instructors, its young members learned to dance and to play musical instruments and gave dances, concerts and theatrical performances at the Municipal Theatre of Monastir or the hall of the Gymnasium (“Old Nicholas and his Lyre”, “The Apple of Discord”). The members of the Society used the money they raised through these various events for good works and to found other societies and unions. Indeed, it was with the proceeds of one of these performances, plus a subsidy from the Monastir

236. *To Phos*, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79.

237. *To Phos*, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79.

238. P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 73.

School Board, that in 1908 the Society founded a new cultural organisation, the “Gymnastics Society of Monastir”.

Young people also came to the Society to read: books, newspapers from Constantinople and Smyrna (the *Amaltheia*), and illustrated magazines from a variety of European countries. At Christmas and New Year’s groups of them went carol singing, and the money they collected was used to buy shoes and clothing for poor children.

The “Friends of the Arts Society” was also famous for its lectures: “*Every Sunday there were lectures by intellectuals, and especially by Theologos Sigalas. Kapetan Vangelis from Strebeno often came to these talks, and gave simple but patriotic speeches*”.²³⁹



Figure 109. The “Friends of the Arts Society” of Monastir

239. P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 72-73; Antonis M. Koltidas, *The education*, 411.

h) The Greek Football Club of Monastir

While very little information about the Greek Football Club of Monastir has survived, a photograph from 1904 bears witness to its existence – at least in that year.



Figure 110. Greek Football Club of Monastir - 1904

i) The “Philharmonic” Society

The “Philharmonic Society” was run by Chatzis with the help of two excellent musicians, Spathis and Orpes, who also taught at the Gymnasium and the School for Girls in Monastir.

Its famous brass band led the processions of the Gymnastics Society and the Greek Schools on special occasions and took part in the (intercalated) Olympic Games in Athens in 1906.²⁴⁰

240. G. Ch. Modis, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 70-72.



*Figures 111, 112. The Philharmonic Society. Above: The band
Below: The band at the Intercalated Games in Athens – 1906*

j) “Melissa”

The schoolchildren of Monastir created an association of their own, called “Melissa”, which, with financial support from the “Karteria” Association, provided books and scholarships and organised residential accommodation and free meals for needy children.²⁴¹

k) The “Drama Society”

Another very active organisation in Monastir was the Drama Society, run by senior students and alumni of the Gymnasium and the Girls’ School and other young townspeople. This group put on many plays, which “*were eagerly attended by great numbers of spectators*”. Pantelis G. Tsallis records the names of some of these young thespians: Tragedians: Nik. Papazoglou, Alex Papazoglou, Nikos Tsingaros, Theo Pisourikas, Vas. Notis, I. Milosis, Arg. Zachou, Theo Ramos and Pantelis G. Tsallis. Comedians: Anastasios Tzerros, Ioannis Fikis, Lazaros Papanoum and Pantelis Mexis.²⁴²

3. Philanthropic Societies

a) The “Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies” of Monastir

The Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir, founded in 1903, engaged in various sorts of philanthropic work – assisted the poor, distributed schoolbooks to children in Monastir and the surrounding area, etc.) and set up a workshop for destitute girls: this was known as “Athena Ergane”.²⁴³

241. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 31-32, 37, 40; Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 136, 138-140.

242. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 40.

243. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317; I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 1949, 72; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 409; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 412.



Figure 113. Technical School – the “Athena Ergane” workshop for destitute girls, run by the Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir

b) “Athena Ergane”

The “Athena Ergane” workshop-cum-school for needy girls set up in Monastir in 1903 by the local Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies was a highly practical institution, which took in 80-100 penniless girls every year and taught them such crafts as cutting and sewing, weaving, embroidering, and the like.²⁴⁴

In 1909 the President and the Secretary, respectively, of “Athena Ergane” were Thaleia Linara and Vassiliki Tanou.²⁴⁵ Local poet Petros Kyriazis wrote the following verses on this “*practical academy of household arts*”:²⁴⁶

244. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317; I. G. Antoniadis, “Legendary Monastir”, *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 1949, 72; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 409.

245. Anonymous, “Societies and guilds”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 317.

246. Petros N. Kyriazis, *Οι Βόγγοι του Μοναστηρίου* (The lamentations of Monastir), Thessaloniki 1923, 37-38.

Η ΕΡΓΑΝΗ ΑΘΗΝΑ

Με τη λευκή στολή σεμνές παρθένες
στης εργασίας το Ναό κλεισμένες
έρραβαν and κεντούσαν στοχασμένες
στο έμμορφο εργόχειρο σκυμμένες.

Και γύρω τους θαρρούσες, η Εργάνη
πλανιέτο το ρυθμό να επιβλέπη
τες κόρες οδηγώντας όπως πρέπει
η κάθε μια το έργο της να κάνη.

[Within the Temple of labour
modest maidens dressed in white
plied their needles, bent in concentration
over their beautiful sewing and embroidery.

And the goddess herself
seemed to be present among them,
watching over her handmaidens and
guiding each one to completion of her task.]

c) The “Economic Co-operative”

This social service consumer organisation, founded in 1908, initially attracted a lot of members, each of whom contributed one gold sovereign to its funds. Gradually, however, it ceased its activity and was dissolved.²⁴⁷

d) The “Stavros” Society

The “Stavros” (Cross) association of Monastir was a somewhat unusual organisation. Its purpose was primarily philanthropic and educational, and its principal source of income the subscriptions paid by its members. To this was added the proceeds of the collections taken on each major holy-day, and especially at Epiphany. At these times the members would gather in the designated house to sing the anthem for the day (e.g. “In the Jordan baptised, Lord”) and celebrate together, and a collection would be taken.

247. P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 73.

We do not know when this organisation – or rather “social assembly” – was founded, but we do know that it shared its name with others in Monastir, for each neighbourhood had its “Stavros” association which was active on the local level.²⁴⁸

Tabulating this mass of information about the names and founding dates of the patriotic, philanthropic and educational societies and associations that were active in Monastir yields the following chart – table 22.

TABLE 22
Societies, Associations and Organisations in Monastir

Name and year of founding of the various Societies in Monastir			
<i>Purpose</i>		<i>Name</i>	<i>Year founded</i>
Patriotic	1	“Casino” or “Demotikon Katastema”	1852
	2	“Society of Friends”	1866-1869
	3	“Macedonian Defence” – “Higher Committees”	1902
	4	“The Club” or “Elliniki Lesche”	1908
Educational	1	The “Association” or “Demotikon Katastema”	1859
	2	“Evangelismos”	(1874)
	3	“Pronoia”	1874 +
	4	“Karteria”	1880
	5	“Lyra”	1891
	6	“Gymnastics Society of Monastir”	1891
	7	“Friends of the Arts” Society	1903
	8	Greek Football Club of Monastir	1904
	9	Philharmonic Society	(1906)
	10	“Melissa”	
	11	Drama Society	
Philanthropic	1	Friends of the Poor Fraternal Association of Greek Ladies of Monastir	1903
	2	“Athena Ergane”	1903
	3	“Economic Co-operative”	1908
	4	“Stavros”	

248. P. Neskos, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 73.

B. INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS IN MONASTIR

1. Printing, publishing and bookselling

a) The Zallis Bros “Commercial Press” – Printers, publishers and booksellers

The Zallis Brothers published a series of schoolbooks under the general imprint of the “Macedonian Library”, a title that always appeared on the cover of their books, near the top. One part of their premises also served as a bookshop, and from it they supplied books to schools in Monastir and Florina.

The second volume in this Library was the *Alphabetarion*, or “Primer”, whose full title was: *Visual Aid to Teaching Modern Greek. No. 2. Alphabetarion. New Method. Published by An. G. Zallis. In Monastir. Commercial Press, 1911.*

On 4 September 1911, the prestigious Monastir newspaper *To Phos* (no. 60) published the following (unsigned) article on the book, under the title “A positive piece of work”:²⁴⁹

“The second volume in the Macedonian Library series has just been published in our city. Most if not all our readers will no doubt be asking what the Macedonian Library is. Our answer is that it is an inspired project on the part of a man who has converted a noble occupation into a veritable passion, and whose object is to regenerate our elementary school and to do so within the ambient of an alien tongue.

We have his Alphabetarion before us. It is a small work of art: paper, cover, printing, illustrations all perfect and artistical. And we think that, even had he not achieved so much, this radical reformer of our elementary education must at least have had the hope and the ambition to rid our primary schools of the Augean muck of those badly edited and worse printed opuscles that with their bad writing have distorted our children’s nascent sense of artistry and have turned us from a people that once incarnated beauty into one of the least refined nations on earth.

249. *To Phos*, Monastir, no. 60, 4 September 1911; cf. D. P. Souliotis, *The Monastir Alphabetarion*, 4-6.



Figures 114, 115. The covers of the Alphabetarion and the Child's Garden, Monastir 1911

Nor is the content in any way inferior to the container. Teaching a child to read goes hand in hand with teaching him his language. Both are achieved with the help of small attractive pictures, which bring the lesson to life, keep the child within the environment of his everyday life and do not remove him from the observations and perceptions of his earliest years to plunge him into a vast theoretical babbling wherein he struggles in vain against irrepressible drowsiness.

The language of the text is simple and lively, our pure demotic tongue. There is therefore hope that in the future our non-Greek-speaking children will from their first hesitant steps on the unknown soil of the national written and spoken language not be bewildered by the labyrinthine duplicity and triplicity of the Greek tongue, the living language spoken by the teacher and the lifeless language of the book, so that after two or three years of time and money wasted to no purpose they emerge as untaught and fit for nothing as they were before they started, if not more so.

The Macedonian Library promises to correct all that. And experts and teachers alike have welcomed its promises with faith and enthusiasm. The

proof lies in the mass demand for the book from all parts of the Empire, including those where Greek is not the prevailing tongue”.

b) Pillis Brothers – Press and Bookshop

The Pillis brothers were printers and booksellers in Monastir, whose press turned out Greek schoolbooks and other materials, patriotic and revolutionary pamphlets and proclamations, cultural and social material, notices, announcements, bulletins, information sheets and newspapers. From their premises they also sold textbooks to schools in both Monastir and Florina.²⁵⁰

Their publications included “The Muse of Youth” (1910) and “Paeans” (1913) by teacher and poet Petros Kyriazis (1879-1925) of Tyrnovo, the weekly newspaper *To Phos*, from its first number (4 December 1910) until 26 June 1911,²⁵¹ and the *Alphabetarion* originally published by the Zallis Brothers.

This second edition of the *Alphabetarion*, published in 1912, was subtitled “Second edition, by V. Laskarides” (pseudonym of Vasilis L. Agorastos). It is worth noting here that the back cover of this second edition provides invaluable information in the form of a list of the author’s works, thus giving us a more global picture of the authorial activity of Vasilis Laskarides and the publishing activity of the two presses (Pillis and Zallis) operating in Monastir at that time:

MACEDONIAN LIBRARY

Works by the same author

- No. 1. *The Child’s Garden* (“Object-teaching”). Teacher’s book.
- No. 2. *The Child’s Garden* (30 colour plates with some 200 pictures). Pupil’s book.
- No. 3. *Alphabetarion* (Part one).
- No. 4. Practical guide to teaching reading (distributed free of charge).
- No. 5. *Alphabetarion* (Part two), in press.

250. The patriot Lakis Pirzas, Pavlos Melas’ henchman who kept a grocer’s shop in Florina, bought books (Grammar, History, Arithmetic, Geography, etc.) from the Pillis and Zallis Brothers in Monastir and gave them to schoolchildren in Florina (Dimitrios N. Pepis, “The cultural movement” *Aristoteles* 59-60 (1966), 58-59).

251. Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina; Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou Archives, Thessaloniki.

All these books are available in Monastir from A. Pillis Bros and A. G. Zallis Bros.

On 10 February 1912 the Thessaloniki newspaper *Nea Aletheia* published the following account of the *Child's Garden*:²⁵²

The Child's Garden

The extremely progressive V. V. Laskarides, taking pity on our tender youth and seeking to produce an ideal method for teaching our language, has, devoting every effort to this task and sparing no cost of labour or coin, published the best of all the books intended for our children in the beautifully printed "illustrated Child's Garden". It is a blessing for our land that a man has been found to bestow such an attractive and well-organised book on our small children, who will have great pleasure in playing with it and poring over it.

"The Child's Garden": Part A. Completing and construction exercises. Plates I-XII, pictures 1-89. Part B. Language exercises: 1. The School. Plate XIII. Pictures 90-94. 2. The Human Body. Plate XIV. Pictures 95-98. 3. The House. Plate XV. Pictures 99-100. 4. The Garden. Plate XVI. Pictures 101-112. 5. Domestic animals. Plates XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX. Pictures 113-131. 6. Crafts and craftsmen. Plates XXI, XXII, XXIII and XXIV. Pictures 132-153. 7. Simple stories in pictures. Plates XXV, XXVI and XXVII. Pictures 154-156. Appendix. Drawing made easy. 36 full-page plates with 36 drawings of different objects and animals".

Two more books were published in Monastir in 1912, both of 100 pages: a book on "Tobacco" by local agronomist Ioannis Christakis, and "Farming in Morea", by Stylianos S. Stylianides. These books were advertised in the columns of the local newspaper *To Phos*, and must have been printed by one or the other of the only two printers in the city (Pillis and Zallis), but we do not know which.²⁵³

252. *Nea Aletheia*, newspaper published in Thessaloniki, 10-2-1912; cf. also Dinos Christianopoulos, *Μοναστήρι, ελληνικές εκδόσεις 1910-1913. Φλώρινα, λογοτεχνικές εκδόσεις 1932-1950. Καταγραφή, προσωπογραφία* (Monastir, Greek publications 1910-1913. Florina, literary publications 1932-1950. Record, portrait), Florina – "Prespes 1996", 15-16.

253. *To Phos*, Monastir, 4 February 1912.

c) *International Commercial Press of Monastir*

We do not know whether the International Commercial Press of Monastir, whose imprint appears on the cover of the 1913 collection of poems by G. Th. Sagiaxis entitled *Dithyrombs*, was an independent establishment or was the same as the Zallis Brothers Commercial Press, as the name appears before 10 July 1911.

However this may be, it was the International Commercial Press of Monastir that published the *Child's Garden* in 1911, and *To Phos* from 3 July 1911 until its 94th and final issue of 5 May 1912.

2. The Monastir newspaper *To Phos*

The Monastir newspaper *To Phos: Greek political, literary and commercial journal published every Sunday. Owned and managed by Spyr. G. Doumas* (and subsequently by Vasilios Chr. Notis) was printed on the Pillis Brothers' press.

