

# Ethics and Punishments in Greek Schools in the 19th century: Enforcing National and Moral Imperatives

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## Abstract

This paper studies textbooks of pedagogy and manuals or writings shaping the educational policy of ethics and morality of students of the 19th century in Greece applying the historical-interpretive method. The Greek state, transitioning from the Ottoman government, had to ensure complete teacher education and training to reinforce primary schools emphasizing the students' moral education. Authoritative teaching methods of discipline, persuasion, coercion and corporal punishment imposed rules of ethical behavior being justified by contemporary societal ethics.

**Key Words:** Pedagogy, ethics, coercion, punishment, discipline

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The moral dimension of education is a key axis of reflection in modern education. The Philosophy of Education textbooks devote whole sections in the moral education and training of young people<sup>1</sup>. The approach in the theory of ethics and its application in educational practice in the 18th and 19th centuries provide answers to critical questions about the evolution of the theory of ethics in students' education and about the way the system of punishments and values is in harmony with the concept of ethics. The list of virtues of the time and the concept of the justification of virtue and moral behaviors through the religious or secular dimension are studied. For the period of the Enlightenment and the 19th century, the research is based on textbooks of *Ethics* as well as on the *Usages and Manipulations* and the special studies on this issue by well-known scholars and pedagogues. A particularly urgent priority in the 19th century was for the Greek state to ensure the fullest possible Teacher Education and Training in order to recruit primary schools. This issue also included the establishment of the first Primary or Secondary Teacher Training School based initially in Nafplio and later in Athens. During the operation of the *Athens School of Education*, pedagogy, an important part of which is occupied by ethical theory and practice, was taught through the writings of famous Greek teachers.

The school, as a pedagogical organization, is in charge of the processes of learning, education and socialization. Punishments<sup>2</sup> at school are a timeless and global issue, as evidenced in modern and older literature. Adherence to the rules of moral conduct often contained methods of persuading or forcing students by teachers on the basis of their own good and the good of society. A famous Greek writer, Nikos Kazantzakis in an autobiographical text entitled: *Report to Greco* (1961), describes the first day he went to school with his father and met the teacher. The father said to the teacher, "His flesh is yours, tell him, but his bones are mine. "Do not feel sorry for him, hit him, and make the man"<sup>3</sup>. The pedagogical methods were particularly

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<sup>1</sup>T. Kazepidis, *The Philosophy of Education*, published by Vaniias, Thessaloniki 1998. See P. Polychronopoulos, *Philosophy of Education - The background of Educational Policy*, 4th edition, published by Pedagogy, Athens 1992. See G. Karafillis, *Cognitive and Ethical Issues in the Philosophy of Education*, 2nd edition, published by Vaniias, Thessaloniki 1999. See R. Pring, "Education as a moral practice", in *The Routledge Falmer Reader in Philosophy of Education*, edited by Wilfred Carr, London 2005, pp. 195- 203

<sup>2</sup> "Punishment" in the Modern Greek language is defined as: "a) the punishment imposed on someone who committed a crime and b) the suffering or coercion imposed for error or omission." As a verb it means "repaying one's act for example or for revenge and consequently, I suffer, I torture". I also impose on someone who breaks a law or an order something unpleasant, such as deprivation, coercion, bodily harm, as a means of punishment. See G. Babiniotis, *Dictionary of the Modern Greek Language*, Center for Lexicology, Athens 2002<sup>2</sup> p. 1769. See *Dictionary of Common Greek*, Institute of Modern Greek Studies – Manolis Triantaphyllidis, Auth, Thessaloniki 2003, p. 1342.

<sup>3</sup> N. Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco*, published by Eleni N. Kazantzaki, 1961.

authoritarian, where coercion and persuasion at school are justified in the consciousness of society, so that the student becomes virtuous, follows the rules of morality of the time and becomes a useful member of society. The system of punishments is part of the current educational plans and the factors that constitute the occasion are determined and finally shape, maintain and develop it.

### **The Early Phase in the Theory of Ethics in Greece (18th Century-Early 19th Century)**

The Greek Enlightenment is a branch of the great body of the European Enlightenment. The time of the Greek Enlightenment is placed in the late decades of the 18th century and in the first of the 19th century, or mainly in the fifty years of 1774-1821, i.e. a little later than western Enlightenment, the beginning of which dates back to the 16th century, and ends immediately before the French Revolution. The prosperity that Hellenism knows in this beginning period of Enlightenment, around 1750 will have direct consequences to the bearers of this prosperity: the merchants and the scholars.

Scholars are gaining an increasingly clear awareness of their importance within society as a whole, and of their autonomy in contrast to other social groups, while at the same time becoming somewhat independent of the Church. Thus, the type of trader who deals with general education issues, who has spiritual concerns, cultivates wisdom. On the contrary, the issues of ethics concern mainly the scholars-clergy or people in close relationship with the Church, while at the end of the 18th and throughout the 19th century, scholars have a secular origin. Along with Christian virtues, the value of education and social solidarity for the cultivation of the moral conscience of the people is emphasized. The human being is the only bearer of morality which is considered to be in the existential rhizome within bio-structure and physicality. Moral philosophy is obliged to pose in itself concerns other than what it considered to be primarily a spiritual conception of a person. The very inner logic should see the moral act exclusively or mainly in connection with the painful struggle for the purification or salvation of the soul. This proposition of the existential entity of a person is a primary concern of Enlightenment, recognizing the human right to earthly happiness; since the earth is the unfolding place of the body as in the theological conception, the sky is the desired goal of the soul. On the other hand, the question arose whether the body, of non-ascetic bliss, is an expression of negative actions and whether a spirit completely tied to the body would have room for freedom<sup>4</sup>.

