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**Activities for the Development and Consolidation
of Democratic Stability (ADACS)**

Meeting of Experts on

"The Greeks in the History of the Black Sea"

Thessaloniki, Greece,

2 - 4 December 1999

Report

Strasbourg

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The opinions expressed in this work are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy of the Council of Europe.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| INTRODUCTION | 5 |
| Introductory remarks by James WIMBERLEY, Head of the Technical Cooperation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education | 6 |
| | |
| PRESENTATIONS | |
| - Dr Zofia Halina ARCHIBALD..... | 11 |
| - Dr Emmanuele CURTI | 14 |
| | |
| CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS | |
| Dr Constantinos CHATZOPOULOS..... | 17 |
| | |
| APPENDIX I | |
| LIST OF PARTICIPANTS..... | 21 |
| | |
| APPENDIX II | |
| PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR..... | 26 |
| | |
| APPENDIX III | |
| INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION BY PROFESSOR ARTEMIS XANTHOPOULOU-KYRIAKOU..... | 30 |
| | |
| APPENDIX IV | |
| HISTORY CURRICULA (Summary of information provided by the participants) | |
| 1. BULGARIA | 35 |
| 2. GEORGIA..... | 39 |

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|----|
| 3. | GREECE | 41 |
| 4. | MOLDOVA | 44 |
| 5. | ROMANIA..... | 48 |
| 6. | RUSSIAN FEDERATION | 50 |
| 7. | UKRAINE..... | 54 |

APPENDIX V

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS | 57 |
|-------------------------------------|----|

INTRODUCTION

The Meeting of Experts on "The Greeks in the History of the Black Sea" was organised within the framework of the Black Sea Initiative on History which is included in the Council of Europe's Programme of Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS). It was the second meeting to be held for the Black Sea Initiative on History. The first was on "History curricula for secondary schools in the Black Sea countries" and took place in Constanta, Romania, from 6-8 May 1999.

The Meeting of Experts was generously hosted by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs of Greece and took place in Thessaloniki from 2-4 December 1999. All the participants warmly thanked the Greek Authorities for their generous hospitality and contribution towards the success of the Black Sea Initiative on History.

All the countries taking part in the Black Sea Initiative on History were invited to be represented by two participants - one ministry official responsible for history curricula or an institute responsible for curricula or curriculum planners and a secondary school teacher of history (see Appendix I for the List of Participants).

The aims of the Meeting were to:

- exchange points of view on the presence of the Greeks in the history of the Black Sea;
- present how and what is taught about the history of the Black Sea.

The results of the Meeting can be found in the following part of the report.

Introductory remarks by James Wimberley, Head of Technical Cooperation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education

On behalf of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Walter Schwimmer, I welcome the participants at this second meeting of professionals within our Black Sea Initiative on the reform of history teaching. I also bring the greetings of the project's initiator, Alison Cardwell, who is detained in Strasbourg by a meeting of ministers on South-east Europe. Her colleague Tatiana Milko is however here, and will speak to you after me on the place of this meeting in the Initiative and what we hope to achieve here.

Since April this year, with the accession of Georgia, the entire littoral of the Black Sea has belonged to states that are full members of the Council of Europe: it is now a European lake. This is a historic choice. For the first time the whole Black Sea region sees itself, and demands to be seen, as fully European: accepting the obligations of the ECHR and the Cultural Convention, and expecting the rest of Europe to reciprocate. The Council of Europe does not set the whole agenda and cannot speak for other institutions, but our own commitment to support you is authentic and has been demonstrated in action in this project and in many others.

It is also my pleasant duty to thank our hosts, the Greek Ministry of Education and the University and city of Thessaloniki, for inviting us here today to review together the remarkable story of the Greeks in the Black Sea. Now the Council is aware that modern Greece does not actually have a Black Sea coastline. Some of you may have wondered why we have encouraged and accepted this invitation, other than the fact that Thessaloniki is warmer than Strasbourg. The first reason is very simple: we did not have enough money in the budget, and by generously agreeing to pay the whole costs, Greece has allowed us all to move the project forward. The second reason is more profound. The key political aspiration of your countries is to be accepted as full partners in Europe. That is exactly the Council's position also. For my Organisation, the wider European goal always has primacy; regional cooperation is a valuable means to it, and should therefore be porous, open to contributions and ideas from other member states.

If I had a time machine, one of the places I would like to go would be the Bosphorus about 8,000 years ago when a natural dam broke, and the Mediterranean roared into the then freshwater Black Sea. There are no records of this cataclysm, except possibly the legends of Noah and Gilgamesh. But it is a good symbol of a certain view of history, in which men are helpless flotsam, driven this way and that by vast impersonal forces. There is clearly some truth in this; but I don't think that it's the whole story. For a different perspective, I would set my time machine to the palace of King Philip of Macedon in Pella in 342 BC, when the teenage prince Alexander met his new tutor, Aristoteles of Stagira. Neither was exactly a powerless victim of circumstances. It is a consoling thought for educators that even with such a teacher, the pupil only took what he wanted - the doctrine of magnanimity, but scarcely that of moderation.

I am not a specialist - indeed you are about to find out exactly how little I know about the subject - so following a sound academic tradition for the underqualified, I will base my remaining remarks on those of Aristotle ^[1]. Like many natural scientists, he did

not consider history to be science at all, but a rather inferior species of literature dealing not with universals but with the particular; in a famous phrase, "what Alcibiades did and suffered". We are forced to admit that there is a great deal of truth in this low-key approach. The nineteenth-century vision of predictive scientific history, preached by Comte, Marx, and many others, turned out to be infeasible ^[2]. This was not just a failure of technique or data, of lacunae to be filled in the course of time, in the way that we confidently expect a future cure for AIDS. It reflected a misconception of natural science, little of which is predictive in the strict sense they supposed. The great algorithmic cathedral of celestial mechanics erected by Newton and Laplace has not proved a general model for science; most natural systems are too complex, too subject to random variables, and too chaotic to be practically computable in the wild, even where the laws are fully understood ^[3]. Solid predictions are usually statistical. If we could set the clock back a million or a billion years and run the universe again, we have no reason to suppose we would see the same environment, suite of species, or human history the second time round.

Cosmology, geology, and evolutionary biology, are now rich and powerful sciences, but like history, if rather better, they explain rather than predict. Seismology, to take a bitter example, explains why earthquakes occur along the North Anatolian fault between two tectonic plates, but as yet it does not offer humanly useful predictions about where and when. (May I depart from my theme to say how impressed observers elsewhere in Europe have been by the spontaneous solidarity of the Turkish and Greek peoples in facing their recent dreadful trials. The Council of Europe does in fact operate a programme, unrelated to this one, to help member states prevent and manage such disasters ^[4].)

Aristotle is I suggest right to stress the particular in history: it is in the particular that we live our lives, and that is what we want to understand, drawing of course on such general laws and patterns as we have. Take this city of Thessaloniki. General laws and trends explain why there is a trading city here, and why it's prosperous, not I suggest why it's Greek. Still less do they account for the doings of the remarkable men and women who have trod this very street: Paul of Tarsus, founder of the Christian church in Thessalonica; the Sephardic Jewish exiles driven out of Spain after the Reconquest, who flourished here until overwhelmed in the Holocaust in 1943; those great adversaries Kemal Atatürk and Eleftherios Venizelos, who separately launched revolutions here in 1908 and 1916. A similar tale could no doubt be told of any of the cities of the Black Sea, of Varna and Constanta, Odessa and Batumi, Sevastopol and Istanbul.

History of course, unlike literature, seeks to understand particular human destinies by putting character and choice in their full context, the opportunities and constraints thrown in our paths by other people and the environment. I gladly admit that its real techniques for doing so, as opposed to its propagandist claims, have advanced enormously. Population genetics and historical linguistics shed a clear light on human migrations from the very earliest times. The scope of historical studies has expanded to every aspect of life: Zeldin writes on the history of happiness, and why not? Indeed, it would be misguided to deny to historical research and synthesis the privilege of any true science, as the fallible but only legitimate guardian of the truth, with its halting progress

tested through critical, international peer review by fellow professionals. Politicians, and bureaucrats such as myself, have no status in the basic process of finding out what actually happened, and why.