To Phos was a four-page weekly journal, of which a total of 94 issues appeared between 4 December 1910 and 5 May 1912, printed at first (from its first issue of 4 December 1910 to 26 June 1911) by the Pillis Brothers and subsequently (from 3 July 1911 to its 94th and final issue of 5 May 1912) by the International Commercial Press of Monastir. Initially it appeared on Sunday, and later, starting with the issue of 30 November 1911, on Saturday. Contributors included freedom fighter, politician, short story writer and author Georgios Modis and poets Georgios Sagiaxis and Petros Kyriazis.

Taking as our example issue 79 (14 January 1912), we record the following details from the front page of the four-page journal: At the top, in a single underlined row: On the left: *Year 2*. In the centre: IN MONASTIR, 14 January 1912. On the right: NO. 79. Below this: On the left, in three rows (of, respectively, one, two and three lines): ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, PREPAYABLE / Within the Country 2 *medjidie* - Abroad 10 francs / Telegraphic address: / (the following address in the old Turkish script) / Journal "Phos" Monastir. In the centre, in large bold letters – the initial letters of each word in larger characters – that cover the whole space of the lines to the right and left: **TO PHOS**. On the right – in three rows (of, respectively, one, two and three lines): NOTICES and ANNOUNCEMENTS: - BY AGREEMENT / Cheques and money orders – to be made out – to the name of the manager / Material submitted for publication – will not be re-

turned. Below this, in a single underlined row: GREEK POLITICAL, LITERARY AND COMMERCIAL JOURNAL. Below, and in the centre of an underlined row: PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. And finally, beneath this again, and in the centre of a corresponding underlined row: Owner and Managing Director VASILEIOS CHR. NOTIS.



Figure 116. The Monastir newspaper To Phos—no. 79 / 14-1-1912

The “small and ailing journal” did not have sufficient revenues; it was distributed to subscribers by local agents who “most graciously” offered their services, and all too often the management found itself obliged to remind them to pay this “small contribution.”²⁵⁴

254. To Phos, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79.

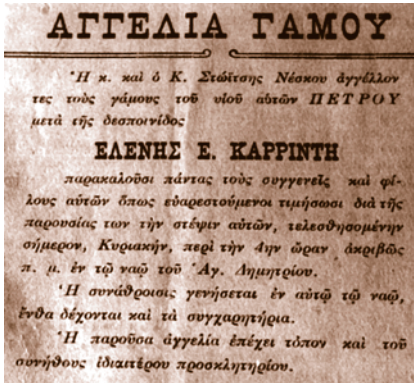


Figure 117. Announcement of the marriage of Eleni Karrinti



Figure 118. Memorial notice for Demetrios Lallas

ENTREATY TO SUBSCRIBERS

For the third time, most unwillingly and with great sadness, we appeal to our subscribers and beg them to make haste and pay their small contribution to the Phos, if they wish to ease its future path.

Those who so desire can pay their subscription to our local agents, who have most graciously offered their services to our small and ailing journal, the importance of which we deem it unnecessary to stress to those who have seen it.

C. GOOD WORKS. THE SELF-GOVERNING SOCIETY OF MONASTIR –COMMUNAL INVOLVEMENT

The economic and financial contribution of the wealthy Greeks of Western Macedonia and Epirus, and especially those living in European countries, was a powerful force in the final century of Turkish rule, and the establishment, maintenance and operation of Greek schools, churches and charitable institutions in this period was substantially the result of their donations and benefactions. Their charitable activity was not confined to meeting the educational, ecclesiastical and social needs of their own native towns or villages, but encompassed the whole country and benefited the entire Greek nation. The impact of their activity was thus highly visible in the capital of the young Greek Kingdom, where they literally changed the face

of the city, bestowing upon it a wealth of handsome and costly buildings (the National Metsovian Polytechnic School, the Zappeion Megaro, the Military Academy, the Arsakeion School, the Observatory, the National Academy, to name just some), incomparable architectural and cultural monuments that remain unique and unparalleled to this day, and in other more general contributions, such as the restoration of the ancient marble stadium and the purchase of the battleship “Averoff”.²⁵⁵

2. The Greek contribution to Pelagonia was massive and spectacular, especially in the realm of education and social welfare. The self-governing Greek community in Monastir, which relied exclusively on its internal social cohesion and the voluntary support furnished not only by the wealthy expatriates who had made their fortune abroad but also by the local population, both the well-off and those who had little, was a remarkable phenomenon. The following pages are devoted to the citizens of Monastir who so generously contributed to the urbanisation and the economic and social progress of their town, and to the donors and benefactors who, within the limits of their several financial means, made their own not insignificant contribution to the development of Monastir society.

Demetrios Chatzis had this to say about the contribution of Monastiriote donors and benefactors: “*Monastir has had major benefactors. The huge “Evangelismos” Hospital, which provides free medical and nursing care, is the gift of the Demetriou brothers. Another endless and constantly renewed stream of smaller benefactors and donors have helped to found new Institutions and to maintain existing ones. Then there are the contributions of every description eagerly offered by the townspeople themselves, proud of the Greek éclat of their city, and the revenues from the property and other investments of the donors. All under the aegis of the wise and heroic Metropolitan Ioakeim Foropoulos and his council of local notables*”.²⁵⁶

1. The Benefactors of Monastir

a) Ioannis and Theochares Demetriou

Among the greatest benefactors of Monastir were the brothers Ioannis and Theochares Demetriou (or Pinikas)²⁵⁷ of Alexandria, emigrants who had

255. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 431-432.

256. Demetrios K. Chatzis, *History*, 47.

257. According to various sources they were born in Megarovo, 7 kilometres west of Monastir, and emigrated with their families to Egypt, where they became wealthy (Reminis-

made their fortune as cotton merchants in Egypt. In 1880 they gave 3500 liras²⁵⁸ to build a School for Girls (completed in 1882).²⁵⁹ Further donations (totalling 3000 liras) resulted in the construction of a Nursery School (in the grounds of the School for Girls), the 3rd “Theochareios” Elementary School and the “magnificent [“Evangelismos”] Greek Public Hospital”²⁶⁰ (1900, see following chapter). The name “Theochareios” was also given to the Boys’ Schools in the Albanian and New Districts.²⁶¹



Figures 119-121. Monastir Benefactors (from the left) Theochares, Eleni and Ioannis Demetriou

They also made a bequest of 2000 Turkish liras to provide dowries for two needy girls in each year’s graduating class from the School for Girls,²⁶² and provided endowments for the maintenance and operation of all the above institutions.²⁶³ The Hospital treated hundreds of people for an outlay

cences - Memoirs of Philotas Chatzitziotzias, Florina).

258. Demetrios K. Chatzis, *History*, 46.

259. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 432.

260. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 32; cf. Konstantinos Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 9, 22 (n. 11).

261. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 139-140, with figures for the province of Pelagonia in the 1907-1908 school year; cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138, which records these statistics.

262. Reminiscences - Memoirs of Philotas Chatzitziotzias, Florina.

263. Andreas I. Arvanites, “Μοναστήριον” (Monastir), *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1908, 170-171; cf. Apostolos Vakalopoulos, *Οι Δυτικομακεδόνες απόδημοι επί*

of 2000-2500 liras a year, and the Demetriou-supported schools (together with the others in Monastir) spent 5000 liras annually educating and providing material support to some 2500 children.²⁶⁴ Other bequests were made to renovate the Greek elementary schools in the New and Albanian Districts (*Yeni Mahala* and *Arnaout Mahala*) and provide them with an annual income.

The Demetriou brothers also used their wealth for the broader benefit of the Greek nation and in places other than Monastir, making substantial bequests to – *inter alia* – the University of Athens, the “Evangelismos” Hospital in Athens, the Zanneion Orphanage in Piraeus, the Amaleion Orphanage, the Hospital in Tinos and the Church of St Spyridon in Corfu (see below under “The Last Will and Testament of Ioannis Demetriou”), and donating a fine collection of coins and other archaeological artefacts from the Alexandrian and Egyptian eras to the Archaeological Museum in Athens.²⁶⁵

The Last Will and Testament of Ioannis Demetriou

Ioannis Demetriou’s will, which had been kept in the Greek Consulate in Alexandria, was published in that city’s *Telegraph* newspaper on 3 March 1896. The following passage is an extract from the journalist’s report:

“The last will and testament of the great national benefactor was opened and made public yesterday afternoon before the consular court, and in the presence of Mr G. Praktor. It was dated 6/18 March 1893, and states that he called his secretary Mr D. Bazion to take it down to his dictation.

His fortune, which according to the book in his cash box recording the inventory of 12/24 February of this year amounts to 7,665,796.50 Egyptian piastres, consists of the estate of Kafr Mahrouk, arable land, treadmill and farm tools at Salhaghlar, Ghinana, Sidema, Abnour in Gavria and Mit Gizira Niklas in Vehera, a cotton gin and house and garden in Goddaba, half a house in Attarin Alexandria, the other half belonging to his brother’s widow, stores of merchandise, loans, mortgages and other such, cash deposited in the Credit Lyonnais, Ottoman Bank and Bank of Egypt, consolidated securities deposited in the Bank of Egypt in the name of the De-

τουρκοκρατίας (Διάλεξις) (Western Macedonian emigrants in the years of Turkish rule [*lectures*]), Thessaloniki 1958, 31.

264. LPP, “A few statistics”, *Macedonian Chronicle - ΜΗΠΣ* 1908, 174-176.

265. Naoum Babatakas Archives – Philotas Chatzitziotzias Archives.

metriou Bros, similar of Daira Sania in his cash box, and cash in cash boxes in Goddaba and Alexandria..

To his beloved nephew Michail K. Demetriou he leaves his entire estate with the exception of the following specific bequests, which are to be paid out to the beneficiaries thereof within the space of three months:

10 000 pounds sterling to the city of Bitolia, as an endowment to provide out of the interest thereon for the maintenance of the "Evangelismos" Hospital in that city as it is now, whether Hospital, Orphanage, or Home for the Elderly, as a gift according to his means.

5000 pounds to endow a dowry fund to provide each year for two needy orphan girls from the Theochares and Ioannis Demetriou School for Girls in that same city, to be chosen by lot on the Feast of St Thomas, being the feast day of the foundation, 3000 pounds to build a new hospital in Bitolia, 500 pounds to the Cathedral Church, 100 pounds to the Church of Zoodochou Pigis in Tyrnovo, 50 to the Church of St Demetrios in Megarovo, 50 to the Church of St Saviour in Boukovo, 50 to St Christopher's Monastery, 50 to the Monastery of the Resurrection in Bourasini.

800 to the National University, 400 to the "Evangelismos" Hospital in Athens for a bed in his name, 400 to the Hadji Kostas Orphanage, 200 to the Amaleion, 200 to the Zanneion Orphanage in Piraeus, 100 to the Church of the Annunciation in Tinos, 100 to the Church of St Spyridon in Corfu, 100 to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 100 to the Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus.

To the community in Alexandria, for the Hospital and the Schools, his non-expropriated lands in Gezira measuring approximately 100 fedans and 2000 pounds so that the rents and interest thereon may be used for the succour of the poor, the ill and needy students. To the Church of St Sabas 100, to the Church and Community of St George in Kafr Zayyat his non-expropriated lands in Sider and Abnouk, to the Church of Presentation in Tanta 50, to the Church of St George in Cairo 50.

To his sister-in-law Eleni, widow of his late brother Theochares, half of the furniture and furnishings in the house in which she lives and 1000 pounds cash. To his servant Irimi Manetaki 1000 pounds. To his employee Petros Georgiou 1000 pounds, to his other employees and servants native and European one year's salary, to Angelis Koloumopoulos of Alexandria 500, to his secretary Demetrios Bazion 1500. He forgives his people whatever sums they may owe him at the date of his death.

These sums having been subtracted, the entire balance of his estate and namely half of the house in Alexandria, the cotton gin and the house in Goddaba, the property at Kafr Mahrouk with its buildings and treadmill etc.,

the properties at Salhaghiar and Ghenania with furniture, cash, securities, loans and all else of which he stands possessed he does leave to his nephew and heir Michail K. Demetriou, the son of his sister, whom he also names as executor of this testament and entreats him to respect this his last will.

“I ask forgiveness of all those whom with or without reason I may have offended, as I forgive those who have displeased me, so help me God””.



Figure 122. The Florina General State Hospital in an old photograph. Built by and named for Eleni Demetriou.

b) Eleni, widow of Theochares Demetriou

Eleni Demetriou of Monastir,²⁶⁶ widow of Theochares Demetriou, built (jointly with Maria, widow of Anastasios Economou) the Central Nursery School and the Rotska Nursery School and provided for their maintenance.²⁶⁷

Eleni Demetriou was also a major benefactress of Florina. In her will, which was drawn up in 1928 in Alexandria (Egypt), she left bequests for the construction of the Florina General Hospital, which preserves a copy of the document. The hospital has been named the “Eleni Demetriou” Hospital in

266. According to various sources she was born in Megarovo (Reminiscences - Memoirs of Philotas Chatzitzotzias, Florina).

267. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 32-33; cf. Konstantinos Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 22-23 (n. 11); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 433.

her honour, and every year on May 21 a memorial mass is celebrated by the bishop in her memory.²⁶⁸

c) *Nikolaos Doumbas*

The great patron of the Gymnasium of Monastir²⁶⁹ was Baron Nikolaos Doumbas of Vienna.²⁷⁰

A native of Blatsi, in Western Macedonia, national benefactor Nikolaos Doumbas was a very capable merchant who made his fortune in Vienna. In 1843 he built and thereafter maintained a secondary school (a “Greek and Lancastrian School”) in his hometown. After his death it continued to be supported by his sons.²⁷¹

d) *Ioannis Kontoulis*

Ioannis Kontoulis, a native of Monastir living in Romania, built and maintained the Bair District Elementary School, and ran the “Kontouleion” Boys’ School in the Hill District, with 17 pupils and one teacher.²⁷²

In his will Ioannis Kontoulis (who died in 1875) left instructions for his house in Chisinau (worth at least 15,000 roubles) to be sold and the proceeds used to maintain and operate those two schools. Kontoulis also deposited bonds worth 50,000 drachmas in the National Bank of Athens to endow prizes for works of history, made grants of funds to the Theological and Engineering

268. Theodoros L. Vosdos, “Ελένη Θ. Δημητρίου, Μια μεγάλη ψυχή” (Eleni Demetriou, a generous soul), *Aristoteles* 67-68 (1968), 33-35, Reminiscences - Memoirs, Florina.

269. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Educational and social action*, 136; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 89, 433.

270. For information about the Doumbas family, see Char. Poullos, “Στέργιος Δούμπας” (Stergios Doumbas), in the *Macedonian Chronicle* 2 (1909), 269-270; I. Tsi-kopoulos, “Θεόδωρος Δούμπας” (Theodore Doumbas), in the *Macedonian Chronicle* 3 (1910), 123-129; M. A. Kalinderis, *Ο βίος της κοινότητας Βλάστης επί τουρκοκρατίας εις το πλαίσιον του δυτικομεκεδονικού περιβάλλοντος* (The Life of the Commune of Vlasti during the period of Ottoman Rule in the context of Western Macedonian environment), Thessaloniki 1982, 133-136.

271. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Κουτσόβλαχοι. Οι Βλαχόφωνοι Έλληνες. Εθνολογική, λαογραφική και γλωσσολογική μελέτη* (Koutsovlachs. The Vlach-speaking Greeks. Ethnological and linguistic study), Thessaloniki 1993, 510.

272. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 139-140, with figures for the province of Pelagonia in the 1907-1908 school year; cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138, which records these statistics.

Schools of the University of Athens and provided scholarships for top students from schools in Monastir.²⁷³

e) Demetrios Mousikos

Demetrios Mousikos of Bucharest founded and built a primary school bearing his name in Monastir: the “Mousikeios *Astike Schole*”.²⁷⁴ His name is also associated with the Hospital District Boys’ Schools (with 204 children and 5 teachers).²⁷⁵

f) Adam Nikarousis

Another benefactor of Monastir was Adam Nikarousis, who founded a Municipal Hospital in 1829 and supported it until the Demetriou brothers had it torn down and replaced with a more modern one (1900).²⁷⁶

g) Maria, widow of Anastasios Economou

Maria Economou joined Eleni, widow of Theochares Demetriou, in founding the Central and Rotska Nursery Schools and providing for their maintenance.²⁷⁷

Her name is also attached to the Nursery Schools in the Hospital District (with 140 children and 3 teachers), the Albanian District (73-2), the White Fountain District (125-2), the Hill District (34-1), the New District (40-2), the Garden District (124-2), the Hydragora District (30-1) and the Green Hill District (56-1).²⁷⁸

273. Philotas Chatzitziotzias Archives.

274. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 433.

275. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 139-140, with figures for the province of Pelagonia in the 1907-1908 school year; cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138, which records these statistics.

276. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 432.

277. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 32-33; cf. Konstantinos Vavoukos, *The contribution*, 22-23 (n. 11); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 433.

278. *Ekklesiastiki Aletheia*, 1907, 139-140, with figures for the province of Pelagonia in the 1907-1908 school year; cf. also Athanasios G. Geromichalos, *The nationalist action*, 137-138, which records these statistics.

2. The subscribers of Monastir

There were in addition many good souls who gave of their small means or meagre resources to help sustain the public welfare institutions of their city of Monastir.

The long tally of these people totals 126 “benefactors and subscribers”, as they were numbered in the annual celebration of the Greek schools of Monastir on 7 March 1883.²⁷⁹

D. DISTINGUISHED MONASTIRIOTES

1. Monastir was a city of prominent patriots, worthy and important men who distinguished themselves through their passionate and significant intellectual, cultural, nationalist and social action. Freedom fighters, politicians and diplomats, professional men and teachers, priests and notables, community and social leaders, scholars and intellectuals, writers and poets enlightened and energised the embattled Greek population of Monastir and attained the highest social and academic offices.

2. With its well-organised educational system and cultivated population, Monastir produced dynamic and distinguished intellectual leaders. The first scholars and teachers staffed the private school founded in Monastir by Margaritis Dimitsas (1851): Dimitsas himself, seconded by Anastasios Picheon of Ochrid and Serapheim Matlis and N. Chalkiopoulos of Monastir.

Other noteworthy citizens who taught in the Gymnasium of Monastir included Vasilios Notis, Headmaster Alexandros Zoumetikos, Petros Kontis, Konstantinos Tsioulkas, Vasilios Michail, Michail Petrou, Pantelis Nakas, Evangelos Tanou, Demetrios Markou, Georgios Kizias, V. and A. Agorastos, D. Tsallis,²⁸⁰ and the many others named in the chapter specifically devoted to education in Monastir.

3. Then there were the men of letters whose works, published in newspapers and journals and appearing in various European publications, told the

279. AYE, *Consulates of Macedonia*, Monastir, 7 March 1883, no. 195.

280. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *The Northern Greeks*, 211; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 416-417.

story of the tribulations of the people of Monastir at the hands of the propagandists and refuted their propaganda. They included patriots Anastasios G.



Figure 123. Margarita Peran – Internationally famous opera star, born in Monastir

Tsallis and Vasilios Notis, poet and brilliant Balkan scholar Georgios Sagiaxis, and polyglot Grigorios Zoumetikos with his European horizons. Others who in their different ways brought prestige and brilliance to the Greek community of Monastir included the internationally famous opera star Margarita Peran, and the dozens of young men who returned from the University of Athens with degrees in law or medicine. Then, too, there were the children and grandchildren of that age, whose contribution would be made in the 20th century: men like Georgios Modis (born in 1888), lawyer, politician (Member of Parliament, Interior (1950) and Education (1951) Minister) and writer, or Ioannis Sontis (1907), professor (at the Athens Law School and the Panteios School of Economics), politician (E-

ducation Minister, 1964) and writer, or Demetrios Makris (1910), lawyer and politician (Member of Parliament, Interior Minister (1956-1961) and (1961-1963) Minister of State),²⁸¹ to name but some.

281. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 417-418.

1. Professional men – teachers

a) Nikolaos Varnavas

Nikolaos Varnavas taught in all 8 grades (5 elementary and 3 middle) of the first Greek School in Monastir, which he founded in 1830.

Although it is not known where he studied, Varnavas “*had received an excellent education in the Greek language and Greek letters and a solid general education besides. He taught most of the ancient writers to the upper classes, and Sophocles and Aeschylus to the senior class. In Mathematics his instruction progressed as far as Algebra... His pupils attended to his lessons with exceptional eagerness, inspired naturally by the inimitable enthusiasm their teacher displayed throughout*”.²⁸²

b) Loukas Gounaris (1862-1939)

Loukas Gounaris was born and educated in Monastir, and completed his teacher training in its superb Greek schools.

He taught for several years (1902-1909) in Neveska, where he lived for most of his life and where he married Anastasia Befas. Gounaris died in Neveska in 1939.²⁸³

c) Margaritis Dimitsas (1829-1903)

A teacher with a deep and far-reaching background in language and literature, philosophy, archaeology, geography and history, one of the most important scholars and educators of his age, Margaritis Dimitsas founded (1851) and taught in the school that bore his name.

Born in Ochrid in 1829, Dimitsas attended primary school there before moving on to the famous Zosimaia School in Ioannina. From there he went to Athens, where he outperformed the graduates of the Athens Gymnasium in the final examinations, and was admitted to the University of Athens in the Faculty of Arts. After graduating he taught in various schools in Macedonia, including in Monastir, before going to Germany to study literature, philosophy and archaeology at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin.

282. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 9; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 461-462.

283. Nikolaos Arg. Loustas, *Η ιστορία του Νυμφαίου – Νέβεσκας – Φλωρίνης. Συμβολή των Νυμφαιοτών στην εθνική, ιστορική, οικονομική, πολιτιστική και παραδοσιακή ζωή του* (The history of Nymphaion / Neveska, Florina. The contribution of its citizens to its national, historical, economic, cultural and traditional life), Thessaloniki 1942, 168-169.



Figure 124. Margaritis Dimitsas

When his private school in Monastir closed in 1865, he became Headmaster of the city's newly established semi-Gymnasium. Later, he moved to Thessaloniki where, as head of the Greek School, he worked zealously and tirelessly for the young people of the city. He subsequently founded a private Gymnasium, and later was appointed Headmaster of the city's new public Gymnasium.

After six years in this position he moved to Athens, where he founded yet another school, which over two decades educated hundreds of

boys from free Greece and the still unliberated territories. Although repeatedly offered high positions by a series of Education Ministers, he always refused, preferring to devote himself to teaching and to research work documenting the Greekness of Macedonia. He also taught geography to the young women at the Arsakeion teacher training college, and compiled geography textbooks and maps, for all school grades, that were used throughout Greece and in Greek communities abroad.

The writings of the great teacher, research scholar and visionary Margaritis Dimitsas form a substantial, important and truly remarkable body of work, for he published more than 20 detailed and scholarly studies on a variety of geographical, philological and historical subjects – a tremendous achievement for that age.

Margaritis Dimitsas died on 6 June 1903. For his services to the Nation he was awarded a medal by the Greek Government.²⁸⁴

284. Charisis Poullos, "Margaritis G. Dimitsas", *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΠΣ* 1909, 301- 305; Tryphon Evangelides, *Η παιδεία επί Τουρκοκρατίας* (Education in the time of the Turks), vol. 1, Athens 1936, 102, 106; Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 15-17; Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 24, n. 20; N. I. Mertzos, *Αρμάνοι. Οι Βλάχοι* (Armanoi. The Vlachs), Thessaloniki (n.d.), 345; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 463.

d) *Alexandros Zoumetikos (1885-1929)*

Teacher (1880-1888, 1896-1912), Headmaster (1903),²⁸⁵ “*first among the select staff of the Gymnasium (of Monastir)*”, “*wise, with an excellent European education and of indomitable character*”,²⁸⁶ Alexandros Zoumetikos was one of the most highly respected and worthy figures in Monastir.

Zoumetikos also served as Headmaster of the Gymnasium in Adrianople, where he “*literally fought to preserve the Gymnasium through all the adversities that befell that unfortunate city as a result of the succession of wars, Balkan, Allied and European*”,²⁸⁷ and in Thessaloniki.²⁸⁸



Figure 125. Alexandros Zoumetikos

e) *Grigorios Zoumetikos*

Grigorios Zoumetikos stood out as a polyglot with a distinctly European outlook.

f) *Konstantinos A. Herakleides*

A member of the Sagiaxis family of Monastir, made famous by poet and Balkan scholar Georgios Sagiaxis and through its connections with Alexandros Svolos, which moved to Thessaloniki in 1913.

Konstantinos Herakleides was born in Thessaloniki in 1928. He studied law and political science at the University there, and continued with further studies in Paris before entering the judiciary, where he served with distinction. His career took him successively to Serres, Veria and Thessaloniki, where he reached the grade of Prosecutor in the Court of Appeals. At that point he retired, not wishing to engage in compromise and concession.

285. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 19.

286. Demetrios K. Chatzis, *History*, 46.

287. Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 66-67; Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 35-37.

288. Nikolaos Arg. Loustas, “Η εκπαίδευση στην περιοχή Φλωρίνης – Μοναστηρίου κατά τους χρόνους της τουρκοκρατίας και η Μακεδονία” (Education in the region of Florina – Monastir under the Turks and Macedonia), *Aristoteles* 158 (1983), 31; Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 10, 24 (n. 21, 22); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 464.



Figure 126. Petros Lazarides – Teacher and musician

Konstantinos Herakleides – a surname he adopted in honour of Heracles, the ancestor of the Pelagonians and the patron of ancient Heraclea, in place of his own name of Sagiaxis – is still remembered for his integrity and honesty and his respect for the judicial function.

g) Vasilios Kokkinis

Born in Monastir, Kokkinis taught in the Gymnasium in Thessaloniki.²⁸⁹

h) Petros Kontis

Petros Kontis was the Director of the Orthodox Seminary.²⁹⁰

i) Petros Lazarides

Born and educated in Monastir, Lazarides went on to study music at the Conservatory in Thessaloniki.

His first teaching position (1910) was at the Modesteios School in Pisosderi, followed by a year teaching music in Koritsa. After 1912 he moved to Florina, where he taught music in the Gymnasium.²⁹¹

j) Vasilios Chr. Notis

Monastir native Vasilios Notis was a leading figure in the world of letters and education, as writer and philologist, as teacher and headmaster of schools in and around Monastir,²⁹² and later as Headmaster of the First Gymnasium in Thessaloniki.²⁹³

Charter member of the “Karteria” Fraternal Association for Education (1880), editor-in-chief of the weekly journal *To Phos* (1911-1912), which was printed by the Pillis Brothers,²⁹⁴ he was also a correspondent for several Greek newspapers.

289. Nikolaos Arg. Loustas, “Education”, *Aristoteles* 158 (1983), 31; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 481.

290. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 31-32, 35-37; cf. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 10, 24 (n. 21, 22).

291. Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina; newspaper *I Phone tis Florinis*, Florina, 20 November 1998, no. 1819; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 466.

292. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 24, n. 22.

293. Nikolaos Arg. Loustas, “Education”, *Aristoteles* 158 (1983), 31.

294. Pantelis G. Tsallis, “Glorious Monastir”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 68; Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 31-32, 35-37.

A patriot and a man of letters, Notis played a major role in the intellectual life of Monastir. In articles written for Greek and European journals he told of the trouble caused by the propagandists in his native city, and refuted their positions; he also wrote works on more general literary and historical subjects, including an article on the Palace of Galerius that was published in Thessaloniki in 1939.

The words of Petros D. Pisourikas, president of the Gymnastics Society, pronounced on the occasion of the “anniversary of the Gymnastics Society of Monastir on New Year’s Day” 1912 and published in *To Phos*, give some idea of the esteem in which Vasilios Notis was held by his fellow-citizens: “*On that evening of carol-singing, one of the finest teachers at our Gymnasium, the learned, hard-working and indefatigable editor of the Phos, Mr Vasilios Notis, in a vigorous and very appropriate speech addressed to the members of our Society from the window of his house, inspired them with courage and patience, demonstrating to them the general benefits to be had from Gymnastics, and winning the admiration and affectionate esteem of the whole company!*”²⁹⁵

k) Ioannis Sontis

Born in 1907 in Monastir, Ioannis Sontis attended nursery school in that city, before moving with his family to Thessaloniki in 1913. He studied law at the University of Athens, graduating with honours, and at the University of Heidelberg, where he earned a doctorate.