In Modern Greek Enlightenment, the emergence and predominance of the secularized, non-ascetic conception of moral things is expressed through the spread of the new moral-philosophical concept. Vikentios Damodos<sup>5</sup> (1700-1752) in his work *Synopsis of Ethical Philosophy* refers to virtues and flaws. The author emphasizes that three principles motivate the soul or make it capable of doing: passions, physical forces and habits. Passions, meaning anger, love, and envy are the acts of aesthetic power. Physical forces, such as the intellect and the will, are the ingenuity that the individual receives from inner nature to act. Habits are the means by which we perform good or bad skills of "acting". Virtue is called mediocrity and virtuous works mediocre, when virtue lies between the two extremes of exaggeration and lack. The defect, that is, the bad moral, is a bad habit that leads the soul to morally bad deeds, to deeds contrary to reason. Evil deeds are called sins, while habits that come from sins are called defects<sup>6</sup>.

Until the 18th century, the first and second levels of the circular of education were aimed mainly at the religious structure of society. During this period, everything ensures the trust of the Patriarchate since there is, in parallel with the teaching capacity, a higher, ecclesiastical office. The Patriarchal School formulates the reception environment until the 17th century and is transferred to the Schools of Hegemony (Bucharest and Iasi) during the 18th century. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as the body responsible, maintains control over the operation of schools and the curriculum. At the level of the didactic practice, that is, in parallel with the consolidation of Grammar, Syntax and the completion of the Rhetoric course, the main goal was the moral education. For this reason, useful and paraenetic texts were selected. The main educational goal is clearly the combination of humanitarian education and religious element that leads to morality and piety. Spiritual education and moral education are ultimately in the service of man's turn to God (bliss)<sup>7</sup>. The notions of "virtue" in the spirit of Montesquieu, that is, of the citizen's conscience, of "bliss", that is, of earthly happiness as opposed to religious bliss, prevail in the thinking of the intellectuals of the time. All these changes in the

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<sup>4</sup>P. Kondylis, *The Modern Greek Enlightenment-The Philosophical Ideas*, third edition, Historical Library Foundation, Athens 2000, pp. 151-153.

<sup>5</sup>V. Damodos is a forerunner of Modern Greek Enlightenment with many years of teaching activity and extensive writing. At the same time, he turned his attention to newer philosophical concepts by studying thinkers such as Descartes, Malebranche, Rohault, whose theories he had already come in contact with during his studies in Venice.

<sup>6</sup>N. K. Psimmenos, *ibid.*, Pp. 78-79.

<sup>7</sup> D. Apostolopoulos, "The sources of inspiration of an interpretive scheme: The 'Religious Humanism'", in: *Scientific meeting in memory of K.Th. Dimara*, Athens 1994, pp. 71-77.

consciousness, in the mentality, in the scale of values, of the modern Hellenism, are good testimonies of various kinds of practical publications, which deepen in those years. They are the ones teaching virtue, common accepted ethics and utilities (*Christoethia*), that is, the relations between individuals and between the sexes. *Christoethia* are the Guides of good behavior that will undergo profound changes from the contact with western world. The user of these handbooks will be taught how to convince the people met in social interaction of having received good family upbringing, is already experienced in social life, and knows how to behave properly in public places, e.g Church, school, meaning how to sit, how eat, or address to elder or younger, superior, or friends.

Spiritual Hellenism follows the footsteps of Western achievements. A new society through international fermentation has to redesign its codes. Eschatological morality is not enough for these generations; a new code of ethics will be needed: theological virtues will tend to be replaced by the single virtue of the citizen; the pursuit of earthly bliss comes at the same time as a request of the period. The school would be one of the main means of enforcing national cohesion in the context of the "construction" of the citizen valuing himself in relation to the national state and serving the legitimacy of political and cultural homogenization<sup>8</sup>. In 1794 the book *Christoethia* is published which is considered the Flower of virtue and knowledge, that is, the aggregation of rules, through which one can live honestly and happily. It is about the Art of living, that is, useful advice on how to live "in the knowledge of people" and in 1796, the "True Path to Bliss", both by Dimitrios Darvaris. Clearly influenced by the spirit of the German Enlightenment, where religiosity does not conflict with right reason, he argues that upbringing must be based on a sound moral conception dictated by right reason and the Bible<sup>9</sup>. The goal of upbringing is to enlighten the mind with knowledge, to correct the "heart", that is, to control passions, and finally to restore the young person as an honest and useful member of society<sup>10</sup>. In Darvaris's pedagogical thinking, therefore, the effective preparation of the young man in order to "have a good and quiet life, and to prosper in the world" is central<sup>11</sup>.