But while history is in good company as an explanatory not predictive science, it is unlike others in one very important sense: its diverse branches are not, so far as know, held together by any one paradigm or common thread. This creates a huge problem for history as education: in this ocean of learning, which small part shall be chosen for the school curriculum? When the Board of Education in Kansas decides that biology must be taught without evolution by natural selection, we smile, because that is precisely the organising principle of biological explanation. I find it hard to imagine any comparable omission in history that would be instantly rejected as educationally absurd. But if historical education cannot rely on historical science to highlight the essential on its own internal grounds, how can the selection be made? Not, and the Council of Europe has underlined the point ever since it started work on history education in the 1950s, not to meet manipulative political agendas. Our position is rather that the history curriculum must be chosen on educational grounds. Now the principal educational goal of history must surely be citizenship. Schools seek to prepare young people to be good citizens of their community, their country, of Europe, and of the world; and to be a good citizen you need an understanding of how your standpoint came about, and the kinds of things that other men and women are liable to do to you

This civic perspective points to certain requirements of the historical curriculum. If citizenship is concentric, so should history be. Specifically, I venture to suggest three circles. The first, plainly, is the story of your own country, including - the Council also has clear views on this - the story of its minorities. Children who grow up in minority communities with a distinct cultural identity are also entitled to the teaching of their community's story from its own viewpoint. This teaching carries, quite properly, a great deal of the charge of moral education, the encounter with interesting individuals - though it should not be the only source of them. Its aim is to nurture the critical solidarity we call true patriotism.

The outer circle is simply the story of all of us, of the human kind. Our common origin is ever more clear, and the long-derided universal human nature is re-emerging as plain fact from under the rubble of racist ideology and the scientific blind alleys of behaviourism and relativism ^[5]. At this level, there is scarcely room for anything but the broad sweep, and indeed it may be that history's regularities are more evident on the large scale than the small: the spread of agriculture, of monotheism, modern states, science, and technology, the growth of population, the rise and fall of class and national ideologies, the emergence of the democratic ideal of equal rights, the contemporary triumph of capitalism. Our common fate, the prospect of the overcrowded, environmentally stressed, information-ruled global society ahead, provides a compelling rationale for education in global awareness and responsibility.

The middle circle, the most interesting for us here, is that of the neighbours. I mean this elastically; the whole of Europe is your neighbour, and so are the countries which share a land border, or - as here - a maritime one like the Black Sea. Neighbours are difficult; but they are the people your ancestors have interacted with most, in war, in trade, by cultural diffusion, and in sex. (The last is not a joke. Think of the factual story of trade and piracy behind the legend of the Argonauts. The first thing Jason does on reaching Colchis is to take a woman, Medea; no differently from Cortez with Doña Aña, or John Rolfe with Pocahontas. Piracy, trade, slavery, and war have all been accompanied, and sometimes driven, by men's need for women. Our ancestors *slept* with each other.) Now the civic purpose of historical education about neighbours is mutual understanding. Pursuing this is in fact an international legal obligation, that the states represented here accepted when they signed the European Cultural Convention ^[6]. Compared to the 50,000 pages of regulations that the European Union presents to applicants, the Cultural Convention looks trivial, but in truth it's the one that is really hard: just get on with the neighbours. The Council's work on history teaching, and its regional projects in the Caucasus, here round the Black Sea, and in future in the Balkans are central to this enormously important goal.

The methods recommended by the Council are well known to you and might seem no more than the ordinary values of your profession: objectivity, looking at events from multiple perspectives, paying attention to the good things - trade, cultural diffusion, science, liberty - as well the evil ones - wars, tyrannies, plagues, massacres, and slavery. European cooperation, especially professional exchanges and peer review among history teachers as well as researchers, has been systematically encouraged as good practice. I will only say that I am here as the representative of an organisation dedicated to a revolutionary historical principle, the equal fundamental rights of all men and women. Now I ask myself how this recent idea should affect the way we approach the men and women of the past. It is clearly stupid to apply the standard of human rights that holds between Europeans today, because it has explicitly been accepted by all our governments, as a scoresheet to people who had never heard of them. St Paul didn't believe in the full equality of women, or Lincoln in that of black Americans; of course not, and in our moral encounter with them we must come to terms with the range of values of their times without being untrue to our own.

But I think there is a sense in which the doctrine of fundamental human rights does apply to the past. Just as between the living it limits the moral gradient we place between ourselves and our friends and kin, and strangers, enemies, and those unknown to us, it also requires us to treat the dead with respect. We are called on to see them as people both like and unlike ourselves, with lives to live, who, with Alcibiades, "did and suffered". The way things were, and in many places not far from here still are, the scale of the human tragedy, of blighted lives and pointless deaths, leaves anyone of normal sensibility with a sense of deep but powerless sorrow - *sunt lacrimae rerum*. There is however one small thing we can do for the dead, and that is to *remember*; and we can only do this with the aid of historians and history teachers. It is still your task to heed on a wider scale the plea that Simonides placed on the epitaph of the Spartan soldiers who died at Thermopylae:

Stranger, go tell the Spartans that we lie here obedient to their commands ^[2].

^[1] *Poetics*, IX. The whole passage reads: "[History] relates what has happened, [poetry] what may happen. Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular. By the universal I mean how a person of a certain type on occasion speaks or acts, according to the law of probability or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attaches to the personages. The particular is - for example- what Alcibiades did or suffered."

^[2] Isaiah Berlin, *The Concept of Scientific History*, collected in *The Proper Study of Mankind*, London 1997

^[3] On the computability of a classical billiard-ball universe, see Roger Penrose, *Shadows of the Mind*, Oxford 1994, §1.7

^[4] The Open Partial Agreement on the prevention and management of man-made and natural disasters.

^[5] See for example D.E. Brown, *Human Universals*, New York 1991

^[6] "...a greater understanding of one another among the peoples of Europe": Preamble to the European Cultural Convention, ETS No. 18, 1954. Article 6 lists history specifically as a priority for cultural cooperation.

BM ^{ftnref7} xein', angellein Lakedaimoniois hoti tēide keimetha tois keinôn rhēmasi peithomenoi.

Simonides of Keos, epitaph of the Lacedaemonians at Marathon, in Herodotus, *Histories* 7.228

**ROUND TABLE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE BLACK SEA
ON THE HISTORY OF EUROPE**

1. **The Black Sea: two historical currents** by Dr. Zofia Halina ARCHIBALD, Senior Research Fellow, School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool

"These lands belong to all their people but also to none of them. Like the terminal moraine of a glacier, the Black Sea shore is a place where the detritus of human migrations and invasions has been deposited for more than four thousand years."
(Neal Ascherson, *Black Sea*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1995, 10)

"This is not just a place but a pattern of relationships..."
(*ibid.*, 11)

To find out what the Black Sea means in a wider European context is no easy matter, not because the possible links are tenuous but because they are so rich, so multifarious. We might consider the physical or topographical connections; the importance of ecological patterns in the temperate Eurasian landmass; the nature of common values; the development of institutions and traditions, the intellectual idea of a common identity. All these topics provide a wealth of evidence. But they have usually been approached from some other general perspective. The Black Sea has rarely formed the subject of a major study, the title of a book or even a piece of fiction. Towns, hills and ports along its shores, together with their inhabitants, have been immortalised by poets and prose writers as different as the Greek Apollonios of Rhodes, the Roman Ovid, the Russians Leo Tolstoy, Alexander Blok and Anton Chekhov; and the Pole, Adam Mickiewicz. The sea itself has often been taken for granted by those who sought to benefit from its resources. Only very gradually has it revealed its secrets.

This sea provides both the frame and the picture we are seeking to recreate. Those who have known it best have been sailors and ships' captains. It was their knowledge and experience which guided historians and diplomats. Herodotos, citizen of Halikarnassos (modern Bodrum), the historian who has given us the earliest prose account of these regions (completed in the final decades of the 5th century BC), was greatly indebted to the captains who had made it their business to record the appearance and character of the coastline, as well as the distances between one headland and the next. The same has been true in later times. The knowledge of many generations of seamen provided geographers such as Strabo and Ptolemy with their basic facts and figures, data which continued to be used, improved and modified by their Medieval successors, albeit after a long period of neglect. Although known to Arab geographers from the 8th Century AD onwards, the detailed topographical information assembled by Ptolemy c.150 AD was not built upon; no ambitious mathematician with an interest in spatial problems was to come along and tinker with Ptolemy's total of 8,000 place names and their coordinates. A Florentine map of 1406 reproduced Ptolemy's data for the first time in map form. But it took many

hundreds of years for the detailed knowledge known to local seamen to find its way back into general studies of the known world.