He worked as a lawyer at the national Social Insurance Foundation until 1937, when he was appointed lecturer in Civil Law at the University of Athens. During the Occupation, he defended Greek patriots before German Courts Martial, never accepting a fee of any kind. By 1956 he had become a full professor at both the University of Athens and the Panteion School of Economics, and later served as Minister for Education and Religious Affairs (in the caretaker government formed by I. Paraskevopoulos in 1964). In 1978, in the context of its 500th anniversary celebrations, the University of Tübingen awarded him an honorary doctorate. In 1979 he was elected to the Academy of Athens and died three years later, on 18 March 1982, while delivering a lecture on euthanasia to that body.

295. *To Phos*, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 466-467.

Ioannis Sontis was the author of numerous law books, including works on Roman law and the interpretation of the Civil Code (1948), on composite contracts (1953) and on restricted private easements (1957).²⁹⁶

l) Konstantinos Athanasiou Spathis (1874-1940)

A fine musician and teacher, Konstantinos Spathis taught music and dancing at the Gymnasium and the Girls' School in Monastir, under the auspices of the Philharmonic Society.²⁹⁷

*“Konstantinos Spathis belonged to a musical family. His father was the chief musician to the royal court and conductor of the Greek Royal Navy brass band. His brother Spyros, the royal Kapellmeister, had trained in Europe. His sister Sophia Dellaporta was a composer, and his aunt Fannie Spathi a fine musician. His nephew Theodoros Spathis and his son Alekos were also composers (Sp. Mocenigo, Νεοελληνική μουσική (Modern Greek Music), 251)”*²⁹⁸

m) Pericles Tsallis

A native of Monastir, he studied at the University of Athens and taught at the Primary School in Krushevo.²⁹⁹

n) Konstantinos Tsioulkas

The first Headmaster of the Gymnasium in his native city of Monastir was an *“ardent patriot, whose speeches at school days will remain eternally memorable for their fervour and patriotism”*.³⁰⁰

296. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 23, n. 19; Archives of the Association of Monastiriotes of Thessaloniki “I Karteria”, Thessaloniki; Nikolaos Arg. Loustas, “Education”, *Aristoteles* 158 (1983), 31; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Koutsovlachs*, 505; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 486-487.

297. G. Ch. Modis, “Memories”, *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 70-72.

298. Koula Xeradaki, *From the Archives*, 20; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 469.

299. Zotos Molossos, *Ηπειρωτικά Μακεδονικά μελέται, τ. Δ'. Δρομολόγιον της ελληνικής χερσονήσου αρχαιολογικόν, ιστορικόν, γεωγραφικόν, στρατιωτικόν, στατιστικόν και εμπορικόν, τεύχος Γ', Μακεδονία και Σερβία* (Studies in Epirus and Macedonia, vol. IV. Archaeological, historical, geographical, military, statistical and commercial voyage through the Greek peninsula, vol. 3. Macedonia and Serbia), Athens 1887, 297; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 470.



Figure 127. *Evangelos Tsouptsis*

o) Evangelos Tsouptsis

A native of Monastir who taught language and literature at the city's Gymnasium, Evangelos Tsouptsis was also one of the handpicked members of the Revolutionary Organisation in North-west Macedonia. He also taught in Serres (1904-1908), and was invited to take up the post of Headmaster of the Zaripheion Schools in Philippopolis.

In the event, however, after the Serbian occupation of his birthplace in 1912, he refused to collaborate with the new regime and moved with his family to Koritsa and a new post at the Greek Gymnasium in that city. There, however, he was accused by a colleague of royalist sympathies, and exiled to Mytilene. Afterwards he taught in Veria (1918) and later in Florina, where in 1921 he was appointed Headmaster of the Gymnasium. He died in Florina in 1924, and was given a state funeral with tributes from the citizens and the municipal authorities.³⁰¹

2. Freedom fighters, politicians and diplomats

a) I. Antoniadis

Born and educated in Monastir (at the famous Gymnasium), he became a lawyer and a Member of Parliament for Kozani. In 1949 he published an article on "Legendary Monastir".³⁰²

300. Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 68; Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 31-32, 35-37; cf. Konstantinos A. Vavouskos, *The contribution*, 10, 24 (n. 21, 22); Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 470.

301. Theodoros Vosdos Archives, Florina; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 470-471.

302. I. G. Antoniadis, "Legendary Monastir", *Macedonian Chronicle – ΜΗΣ* 1949, 65-75; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 480.

b) Demetrios Makris

Born in Monastir in around 1910, Demetrios Makris went on to become a famous lawyer and politician (Member of Parliament, Minister for Home Affairs 1956-1961, Head of the Prime Minister's Office 1961-1963).³⁰³

c) Georgios Modis (1887-1975)

Georgios Modis attended school in Monastir. After leaving the Gymnasium in 1906 he studied law in Athens, graduating in 1912.

He fought throughout the entire second half of the Macedonian Struggle as leader of a band of *andartai*³⁰⁴ and was thoroughly familiar with the Greek resistance across Western Macedonia. In 1912 he served as administrative governor of Kailar.

Subsequently, as a lawyer in Florina (1920), he continued his career as a political, nationalist and social activist. In 1923 he was elected to Parliament, where in 1929 he served as Deputy Speaker, and in 1931-1932 was appointed Governor General of Epirus. During the German Occupation he was imprisoned in Thessaloniki, but escaped to the Middle East (1944).

In 1944 he was appointed Governor General of Macedonia. Re-elected to Parliament as a member for Florina (1950), he joined the cabinet as Minister for Home Affairs (1950) and later (1951) Minister for Education.³⁰⁵ He died in 1975 in Thessaloniki, which had been his home since 1946.



Figure 128. Demetrios Makris

303. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Koutsovlachs*, 502.

304. Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir" *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 67; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 483.

305. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Koutsovlachs*, 502.



Figure 129. Georgios Modis

Today Georgios Modis is perhaps best known as the author of a large and important body of work, published in Florina, Thessaloniki and Athens. This includes many collections of stories about the Macedonian Struggle under the general title ‘Macedonian Stories’ (*Μακεδονικές ιστορίες*: 1920, 1929, 1937, 1939, 1954, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1963, 1966, 1969 and 1970); tales and novels: ‘In the mountains of Macedonia – The life of the *andartai*’ (*Στα μακεδονικά βουνά - Η ζωή των ανταρτών*, 1930), ‘Yeromi-

tros' (*Ο Γερομήτρος*, 1933), 'War and Occupation' (*Πόλεμος and κατοχή*, 1947 and 1967); works of history: 'Neighbours, appetites and plans' (*Σχέδια και ορέξεις γειτόνων*, 1947), 'Kapetan Stephos' (*Καπετάν Στέφος*, 1948), 'Macedonian Struggle and Macedonian leaders' (*Μακεδονικός Αγών και Μακεδόνες αρχηγοί*, 1950), 'The Macedonian Struggle and Modern Greek History' (*Ο μακεδονικός αγών και η νεώτερη μακεδονική ιστορία*, 1967); and political and patriotic works, lectures, memoirs and essays (1950, 1959, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967). There are besides a number of unpublished works (memoirs) and posthumous new editions and reprints.³⁰⁶

We reprint here one of these 'Macedonian Stories' ("*Who took it?*", from the "Fifty Fatlings" collection), both as an example of his work and as a vignette of the difficult years of the Macedonian Struggle, as seen in this tale of the uproar caused by the loss of a portfolio with documents from the Greek Consulate in Monastir on the activity of the Greek revolutionary bands in the region of Pelagonia.³⁰⁷



Figure 130. Georgios Modis, "Fifty Fatlings" - cover

306. Georgios P. Argyriades, "Γεώργιος Χρ. Μόδης και οι γενναίοι του" (Georgios Christou Modis and his pallikars), *Aristoteles* 85-86 (1971), 23-131; idem (11-22, for his life); Konstantinos Vavouskos, "Γεώργιος Μόδης" (Georgios Modis), *Aristoteles* 89-90 (1971), 4-18; I. Georgios Simantiras, "Γεώργιος Μόδης" (Georgios Modis), *Aristoteles* 89-90 (1971), 32-79 (his works).

307. Georgios Chr. Modis, *Μακεδονικές Ιστορίες. Πενήντα θρεφτάρια* (Macedonian Stories. Fifty Fatlings), Athens 1954, 88-91.

WHO TOOK IT?

Mr Sinis, “secretary” to the Greek Consulate in Monastir, set out for Athens in February 1907. His diplomatic cover concealed Lieutenant Kontogouris, who would die as a major in the Greek-Bulgarian War in 1913.

In his hand he held a large leather portfolio, bulging at the seams, for he had packed it full of copies of reports, orders, minutes of decisions, letters from band leaders, and the like.

A war had broken out against the leaders of the Greek Macedonian Committee (Kalapothakis & Co.), who were accused of incompetence, incapability, carelessness, etc., and he was on his way to the capital to pursue it more vigorously there. The papers he had with him were very important to his case. There was no danger from the Turkish police: the Capitulations were in full force, and effectively protected foreign nationals. And although it went without saying that diplomats and consular officials could not be touched, if he sent the papers by diplomatic pouch he could not be certain of being able to retrieve them at the right time without being discovered.

Also travelling to Thessaloniki that day was a beautiful young woman with an elderly husband. She was also accompanied by two doctors, and the three men surrounded her closely... The five of them occupied a first class compartment; and in the company of the young woman, who was as cultivated and clever as she was lovely to look at, the journey passed so pleasantly that before they knew it they were pulling into the station in Thessaloniki.

That was when Sinis realised with horror that his portfolio was gone! The four men, panic-stricken, searched high and low for it. So did the Greek railway employees, good patriots all, but to no avail. The portfolio had vanished!

Pale, shattered and shaking in his boots, Sinis presented himself to the Consul General in Thessaloniki and reported what had happened.

– You had better, Koromilas said to him curtly, get straight on board the steamer for Volos and Piraeus. It is scheduled to sail in four hours from now, but I will ask it to leave as soon as it can, if possible at once, so we can at least keep you out of trouble with the Turks.

Sinis boarded the vessel sombrely, head held low. He had done such good work in Monastir. Everyone said so. And then in a single moment, a single piece of bad luck, and it was all undone. And he was dishonoured. The worst thing of all was imagining his friends and associates in Monastir

in prison: he could see their faces, bitter and fearful, as if asking him, How could you do it?



Figure 131. Georgios Theodosiou, president of the 'Aristoteles' Society of Florina, presents Georgios Modis with an honorary diploma

Oh! There was only one solution now: to throw himself overboard or blow his brains out..

Koromilas cabled the news straightaway to the Consulate in Monastir, in a coded message.

Even greater panic ensued there! The portfolio contained all the secrets of the organisation, even the most confidential, in full detail. Nothing worse for the Greeks could have happened – or better for their many enemies. For them, it was manna from heaven. Hilmi Pasha, the Inspector-General of the three Macedonian Vilayets, and his Austrian and Russian advisors were just looking for an opportunity to crush Monastir. Now he'd really done it! Just a short while ago three Bulgarians, "peaceable householders", had been shot like dogs in broad daylight at three main intersections, and a fourth badly wounded, and none of the malefactors had been caught!

And God only knew how many would be thrown into prison..

Woe and lamentation indeed.

The consular staff began to burn official papers.

Heart in mouth they waited for the storm to break. They'll come now, they kept saying to one another; or no, they'll come just before lunch; or no, they'll leave it till the evening. No, they'll certainly come by night, the dogs, to take us in our beds. Like condemned men awaiting the headsman, they were...



Figure 132. Georgios Modis (left) with Ioannis Karozis, the long-serving president of the Association of Monastiriotes of Florina

Three or four days went by, and nothing happened. The Turks must be sorting through their files, and getting ready to strike everywhere at once. Maybe, too, they were preparing copies for Hilmi Pasha's two foreign advisors. Everything would have to be translated into Turkish, German, Russian... And in any case, the Turks were never ones to hurry.

Two weeks went by. What in the world were they up to? Were they deliberately tormenting them, playing on their nerves before rounding them up, throwing them into prison and beginning the questioning?

The famous Turkish “yavash-yavash” (slowly, all in good time) could drive you crazy. Arrest, trial and condemnation were a thousand times better than this endless waiting and worry!

A month went by. Was Sinis mistaken? Had the case contained nothing but love letters newspapers?

They began to breathe again.

Three months went by, and another three!

Where in the world could that portfolio have gone?

If it had been found by a Greek, it would have been returned to our people. If it had fallen into Turkish hands, it would have gone straight to the Turkish police, or at best the finder would have asked for money for its return. And he could have asked for anything he wanted. A Bulgarian or a Romaniser? Silly question: he would have made copies for himself (‘just in case’) and delivered the originals to Hilmi Pasha and his Russian and Austrian advisors with great pomp and circumstance.

Even if it had been found by one of the foreign “European Reforms” officials who were busy organising the gendarmerie and the administration in the Three Vilayets (Monastir, Thessaloniki and Skopje), or one of their men, the material in the portfolio would still not simply have vanished without trace: it would have been used in the interests of “law and order” in Macedonia, according to the lights and aspirations of the finder’s own country.

Who ended up with the portfolio? And what did he do with it?!

A possible explanation, which was given at the time, was that it fell into the hands of a neutral party, a Jew perhaps, who thought it contained money. When the person opened it and saw nothing but committees, organisations, taxes, proscriptions, killings, guns, fighting, burning villages, massacres, battles, etc., he would have thrown the papers straight into the fire. Who wants to go looking for trouble?

Best not sup with the devil, no matter how long a spoon you have!

d) Anastasios Picheon

Anastasios Picheon, teacher and fighter for Greek rights in Northwest Macedonia, was born in Ochrid in about 1845, of a family that came from Moschopolis.

While still a youth, Picheon taught at the Dimitsas School in Monastir and the Hellenomouseion School in Klisoura. He also joined the local revolutionary organisations that were fighting for the liberation of Macedonia,



Figure 133. Anastasios Picheon

an activity that attracted unwanted attention from the Turks (1866). Forced to quit the neighbourhood, he moved south to Kastoria, continuing to teach there³⁰⁸ and in schools in other parts of the district, and was officially charged with combating Bulgarian propaganda.

For this new activity he was banished by the Turkish authorities to Syria (Ptolemais), but he escaped in 1888 and made his way to Athens. He taught in the Rizareios School (1892-1908), and was awarded the Silver Cross by the Greek Government. “He returned to Kastoria on 20 October 1908, and lived there until

24 March 1913... having lived long enough to see the Greek flag flying from the top of the hill in the city of Kastoria”.³⁰⁹

3. Scholars, writers and poets, social figures

a) Vasilios L. Agorastos (Agorastou) (1864-1925)

A native of Monastir, Agorastos taught in the Gymnasium there and later in the Gymnasium in Florina. After 1896 he and Anastasios Naltsas served as secretaries at the Greek Consulate in Monastir,³¹⁰ “working with great patriotism”.³¹¹ It fell to his lot to bring the head of Pavlos Melas from

308. Georgios T. Alexiou, *Η παιδεία στην Καστοριά κατά τον 19^ο αιώνα. Σχολεία – Δάσκαλοι – Μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας* (Education in Kastoria in the 19th century. Schools – Teachers – Teaching methods), Thessaloniki 1991, 10.