### **The Concept of Ethics as Formed in the Greek Space in the 19th Century**

At this time the concept of virtue represents the proud credibility of the citizen, the opening of man to society (social ethics). This virtue's immediate goal, which has nothing theological, but is closely connected with universal existence, is bliss. Bliss is particularly important in the years of Enlightenment, clarifying the meaning of virtue: as opposed to the bliss of the heavenly life, which is sought throughout the life of the Christian, the virtue of the citizen brings him to bliss in this world. Secular ethics is manifested through the teaching of virtue. The term "*happily bliss*" (to live decently and with luck), refers to purely earthly problems. This transfer of social values is most noticeable in another semantic development: in the importance of the term "bliss". Dimitrios Katartzis in his essay, "*Know thyself*", limits the content of ethics in modern Greek Enlightenment. In this work, reference is made to the diagram of sciences, where ethics in general is separated from the theory of virtue and evil, and to the theory of teachers about ethics, which includes the theory of laws, economics and politics<sup>12</sup>. Based on a very concise collection, D. Katartzis identifies virtue with bliss. An optional direction of passions and their activation upon dominant logic is a moral ideal, too<sup>13</sup>.

In the first part of Ethics, where elements of Psychology are also exposed, N. Doukas defines ethics: "*This is the moral science to extreme good, and it was inherent that I happily progressed in it, and on its enjoyment I came to promote it*"<sup>14</sup>. He then, clearly states the spiritual dimension of the concepts: passions, imagination, will, appetites and self-knowledge. The author clarifies the terms "extreme good" and "bliss", because they are directly related to each other. Education, according to N. Doukas' instruction, should be done diligently and responsibly. Parents and teachers play a leading role. The general principle of education should be the cultivation of morals. He will write passionately elsewhere that piety, virtue and education is the path to perfection<sup>15</sup>. When piety, virtue and education coexist, then, man becomes pious to God, self-confident and

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<sup>8</sup> M. Nikolakaki, *Modernization and the Educational System in Postmodernism: An Evolving Relationship*, Pedagogical Institute, Athens

<sup>9</sup> "On the Upbringing of Children", *ibid.*, pp. 99, 100.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 99

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* p.100

<sup>12</sup>D. Katartzis, *The Found*, published by K.Th. Dimara, Athens 1970, pp. 378-379.

<sup>13</sup>D. Katartzis, *Plan for the education of children*, *ibid.*, P. 73.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 285.

honest to all<sup>16</sup>. With proper education a person can fulfill his duties in the best way. N. Doukas' interest is interested in the social destination of education and its role in the formation of a moral society<sup>17</sup>.

One category of settings suggested by *Utilities (Christoethies)* is aimed at shaping the character of young people. The theoretical framework of ethics is given, determined by educators in General and Partial Ethics. Virtues and vices are defined based on self-respect, towards fellow human beings and society and teaching instructions are given for the formation of students' character. For example, a textbook of *Greek Usability (Christomatheia)* in 1805 in the first volume states: "*Piety is dominant among virtues. - The principle of wisdom is the fear of Lord. He guards education, wisdom, prudence, truth, economy, art, piety. Education is cosmic happiness among people and shelter in case of misfortune*". Clutter, promiscuity, lust, hypocrisy, laziness and disrespect are strongly outlined in parallel with virtues such as piety and orderliness, so that young people can shape their personality by learning to apply virtues or avoid actions with negative consequences and to regulate behaviors and social intercourse accordingly.

In the early to mid-19th century, according to most educators, aesthetics is the power of "feeling" and sensation is the energy of the senses. Feelings contribute to physical and moral upbringing. As far as children are concerned, the moral feeling is aimed at self-respect and complacency. Children must show respect for everything related to justice, freedom and generosity. In order to establish the moral character of children, the teacher must learn to identify and distinguish pleasant events from unpleasant problems. The teacher should not oppose to natural advantages but will contribute to the most perfect moral education of the young people whose innate good should not be corrupted. The moral corruption of children is interpreted through their behavior. The freer young people feel, the faster they develop their moral character. Current moral education presupposes feelings of charity, justice of truth and virtue.

The effort for the best possible education of teachers in the provisions of the law of 1834 includes the establishment of the first Teachers' School (Didaskaleion)<sup>18</sup> with first directors Christian Ludwig Korck<sup>19</sup> and John P. Kokkonis from 1835 to 1853<sup>20</sup>. The teaching methodology and teacher training is determined by the directions for Primary Education and the type of teacher required by social formations and the general teacher's role in the newly formed Greek state<sup>21</sup>. In this context, the subject of Pedagogy is established and taught in the School in 1837<sup>22</sup>. Georgios Pagon teaches this course during the first phase of the operation of Didaskaleion (1834-1864) and in 1853-1854, he publishes the book *Summary of Pedagogy and Didactics* collected from the book of Neimeier" which he writes "*for the use of professionals Educators, Parents, Primary School Teachers and Greek Teachers*"<sup>23</sup>. In the section "*On the education of temper*", Pagon expresses his views on the role of the teacher in the mental or moral education of children. In order to establish the "*morally good person*" he must be very careful with approaching children's problems. The ultimate goal of the teacher-educator is to contribute to the most perfect morality of young people and therefore himself to act very carefully<sup>24</sup>.