The difficulty experienced by early modern cartographers of uniting detailed, verifiable information drawn from local sources with the broad canvas of world affairs might stand as a model for our current challenge to understand the past of the Black Sea and its shores. The picture we have at present is like that of the world maps drawn up by medieval and early modern hands, where armorial crests, costumes and crossed swords take the place of mountain and plain, town and country. The things that are best known in the popular imagination are the broad, rich colours of imperial expansion - Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Genoese, Ottoman, Tsarist, British, French, Soviet. This is the first of the two historical currents in my title. It is a current of enormous energy and seemingly inevitable power. The waters of this current are suffused with red; in the interests of imperial policy, the common soldiery and the poor inhabitants of villages, idealistic rulers and vengeful henchmen alike fell victims to the ambitions of successive, narrow imperial elites which had conceived a mental map unlike any real map of the world, a map which placed themselves at the centre with the limits of their powers stretching ever outwards.

But just as medieval maps could not become realistic reflections of what the world actually looked like without incorporating the cumulative knowledge of seafarers and surveyors, so our picture of Black Sea history needs the other current of my title, namely the eye witness accounts of merchants, shopkeepers, schoolteachers, of heroic mothers and orphaned children. This current of history is often ignored by many practitioners as less important, less relevant than the first. But, occasionally, we are reminded, by a work of art, or music, or by some unusual piece of writing, that the general statements we make about the past acquire their true meaning through the sifting and analysis of particular cases. In the history of the Black Sea, the global, intercontinental dimension has never been very far from the local and the very particular.

One of the few authors who has written about the Black Sea in recent years is the Scottish journalist, Neal Ascherson. As a boy of 16, Ascherson had read a remarkable book, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford 1922) by Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff. There cannot be many schools in Britain, even public schools, which took the trouble to stock it in their libraries. For the young Ascherson, it was a revelation. He longed to ride forth, re-embodied as a steppe warrior, in pursuit of the strange lodestone that Rostovtzeff's words and pictures had revealed, the ancient wealth and splendour of the Black Sea and the communities nestling around it.

He eventually reached the shores of the Black Sea on a brief tour of the ancient sites of Crimea, a bonus following a conference of Byzantinologists in Moscow. The year was 1991, the month August. By coincidence, he and his Genoese colleagues reached Yalta on the evening of the 18th, the day when Mikhail Gorbachev was ousted by a coup. As a journalist, Ascherson does not feel bound by the conventions which oppress professional historians. But the kind of history he writes penetrates below the surface of everyday life to explore how individuals and groups respond to great events. He thus adds two important elements to conventional historical narrative. By casting a spotlight

on the inhabitants of the coasts, Ascherson succeeds in returning to them responsibility for their own actions within the grand scheme of international politics. This technique also highlights the direct connections between the people and events of these regions and other parts of Europe and western Asia.

We thus learn about the strange case of the little principality of Theodoro-Mangup, near Yalta, occupied for a time by Christianised Goths, then, in the 8th Century by Judaized Khazars, eventually (in 1475) destroyed by Crimean "Tatars" (Mongols), at that time allies of the Ottoman conquerors of Constantinople (Istanbul). The Gothic connection provided a pretext for the bizarre Nazi plan to create a Germanic enclave in Crimea, to be called Gothland, and peopled by Germans from South Tyrol.

Ascherson visits the Don delta and views the setting of Tana, (successor of ancient Tanais), a trading station founded by Venetians and Genoese merchants in the 13th Century AD who negotiated with the Mongol "Golden Horde", based on the River Volga, to pursue links over the Asiatic steppes and deserts in search of silk, paper and jewels. Tradition dictated that a community's membership of "civilization" or "barbarism" depended on origins. So origins, and stories about the origins, of peoples, became an important intellectual topic from antiquity onwards. Ascherson digresses into one of these stories, the belief that the Poles were descended from the Sarmatians, one of the originally nomadic peoples who penetrated into south Russia and the Crimea in the final centuries BC. He selects only a tiny sample from among the many, many threads that might be pursued in a similar manner along each of the Black Sea's shores. I have chosen these to illustrate the way in which historical relationships and confrontations have shaped a dense network of interconnections, spanning the continent east - west and north - south.

2. Indigenous and Greeks between East and West: some cultural and political considerations by Dr. Emmanuele CURTI, Lecturer in Classical Studies, Birbeck College, University of London

Towards the end of the Classical time, Homer had become the symbol of Greek culture: his poems were considered a sort of sacred text for a series of reasons. First of all, the Iliad and the Odyssey were considered the first written texts of the Greek tradition: moreover, his depiction of the era of the heroes was interpreted as the first attempt to crystallise events of a period before the historical era. But, what is even more important, the account of the travels of the heroes had defined the space of the early Greek adventures.

The Homeric account became text during the early colonial experience. The Greeks recognised themselves in those heroes and used those figures to define a specific geographical space, "employing" figures like Odysseus, Diomedes, etc, as guarantees to define the new frontiers. Interestingly enough, those heroes were always moving along the coasts, along the edges of the indigenous cultures, never venturing inland. This seems to respond to the attitude of the very first contact of the Greek world where trade markets and settlements were established on the limits of the foreign lands: those heroes represented the eyes - later translated in words by the Homeric texts - to describe an unknown world simply for internal Greek use.

We have these accounts mainly for the Western part of the Mediterranean, for the areas colonised by the Greeks in Southern Italy: very little is known, through these archaic texts - the ones preserved - of the rest of the Mediterranean.

As the Classical and Hellenistic world grew, people were educated on these texts: for example, Homer was compulsory reading for students.

You realise immediately the importance that texts have in the up-bringing of an individual: the same happened in ancient times. People started imagining a world described by the texts, in particular in an era when travelling was not an activity for everybody.

This introduction is necessary to understand the tradition of Western culture: we have been trained, since ancient times, to privileging those cultures - in particular Greek and Roman - that have provided texts. The natural consequence is that we automatically disregard those cultures which, for one reason or the other, do not have a text.

In ancient times, both in the East and the West, various indigenous cultures did not have time to do so: and that makes our work more difficult, because we are trained to accept and emphasise more the cultural elements of "writing" cultures. The archaeological activity has done a lot in trying to revive the cultures of the indigenous peoples: but, unfortunately, we have always been forced to position those cultures within an historical framework - made of historical discourses and dates - set up by Western traditions. We can create a series of internal typologies of classes of materials, structures, settlements, religious and funerary rituals, but we will always have problems in revealing

other aspects of those cultures, structured perhaps in a different way from the ones we are used to. What about political, cultural, religious identity? Or their own perception of their past, organised perhaps not according to an historical frame of mind?

This perhaps should also explain the original division between East and West: apart from an absence of a coherent Homeric story for the Black Sea, we should investigate why, for the later period - during the Classical time - Western colonies produced ancient historians. Eastern colonies did not. Perhaps they did not survive, because the Roman world saved only texts that were dealing with the Italian perspective. I cannot believe that a world that was not dissimilar from the one of the West Mediterranean did not feel the same urge in fixing in a text their own thoughts and versions of history. This absence has conditioned modern research even more: as has been underlined, the analysis of the Greek presence in the Mediterranean has always privileged the Western side, almost ignoring, until recently, the Eastern phenomenon of colonisation. This has influenced not only our perception of the Greek colonies in the Black Sea, but consequently the indigenous cultures with which they were involved. We need to re-address the problem, both in the West and in the East: we cannot understand Greek colonisation without re-balancing in the right perspective the contribution of both experiences. At the same time, we have to explore further the indigenous cultures in their own right, breaking down the original opposition Greeks/Barbarians during the Archaic and early Classical times.