309. Konstantinos Vakalopoulos, *The Northern Greeks*, 463, and passim, with much information about Anastasios Picheon and his work; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 350-351; N. I. Mertzos, *Armanoi*, 343.

310. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 350-351; N. I. Mertzos, *Armanoi*, 286.

311. Pantelis G. Tsallis, *Glorious Monastir*, 77.

Statista for burial at Pisoderi. After 1913 he headed the prefectural service in Florina, where he continued to live until his death in 1925.

His published work includes a Modern Greek Reader (Thessaloniki, 1892) and, under the pseudonym Vasilios Laskarides, a primer (*Alphabetarion*, Monastir 1912), and object-lesson book (*The Child's Garden*, teacher's book and pupil's book, Monastir 1912), and a practical guide to teaching reading (Monastir 1912) (see also in section B. 1. *Printing, publishing and bookselling*).³¹²

b) Nikolaos Georgiades (1879-1967)

Nikolaos Georgiades was born in Ano Soudena (Epirus), but moved with his family to Monastir at the age of seven.



Figure 134. The Ciné Manaki (owned by the Manakias Brothers) in Monastir, as it was until WWII, when it burned to the ground. It was afterwards rebuilt and still stands.

312. D. P. Souliotis, *The Monastir Alphabetarion*.

Upon leaving the Gymnasium of Monastir, he went to Thessaloniki to complete his education at the Stephanos Noukas Commercial and Practical Lyceum. A spell in the Bank of Thessaloniki led to managerial positions in the Anatolian Bank, and among other branches he also served in Monastir (until 1914).

Nikolaos Georgiades is best known for the work he wrote – under the pseudonym “Pygmalion” – for the newspapers *To Phos* (Monastir), of which he was one of the founders, and *Nea Aletheia* (Thessaloniki). His wonderful pieces on the social and the intellectual and cultural life in general of the city of Monastir, which appeared in those journals, were collected and published by the Society for Macedonian Studies in 1984 under the title *Όσα έγγραφα στο Μοναστήρι. 1903-1912* (My writings from Monastir. 1903-1912).³¹³

Some of his articles had to do with school life and education in Monastir and its environs: they have titles like *Founder’s Day in Megarovo, Celebrating the first anniversary of the Friends of the Arts Society, School Fêtes, The Feast of the Three Hierarchs, March 25th (1905), March 25th (1906), Literary soirées and ceremonies (1907), The soirée of the Friends of the Poor Association (1908), Two joyful national occasions, March 25th (1910)*. Other topics included: *The countryside around Monastir, On the hill of Heraclea (reveries), Romanian propaganda in 1905, The crimes of the Bulgarian Committee, Welcoming the Rt Rev. Ioakeim, Metropolitan Bishop of Pelagonia, The Turkish Constitution, Its proclamation in Monastir, The Inauguration of the Greek Club*.

c) Anastasios G. Zallis

One of the elite of Monastir society, publisher and bookseller, editor of and contributor to the newspapers *To Phos* (Monastir) and *Nea Aletheia* (Thessaloniki), Zallis was also an ardent activist for the rights of the Greeks, and as such was banished by the Turkish authorities to Asia Minor.

His cultural and social contribution to the life of Monastir included founding (with others) the *Karteria* Fraternal Association for Education (1880), service on the school board, and of course a lifetime’s work as printer, publisher and bookseller, publishing (among other works) his own “Macedonian Library” series (1911, see also in section B. 1. *Printing, pub-*

313. Nikolaos Char. Georgiades, *My writings* (Macedonian Folk Library – 33, Published by the Society for Macedonian Studies).

lishing and bookselling). Anastasios Zallis died in 1925 in Thessaloniki, where he had lived since 1913.³¹⁴

d – e) Ioannis and Miltiades Manakias

Ioannis Manakias (1868-1954), polymath and polyglot, was a teacher and photographer in Monastir.

Natives of Abdella, he and his brother Miltiades (1878-1964) were the first photographers in the Balkans, and in films signed “Manakias, Balkans” they captured scenes of daily life in war and peace in the first two decades of the twentieth century.



Figures 135-136. The Manakias brothers – Ioannis (left) and Miltos

They had a photography and film studio in the high street in Monastir, and a cinema at another location in the city. Using a Bioskop 300 camera they recorded people, events, places, structures and occasions in western and central Macedonia and across the Balkans. Their studio is now a bar, and their cinema, destroyed by fire in 1939, has been rebuilt and now bears their name.³¹⁵

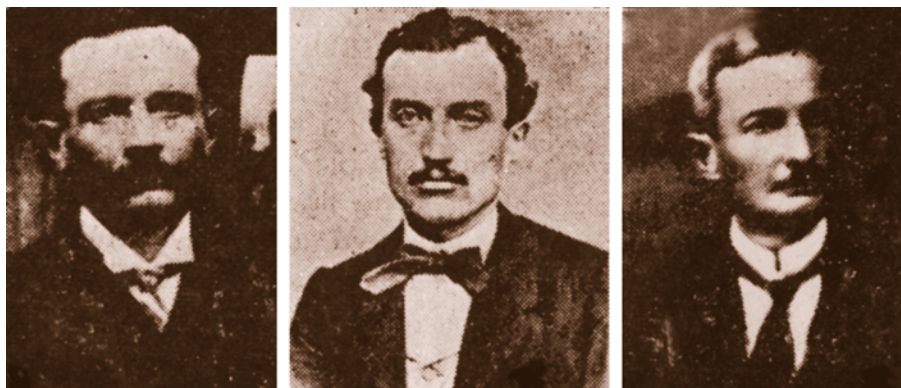
314. I. Betos, “Αναστάσιος Ζάλλης” (Anastasios Zallis), *Morphes* 2, 1937, 39-40.

315. See Kostas Birkas, Αβδέλλα. Η αλπική κωμόπολη - Αετοφωλιά της ένδοξης Πίνδου (Abdella. The Alpine town. Eagle’s nest of the glorious Pindus massif), Athens 1978, 104-110 (5. Η Αβδέλλα - Σκαπανέας του κινηματογράφου στα Βαλκάνια) (5. Abdella, Pioneer of the cinema in the Balkans); Sot. Mystakidis, “Γιάννης και Μίλτος Μανάκιας: Δυο πρωτοπόροι του βαλκανικού κινηματογράφου” (Yannis and Miltos Manakias: Two pioneers of Balkan photography), *Makedoniki Zoe* 235 (December 1985), 43-46; Christos K. Christo-

f) *Anastasios G. Tsallis*

Patriot Anastasios G. Tsallis played a prominent role in both the nationalist struggle and the intellectual life of Monastir.

In a steady stream of articles for Greek and European newspapers he told the story of the tribulations of the people of Monastir at the hands of the propagandists and refuted their propaganda.



*Figures 137-139, From the left: Pantelis, Georgios and Anastasios Tsallis
(father – in the centre – and sons)*

g) *Pantelis Tsallis*

Born and educated in Monastir, Pantelis Tsallis was the author of a very interesting book entitled *Glorious Monastir, or, The history of the patriotic action of the city of Monastir and its environs from 1830-1903* (published in 1932 in Thessaloniki), which is essentially the first attempt to write a history of the city. The book was re-issued in photocopy form in 1993 by the Vassiliki Pitoska-Varna Public Library in Florina.

doulou, *Ta φωτογενή Βαλκάνια των αδελφών Μανάκη* (The photogenic Balkans of the Manakias Brothers), Thessaloniki 1989; cf. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Koutsovlachs*, 502; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Ideological constitution*, 420-421; “Τα Βαλκάνια με το βλέμμα των Μανάκια” (The Balkans through the eyes of the Manakias Brothers), *Epta Imeres* magazine in *I Kathimerini*, 2 June 1996; Zafirios Christou, *Βαλκάνιος Πραγματευτής. Οδοιπορικό μνήμης σε ελληνικές κοινότητες και παροικίες* (A Balkan Packman. Down memory lane in Greek communities and colonies), Athens 1998, 80-82; Alkis Xanthakis, *Έλληνες φωτογράφοι στο Μοναστήρι* (Greek photographers in Monastir), *Epta Imeres* magazine in *I Kathimerini*, Sunday 16 December 2001 (Monastir or Bitolia), 22-24.

h) Georgios Sagiaxis (1874-1942)

Poet and scholar Georgios Sagiaxis was a shining light in Monastir's social and intellectual firmament and a distinguished Balkanist.

Born and brought up in Monastir, where he attended Greek schools, he has been described as a "*Genuine child of Greek Macedonia, scion of a prosperous merchant family of Vlach origin, [who] grew up in Monastir, studied philology in Germany (1893-1896), and later (1905-1910) continued with post-graduate work in Leipzig with Professor G. Weigande, specialising in Balkan studies*".

Sagiaxis was a very fine poet, whose profound verses appeared in various contemporary publications, including a number of Athenian newspapers and journals (*Embros, Kairoi, Asty, Philologike Estia, Olympia, Paligenesia*), while many of his poems were published in anthologies (Tangopoulos, Saliveros, Skokos), won competitions in Athens and Constantinople, and were translated into Romanian.

He was also a popular lecturer, speaking chiefly on language, poetry and culture. We cite the announcement of one such lecture, to be given on 22 January 1912, in the local newspaper *To Phos*:³¹⁶

LECTURE BY GEORGIOS SAGIAXIS

Next Sunday, the 22nd of the month, the very learned and eloquent Georgios Sagiaxis will give a lecture in the Gymnasium Hall on the timely and most interesting subject of the history of the demotic tongue.

His only collection of poems was published in Monastir in 1913: G. Th. Sagiaxis, Balkanist, *Dithyramps: A, Balkan War 1912. B, Allied War*



Figure 140. Georgios Sagiaxis

316. *To Phos*, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79.

1913, Monastir, International Commercial Press, 1913.³¹⁷

The collection comprises: “Works by the author” (p. 20). Poems: “Awaiting you” (*Address to HRH Crown Prince Constantine on the occasion of his visit to Monastir, given in the Cathedral of St Demetrios on 12 November 1912* – p. 3-10). “Ring the bells” (*Address to HM King Peter, given on the occasion of the torchlight procession before Government House in Monastir on 19 June 1913* – p. 11-20).³¹⁸

He may also have published an earlier collection of poems under the title *Parapona* (Complaints), for the “Little Song” reproduced below, which appeared in the local newspaper *To Phos* in January 1912, was described as “from the *Complaints*”:³¹⁹

Τραγουδάκι

Όσο τα μάτια μου σε βλέπουν
Και με το νου σ’ αγροικώ,
Πάντα για μένα θ’ απομείνης
Πλάσμα αιθέριο, ιδανικό.

Μπορεί συ κι’ άλλον ν’ αγαπήσης,
Αλλ’ ο βωμός πάχω για σε
Μες ’ς την καρδιά μου στεριωμένο
Ω, δε θα γκρεμιστή ποτέ!

Όσο το στήθος μου ανασαίνει
Κι’ ανάφτει μέσα μου η ψυχή
Πάντα για σένα θ’ ανεβαίνει
’Σ τα χείλη μου μια προσευχή...

[As long as my eyes see you and my mind hearkens to you, you will always remain for me an ideal, ethereal creature.

You may love someone else, but the altar I have erected for you in my heart will never crumble.

317. Dinos Christianopoulos, “Λογοτεχνικά βιβλία και περιοδικά που τυπώθηκαν σε Μακεδονικές πόλεις μέχρι το 1950” (Literary books and periodicals printed in Macedonian cities prior to 1950), *Elimeika* 12-13 (1985), 65.

318. Dinos Christianopoulos, *Monastir*, 17-18.

319. *To Phos*, Monastir, 14 January 1912, no. 79.

As long as there is breath in my bosom and my soul is alight within me, there will always arise to my lips a prayer for you]

After 1913 he moved to Thessaloniki, where until his death (1942) he was an active member of the city's intelligentsia, as contributor to the newspaper *Aletheia* (1905), N. Sfendonis' *Macedonian Chronicle* (1929), Tsiomos' *Chronicle of Thessaloniki* (1930, 1932) and other local publications, working for the City of Thessaloniki, and as the first Director of the city's Municipal Library in the 1930s.³²⁰

Sagiaxis produced a considerable body of literary and scholarly work, most of which is still unpublished, although some of his poetry appeared from time to time in literary and other journals in Thessaloniki. He also published numerous studies and monographs, in French and German as well as in Greek, including two papers that appeared in German periodicals: a) "Graeco-Walachische Sitten und Gebräuche", *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, V, 1894, Berlin, and b) "Graeco-Walachische (Aromunische) Texte, Zehn Anekdoten – Weigand", *III. Jahresbericht des Instituts f. Rumân. Sprache zu Leipzig*, 1896, and three articles on legends connected with Alexander the Great in folk tradition and folk literature, in the *Macedonian Chronicle* (1933, 1937, 1938).³²¹

Sagiaxis is also remembered for the epitaphs he composed for young friends and relatives who died untimely deaths: reproduced below is the inscription on the tombstone of his godson Demetrios Papachristos, who died on 2 May 1911 at the age of 32 (as recorded by Philotas Chatzitziotzias):³²²

Ένας λεβέντης του χωριού
έν' άξιο παλληκάρι,
πάει το βραβείο της λεβεντιάς
στους ουρανούς να παρη.

320. K. N. Plastiras, "Τρία άγνωστα ποιήματα του Γ. Θ. Σαγιαξή" (Three unknown poems by G. Th. Sagiaxis), in the "Album of Monastiriotes", published by the *Elpis* Association of former residents of Monastir and environs of Florina, Florina – Prespes 1996, 54-56; Pantelis G. Tsallis, "Glorious Monastir", *Aristoteles* 33-34 (1962), 67; Antonis M. Koltsidas, *The education*, 484-485.

321. Dinos Christianopoulos, *Monastir*, 25-30.

322. Reminiscences - Memoirs of Philotas Chatzitziotzias, Florina – note on a page in the "General Ledger of N. Chatzitziotzias Bros for the year 1903 & following" (accounts book) / personal archives.