The first university professor to mention the need for pedagogical training of secondary school teachers was I. Pantazidis, who was appointed full professor of Greek Philology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens in 1875. In 1889 Pantazidis published his book *Gymnasium Pedagogy* where he

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<sup>16</sup> N. Doukas notes: "... *Most of their children, being seen as diligent, first of all from the morals, to the divine pious, to the self-confident, and to always become honest by educating*". See *ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>17</sup> Ar. D. Zampakidis, Neophytos Doukas-*The Epirote scholar hieromonk and his educational work*, Kyriakidis brothers publishing house, p. 478.

<sup>18</sup> Law "On primary schools" of March 3, 1834, articles 6 and 65, in: A. Dimaras, *The reform that did not take place...*, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> See Ch. Tzikas, *The Royal School (1834-1864), Unpublished Doctoral Thesis*, Thessaloniki, Department of Pedagogy, Auth., 1996, pp. 345-348.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the action of I. Kokkonis in the School and in general for his role in the history of Primary Education, see Ch. Tzikas, *I.P. Kokkonis. Its role in the foundation and the first steps of primary education in Greece*, Gutenberg, Athens 1999.

<sup>21</sup> S. Bouzakis - Ch. Tzikas, *The training of Teachers and Kindergarten Teachers in Greece*, *ibid.*, p. 22 et seq.

<sup>22</sup> See Law "On primary schools" of 1834, article 65, in: A. Dimaras, *The reform that did not take place...*, *ibid.*, S. Bouzakis - Ch. Tzikas, *The training of teachers...*, p. 23. See P. Papakonstantinou - A. Andreou, *Teaching and the development of pedagogical thought 1875-1914*, Odysseas, Athens, 1992, p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> This book is a summary of August Hermann Niemeyer's three-volume work, *Axioms of Education and Teaching*, first published in 1796. August Hermann Niemeyer (1751-1828) was a professor of evangelical theology and educator. He was influenced by philanthropists and J. H. Pestalozzi. He founded a pedagogical faculty at the University of Halle.

<sup>24</sup> G. Th. Pagon (1853-1854). *Summary of pedagogy and didactics collected from Neimeier's book and compiled in two parts for the use of professional Teachers, Parents, Demagogues and Greek Teachers*, in Athens, p. 51.

emphasized that *“the teacher’s instruction is teaching and education, that is the development of the spirit and the shaping of the morals and the character of children...”*<sup>25</sup> The transmission of knowledge, the moral formation of students, that is, the acquisition of moral principles and the shaping of their character are teacher’s aspirations. However, according to I. Pantazidis, a basic and crucial component completing the profile of the good teacher is his moral physique: *“But what elevates the teacher to true nature, making the teaching work, the most sacred and highest of social intentions is the teacher’s moral character”*<sup>26</sup>. Then, connecting the teachers’ with students’ ethos, he states: *“we also considered education as the main, if not the ultimate purpose of school that is, the moral formation and arrangement of students’ will and character. This second purpose is the sanctity of the teaching environment, for which pursuit and fulfillment teachers become true hierophants and schools a true holy institution and mosque of muses, for in them there is not only the seeking and finding of truth, but also the realization of virtuous and good”*<sup>27</sup>.

### **The System of Punishments as a Means of Enforcing Acceptable Ethics**

The framework that includes the theory and practice of the punishment system in the 19th century in the free Greek state is defined beyond the space and the specific period, the conditions, the cultural characteristics or societal structure, the introduction of foreign standards, the educational policy and the influence of older cultural societies such as Byzantium and Ottoman rule with the clergy and the church as the main body<sup>28</sup>. The role of the church is crucial for the cultivation of a specific attitude, perception and ideology for education during this period<sup>29</sup>. Teachers often impose these conditions because they themselves were nurtured in these conditions and consider that they were performing a mission and were devoted and obedient to knowledge and the church. The foundations of the Greek educational system are set mainly after the Greek independence, but there are concerns about the role of Greek education, based on the principles of Enlightenment, especially during the years of the revolution. The manifesto in 1822 of the *Peloponnesian Senate*<sup>30</sup> states: *“Every enlightened Administration has a duty to take care of the upbringing of citizens, of moral and good legislation, because through them the man softly identifies with virtue, knows his duties to God, to the homeland and fellows and is manipulated to bliss”*<sup>31</sup>. Reflecting on the role of education, scholars of the time discuss about methods of achieving educational goals and the behavior of teachers to students. N. Vamvas in his preface to the work of the English educator and missionary Samuel S. Wilson *The teacher's guide*, emphasizes that older methods should be abandoned: *“The method of most educators is worth of mourning and indignation. Instead of treating innocent children in a sweet and modest way, in order to draw their favor and respect, they treat them with tyrannical looks, voice and hand... From this moral and didactic way of pedagogy, what else can come from what is already obvious. Children’s souls are ridiculed, humiliated, and they are rightly predisposed with aversion to learning, and unbridled hatred against the tyrants of their innocent age”*<sup>32</sup>. In 1830, a Central School was established in Aegina, where future teachers studied for peer teaching schools. Its operating conditions were not suitable which resulted in students’ requests for proper education and training, but they were confronted with authoritarian methods of the school and police interventions. A characteristic text is the *“Protest of the Students”* for the events that followed the protest on 7/1/183: *“Giving full faith... we came to Aegina impoverished and sorrowful, most of us orphans from our father, falling in the struggle against Tyranny and against illiteracy. We came but what did we see? Tomb covered with dust that is... School bright on the exterior, but empty from capable teachers in the interior... We were silent for many months, hoping for things to improve, but seeing that not only this is impossible, but that, on the other hand, the few teachers methodology is also prescribed and the lessons and the way of their conduct are presented despotically but with respect to the*