The operation perhaps became easier with the creation of an "international" language during the late Classical and Hellenistic period. In Southern Italy, the political situation forces the Greek colonies to deal with the Italic people no longer considered as "untrustworthy barbarians" but as possible valuable allies. The crisis of the colonial system, the pressure of the inland people, the need to reconstitute a fragile equilibrium, carries a new system of relationships, where you have to regenerate the former contraposition between Greeks and barbarians. In order to deal with "barbarians" you have to accept them - and they have to accept you - within a system of new links, in mutual recognition. The sense of superiority of the Greeks towards the Italian "barbarians" is no longer unshakeable: the Greek colonies have to come to terms with some of the indigenous people, who when they become allies have to be accepted within a new enlarged *koiné*, a new recognised community: a new language, a new way of communicating has to be organised, invented, structured, to create a network of relationships, in order to establish a grid of reciprocal acceptance on the same level.

In the East, another even more "shocking" experience will take place: Alexander the Great is breaking down the frontiers of an original Greekness. What is Greek by now has to be decided, because everybody wants to be Greek. Not necessarily because of a sense of superiority of Greek culture: perhaps simply because Greek culture was offering an established frame within which the relationship between the aristocracies of different cultures could find a common ground of dialogue. This phenomenon will help, for example, Rome to establish her power: Rome will learn a lot from the culture of the Greek *poleis* of the 4th Century, in particular in constructing new political structures. Romans, for example, knew and used the democratic Athenian experience in reorganising a more equal society, divided between patrician and plebeian.

With Alexander the Great, the same concept is exported towards the East: we know that *democrathia* had become a central issue within the political vocabulary of the Macedonian enterprise. The king, having conquered new cities, offered democracy as a good gesture: but often, there was something strange in this process, because a monarch donating democracy sounded deeply wrong in an old Greek mentality.

This is the moment when democracy starts to become an empty concept, an easy prize for Greek - and not Greek - cities. To be democratic, but at the same time to be under the control of Alexander, or later, Hellenistic kings or Romans, is a contradiction.

Democracy, liberty and freedom will become recurrent words in the speeches of the new kings and rulers: establishing a tradition that will last for several centuries - still familiar nowadays.

These last thoughts are necessary, in particular within a project such as this one, where we discuss the issues of the advancement of democratic stability. The democratic experience is a peculiar myth of our culture: we have to remember that after the Hellenistic period, the word democracy will disappear from the political vocabulary. It will reappear much later, during the early modern period, when scholars go back to study the Greek texts and rediscover these words. Again, the texts brought us back to think. That will be the moment of the creation of the identity of the new Western modern States: and only the French Revolution will actually move the words of the texts back in to actual political practice. This is just to underline that the democratic experience is not a natural component of Western tradition: for centuries, we removed those concepts from our cultures. It is important to address this aspect, simply because we - as Westerners - do not have special rights in considering ourselves as the "inventors" of democracy. These days, we hear a lot of talk about the future of the political world: democracy is considered the right future. But, if we want to construct a real new democracy, let us try to be respectful of the dynamics of history: let us learn together how to reconstruct history trying to be aware of the peculiarities of different cultures - where the texts have to be read as products of their own times, not as inheritance - to be able to build a common route towards the education of democratic citizens.

3. Conclusions and recommendations by the General Rapporteur, Dr Constantinos CHATZOPOULOS, University of Thrace

The first aim of our meeting here in Thessaloniki was to have an exchange of points of view on the presence of the Greeks in the history of the Black Sea. The conclusion I drew is that this aim was completely achieved. The textbooks of history which are in use today in the countries of the Black Sea area deal with the Greeks both during Antiquity and the Middle Ages. As far as Antiquity is concerned, the students are taught not only about the Greek colonies established on the coast of Pontus Euxinus (Εύξεινος Πόντος), but also the Greek politics (πόλεις), their institutions, their economy, society, army, culture and religion.

Emmanuelle Curti, Birbeck College, University of London, said in his presentation that this emphasis on the history of the ancient Greeks – and Romans in the cases of Romania and Moldova - may be explained as a result of the aspiration of these countries to be a part of Western Europe. It may be so. However, I would like to add that, thanks to *Hellenes*, the Black Sea area became, for the first time in history, part of the "international economic system". The second remark of Emmanuelle Curti was that, in comparison with the Ancient Greeks, there are few references to the indigenous peoples who lived in the area during Antiquity (with the exception of the textbooks of Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova I believe). So, Professor Curti believes that the authors of the textbooks must use the archaeological material found in the area to the full in order to describe these peoples, their political organisation, their social structure, their religion, their culture, etc. However, the only written sources available are the Greek ones, and, consequently they reflect a certain point of view. Although Herodotus is my favorite historian, I confess that Emmanuelle Curti is right.

As far as the presence of the Greeks in the Black Sea area during the Middle Ages is concerned, the textbooks in all the countries involved deal with them, because of the Byzantine Empire. Of course the explanation in this case is obvious. Thanks to the policy and diplomacy of the Byzantine emperors, this area became a part of Europe again. At the same time, the Black Sea area became part of the economic system of the Empire and consequently of the international system of that period.

The textbooks of modern and contemporary history (19th – 20th Century) contain little information about the Greeks, with the exception of the Bulgarian and Georgian textbooks. This is quite understandable. The national resurgence led to the establishment of national States. The newborn historiography of the 19th Century focused on national history. The Greeks – even though they came to the Black Sea area as immigrants – were foreigners who came to the region looking for a better life.

They were no longer playing an important role in international affairs. So, the references to them in the textbooks were limited to some important historical events, such as the Balkan Wars of 1912 – 13, the First and the Second World Wars, etc. However, in some cases, we have more information concerning the conflicts with the neighbouring countries (especially with Bulgaria and Turkey I presume).

The second aim of our meeting was to study "how" and "what" is taught about the history of the Black Sea area.

Allow me here to recall the interesting remarks Mr. Wimberley made during the plenary session of Thursday morning. He said that "the huge problem for history as education" is the following: "in this ocean of learning, which small part shall be chosen for the school curricula? In other words, what should we teach to the children?" In order to answer the question, Mr. Wimberley stressed, in his presentation that "the principal educational aim of history must be citizenship. Schools seek to prepare young people to be good citizens of their community, of their country, of Europe and of the world". In order to achieve this aim, the young student has to learn first the history of his/her own country.

I believe that we have to pay attention to the term "country", because it is one thing to study the history of a "country" and another the history of a "nation". The first is a certain geographical area, which is defined by objective criteria, the second is a "group" of people defined mainly by subjective criteria.

The second circle according to Mr. Wimberley's paper concerns the history of humankind. That is to say our common origins, the spread of agriculture, of monotheism, modern States, science, technology, the growth of population, the rise and fall of class, national ideologies, the emergence of the democratic ideal of equal rights, the triumph of capitalism, etc. That does, of course, not mean "l'histoire évènementielle".

Finally, the third circle should be the "neighbours". This is the most important issue for us in the present day. Because it is obvious that problems were – and still are – created between neighbours. Thus we have to focus on this problem.

In fact all five "workshops" organised during this meeting discussed this problem. *How* and *what* we should teach to students, so that they understand that the peoples who live in the Black Sea area, despite the conflicts of the past, have a lot in common.

I do not intend, of course, to repeat the conclusions of the groups presented some minutes ago by the rapporteurs.

However, I believe that it is necessary to mention the main proposals:

1. It is impossible to have a single textbook of history concerning the peoples of the Black Sea area.
2. It is also impossible to eliminate local and national history. It is better to introduce an approach which would present national history issues in a broader context.
3. We must also focus on the multicultural society of the Black Sea area.

4. We must present different points of view, especially on sensitive and controversial issues.
5. It will be very useful to create a teaching pack, containing photos, plans, maps, written sources, archaeological and ethnographic material, statistics, legends, costumes, traditions, etc. Allow me to remind you that the topics of this pack were already discussed at the previous meeting held in Constanta, Romania, on 6 - 8 May 1999. This pack might be supplementary material or an "appendix" available to anyone (teachers or students). Its use will be, of course, optional and not compulsory.
6. New technologies must be used in teaching history, because they will change the traditional methods completely and will challenge the interest of the students.

Thanks to Mr. Livieratos, we can imagine how the new technologies could be used in teaching history. We were all impressed by his paper, his presentation of the maps, the uses and misuses of historical maps, the questions he put and the answers he gave and especially the different approach to communicating knowledge and information.