[*A stalwart young villager, called to receive the reward of his manliness in heaven*]

NOTE: For the modern period (after 1912), we mention, among others, the following distinguished “native sons” of Monastir: Aristotle Matlis, Georgios Maïmoukas, Naoum Babatakas, Philotas Chatzitziotzias, Theodore Vosdos and Violetta Smyrniou-Papathanasiou.

TABLE 23
Distinguished Natives of Monastir (selected list)

Benefactors – Professionals – Politicians – Scholars – Writers		
Benefactors: Demetriou, Ioannis	Zoumetikos, Grigorios	Freedom fighters – Politicians: Antoniades, I.
Demetriou, Theochares	Herakleides, Konstantinos	Makris, Demetrios
Demetriou, Eleni	Kokkinis, Vasilios	Modis, Georgios (1887-1975)
Doumbas, Nikolaos	Kontis, Petros	Picheon, Anastasios
Kontoulis, Ioannis	Lazarides, Petros	Scholars, writers: Agorastos, V. (1864-1925)
Mousikos, Demetrios	Notis, Chr. Vasilios	Georgiades, Nik. 1879-1967
Nikarousis, Adam	Sontis, Ioannis	Zallis, G. Anastasios
Economou, Maria	Spathis, A. (1874-1940)	Manakias, Ioannis
Professionals – educators: Varnavas, Nikolaos	Tsallis, Pericles	Manakias Miltiades
Gounaris, Loukas (1862-1939)	Tsioulkas, Konstantinos	Tsallis, Anastasios
Dimitsas, Margaritis (1829-1903)	Tsouptsis, Evangelos	Tsallis, Pantelis
Zoumetikos, Alexandros (1885-1929)		Sagiaxis, Georgios (1874-1942)

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ (SYNOPSIS)

Dr. – Dr. Antonis M. Koltsidas, *Greek education in Monastir - Pelagonia. Organisation and operation of greek schools, cultural life*, Thessaloniki 2008 – **editions: Society For Macedonian Studies.**

Το Μοναστήρι και ο πολιτισμός του: Α. 1. Το Μοναστήρι σχετίζεται άμεσα με την αρχαία Ηράκλεια, κόμη της αρχαίας Λυγκηστίδας στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Πελαγονίας, εντοπισμένης ήδη από την εποχή του Ομήρου. Η Ηράκλεια, σήμερα σημαντικός αρχαιολογικός οικισμός, κτίστηκε εκ θεμελίων στον προϋπάρχοντα ομώνυμο παλιό οικισμό στη δεκαετία 360-350 από τον πατέρα του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου Φίλιππο Β΄.

Στην ιστορική διαδρομή η Ηράκλεια τέθηκε στο στόχαστρο των πολιτικών σχεδιασμών που ακολούθησαν με την επέκταση της μακεδονικής κυριαρχίας, της ρωμαϊκής επικυριαρχίας και της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας που την ενέταξαν στα πλαίσια των κατακτητικών και στρατηγικών τους σχεδίων με τον έλεγχο των οδικών αξόνων (εγνατία οδός, ποτάμια οδός ρου Αλιάκμονα και Αξιού) και τη δημιουργία των περιφερειακών κρατών, των τετραρχιών και των θεμάτων αντίστοιχα. Σύγχρονα δε, η Ηράκλεια, επεκτάθηκε προς το βόρειο τμήμα της και εξελίχτηκε σε όμορο οικισμό όπου οριοθετείται το Μοναστήρι.

Οι ιστορικές μαρτυρίες αποτυπώνουν τον επεκταμένο οικισμό της Ηράκλειας με τα ονόματα Χλωρινόν και Βουτέλιον (στους βυζαντινούς χρόνους), Βιτώλια (στα 1570-1612, χάρτης Abr. Ortelius) και στη συνέχεια με το όνομα Μοναστήρι, από την εκκλησία – το καθολικό παλιού μοναστηριού, τουλάχιστο από το 1661 (Εβλιγιά Τσελεμπή), ενώ επιβεβαιώνεται το όνομα και στα 1806 (Fr. Rouqueville).

2. Το Μοναστήρι ενδυναμώθηκε πληθυσμιακά με την εγκατάσταση ελληνικών πληθυσμών μετά την καταστροφή της Μοσχόπολης και των περιχώρων της (1769) και στη συνέχεια με αντίστοιχους πληθυσμούς από τους ελληνικούς οικισμούς της οροσειράς της Πίνδου (1812), οι οποίοι τα εγκατέλειψαν εξαιτίας της τουρκικής καταπίεσης. Σε όλη αυτή την περίοδο των «ιστορικών» χρόνων κυριάρχησε στο Μοναστήρι ο ελληνικός πληθυ-

σμός (τόσο ο βλαχόφωνος που υπερείχε όσο και ο ελληνόφωνος, αλλά και ο σλαβόφωνος και ο αλβανόφωνος), η ελληνική γλώσσα και η ελληνική συνείδηση. Η δυναμική της επιχειρηματικής και εμπορικής δράσης του ελληνικού πληθυσμού ανέδειξε το Μοναστήρι στα χρόνια των έντονων δραστηριοτήτων του ως ένα σπουδαίο οικονομικό και πολιτισμικό κέντρο. Ακόμα ο πλουτισμός των Μοναστηριωτών στους τόπους των αποδημιών τους παρήγαγε το διπλό επωφελές για τη γενέτειρα επακόλουθο της οικονομικής ενίσχυσης των πολιτισμικών αγαθών της και της διαφωτιστικής διεργασίας υπέρ των εθνικών δικαίων και διεκδικήσεων.

3. Το Μοναστήρι γνώρισε οικονομική ακμή μετά τη συνθήκη του Πασσάροβιτς (1718), οπότε και μέσα στα φιλελεύθερα πλαίσια που άρχισαν να διαμορφώνονται οι Μοναστηριώτες άρχισαν να διακινούνται στον ευρύτερο χώρο και να ασκούν με επιτυχία το εμπόριο. Η μεγάλη όμως οικονομική άνθιση συνέβη στη διάρκεια του 19^{ου} αιώνα και μέχρι το 1912, οπότε: Το μεν Μοναστήρι εξελίχθηκε ως η πιο δυναμική πόλη στο βαλκανικό χώρο – η δεύτερη μετά τη Θεσσαλονίκη – με τους εμπόρους, τους τραπεζίτες και τους επιχειρηματίες της, οι οποίοι παρήγαγαν τον πλούτο και τα αγαθά τα οποία κατέκλυσαν το Μοναστήρι και τον ευρύτερο χώρο όπου έφταναν με το διαμετακομιστικό τους εμπόριο. Οι δε απόδημοι Μοναστηριώτες κατέκλυσαν τις μεγαλύτερες αγορές του βαλκανικού χώρου (Σεμλίνο, Βελιγράδι), των κεντρικών ευρωπαϊκών μεγαλουπόλεων (Βιέννη, Μπρασόβ, Σίμπιου, Βουκουρέστι) και άλλων απομακρυσμένων αγορών (Λονδίνο, Βενετία, Τεργέστη, Αλεξάνδρεια και αλλού). Παντού ανέπτυξαν το εμπορικό τους δαιμόνιο και εξελίχτηκαν σε περιώνυμα στελέχη όχι μόνο της επιχειρηματικής και της οικονομικής ζωής, αλλά και αντίστοιχα της πνευματικής και την κοινωνικής στους τόπους όπου εγκαταστάθηκαν και δημιούργησαν.

4. Ο ρόλος των Μοναστηριωτών στους εθνικούς αγώνες για την ανεξαρτησία και την συγκρότηση του Νεοελληνικού Κράτους υπήρξε αξιόλογος και σημαντικότερος. Η συμμετοχή των Μοναστηριωτών κατά τους χρόνους της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης ήταν εμφανής και δυναμική. Πολύ ουσιαστική όμως και αποφασιστικής σημασίας για το γενικό εθνικό αγώνα στη Δυτική Μακεδονία ήταν η δραστηριοποίηση και η οργάνωση των Μοναστηριωτών στα επαναστατικά κινήματα που ακολούθησαν: Στο πατριωτικό Σωματείο «Καζίνο» (1852). Στη «Νέα Φιλική Εταιρεία» (1867). Στη Μακεδονική Επιτροπή (1878). Στο κίνημα του Πηχεώνα και τα τοπικά ανταρτικά σώματα (1896-1897). Στα σώματα της Εθνικής Εταιρείας, στην αντίσταση στις βουλγαρικές βιαιότητες και στη ρουμανική προπαγάνδα. Και

κυρίως – στη διάρκεια του Μακεδονικού αγώνα: Με την Τριμελή Επιτροπή του Μακεδονικού Αγώνα με τον Αριστοτέλη Ματλή, τον Αργυρό Ζάχου και τον Νικόλαο Πύρζα και με την οργάνωση από τον Ίωνα Δραγούμη της «Μακεδονικής Άμυνας» ή αλλιώς της «Πατριωτικής Άμυνας» και με τη συμμετοχή και τη θυσία χιλιάδων αγωνιστών και δεκάδων στελεχών και περιώνυμων οπλαρχηγών (Αντώνης Ζώης, Φίλιππος Καπετανόπουλος, Θεόδωρος Μόδης, Στέφος Γρηγορίου, Πέτρος Χρήστου και πλήθος άλλοι).

Η γενική αντίσταση του ελληνικού πληθυσμού του Μοναστηρίου και των περιχώρων επικεντρώθηκε ταυτόχρονα και ισοδύναμα κατά της οργανωμένης ένοπλης βουλγαρικής και ρουμανικής δράσης και εναντίον των συνοδοιπορούντων τουρκικών δυνάμεων και των παντοίων δυτικών και κεντρικών ευρωπαϊκών πολιτικών παρεμβάσεων και παρενοχλήσεων. Ακόμα, η αντίσταση των Μοναστηριωτών εναντίον της προπαγανδιστικής διείσδυσης στον εκπαιδευτικό, εκκλησιαστικό και ιδεολογικό χώρο υπήρξε απίστευτα δυναμική και πείσμονα και εκφράστηκε με την ένοπλη σύγκρουση και τις αμέτρητες διαμαρτυρίες τους προς το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο της Κωνσταντινούπολης και τις ηγεσίες των Μεγάλων ευρωπαϊκών δυνάμεων της εποχής. Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο δε, μέσα στη γενικότερη μέριμνά του για την ενίσχυση του Ελληνισμού στον υπόδουλο χώρο, βοήθησε σημαντικά το ελληνικό στοιχείο του Μοναστηρίου και της ευρύτερης περιοχής του και κυρίως μετά την εμφάνιση της ρουμανικής προπαγανδιστικής κίνησης, με σκοπό βέβαια να ενδυναμώσει την ελληνική ιδεολογία, αλλά και να συγκρατήσει σε ενιαίο σώμα το γενικότερο χριστιανικό πληθυσμό έναντι του κινδύνου της βουλγαρικής Εξαρχίας και των άλλων δυτικών προπαγανδιστικών καθολικών διεισδύσεων.

5. Στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής και πνευματικής παρουσίας στο Μοναστήρι πρέπει να επισημανθεί και το άξιο προσοχής πολιτιστικό «φαινόμενο» της ομόθυμης λαϊκής βάσης, η οποία συναγωνιζόταν στο «ευ πράττειν» και στο «καλώς πράττειν» με την αμέριστη εθνική και οικονομική προσφορά μέσα από τη δημιουργία δεκάδων εθνικών, φιλεκπαιδευτικών και φιλανθρωπικών Σωματείων, Συλλόγων και Αδελφοτήτων. Οι οργανώσεις αυτές υποκαθιστούσαν την ανύπαρκτη επίσημη κρατική προστασία και μέριμνα, η οποία δεν υπήρχε σε βαθμό που να πιστοποιεί το φορέα και την εξουσία της, κάτω από την οποία θα ένιωθαν ασφαλείς να δραστηριοποιούνται. Με την έννοια λοιπόν αυτή, τόσο η τέλεια σε οργάνωση και λειτουργία ελληνική εκπαίδευση και παιδεία με τα περιώνυμα σχολεία, τους λαμπρούς δασκάλους και τους χιλιάδες μαθητές της, όσο και οι σωματειακές λαϊκές οργανώσεις εκπροσωπούσαν το φορέα εξουσίας, που

πέρα από την κάθε εξάρτηση και δουλεία του κατακτητικού περιβάλλοντος λειτουργούσαν μέσα στο σύνολο ιδεολογικό χώρο του Ελληνισμού, σε βαθμό μάλιστα που αυτοί – οι Μοναστηριώτες – να αποτελούν το εθνικό ελληνικό πρότυπο, παρά να καθοδηγούνται από το αντίστοιχο πρότυπο της κεντρικής αθηναϊκής εξουσίας.

6. Η κοινωνική συνοχή και η πολιτιστική «κοσμογονία» της ελληνικής κοινότητας του Μοναστηρίου – πέρα από τις παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις και ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις – λειτουργούσε ως ιδιαίτερος πολιτισμικός παράγοντας που τον διαφοροποιούσε από τις άλλες κοινότητες της πόλης. Εδώ πρέπει να τονιστεί ότι οι μωαμεθανοί γενικά δεν είχαν να επιδείξουν ανταγωνιστικό κοινωνικό status και ως εκ τούτου ήταν πλήρως ενταγμένοι στο ελληνικό κλίμα, γεγονός που αναδείκνυε την αδυναμία της Πύλης να επιβληθεί πολιτιστικά και ανθρωπιστικά στους υπόδουλους της εξουσίας τους. Η εκπαιδευτική και πολιτιστική ζωή των Μοναστηριωτών παρήγαγε άμιλλα ευγενικού ανταγωνισμού στα μέλη της, προήγαγε την καθημερινή ζωή και επικοινωνία και έδινε νόημα προοπτικής και όραμα. Έτσι η ελληνική κοινότητα ήταν κυρίαρχη στο κοινωνικό σύνολο και οι προσωπικότητές της (οι ευεργέτες και οι άλλοι περιώνυμοι πνευματικοί, κοινωνικοί και εθνικοί παράγοντες) συντελούσαν σταθερά και μόνιμα στη διατήρηση του υψηλού σε αξίες και στοχεύσεις ελληνικού στοιχείου της περιοχής.