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<sup>25</sup> I. Pantazidis, *Gymnasium Pedagogy...*, *ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>28</sup> I. Moisioudax, "Apology", part one, edited by Alki Aggelou, new Greek library, p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> *“The child, taking it from a young age, the commons learn it in the sacred letters, without explaining it to him, but they only hand it over to him to read it until nightfall, without any other interruption, take it only in their embroidered food, or they are not happy they drink nothing to give them ideas, but they watch over them with the stick and the sticks to read the black ones incessantly and loudly as much as they can and not to shake their very tangible place”*. A. Angelou in the *History of the Greek Nation*, vol. IA', p. 323.

<sup>30</sup> *Peloponnesian Senate* was named an administrative organization formed by the revolutionary Greeks of the Peloponnese in May 1821, immediately after the outbreak of the revolution of 1821 and operated until its abolition by the Second National Assembly of Astros, in April 1823.

<sup>31</sup> A. Daskalakis, *About education*, part 1, Athens 1968, pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> A. Dimaras, *ibid.*, P. 11.

*school administrators...Anyway, the bullying and the preparations for imprisonment and exile prevailed and triumphed, and so we signed the... penitent, composed by the despots of the day...<sup>33</sup>*

Elementary education in 1828 includes 22 peer didactic schools and in 1830 there were 55 primary schools in the Peloponnese, 6 in Central Greece and 4 on the islands. The arrival of King Otto in Greece and the Regency, basically having as a model for elementary education the French law of 1833, compiles an organic law of education on 6 /18.2.1834, which defined three cycles of education and entrusted the establishment, maintenance and administration of primary schools in communities and municipalities. By decree on 31/12/1836 “*on the regulation of Greek primary schools and high schools*” secondary education is organized as well, and by decree on 14/4/1837 the “*University of Otto*” is established. It is worth mentioning the sanctions imposed on students: Article 87 (decree 1836)...“*The means and punishments against students: a. paternal exhortation, b. private and public reprimand, c. detention inside a cell, d. imprisonment, e. threat of expulsion, f. temporary expulsion, g. resignation, h. expulsion*”.<sup>34</sup>Decrees on the system of punishment and its association with aspects of moral conduct state: a. Decree 1834 on the organization of primary schools: Article 19: “*every teacher is responsible for the school’s decency and orderliness and is obliged to be vigilant in the diligence and utility of students regarding unrestricted supervision within school and the right to reward and punish accordingly. Article 20: In addition, the teacher is in charge of vigilance of the conduct of students inside and outside school and unequivocally, of reporting poor conduct to parents and guardians invoking their cooperation, in order to prevent students from open or unknown entertainment*”. b. Concerning punishments, the Guide to peer teaching method of I. Kokkonis that is applied in the peer teaching schools of the time mentions:“*Physical injuries, beatings, floggings and similar barbaric and cruel punishments are prohibited in primary schools. The teacher who treats in such a way is punished additionally and disciplinarily. The student who is not convinced is punished by his peer supervisor. If he is disobedient for a second time, he is reported to the best student or to the teacher. Depending on the degree of disobedience, the disobedient student is condemned to stand on the pedestal, with his face turned towards the wall, or to kneel on the pedestal of the chair. In a criminal insignia, the bad deed is inscribed on the insignia and worn on the perpetrator's neck. One of the following words is inscribed: talkative, filthy, obedient, lazy, or careless, playful, liar, perverted. However, in order to make an impression on students, they must seldom be punished by the teacher. Before the students go out in the yard, at noon and in the afternoon, the general attendant student invites all the students, who have been characterized as bad ones. The teacher scolds them but does not punish them for their mistakes...It is assigned to someone, as a punishment, to write the offence down and read it inside the school during resting hours. The student who insists on his disobedience, or the one who has many unjustifiable absences, or the one who insists on coming to school late, remains in custody. The teacher forgives and makes the sensitive and the least undisciplined ones to further study. He condemns the others by staying late and motionless without having the permission to talk to each other...<sup>35</sup>*

### **Rules of Student Behavior**

According to the Guide of peer-to-peer method within the rules of school ethics: “*Students are obliged: a. to arrive daily at school at the appointed time, in the morning and after lunch, in an orderly and quiet manner. b. To enter the school in clean hands and face, combed and tied; they should never come barefoot or with unwashed feet, or with torn and soiled dresses. c. During class instruction, not to make any commotion, but always keep the greatest, as much as possible, silence and order. d. Never to respond to each other, neither upon request, nor upon any question, never to whisper the lesson to the student who is examined, nor to shout loudly when reading. e. Let everyone write paying attention to what the teacher said, and not squinting at the other's abacus; and when not writing, sit quietly, holding the edge of the desk with both hands, looking at the teacher's desk. f. Never talk to each other during class instruction. g. Never to tease their classmates, never quarrel, but always be loved as brothers. h. not to insult anyone or say obscene and indecent words. i. not to tear books, or crush writing tablets or slabs. j. Never to take anything that belongs to someone else or to school belongings. Lost property should be returned to the head teacher. j. To always tell the truth everywhere. k. To be good, calm and love all people. L. Not to abuse or harm anyone, animals or trees. m. To obey and honor parents and respect the elders. n. Never to make fun of anyone, the sick or the disabled. o. Not to associate with bad children. p. To walk quietly and orderly in the streets. q. To behave carefully and orderly to the house and to study. r. To frequent the church on the appointed days standing in peace, order and reverence and to listen attentively and thoroughly to the Divine Liturgy, and to the reading of the scriptures. s. To be always wise,*

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<sup>33</sup> A. Dimaras, *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> S. Parisi, *Higher education*, part AD, p. 36. See V. G. Hadjivassiliou, *The system of punishments in Greek education of the 19th century*, Pedagogical studies and research 12, Kyriakidis Brothers Publishing House, Thessaloniki 1988, p. 26.