I would like to close my report with the following remarks:

1. All the representatives who participated in this meeting and those among us who had the opportunity to participate in the previous seminar are convinced that the "Black Sea Initiative on History" promoted by the Council of Europe must continue. This is because, thanks to this Initiative, we have the possibility to know one another better, to exchange points of view, to understand and to be in contact.
2. In my opinion, it would be useful if each country could create a research group made up of historians and teacher experts, who would study the history textbooks which are in use today. Here in Thessaloniki, Professor P. Xohellis organised such a research group, in order to indicate the negative image of the "other" in Greek textbooks. If we wish to improve history textbooks, the first thing we have to do is to identify the "mistakes" or the stereotypes, where they still exist.
3. As far as the teaching pack is concerned, we must begin preparing it tomorrow. I remember that, in Romania, all the representatives agreed that we must prepare it as soon as possible. Today, we know *what* the content should be. But we have not discussed *how* and by *whom* the teaching pack will be prepared.
4. Since the countries of the Black Sea area "are now fully members of the Council of Europe", and the "Black Sea is now a European lake", as Mr. Wimberley said during the opening session, I wonder if we could also prepare a special pack of material concerning the peoples of the Black Sea

and send it to Western European countries to be used by teachers and pupils who are interested in this area. It is not only important for us to improve our knowledge about our neighbours, it is also necessary for the students of Western Europe to find out who the peoples of this area are, now that they have become – once again – part of Europe.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTORY SPEAKERS

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APPENDIX II

PROGRAMME OF THE SEMINAR

Thursday 2 December 1999

09.30 - 11.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Ioannis CHASSIOTIS, Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Thessaloniki

Opening of the Meeting by:

- i. Ms Melina PAPADAKI, Director, Directorate of International Relations in Education, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs of Greece;
- ii. Mr James WIMBERLEY, Head of the Technical Co-operation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education, Council of Europe;
- iii. Ms Tatiana MINKINA-MILKO, Programme Officer, Technical Co-operation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education, Council of Europe;
- iv. Professor Ioannis CHASSIOTIS.

Introductory presentation on: "The Black Sea and its history" by Professor Artemis XANTHOPOULOU-KYRIAKOU, Professor of Modern History, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Thessaloniki

11.00 - 11.30 Break

11.30 - 13.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Nikos TERZIS, Professor of Pedagogics, Department of Philosophy and Pedagogics, University of Thessaloniki

Round Table on: "How is the presence of the Greeks reflected in school history curricula";

One representative from each of the countries should give an 8-10 minute presentation.

Discussion with all the participants

Introduction to the working groups and their working methods

13.00 - 14.00 Lunch

14.00 - 15.30 Three parallel working groups on:

- i. comparing the different approaches to teaching the history of the Black Sea area;
- ii. reflecting on the similarities in the history curricula for secondary schools;
- iii. making proposals for changes or improvements (teaching methods, textbooks).

15.30 – 16.00 Break

16.00 – 17.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Achilleas KAPSALIS, Professor of Education, University of Thessaloniki

Presentations by the rapporteurs of the working groups on their discussions.

Discussion with all the participants

20.00 Official Dinner

Friday 3 December 1999

09.30 – 11.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Sofronis CHATZISSAVIDIS, Associate Professor of Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, University of Thessaloniki

Presentation on "The role of maps in history schoolbooks and how to use infomaps in teaching history" by Professor Evangelos LIVIERATOS, National Centre for Maps and Cartographic Heritage.

11.00 – 11.30 Break

11.30 - 13.00 Chair: Professor Evangelos LIVIERATOS

Round Table on: "The influence of the Black Sea on the history of Europe" by :

- i. Dr Zosia ARCHIBALD, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom;
- ii. Dr Emmanuele CURTI, Birbeck College, University of London.

13.00 - 14.00 Lunch

14.00 - 15.30 Two working groups :

Group 1 - The image of each and every one of the peoples of the Black Sea area in history textbooks;

Group 2 – the teachers' point of view.

15.30 - 16.00 Break

16.00 – 17.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Artemis XANTHOPOULOU-KYRIAKOU

Presentations of the findings of the two groups

Discussion with all the participants

17.00 – 18.00 The rapporteurs should report to the General Rapporteur and the Secretariat on the conclusions and recommendations of the working groups. They should all prepare their texts in writing and submit a copy to the Secretariat. These texts will be included in the report of the Meeting.

20.00 Dinner

Saturday 4 December 1999

08.30 - 09.30 Meeting of the rapporteurs and the General Rapporteur.

09.30 - 13.00 **Plenary Session**

Chair: Professor Ioannis CHASSIOTIS, Professor of Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Thessaloniki

- i. Presentation of the conclusions and recommendations by the rapporteurs of the working groups;
- ii. Presentation of the overall conclusions and recommendations of the Meeting by the General Rapporteur.

Comments by the participants.

Closing speeches :

- i. Mr James WIMBERLEY, Head of the Technical Co-operation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education, Council of Europe;
- ii. Ms Tatiana MINKINA-MILKO, Programme Officer, Technical Co-operation and Assistance Section, Directorate of Education and Higher Education, Council of Europe;
- iii. Ms Roy HOURDAKI, Chief of Section, Directorate of International Relations in Education, Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs of Greece.

Sunday 5 December 1999

Departure of the participants

APPENDIX III

"The Black Sea and its history"

Professor Artemis XANTHOPOULOU-KYRIAKOU

At this "Homeric" time, the Sea was not navigable and was called "Axenos" (inhospitable) because of its wintry storms and the ferocity of the tribes that lived around it, and particularly the Scythians in that they sacrificed strangers... but later it was called "Euxeinos" (friendly to strangers) when the Ionians founded cities on the seaboard Strabo, Geography (Neal Ascherson, Black Sea, Hille and Wang, USA 1996).

Pontus, beyond the Straits, was a source of inspiration for the creation of the most attractive myths of antiquity: there, in a low profile, the resistance of many varieties of civilisation was tested for its long-term endurance; there, the economic and political interests of States measured themselves in dramatic tones, causing waves of movement among the peoples that lived around the Black Sea. There, in each period and in each case, you will recognise the traces of the Greeks and their presence as a catalyst.

The ancient indigenous populations that lived around the Black Sea, the Thracians, Scythians, Cimmerians, Caucasians etc. had no connection with the Sea. And how could they, when there is not even one island in the 435,000 square kilometres of its expanse, merely a few alluvial islets on the coast before the mouths of large rivers? Besides, the low salt content of the water causes additional navigation problems. Being essentially livestock breeders and farmers, horse breeders and hunters, but also bandits, the Scythians, just like the Thracians and various Asiatic and Slavic peoples who settled mainly northwest and north of the Black Sea. The only navigable routes for them were the rivers. "These are their allies", Herodotus correctly observed. These watered their fertile plains and vast forests. They lived from these. By way of these, they communicated, not with the outside world, but with the interior of their territories. Navigable roads were the only ones from the Sea towards the interior, which facilitated communication, transport and cultural exchange. Frozen paths allowed Asiatic peoples to reach Southeastern Europe and the rest of it.

The Danube brings the Black Sea into contact with the interior of the Balkans and Central Europe. Besides the Borsythenes, later the Dnieper, reaches the forests and lakes of Ukraine, the Baltics, up to the outskirts of Scandinavia. Herodotus considered the Dnieper the most beneficial of all rivers after the Nile, because it watered abundant pastures, had many fish, and its water was clean and drinkable, not muddy like that of other rivers. The third river in size in the area, after the Volga and the Danube, it formed the river route of amber, since, through a network of tributaries, it led to the Baltic. From there, the amber used by Mycenaean craftsmen reached the Greek colony of Olbia. According to Herodotus, "the Olbians and all the Scythians in the area had to have seven interpreters with them, in order to make themselves understood in seven different languages". The Don (the Tanais in antiquity), led to the Volga and Muscovy. The Rioni (the Fasis of ancient Greeks) went east to Georgia, connecting it with Caspia. Heordotus

tells us that "one boat, in order to cross the distance from the mouth of the Pontus to the Fasis River, takes nine days and eight nights".

The Argonauts had reached the Fasis, the easternmost point of the Black Sea, near the great silver mines of Colchis. Gold, silver, and flax were the products that attracted the Greeks' interest, as well as the iron ore from Armenia and the land of the Chalybs and Amazons, which was loaded at the harbours of Trebizond and Amisoss (on the southern Black Sea coast). From Sinope, they were supplied with salted fish, wood, and a dye which came from the reddish stone of the region. Further north, at the mouth of the Don, at their colony of Tanaïs, about 40 kilometres north of modern Rostov, the Greeks gathered the rich cereal production of the rich interior.