7. Το Μοναστήρι δεν έμεινε εγκλωβισμένο στον ιδιαίτερο πολιτισμό του και οι Μοναστηριώτες δεν αρκέστηκαν στην αυταρέσκεια του πολιτισμικού τους επιπέδου: Η οδική πρόσβαση, από την πολυσύχναστη ακόμα αρχαία κεντρική αρτηρία της Εγνατίας Οδού, και τη νεότερη οδική σύνδεση με την ευρύτερη περιοχή και αυτή ακόμα την πρωτοπόρα σιδηροδρομική σύνδεση των νεότερων χρόνων, είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να αποτελέσει το σταυροδρόμι της δυτικής εισόδου στον πολιτισμό της ανατολής, κάτι αντίστοιχο με το κυρίως σταυροδρόμι της ανατολής, γνώρισμα βέβαια που δίκαια, αποκλειστικά και φιλάρεσκα κέρδισε ο αντιθετικός της πόλος, η Κωνσταντινούπολη. Με τη δυναμική λοιπόν αυτή, το Μοναστήρι εξελίχθηκε σε αξιόλογο και αυτοδύναμο εμπορικό, οικονομικό, στρατηγικό, πνευματικό και διοικητικό κέντρο. Και πέρα, βέβαια, από τις θεωρήσεις και αξιολογήσεις που ήδη έγιναν, το Μοναστήρι και ως διοικητικό κέντρο ήταν ισάξιο των μεγάλων και δυναμικών πόλεων – κόμβων της εποχής του: Διοικητικές αρχές, έδρες πολιτικών και στρατιωτικών εξουσιών, κτίρια διοίκησης και έργα φιλανθρωπίας, διπλωματικές παρουσίες και ξένες αποστολές, δημοσιονομικά και θεσμικά συστήματα, τραπεζική αγορά, νομική προστα-

σία και φορολογικά μέτρα, κανονισμοί φορέων και θεσμών· όλα αυτά ξεχώρισαν το Μοναστήρι και το ανέδειξαν σε ένα από τα πιο σημαντικά κέντρα του ευρύτερου ελληνικού και βαλκανικού χώρου.

8. Το μοναστηριώτικο πολιτισμικό φαινόμενο δεν ήταν αποκλειστικό αγαθό μόνο της πόλης του Μοναστηρίου. Όλη η ευρύτερη περιοχή του με τις ανθηρές και εξίσου δυναμικές ελληνικές κοινότητες είχε άμεση και άρρηκτη σχέση, εξάρτηση και δραστηριοποίηση με βάση το κοινό ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο: την αγωνιστική συμπεριφορά για τη συνένωση με το κύριο ελληνικό κορμό, τη μανιώδη καταδίωξη κάθε ξένου δυνάστη και προπαγανδιστή, την καλλιέργεια της αυτοδύναμης και κοινοτικά αυτοδιοικούμενης ελληνικής παιδείας και την ιδεολογική συγκρότηση που εξυπηρετούνταν από το εθνικό ελληνικό φρόνημα και την ορθόδοξη χριστιανική αντίληψη. Εξάλλου δεν πρέπει να ξεχνούμε πως το Μοναστήρι από τη μια μεριά αποτελούσε αυτοδύναμο πολιτισμικό κέντρο στο οποίο συνέρεαν καθημερινά οι Πέριξ και από την άλλη οι περιφερειακές κοινότητες (Γιαγκοβέτσι, Γκόπεσι, Κρούσοβο, Μεγάροβο, Τύρνοβο, Μηλόβιστα, Νιζόπολη, Ρέσνα κ.ά.) ανέπτυσαν αυτοδύναμα οικονομικά και εκπαιδευτικά κέντρα με τέλεια οργάνωση και διοικητική πληρότητα. Θα μπορούσε να πει κανένας απερίφραστα ότι η όλη δυναμική της περιοχής προηγούνταν κατά πολύ της εποχής της και πως – ίσως – το γεγονός αυτό να προκάλεσε και να διέγειρε τις προπαγανδιστικές και κατακτητικές διαθέσεις των ασθενέστερων ιστορικά και πολιτισμικά εθνοτήτων της περιοχής. Εθνοτήτων, οι οποίες μέσα στο γενικότερο κλίμα της αναρχίας και της αναταραχής και στην τάση για δημιουργία και παγίωση των νεοεθνικών συνειδήσεων, επεδίωκαν λυσσαλέα την εθνική και πολιτισμική τους ταυτότητα.

9. Το οδυνηρό συμπέρασμα που αναδείχθηκε από την άδικη ενσωμάτωση του Μοναστηρίου στο σερβικό κράτος το 1912 – το φταίξιμο για την τραγική κατάληξη – πρώτιστα και κατά κύριο λόγο εντοπίζεται στην ασυντόνιστη οργάνωση των ελληνικών στρατιωτικών επιχειρήσεων στον ευρύτερο χώρο του Μοναστηρίου και στην αδυναμία της ελληνικής διπλωματίας στο βαλκανικό χώρο. Η αδυναμία της επιχειρησιακής οργάνωσης εκδηλώθηκε με την ασυνεννοησία του Βενιζέλου και του διαδόχου Κωνσταντίνου και ως προς την προτεραιότητα της άμεσης κατάληψης μακεδονικών πόλεων και περιοχών. Η προτεραιότητα του Βενιζέλου για τη μαζική μετακίνηση των στρατευμάτων για την κατάληψη της Θεσσαλονίκης ατόνησε το δυτικό μέτωπο, για το οποίο ο Κωνσταντίνος εκδήλωνε άμεση προτεραιότητα, με αποτέλεσμα το Μοναστήρι απροστάτευτο και χωρίς την ελληνική

παρουσία να καταληφθεί από τους έκπληκτους Σέρβους, οι οποίοι δεν αντιμετώπισαν καμιά ελληνική αντίσταση! Και βέβαια η ελληνική διπλωματία στο βαλκανικό χώρο εκδηλώθηκε πολύ αργά και μόνο κάτω από την πίεση των ραγδαίων και ανεξέλεγκτων γεγονότων και εξελίξεων.

Εξάλλου «δεν μπορούσε να συλλάβει ο νους του Μοναστηριώτη» πως μια πόλη και μια περιοχή που δεν είχε «ούτε ένα Σέρβο» – όπως το ομολογούσαν κατά την ημέρα της εισόδου στο Μοναστήρι και τα σερβικά στρατεύματα – «έπεσε» τόσο ανώδυνα και τόσο άδοξα σε αλλότριες δυνάμεις: δυνάμεις μάλιστα που κατέλαβαν το Μοναστήρι «εν ονόματι του ελληνικού στρατού»! Αυτό τα βασανιστικό ερώτημα ταλαιπωρεί διαχρονικά κάθε Μοναστηριώτη από το 1912 μέχρι σήμερα...

10. Το ελληνικό φρόνημα των Μοναστηριωτών και των Πέριξ στις μετεγκαταστάσεις και στη διασπορά τους μετά το 1912 και μέχρι σήμερα παραμένει έντονο και ισχυρό. Η όλη πορεία και παρουσία των Συνδέσμων που δημιουργήθηκαν από τους πρόσφυγες Μοναστηριώτες, η δυναμική τους και το όλο ενδιαφέρον τους επικεντρώθηκε διαχρονικά κυρίως σε τρία σημεία: στην προσπάθεια αναθεώρησης του «τετελεσμένου» με την ελπίδα της ένωσης του Μοναστηρίου με την Ελλάδα: στη συνεργασία και την αλληλεγγύη των μελών τους, στη διαρκή και μόνιμη διατήρηση της μνήμης για τα πάτρια και στην επίλυση των βασικών προβλημάτων για την επιβίωσή τους. Ακόμα πρέπει να επισημανθεί πως ούτε η απόσταση ούτε τα ισχυρά βιοποριστικά και φιλελεύθερα σχήματα – όπως συνέβη με τους απόδημους Μοναστηριώτες στη Νέα Υόρκη και αλλού – μπόρεσαν να καλύψουν την ανάμνηση και τον πόθο για το μακρινό και «χαμένο Μοναστήρι», αλλά αντίθετα μάλιστα θέρεινε ακόμα περισσότερο η επιθυμία και η αγωνιστικότητα για τη συνέχιση της «Μοναστηριώτικης ζωής» και τη διεκδίκηση των δικαίων και απαράγραπτων δικαιωμάτων για ελεύθερο ελληνικό Μοναστήρι.

11. Συνολικά, η ιδεολογία του Μοναστηριώτικου πολιτισμού αποτέλεσε τμήμα των κοινών εθνικών στόχων και οραματισμών του Ελληνισμού. Χρησιμοποίησε για βασικά της ιδεολογικά μέσα την ελληνική παιδεία και εκπαίδευση, την άμεση και σύσσωμη αγωνιστική διαπάλη, την οργανωμένη κοινωνική αρωγή με την αυτοδύναμη παρουσία και τη δυναμική της και την καταδίωξη κάθε ξένης και εχθρικά διαβρωτικής παρέμβασης τόσο στο εθνικό φρόνημα όσο και στη θρησκευτική συνείδηση.

Το Μοναστήρι λοιπόν και η περιοχή του έζησε και λειτούργησε για αιώνες ελληνικά και εθνικά, γαλούχησε με το φρόνημα και το παράδειγμα γενιές ιδιαίτερου εθνικού και πατριωτικού κάλους και δυστυχώς και πέρα

από κάθε αίσθηση δικαίου και τάξης χάθηκε, έτσι χωρίς λόγο και χωρίς αιτία' έτσι «τυχαία» και παράλογα: ιστορικό, εθνικό, πολιτικό και στρατηγικό «λάθος» που χρεώνει τον ελληνισμό με σφάλματα και ασυγχώρητες ατομίες και παραλήψεις...

B. Το πιο δυναμικό ιδεολογικό όπλο των Μοναστηριωτών το αποτελούσε η τέλεια σε οργάνωση και λειτουργία εκπαίδευσή τους και η εν γένει παιδεία τους με την έντονη πολιτιστική τους ζωή. Η ελληνική παιδεία και εκπαίδευση αποτελούσε τον ακρογωνιαίο λίθο της μοναστηριώτικης κοινωνίας, η οποία ανέλαβε αποκλειστικά και αυτοδύναμα την ίδρυση – ανέγερση και τη συντήρηση των σχολείων, τη μισθοδοσία των δασκάλων και την αρωγή και την προστασία των μαθητών της. Η ελληνική εκπαίδευση του Μοναστηρίου αποτελεί ένα πρότυπο αυτοδύναμης κοινοτικής εκπαίδευσης' μοναδική στα χρόνια του δεύτερου μισού του 19^{ου} αιώνα και μέχρι το 1912, και ισοδύναμη και παρόμοιά της υπήρχε μόνο στη Θεσσαλονίκη, στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, στη Σμύρνη, στην Αθήνα και σε ελάχιστες άλλες πόλεις του ευρύτερου ελλαδικού χώρου.

Η τέλεια οργάνωση και λειτουργία των εκπαιδευτηρίων του Μοναστηρίου οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα της υψίστης εθνικής και πνευματικής επιλογής των Ελλήνων Μοναστηριωτών, οι οποίοι ως ένα αδιάσπαστο και ενιαίο εθνικό σώμα ενστερνίζονταν απόλυτα τα αγαθά της ελευθερίας και του ανθρωπισμού, στοιχεία που πήγαζαν αυτούσια και αυτοδύναμα μέσα από τα εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα και τη λαϊκή συμμετοχή με τα εκπαιδευτικά πράγματα και τα πολιτιστικά αγαθά που αυτά παρήγαγαν.

Αυτή λοιπόν την εκπαίδευση – παιδεία με τα σχολεία, τους δασκάλους και την πολιτιστική ζωή παρουσιάζουμε εδώ ως πολιτισμική ένδειξη ενός δυναμικού και προοδευτικού λαού: του ελληνικού μοναστηριώτικου λαού.

Η ελληνική εκπαίδευση – παιδεία στο Μοναστήρι της Πελαγονίας: η οργάνωση, η λειτουργία, η πολιτιστική ζωή: Α. Στην παρούσα μελέτη και στο πρώτο της μέρος αναλύεται η ελληνική εκπαίδευση – παιδεία στο Μοναστήρι της Πελαγονίας, η οργάνωση και η λειτουργία της με το ιδεολογικό και εθνικό της υπόβαθρο και την τέλεια λειτουργία των εκπαιδευτηρίων της. Δίνεται ο «χάρτης» των εκπαιδευτηρίων, παρουσιάζονται τα γνωστότερα σχολεία και οι σχολές της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης, με κυρίαρχο το Γυμνάσιο και το Κεντρικό της Παρθεναγωγείο και συνολικά καταγράφονται οι δάσκαλοι και οι καθηγητές των σχολείων του Μοναστηρίου. Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζεται η ίδρυση, η οργάνωση και η διοίκηση των σχολείων, η διάρθρωση της εκπαίδευσης, η εσωτερική λειτουργία των σχολείων

και οι Φιλεκπαιδευτικοί Σύλλογοι στα πλαίσια της εκπαίδευσης του Μοναστηρίου. Τέλος, δίνεται και η ασήμαντη δραστηριότητα της προπαγανδιστικής ρουμανικής εκπαιδευτικής κίνησης στο Μοναστήρι.

Στη συνέχεια και στο δεύτερο μέρος της, παρουσιάζεται το Μοναστήρι ως πολιτιστικό κέντρο με τους Συλλόγους, τα Σωματεία και τις Οργανώσεις με πατριωτικούς, φιλεκπαιδευτικούς και φιλανθρωπικούς σκοπούς, με την ενημέρωση και επικοινωνία (τυπογραφεία, βιβλιοπωλεία, εκδόσεις, τύπος) και την αυτοδιοικούμενη κοινωνία του με την ευποιία και την κοινοτική συμμετοχή (ευεργέτες και διαπρεπείς Μοναστηριώτες, επιστήμονες, εκπαιδευτικοί, αγωνιστές, πολιτικοί και διπλωμάτες, λόγιοι, συγγραφείς και ποιητές, κοινωνικοί παράγοντες).

Β. Το Μοναστήρι υπήρξε το μεγαλύτερο κέντρο του ελληνισμού και η μητρόπολη της ελληνικής εκπαιδευτικής δραστηριότητας στη Δυτική και Βορειοδυτική Μακεδονία. Η ελληνική εκπαίδευση του Μοναστηρίου, που κύρια και ουσιαστικά καλλιεργήθηκε από το δυναμικό και φιλοπρόοδο βλαχόφωνο στοιχείο της, παρουσίασε πλούσια και καλά μεθοδευμένη δραστηριότητα με τα πολυδύναμα και άριστα οργανωμένα σχολεία της.