<sup>35</sup> I. P. Kokkonis, *Handbook or guide to the peer-to-peer method*, 4th edition, Athens 1864.

*careful, orderly, peaceful and diligent at school or anywhere else. t. To submit to the first-graders and stick to school rules*"<sup>36</sup>.

### **Pursuit of Strict Discipline**

The influence of the German strict educational system on the Greek one due to the Regency was aimed at strict discipline in a moral context that was valid in Western countries. Despite the great interest of I. Kapodistrias to educate the people through an educational network and despite the theoretical knowledge of progressive pedagogical systems of other western countries, however, education was characterized by austerity and hard work. Student initiatives, spontaneous events, personal quests and challenges were not tolerated. The imposition of punishments also aimed at disciplining the group or class by setting an example. The severe punishment affects the integrity of the punished, so that the association of an unauthorized act with the punishment has an impact on his soul and memory. Although the system was strict, there were also protests by students demanding a qualitative change in the content of studies and the behavior of teachers, such as the attitude of the students of the Central School of Aegina in 1831, police involvement in the events, threats that led to the signing of the Repentant<sup>37</sup>. The obligation of teachers to ensure the basic principles of ethics, as they are limited by the whole civilized world and especially "the decency and order that lead to happiness" so as students would be orderly and decent in all aspects of their lives, at school, at home, at church, to fellow human beings or on the street, is one of the main choices of the state in the educational function throughout the 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Numerous decrees, laws, circulars of political power as well as school regulations support and delimit this educational policy. The aim of the system is to achieve "good and modest" behavior. "Order is the fundamental law. Apart from order, there is Pressure. Both walking and standing or any other movement at school is uniform and regulated just like in military law. No one will irregularly disturb the uniformity as this method is created to contribute to the desired external order, which is the ideal...But even the usual penalties imposed within the group are of no use for improvement. Because every noon and dusk, until dismissal, the first-grader who has recorded the names of those who had committed various atrocities and sins recites them and an hour-long detention or corporal punishment or fasting are imposed to the offenders"<sup>38</sup>. The imposed discipline is characterized as external, sticks to formal rules and within the created climate of fear succeeds in ensuring the desired students' attitude<sup>39</sup>.

In the implementation of the strict decrees of power and of regulations for schools, the police involvement is often recorded. In an excerpt from a letter from the Minister of Education to the Minister of Justice in 1872 due to aggressive attitude of students against teachers it is stated: "Dear Colleague, we consider it necessary to ask you to invite the prosecutors from all over the state to diligently prosecute and strictly punish the perpetrators, meaning the students, for their crimes so as to be brought back to order. In this way, the teaching process and the fear of punishment will not be able to restrain and gradually eliminate the evil, which, when left alone, can paralyze the discipline in students"<sup>40</sup>.

The system of punishments and values in the educational system of Greece in the period under study is governed by two basic elements, the military character of the state towards the Ottoman Empire but also the strict orientation to a morality framed by Christian principles, bliss, and relations with fellow human beings. These elements require obedience to rules and formulas, discipline of principles, discipline in character strengthening and submission to duty. This view permeates education through circulars and decrees of educational institutions, although it is not explicitly defined. In the parliament on 24.6.1855, it is stated: "*Do you want slaves? Starting in elementary school, you want to have slaves. Are free citizens wanted? You have set a uniform moral system on this pure youth and you want it to be inspired by the same feelings, the same virtue, the same love for God and society, whereas the government supervises directly and imposes these principles*"<sup>41</sup>. In German school pedagogy, deprivation of liberty was a reflexive punishment, since the perpetrator, who abused his freedom, now suffers from its loss<sup>42</sup>. The bridge from the mechanical habit of obedience to the voluntary one is based on the fear and respect in the face of the teacher and on the fear of social isolation due to behavior contrary to the moral order. The educator N. Exarchopoulos mentions the crisis of conscience in fault: "*In cases where (the child) fails in his actions, we can succeed, so that he becomes enlightened and in the future becomes more careful and more capable if we guide him properly, into realizing and acknowledging that he has misused*

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<sup>36</sup> I. P. Kokkonis, *ibid.*, pp. 14, 31, 68-100.

<sup>37</sup> A. Daskalakis, *ibid.*, Part three, pp. 1658-1660. See A. Dimaras, *ibid.*, Volume AD, pp. 30-44. See V. G. Hadjivassiliou, *The system of punishments...*, *ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>38</sup> K. Xanthopoulos, *Primary and Secondary Education*, Athens 1873, pp. 194-195.