At the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the channel which unites the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, Panticapaeum (modern Kerch), the capital of the Hellenistic Bosphorus Kingdom (and later site of a Byzantine bishopric until the end of the 6th Century, had developed into a key city for commercial, diplomatic, and cultural exchange among the Greeks and the indigenous peoples. Even the "naphtha" for the Greek fire of the Byzantine navy was supplied to it from the markets of the region of Azov centuries later.

It was at that time that the Black Sea was transformed into a closed lake, that is as long as the Byzantine Empire had the power to control the entry through the Straits and ensure the monopoly of product shipping to its subjects. It was turned into a sea after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. The seafaring Venetians, who made Byzantine Sogdea and Tana on the Sea of Azov the centre of their commercial efforts, crossed it first; the Genoese followed them and created in turn their great colony at Kaffa (ancient Theodosia, Byzantine Theodosiopolis) while, at the same time, they controlled the empire of the Comneni economically. However, there is a large difference between the circumstantial presence of the Venetian and Genoese traders and the continuous Greek presence in the region. The Greeks had roots there. It was their homeland. The Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, and many other peoples were their historical neighbours.

After the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and mainly after the fall of the Empire of Trebizond to the Ottoman Turks, the Black Sea was initially closed to all the merchants of Western Europe. In 1475, the Ottomans gained domination over the semi-independent Tartar khanate of the Crimea, which was maintained until the 18th Century. In all this period, the Black Sea was an almost Ottoman lake.

The next important point in the life of the peoples of the Black Sea, and especially that of the Greeks, must be connected with the initial efforts of Peter the Great (1689-1725) and his successors to expand the limits of their empire at the expense of their neighbours, mostly Moslem populations. Under the pressure of the Russo-Turkish conflict, the Ottomans were forced to allow initially the free passage of Russian-flag merchant ships (1774), and later those of the other European States (beginning of the 19th Century and especially from 1829 on).

Thus, we come to the most recent period of the history of the Black Sea, which continues with certain variations and interruptions to the present, and is characterised by

the turning of the Black Sea into part of the world's sea space, with shipping in its waters regulated by the norms of international maritime law. In the late 1830s and 40s, new commercial treaties were concluded between the Ottoman Empire and a number of European States, which rapidly changed the economic conditions in the Western Black Sea. The introduction of free trade and especially the manifold increase in the import and export of goods showed the growing role of the area and its ever fuller integration in the European economy and politics.

The economic and cultural unity formed in the area around the Black Sea in the time of the city-States, which was aided later on by the periodic imposition of a single political dominion, as in the years of the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires (at least until the 18th Century), was tested by national antagonism (in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Century) and was divided in the context of political blocks and economic alliances and interests (during the second half of the 20th Century in particular). However, the relations among the peoples of the region, although they did not acquire a stable political nature, were recorded in more productive and long-lasting situations: demographic expansion, economic activity, and cultural syncretism.

Demographic expansion is connected with one of the most basic phenomena of at least the modern history of our region. This concerns the repeated migrations, in different historical periods and for different reasons, mainly on the coast of the Black Sea, but also in large parts of the interior. These migrations - which in some cases at least developed into systematic settlements - were performed by almost all the populations of the area, many of whom formed the nucleus of the basic layer of the modern populations of the Black Sea countries. If we leave aside the well-known settlements of Greek antiquity and even the massive population movements of Eastern peoples during the Middle Ages (which drastically altered the ethnological map of the region), we can still mention a few examples from our modern history.

From the end of the 13th Century until the middle of the 20th Century, we witness repeated settlements and expulsions of Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Moldovans, Ukrainians, Russian, Crimean Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, Circassians, Abkhazians, Laz and Turks, to limit ourselves to the large or relatively large national units which move around the Black Sea. These settlements were caused for many reasons, at times war related (such as for example the repeated Russo-Turkish wars between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 20th Century, at times political (as happened with the colonisation policy of Russia in the 18th and 19th Centuries in the southern and southeastern provinces of the Tsarist empire), at times economic and social (for the pursuit of a better fate and more opportune areas for agricultural and trading activities).

This transhuman whirling around the sea of the Pontus was often connected to large tragedies and slaughters. Population exchanges in particular formed the exceptionally painful human price paid for the solution of the Eastern Question. In spite of their dramatic nature, however, these movements in the wider circle of the Black Sea region, whether obligatory or voluntary, also had positive results: firstly, the settlers and the natives, after an unavoidable period of adjustment, soon found a code of understanding and co-existence, which led to distribution of economic activity, and

consequently, productive cooperation among producers, manufactures, traders, consumers, and also craftsmen, who carried with them a long tradition of specialisation, such as the famous stone-carvers and bridge-builders of Georgia, Greeks from Santa in the Pontus.

In spite of this harmonisation or possibly forced convergence, the particular national groups maintained the basic characteristics of their national identity wherever they settled. Nevertheless, cultural differences did not hinder a more direct acquaintance among the ethnic groups. This view is not a stereotype, but a reality in many cases. One characteristic of that cultural mixture was that the inhabitants of some regions spoke two or more languages. I wish to remind you of the unusual Greco-Tatar dialect of the Greeks of the Crimea and especially of Mariupol, the corresponding Kiptchak dialect of the Armenians of the same region, the Turkish-speaking Greeks of Tchalka and the Gagauzi of Moldova, the Greek-speaking Moslems of the area of, the use of Ukrainian or Russian by the greater part of the Greeks of Ukraine and the Russian Federation, and other examples.

When historical conditions forced populations to interrupt this coexistence - often under exceptionally unpleasant conditions - the Armenians who moved from Greece to Armenia in 1945-47 brought there many aspects of Greek culture of the interwar period (besides the language), elements which are easily identified on the streets of Yerevan. Greeks, on the other hand, after leaving their ancient or modern homes, finally ended up Greece, and, in turn, brought with them a multitude of cultural elements, which, in the final analysis, were a productive insertion into modern and contemporary Greek culture. This acculturation is still taking place, with the addition to Greek society of both our fellow-nationals, who are coming for known reasons from the Commonwealth of Independent States, and their relatives who come from other ethnic groups.

However, beyond these picturesque elements (which certainly interest the ethnographer and the social anthropologist), there are other data with a greater duration and importance. One of these is the ease with which the Greeks who lived in the countries around the Black Sea, and those who still leave there and are definitively tied to the local societies, can support the opening of new channels of communication between the country of their ancestry, their previous country of origin, and their homeland today. This communication will contribute to the broadening of the knowledge that one people has of another, and, consequently to the reduction of misinterpretations and misunderstandings that characterised the relationships among many of us for many decades, with such unpleasant results for us.

In such development, the role of academic cooperation cannot avoid being of primary importance. In our days, the revolutionary changes which are taking place around us "challenge" us to undertake initiatives in this direction. This challenge might not last, as many of us imagine, forever, but might be lost as so many others were lost in the past. It is up to us, then, to respond positively to the challenges of our times. Let us make an effort for "globalisation" not to end as a one-way road, that is, the economic and cultural imposition of the stronger. Instead, let us help "globalisation", aid mutual understanding and respect for difference.

In Svetlovsk, a small village just outside Odessa, which was inhabited in the 18th Century by Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians and other settlers from what was then the Ottoman Empire, the Greek (as she defined herself) woman, Irini, lives with her Bulgarian (as she called him) husband. The ancestors of both of them lived at one time in Eastern Thrace, from which they moved to the then strong Russian Empire. When they are alone together, they "horatevoun" (this word means "joke" in modern Greek and in the Thracian Greek dialect, means "converse") in Greek. Their daughter "apeikazei" ("depicts" in modern Greek, but "understands" in Thracian dialect and ancient Greek) Greek. Their daughter has a Russian education, but she has to harmonise her steps with the new reality, to live peacefully with the populations that form the newly independent State of Ukraine.

And here we close. Is this a wish list or a hint at difficulties?

APPENDIX IV

The Greeks in the history curricula of the Black Sea countries

(Summary of information provided by the participants)

1. BULGARIA

Introduction

Bulgaria's history has always been closely bound up with that of the Greeks. The explanation is very simple and relates to the history of the lands on which the first Bulgarian State was founded in 681.