1. Το πρώτο Ελληνικό Σχολείο στο Μοναστήρι ιδρύθηκε στα 1830 από το Δημήτριο Βαρνάβα, στο οποίο και δίδαξε ως δάσκαλος. Αποτελούνταν από 8 τάξεις (5 του Δημοτικού και 3 της Αστικής Σχολής) και από τους πρώτους μαθητές που αποφοίτησαν οι περισσότεροι δίδαξαν στη συνέχεια στα νέα σχολεία της πόλης. Οι πρώτοι απόφοιτοι μαθητές της «Σχολής Βαρνάβα» ήταν: Σπάσης Παπαναούμ, Κων/τίνος Παπαναούμ, Κων/τίνος Γεώρσης, Ναούμ Νάκας, Γεώργιος Παπακοσμάς, Κων/τίνος Κτενάς, Αναστ. Τζέρρος, Χαράλαμπος Τριανταφυλλίδης, Στέφανος Τζέρρος, Γεώργιος Τσάλλης, Ναούμ Νικαρούσης, Αναστ. Πίσχας και Αθανάσιος Ανέστη.

Στα 1851 ιδρύθηκε το Ιδιωτικό Σχολείο του γεωγράφου και ιστορικού Μαργαρίτη Δήμιτσα («Ιδιωτική Σχολή Μαργαρίτου Δήμιτσα») και λειτουργούσε πάντοτε με 80 μαθητές. Στη «Σχολή Δήμιτσα» δίδαξαν – εκτός από το Δήμιτσα που τη διεύθυνε – οι δάσκαλοι Αναστάσιος Πηγεών, Σεραφείμ Ματλής και Ν. Χαλκιάπουλος. Η λειτουργία της όμως διακόπηκε στα 1865, αφού τότε πλέον πολλαπλασιάστηκαν και τελειοποιήθηκαν τα ελληνικά σχολεία του Μοναστηρίου, οπότε εκπληρώθηκε και ο σκοπός για τον οποίο και ιδρύθηκε.

Στα 1869 λειτουργούσαν στο Μοναστήρι συνολικά 7 Ελληνικά Σχολεία με 1.080 μαθητές και μαθήτριες. Στα 1872 λειτουργούσαν 8 Ελληνικά Σχολεία (ένα Γυμνάσιο, 3 Γραμματοδιδασκαλεία, 3 Αλληλοδιδασκτικά Σχολεία και ένα Παρθεναγωγείο) και στα 1874 λειτουργούσαν 5 σχολεία (από ένα: Γραμματοδιδασκαλείο, Αλληλοδιδασκτικό Σχολείο, Νηπιαγωγείο, Παρθεναγωγείο και Γυμνάσιο), τα οποία συνολικά είχαν πάνω από 1.200 μαθητές και μαθήτριες.

Στα 1883 λειτουργούσαν στο Μοναστήρι 11 ελληνικά σχολεία με 27 εκπαιδευτικούς συνολικά (15 δασκάλους, 6 δασκάλες και 6 καθηγητές) και 1.691 μαθητές και μαθήτριες: 3 Νηπιαγωγεία με 316 νήπια και 3 δασκάλες, 5 Δημοτικά Σχολεία (με 4 τάξεις τα δυο πρώτα και με 3 τα τρία τελευταία) με 773 μαθητές και μαθήτριες (286 μαθητές στο πρώτο, 282, 96, 62 και 47 αντίστοιχα στα άλλα) και 11 δασκάλους και δασκάλες, ένα Ελληνικό Σχολείο με 109 μαθητές και 3 δασκάλες, ένα Γυμνάσιο με 84 μαθητές και 6 καθηγητές και ένα Παρθεναγωγείο με 409 μαθήτριες και 4 δασκάλους.

Στα 1886 λειτουργούσαν στο Μοναστήρι «εν όλω σχολεία 13 μετά μαθητών 1.646» (Γυμνάσιο με Διδασκαλείο με 136 μαθητές, Ιερατική Σχολή με 43 μαθητές, Ελληνικό Σχολείο με 572 μαθητές, 2 Γραμματοδιδασκαλεία με 100 μαθητές, Παρθεναγωγείο με 300 μαθήτριες και 3 Νηπιαγωγεία με 354 νήπια).

Κατά τα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα άρχισε να λειτουργεί η Αστική Σχολή Αρρένων Μοναστηρίου και η Αστική Σχολή Θηλέων Μοναστηρίου. Επίσης λειτουργούσαν στο Μοναστήρι εννιά Νηπιαγωγεία, ένα Δημοτικό Σχολείο Θηλέων και τέσσερα Δημοτικά Σχολεία Αρρένων.

Στα 1900 οι μαθητές των Ελληνικών Σχολείων του Μοναστηρίου ανήλθαν στους 2.800, ανάμεσα στους σοφούς δασκάλους τους συγκαταλεγόταν και ο «αδάμαστος εις φρόνημα γυμνασιάρχης Τζουμετικός και ουδεμία πρωτεύουσα νομού της ελευθέρας Ελλάδος παρουσίαζε την εκπαιδευτικήν οργάνωσιν του Μοναστηρίου κατά την εποχήν αυτήν».

Στα 1906 στο Μοναστήρι λειτουργούσαν 17 εκπαιδευτήρια («Μουσών οικήματα») με 54 διδάσκοντες και 2.380 διδασκόμενους, ενώ κατά το σχολικό έτος 1907-1908 αυξήθηκαν οι δάσκαλοι στους 66 και οι μαθητές στους 2.403.

Συγκεκριμένα, η παραπάνω «Στατιστική της Επαρχίας Πελαγονίας κατά το σχολικόν έτος 1907-1908» και το μέρος της που αναφέρεται στην πόλη του Μοναστηρίου έχει ως εξής:

Εκπαιδευτήρια του Μοναστηρίου

Στατιστική της επαρχίας Πελαγονίας κατά το σχολικόν έτος 1907-1908 – Μοναστήρι				
<i>Όνομα ιδιαίτερον Σχολής</i>	<i>Είδος σχολής</i>	<i>Βαθμός σχολείου</i>	<i>Μαθητές</i>	<i>Δασκάλοι</i>
Αδελφοί Δημητρίου	Παρθεναγωγείον	Γυμνάσιον Αρρένων	190	12
		» Θηλέων		10
» »	»	Δημοτική	581	10
Μουσικές	Αρρεναγωγείον	Αστική	541	10
Θεοχάρειος	» Νέας Συνοικίας	Δημοτική	204	5
		»	18	1
Κοντούλειος	» Αλβ. Συνοικίας	»	30	1
		» Συν. Λόφου	»	17
Αδελφ. Δημητρίου	Νηπιαγωγείον Κεντρικόν	Νηπιαγωγείον	200	2
Μαρίας Οικονόμου	» Νοσοκομείου	»	140	3
		» Αλβ. Συνοικίας	»	73
		» Λευκής Βρύσεως	»	125
		» Συν. Λόφου	»	34
		» Νέας Συνοικίας	»	40
		» Συν. Κήπων	»	124
		» Υδραγόρα	»	30
		» Πρασίνου Λόφου	»	56
Σύνολα		17	2403	66

Τέλος, κατά τα τέλη της τουρκοκρατίας, τα ελληνικά γράμματα καλλιεργούνταν στα 17 εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα της πόλης, όπου δίδασκαν 55 δάσκαλοι στους 2.500 μαθητές τους. Ακόμα «κατά το τελευταίον σχολικόν έτος 1912 ο ολικός αριθμός των φοιτώντων ανήρχετο εις 2.595 μαθητάς και μαθητριάς, το δε προσωπικόν των διδασκόντων εις 67. Και ούτω εις το εξατάξιον Γυμνάσιον εφοίτων 250 μαθηταί, εις την Κεντρική Αστικήν 518, εις την Β' Δημοτικήν 173, εις το Οικονόμειον Νηπιαγωγείον 86, εις την Δημοτικήν Αρναούτ 78, εις το Νηπιαγωγείον Αρναούτ 91, εις το Κεντρικόν Νηπιαγωγείον 164, εις το Νηπιαγωγείον των Κήπων 213, εις τας δυο σχολάς των Λόφων (Μπαϊρ) 65, εις την Δημοτικήν Λευκής Βρύσεως 62, εις το Κεντρικόν Παρθεναγωγείον 686 μαθήτριάι και εις το Διδασκαλείον 62 μαθηταί».

Σύμφωνα ακόμα με άλλη πηγή, κατά το 1912 ο αριθμός των Ελλήνων μαθητών και μαθητριάων του Μοναστηρίου ανέρχονταν στους 3.000.

Κατά το 1913, στο Μοναστήρι λειτουργούσαν συνολικά: Γυμνάσιο «πλήρες» με 6 τάξεις, 11 καθηγητές και 19 δασκάλους. Παρθεναγωγείο, το οποίο περιλάμβανε γυμνασιακό τμήμα και Αστική Σχολή με 6 τάξεις, 11

δασκάλους και 627 μαθήτριες. Αστική Σχολή Αρρένων με 6 δασκάλους και 280 μαθητές. Κεντρικό Νηπιαγωγείο με 2 νηπιαγωγούς και 125 νήπια.

Τέλος, σύμφωνα με την τελευταία αναλυτική καταγραφή της Ιεράς Μητρόπολης Πελαγονίας έχουμε κατά το 1913 στην πόλη του Μοναστηρίου 19 εκπαιδευτήρια, 61 εκπαιδευτικούς (καθηγητές και δάσκαλοι: 30 άνδρες - 31 γυναίκες) και 2.300 μαθητές:

Σχολεία, δάσκαλοι, μαθητές Μοναστηρίου (1913)

Εκπαιδευτήρια της ορθοδόξου Ελλην. Κοινότητας Μοναστηρίου						
Καθηγηταί, Διδάσκαλοι και Μαθηταί						
Αύξων Αριθμός	Είδος Σχολής	Αριθμός Τάξεων	Αριθμ. Διδασκόντων		Αριθμός Διδασκο- μένων	Παρατηρήσεις
			Άρρενες	Θήλειες		
1	Γυμνάσιον	4	11			
2	Σχολαρχείον	3				
3	Διδασκαλείον	2	5			
4	Μουσικεῖος Αστ. Σχολή	5	8			
5	Α' Δημ. Σχ. Νοσοκομείου	4	3			
6	Άρρεναγωγείον Αρναούτ	3	1			
7	Άρρεναγωγείον Λόφου	3	1			
8	Κεντρ. Παρθεναγωγείον	10	1	11		
9	Κεντρ. Νηπιαγωγείον	2		2		
10	Οικονόμειον Νηπιαγωγ.	3		2		
11	Νηπιαγ. Αστικής Σχολής	2		2		
12	» Αρναούτ	3		2		
13	» Νέας Συνοικίας	3		1		
14	» Λευκής Βρύσεως	3		2		
15	» Λόφου	2		1		
16	» Πρασίνου Λόφου	3		1		
17	» Κήπων	5		3		
18	» Υδραγόρα	3		2		
19	Άρρεν. Νέας Συνοικίας	3		2		

2. Από τα παραπάνω εκπαιδευτήρια ξεχώριζαν ιδιαίτερα κατά την εκπαιδευτική τους πορεία το Παρθεναγωγείο Αδελφών Δημητρίου με 500-600 μαθήτριες, η Μουσικεῖος Αστική Σχολή με 450-550 μαθητές, η Ιερατική Σχολή που λειτούργησε στα 1884-1885 και το Γυμνάσιο με 200-250 μαθητές, που συντηρούσε πλούσια βιβλιοθήκη και εποπτικά όργανα.

Όλα τα ελληνικά σχολεία ιδρύθηκαν, λειτούργησαν και συντηρήθηκαν αποκλειστικά από τους ντόπιους και τους απόδημους Μοναστηριώτες, όπως τους αδελφούς Δημητρίου από την Αίγυπτο, οι οποίοι έκτισαν στα 1880 το

Παρθεναγωγείο και τον Μπλατσιώτη Δημήτριο Μουσικό από το Βουκουρέστι, ιδρυτή της Αστικής Σχολής – εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα που πήραν και το όνομα των ευεργετών τους – κ.ά., οι οποίοι χρηματοδοτούσαν βιβλιοθήκες, εποπτικά όργανα, συσσίτια απόρων μαθητών και από τους Φιλεκπαιδευτικούς Συλλόγους και τις Αδελφότητες («Ευαγγελισμός», «Η Πρόνοια», «Καρτερία» κ.ά.), που φρόντιζαν αδιάλειπτα τα σχολικά κτίρια, τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους μαθητές.

Οι Μοναστηριώτες καλλιέργησαν επιτυχώς τα ελληνικά γράμματα με την άριστη εκπαιδευτική οργάνωση, το ικανό και άμεμπτο διδακτικό προσωπικό, το συνεχές και έντονο ενδιαφέρον των σχολικών εφορειών και ήταν υπερήφανοι για τα σχολεία και τα φιλανθρωπικά τους ιδρύματα *«άτινα εκτίσθησαν και συντηρήθησαν επί αιώνες δια των αγώνων του λαού, όχι δια ξένου χρυσίου»*.

Στο 41^ο άρθρο του «Κανονισμού της ελληνικής ορθοδόξου κοινότητας της πόλεως Βιτωλίων» (1869) καθορίζονταν τα προσόντα για την επιλογή των εκπαιδευτικών: *«Εν τη εκλογή των διδασκάλων εξεταστέα απαραίτητως τα εξής: Αον. Αν το εκλεγόμενο πρόσωπον τυγχάνει σχετικώς αμέμπτου διαγωγής. Βον. Αν κέκτηται πτυχίου, δια μεν το Γυμνάσιον κατά τους περί Γυμνασίων κανονισμούς, δια δε τας Αστικής Σχολάς και Δημοτικάς, διδασκαλείου ή Γυμνασίου, και Γον. Αν οι δοκιμασθέντες επεδείχθησαν εν τη διδασκαλία επιμελείς, φίλεργοι, και ικανοί περί το διδάσκειν και μεταδίδειν τα διδασκόμενα. Κατ' ακολουθίαν πας ο μη φέρων τα ανωτέρω προσόντα αποκλείεται»*. Στα άρθρα δε 36-46 καθορίζονταν και οι αρμοδιότητες και τα καθήκοντα της σχολικής εφορείας, η οποία (άρθρο 46ο) *«κέκτηται ιδίαν σφραγίδα ν ην κρατεί ο Πρόεδρος και ήτις φέρει τα εξής γράμματα “Σφραγίς της Εφορείας των εκπαιδευτικών καταστημάτων της ελληνικής ορθοδόξου κοινότητος Μοναστηρίου”»*.

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IN GREEK

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