<sup>39</sup> G. Hadjivassiliou, *The system of punishments...*, *ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>40</sup> G. Hadjivassiliou, *The system of punishments...*, *ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>41</sup> A. Dimaras, *ibid.*, Volume AD, p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> K. Peters, Professor of Law at the University of Munich, *Great Greek Encyclopedia*, entry "penalty", p. 541.

his freedom. This recognition of his delusion can give birth to feelings of repentance in him, as well as remorse of conscience, and these can contribute and reinforce the idea of duty and the tendency towards moral action”<sup>43</sup>.

### **Institutional and non-institutional penalties**

Institutional penalties are recorded in texts, decrees and circulars. Indicatively, we mention the instructions of Governor I. Kapodistrias to the Director of the orphanage in Poros in 1828. The style of the instructions is authoritarian and harsh, similar to the punishments that he sets with the aim of identifying the student’s national education with the development of mental abilities and ethics so as to be integrated “*as second nature*”. Behaviors that are punished are disorder, disobedience, attitude and lying. The grading of the sentences is: 1. Public initial instruction, 2. In case of repetition food reduction to half proportion and 3. In case of recurrence, expulsion by publicly changing of uniform to rags for 24 hours. An excuse could be granted by the members of the class<sup>44</sup>.

Punishments and rewards should act primarily on the student's conscience and soul and not on the body. However, the daily school pedagogy imposes corporal punishments, which are not recorded in decrees or ministerial decisions and in fact, are officially rejected by the state. Ordinary, non-enacted, sentences as described in autobiographical and literary texts mainly, beyond the pedagogy of the bar were: a. blows and pulling of ears, b. smudge of the face, c. phalanx, d. spitting from other children, e. whipping and g. flogging<sup>45</sup>. Ioannis Kondylakis worked at the end of the 19th century as a teacher in Crete and wrote the play “*When I was a teacher*”, in which he narrates incidents both inside and outside the classroom and school. The different way of perceiving the role of punishment as a pedagogical tool often brings teachers into controversy. As I. Kondylakis states: “*This opposition was the first weed destroying the harmony between me and my colleague. One day, I made the mistake of remarking that corporal punishments were cruel and useless, that they hurt because they humiliate the mind and destroy the philanthropy, which is why they have been abolished in the whole civilized world. And he, as if he had already been insulted before long, considering my system as a disapproval of his own method, answered me stubbornly: -That's how I know how to teach... In order to provoke me, he became more relentless towards his students and his tradition was an almost unceasing mourning of the violated and flogged students. His secret enmity against me broke out in the back of the unfortunate children...*”<sup>46</sup>. There were a lot of times when parents agreed with strict pedagogical methods and encouraged the teacher to use them, even expressing their complaints when the teachers are not so strict with the children. They agreed that severe punishment, in addition to morality, also leads to study. “*I often had complaints from parents. They do not learn a thing, brother. They are wasting their time unjustly. Is it better for them to be shepherds... You also need to apply a little beating. I'm not saying to go back to the phalanx, but a whip and a palm do not hurt from time to time. But if you leave them unattended what do you want them to do? Games and pull-ups...*”<sup>47</sup>. The parents’ complaints also reached the Ephorate, which supervised the school’s operation. The Ephorate replied: “*Let the man do his job as he found it and the Ephorate that appointed him knew what he was worth of. The schoolmaster had a new method. Corporal punishment was abandoned in the whole world. Kids are not donkeys to beat? And how will these beaten and ashamed boys become men of war to fight Turkey tomorrow?*”<sup>48</sup>

In fact, the state's opposition to such a practice is expressed through official documents with a guiding and warning style and in an exemplary dismissal of a teacher, who, beyond any moral barrier, arbitrarily imposed an unacceptable punishment on students. Indicatively, we mention the circular of the Ministry of Education to the Headmasters of the State on December 16, 1848: “*Some of the teachers punish their students with the use of sticks and floggings instead of the paraenetic discourse and certain penitentiary measures despite the law on the Gymnasium and Greek Schools. This way is completely barbaric and suitable rather for detoxification than taming the heart and developing the intellect of the young people, betraying the decadence of the teacher. It leaves deep imprints on the flexible and moist youth of the learner, from which an automatic imitation of the rudeness of the teacher in advertently arises in them. The means of punishment cannot be stricter than what the Law grants to this paternal authority; Hence by analogy, the regulation on Greek Schools and Gymnasiums clearly defined.... Strict additional or less punishments appropriate for rational and free beings*”<sup>49</sup>. A ministerial circular 2081 dated 22 March 1884 entitled: “*On the prohibition of flogging and other maltreatments of children*” states: “*Even the Ministry through repeated circulars and orders has openly declared its will for the complete abstention of all kinds of barbaric aggression of the apprentices in the school. It is not*

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<sup>43</sup> N. Exarchopoulos, *Introduction to Pedagogy*, Athens 1923, p. 79.

<sup>44</sup> A. Dimaras, *ibid.*, Volume AD, pp. 19-20.

<sup>45</sup> V. G. Hadjivassiliou, *ibid.*, P. 73.