Firstly, reference should be made to the chalcolithic necropolis at Varna, on the Black Sea coast, which dates from about 4500 BC and which provides evidence of a remarkably advanced maritime civilisation with active contacts throughout the Black Sea and Mediterranean regions.

The Thracians then made a considerable impact on the history of these lands during the Hellenistic period, and had close contacts with classical Greek civilisation, as a result of the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea coast.

Later, these lands and peoples, with all their prehistoric, Hellenic and Hellenistic heritage, came within the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and, after its division in 395, remained part of the eastern Roman (after 476, Byzantine) Empire.

This was the heritage that the Barbarians discovered and partly destroyed during their invasions south of the Danube. But it was also the heritage that the Slavs assimilated during the decades of their colonisation of the Balkan peninsula, during the second half of the 6th century and the 7th century.

Finally, as this assimilation process reached its culmination, the Bulgarians settled on part of this territory and formed a union with the Slavs in the 680s.

The Bulgarians thus became the Greeks' immediate neighbours and the two nations' histories have been intertwined from that day to this. Their common history covers every possible aspect of relations between two states, culminating today in friendly cohabitation, within a European, as well as a Balkan, context.

CURRICULA AND SYLLABUSES

References to the history of the Greeks may, therefore, occur at all levels of history teaching in Bulgarian schools. This is the case with the last two years of primary education: years 7 and 8 (pupils aged 13 and 14).

- YEAR 7 – PRE-HISTORY AND ANCIENT HISTORY

The basic topic is the birth of human civilisation and its development until the end of antiquity. It covers the major western civilisations: Greek, Thracian and Roman. The history of the Bulgarian lands is introduced chronologically and thematically in the general course.

The main topics are people and nature, religion, the birth of the state, war and the cultural heritage of the ancient world.

- YEAR 8 – EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES

(As there are many areas where year 8 is taught in secondary school, this will be presented in detail)

The main topics:

Christian civilisation:

- the church;
- daily life and the search for God;
- the Christianisation of the barbarian world;
- the Christian world divided in two: the western church and the Pope, Orthodoxy (the Emperor and the Patriarch), the Christian slave world, Bulgaria's mission.

The barbarian world:

- the great barbarian invasions;
- Germans, Slavs and Bulgarians – daily life and contacts;
- the emergence of barbarian states – the Frankish state and the Bulgarian state.

The Byzantine civilisation:

- the notion of the Christian empire and its evolution;
- culture and spiritual life.

Islam:

- Islam – a new religion;
- the Islamic world – cities, trade and routes.

The great expansion:

- the Muslim expansion;
- the expansion of the Catholic world – the crusades;
- the search for new worlds – the great discoveries.

Mediaeval society:

- In England and France – those who fight, those who pray and those who work;
- in Byzantium and Bulgaria – mobility and hierarchy, service as a fundamental social imperative.

The textbooks:

For the 8th year class, there is a choice of two books. In both, Byzantium features prominently. The first contains 43 units, of which 13 concern the history of Byzantium properly speaking and 23 the history of Bulgaria, which is closely linked to Byzantine history. In the other, which has 39 units, the ratio is about the same, with 13 units devoted to Byzantium and 21 to Bulgaria. The remaining units in the two books cover the rest of Europe.

- YEAR 9 – MODERN TIMES – AND YEAR 10 – CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

There is considerable reference to the Greeks in the 9th year textbook, particularly in the context of the Ottoman domination, the national awakening and the national liberation struggles.

In the 10th year book, Greece is also mentioned, mainly in a Balkan context.

- YEAR 11 (final year) – HISTORY OF BULGARIA FROM PRE-HISTORY TO THE PRESENT DAY

As this is a general Bulgarian history course, after several years of European and world history, national history is presented in the context of the Balkans and Europe. The Greeks and their state, therefore, feature prominently on account of the links and overlaps in these Balkan and European dimensions.

The main topics:

Bulgarian lands in antiquity – combination of different cultures;
Bulgarians in the medieval world;
The foundations of the state;
The Ottoman Empire;

Bulgarians without a state;
Orthodoxy;
The Bulgarian national ideal;
Bulgaria at the time of national awakening;
The Bulgarian national problem: ideal and possibilities;
The Bulgarian head of state;
Bulgarian political parties;
The Bulgarian army;
The Bulgarian economy;
Bulgarian intellectuals;
Bulgaria and the great powers;
Bulgaria's geopolitical context over the centuries.

The textbooks (choice of three)

In two books, which contain 83 and 88 units, some 37 concern the Greeks during different periods of their history, particularly those relating to the middle ages.

2. GEORGIA

First of all, let me express my sincere thanks for our warm meeting, cordial hospitality and nice atmosphere here, under the leadership of the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs of Greece in Thessaloniki. Secondly, I hope that the Meeting of Experts on the theme "The Greeks in the history of the Black Sea" will be one more step in creating the history curricula for the Black Sea countries, which started so well in Constanta (Romania). Of course, our special thanks to the Council of Europe, which always supports such important events, like this one. I am happy to see again our colleagues from different countries whom I met in Constanta.

The history of studying Greek history, literature and language in Georgia has a very long tradition. But as we are rather limited in time, I will try to show you what is going on nowadays in Georgia in this direction.

In 1981, on the initiative of the President of Georgia, E. Shevardnadze, Modern Greek began to be taught again in secondary schools, where Greek students study. Up to 1990, 60 Greek schools were opened.

From 1987, at the Philological Faculty of Tbilisi State University, a department of modern Greek language and literature was founded. According to a decree of the Ministry of Education of Georgia, of 21 February 1996, the Greek language received the status of a foreign language. Headteachers of secondary schools have the right to include the Greek language in the teaching programmes of their schools. So, in several schools, Greek is already studied. For this reason, since 1995, textbooks were prepared and then published.

In cooperation with the National Foundation of Greece, Tbilisi State University is carrying out a special programme "Greek language in the secondary schools of Georgia". Also, there is a Greek secondary school No 91 in Tbilisi (Headteacher S. Chilingaridi).

According to a decree of the Rector of Tbilisi State University, Academician Roin Metrevelli, of 1 March 1997, at Tbilisi State University, the Institute of Classical Philology, Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies was founded. In this Institute, there are departments of Old Greek language, Byzantinology, Modern Greek language and literature; a special department studying the cultures of the Mediterranean. The last one is preparing to publish an encyclopedia on the "Caucasus in Antiquity". The Institute has a rich library in Greek and Latin philology containing about 30,000 books.

The Institute coordinates the programme "Greek language in the secondary schools of Georgia" and the activity of "Informational-Publishing Centre" "Logos". The Institute has strong financial support from the following Greek foundations: Onassis, Kastopulo, Greek Culture, National Foundation of Greece of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also the Ministries of Culture, Education and Defense, and, of course, the Universities of Athens, Thessaloniki and Ioanina and the Embassy of Greece in Tbilisi.

On the initiative of the Rector of Tbilisi State University, Academician Roin Metrevelli, and Professor Rismog Gordesiani, the Georgian Institute in Athens, which carries out research on Georgian-Greek historical relations, was founded.

The history of Greece is also studied in the Institute of History and Ethnography and in the Institute of Oriental Studies. The academic level in studying Greek history is reflected in secondary school textbooks. First information about the Greeks, their history and culture, Georgian pupils may find in the textbook of the 5th grade: "The Chronicles of my Homeland".

3. GREECE

In Greece, in the last two years, an important reform in state education is in progress. This reform includes the elaboration of new curricula for every subject. Especially, as regards history, the new curriculum has promoted a radical renewal of both the content and the aims of school history; so, apart from the target that aims at the construction of a national and cultural identity, there are others which are looking at shaping a spirit of modesty, tolerance and respect to the differences through the study of every civilisation and its contribution to the universal civilisation.

These aims are particularly serious as regards our relationship with the neighbouring peoples of the **Balkan Peninsula**, of **Asia Minor** and of the **Black Sea**, because they try to build bridges of communication among us, through our mutual understanding of our history and cultures.

According to this spirit, the new curriculum provides pupils with the ability to be informed about elementary items of the culture and the historical development of every people in the **Black Sea** and of their relationship with the **Greeks** who have lived or still live in their countries.