<sup>46</sup> I. Kondylakis, *When I was a teacher, Modern Greek Anthology, current affairs*, Athens 1996, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> I. Kondylakis, *ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>48</sup> I. Kondylakis, *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> G. Venthyllos, *Thesmologion*, part DG, *ibid.*, pp. 216-217.



with regret and indignation that we observe that teachers who, distracted by the duties of paternal affection and the persuasive guidance of their trusted children, are diverted to such violence and behave barbarically. And because logic and Law provide teachers with many other means of correcting the transgressors and punishing the persuaded, we are compelled to declare again, but for the last time, that we want to relentlessly punish such intrepid demagogues and unaffectionate educators, deviant in such savage and disproportionate punishment to the young age of children...<sup>50</sup>. The Ministry of Education drafted articles on the punishment system and the responsibility of the teacher to impose them, which were characterized by generalizations and left a lot of room for misinterpretation and improvisation in the management of delinquent behaviors. The types of arbitrary penalties were somehow customarily incorporated over time and operated in parallel with legal penalties. The teaching methods of the peer-teaching school were formally valid until 1880; however, they continued to influence the operation of the inter-teaching school. The punitive behavior is passed on to students as children of the same age teach and impose punishments on their classmates, often without the presence of the teacher who comes, to punish those with had hanging labels with offences on their necks given by the first graders.

At the time we are studying, the school regularly used the punishment as a pedagogical last resort to ensure discipline without having used various preventive measures, since no treaty ensured them objectively. However, there are teachers who do not accept severe punishment, worry and fight for the improvement of both the teaching methods and the system of sanctions. The reflection of the high school teacher K.S Xanthopoulos regarding the purpose of the punishment is important: "Above all, the punishment should be perceived as a pedagogical measure and on a second level, as the last and extraordinary measure, but never as a punishment or revenge"<sup>51</sup>. The distinction between disciplinary penalty and punishment preoccupied educators who stressed that punishment for young people should be punishment of honor from the moment a child develops a sense of respect, moral behavior and shame in general for fellow human beings. Punishment only works when the child correctly understands its purpose in order to promote his moral effort by consciously distinguishing between good and evil. When the child consciously distinguishes the good through the observance of the rules of ethics then, the punishment is considered as equally imposed when the order and the rules of ethics are violated.

## II. Conclusions

Ethics conformation is contained in all morality (Christoethia) and Pedagogy textbooks. In the 19th century, purely through textbooks of Pedagogy, the concept of Ethics acquires a different conceptual content than the one in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. While at the end of the 17th and the 18th century God is the recipient of moral acts and the heavenly bliss is the goal of life, in the 19th century here is a turn to man, to the inner self, to the neighbor. The study of the sources showed that in the education of both boys and girls emphasis is placed on the creation of moral and virtuous individuals from the mid-19th to the early 20th century. Virtues that are considered to characterize both sexes are order, honesty, obedience and piety. For the realization of the moral dimension of education, there is a hierarchy of importance starting with parents and teachers, whose moral and virtuous life can play an important role in the moral education of students, followed by lessons, rules of school life, rewards and penalties.

The punishment system in school practice was imposed on the basis of ethical theory and practice. It is not perceived as violence because it was closely intertwined and accepted by social norms. Physical violence is associated with a strict moral framework of society. It is condemnable only when it departs from the theoretical and practical part of the moral framework in which a society is organized. The school is the medium-institution that transmits through the teacher the moral rules that govern society and therefore obedience to them is a misdemeanor that incurs the punishment of any kind chosen by the teacher to discipline the students. The teacher is also a moral model as with his behavior he becomes an example for students, while gaining acceptance and respect not only from the educational community but also from society as a whole. The teacher chooses the punishment according to the moral offense of the student in the classroom.

Greek educators clarify the meaning of ethics without mentioning teaching methods of transmission or students' compliance with it. They do not refer to punitive practices of any kind in case students refuse to obey. In addition, severe punitive practices with physical and verbal violence are recorded only in autobiographical texts. The punishments in the Greek education of the 19th century are divided into institutionalized and non-institutionalized<sup>52</sup>. In order to understand the perception and teachers' attitude towards the relationship between punishment and pedagogy, and enforcement of rules of ethics, the person, citizen, teacher of that time and the influences he receives from society that determine him must be conceived. The teacher is a citizen with low social prestige. He displays his power in the classroom towards people who do not have the ability to oppose

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<sup>50</sup> G. Venthyllos, *ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>51</sup> K.S. Xanthopoulos, *Primary and secondary education*, Athens 1973, chapters on due punishment, pp. 118-124.

<sup>52</sup> V. G. Hadjivassiliou, *ibid.*, p. 91, sub. 113.

him equally. After all, childhood in today's sense did not exist. Young people are treated like adults. The teacher of that time has internalized attitudes and patterns from his own experiences<sup>53</sup>. Of course, such an attitude must be driven by the expectations of parents, but also of society as a whole through a specific code of ethics. Today such extreme forms of penalties and punishment have disappeared from the Greek educational system although the need for reconnecting education with ethics is more urgent than ever. Through this reconnection, the student will firsts elf-appreciation, determining a place both in the local society and in the wider international one.

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<sup>53</sup> The historian Faidon Koukoules describes the phalanx, *Panhellenic Album*, *ibid.*, p. 24:

"The phalanx was an instrument of horrible school punishments, by which the feet of the sinful student were clamped in two sticks painfully standing upright, as long as the corrective's malice and ingenuity of the teacher matured."