The knowledge that our pupils acquire about the Greek presence in the **Black Sea** areas begins with teaching ancient Greek mythology in elementary schools. In our mythology, there are myths about the expedition of the *Argonauts* who were trying to find and take the golden fleece, the marriage of *Jason* and *Medea* and other myths that refer not only to the overseas adventures of the Greek sailors in the **Black Sea** but also to the various friendly or hostile relationships with the nations that lived on its coasts. Moreover, the great financial and strategic importance of the **Black Sea** becomes clear to our pupils through the study of the poems of *Homer*: we explain to our pupils that the *Trojan War* was in fact a war about the control of the entrance to this important Sea.

Those myths about adventures in the **Black Sea** have inspired, as everybody knows, ancient Greek tragics, such as *Euripides*, whose tragedies are taught by the teachers of ancient Greek literature but have, nevertheless made a great contribution to the learning of history.

The first systematic contact of the Greek pupils with the history of the **Black Sea** territories, takes place, anyway, when they study the Greek colonisation of the archaic period and its various financial, political and cultural consequences. A deeper understanding of the history of the **Mediterranean world** during Antiquity increases on the realisation that the cultural osmosis among the peoples who have met each other, been at war and, in every way, lived together with the Greek colonists, became the basis of the striking development of the **eastern Mediterranean** in ancient times.

The first approach to the relationships between the **Greeks** and the peoples of the **Black Sea** during the period of colonisation is enriched later by the occasional reference to the same area during the study of the wars between the **Greeks** and the **Persians** in the 5th Century BC. A well known passage from the history of *Xenophon* (Kyrou Anavasis)

speaks about the enthusiasm of the *Myrii*, the Greek soldiers, at the unexpected view of the **Black Sea**, when they, chased by the **Persians**, managed to reach the coast of **Trapezus**. Their cry "*Here is the Sea, the Sea*" was one of joy and thanksgiving to God for their rescue. In the books of the same historian, our pupils read that, in 401 BC, on the south coast of the **Black Sea**, apart from **Trapezus**, other Greek cities existed as well, such as **Amisos, Sinopi, Kotyora, Kerasous**.

The expedition of *Alexander the Great* developed even more the Greek cultural presence at the **Asia Minor** side of the **Black Sea**. Several centuries later, during the period of Roman expansion, the king of **Pontos**, *Mithridates*, was portrayed as *Alexander* and presented himself as his descendant.

As regards the history of the Medieval period, our curriculum prescribes the teaching of the historical and cultural development of every **Balkan people**, as well as of the **Russians** before and after conversion, their relations and cultural interactions and the relations between them and the **Byzantine Empire**. At the same time, our pupils study the emergence of **Islam** as a new international power (622-850 AD). In this framework, the Greek presence in the area of the **Black Sea** is connected to the exercise of Byzantine diplomacy and the attempt for political, financial and cultural expansion. So, we speak about the marriage of Princess *Anna*, a "born in the purple" sister of the Byzantine Emperor, *Vasilius the Second*, to the Russian leader *Vladimir* in 989 AD, mainly because this marriage was associated with the conversion of the **Russian people** and to an alliance between the two leaders. The visit and settlement of Greek intellectuals and artists, especially painters of icons, to Slavic countries is presented to our pupils as an example of the close cultural relations developed among the peoples of the **Balkan peninsula** and the **Black Sea**.

The **Empire of Trapezus**, founded just after the conquest of **Constantinople** by the Crusaders of the 4th Crusade in 1204, lived and flourished for a period of more than two and a half centuries until it was conquered by the troops of *Mehmet 2nd the Conqueror* in 1461. This is another important subject about the history of the **Greeks** who lived in **Pontos**. And the date, 1461, is indeed a landmark for Greek history, as it was then that the Ottoman occupation of the former Byzantine areas was completed.

As far as modern history is concerned, the Greek presence in the areas around the **Black Sea** mentioned in the chapter about the Modern Greek Diaspora and the Emigrant Greeks, was written by a prominent Greek Professor of History, *John Hassiotis*, the Chair of our meeting. In this chapter, Professor *Hassiotis* gives interesting information about:

- the movements of **Greeks** from **Constantinople** and **Trapezus** to the northern **Balkan countries** and especially the **Romanian Principalities** during the period of the Ottoman occupation;
- the massive migrations of Greeks during the Revolution of 1821 to **southern Russia**, where cities with an important Greek presence already existed, such as **Odessa** and **Mariupolis** (now Ukraine);

- the first massive flight of the **Greeks** from **Pontos** just after the end of the war between **Russia** and the **Ottoman Empire** in 1828-29 towards the **Yperkafkasia** and the establishment of many Greek villages in **Georgia**, especially in the area of Tsalkas;
- the development (from the middle of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 20th Century) of the Greek agrarian establishments in **Antikafkasos** and the emergence of new communities on the eastern and northern coasts of the **Black Sea** from **Pontos** to **southern Russian** areas during and mostly after the end of the **Crimean** war and of the war between **Russia** and the **Ottoman Empire** in 1877-1878;
- the new exodus of the **Greeks** towards **Kafkasos** and **southern Russia** after the October revolution and the difficulties the Greeks faced under **Soviet rule**;
- finally, the circumstances under which a large number of **Greeks** from the **States of the former Soviet Union** are returning to **Greece**.

In addition to this chapter, several references to the **Greeks** of the **Black Sea** are given during the study of other historical matters such as the history of refugees. This is a subject, which is sensitive and painful for modern Greek history.

The importance of the history of the **Greeks in the Black Sea** is so important to our national history that our **Ministry of Education** has constituted a Special **Committee** whose task is to put forward proposals on the introduction of the history and culture of the **Greeks from Pontos** in the history curriculum. According to the recommendation of this Committee, of which I am honoured to be a member, our Ministry of Education has decided that a special chapter on this subject should be written in order for it to be taught to our pupils from the next schoolyear.

Ladies and gentlemen, to us the history of **Pontos** is a precious piece of our history, just the way it is for all of you. That waves of the **Black Sea** have rocked, inspired, horrified, enriched generations of our ancestors, whose struggle for existence, whose hopes, fears and visions are to all of us a priceless inheritance which we have to preserve and increase.

I hope that this meeting today will be a decisive step in this direction. This Sea, that we call **Black**, can be, if we respect and honour the great civilisation that has flourished along its coasts as a result of the contribution of our ancestors, a luminous lighthouse for the rest of **Europe** and the whole **world**.

This Sea can be a worldwide example of what exactly its ancient Greek name means: a most hospitable sea (**Black Sea**).

4. MOLDOVA

Two history courses are taught at pre-university level in Moldova, in both junior and senior secondary schools: international history and national (Romanian) history.

The information provided here relates to subjects by school years rather than by courses.

Junior Secondary

In year 5 (ancient history), the syllabus includes material on the Greek colonies on the coast to the west of the Euxin Bridge and the colonialists' relations with neighbouring peoples, including the Geto-Dacian kingdoms.

Only two subjects cover the Roman Empire of the 1st and 2nd Centuries and the Eastern Roman Empire.

The national history course includes one complete topic: the Dacian-Roman wars and the latter's conquest of the former, Roman domination of this area and the Romanisation of the Geto-Dacians, the spread of Christianity and its role in the Romanisation process.

In the "**ancient world**" section of the international history curriculum, a whole chapter is devoted to the history of ancient Greece, including the nature, population and economic and political organisation of Hellenic civilisation.

The year 6 mediaeval history course includes several topics relating to the history of neighbouring countries:

- the eastern Roman Empire (6th-9th centuries);
- Russia in the Kiev era;
- the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan people's struggles against Ottoman invasion;
- Transcaucasus from the 9th Century to the 13th Century.

The course includes the history of the medieval Romanian countries and their relations with the Ottoman Porte; Poland, Muscovite Russia and the grand duchy of Lithuania. Entire sections are devoted to the Ottoman régimes, and to the Russo-Turkish and Austro-Turkish wars in the Romanian countries and their consequences.

The year 7 modern history course includes the Russo-Turkish wars in the 18th and 19th Centuries, the annexation of Georgia and Bessarabia, the Greek liberation movement and the formation of the Greek state.

The history of the Romanians is taught as a separate subject:

- Tsarist Russian expansionist trends in the Balkans;
- Tudor Vladimirescu's uprising (1821) in the context of pressure from the Ottoman and Russian empires; relations with the eterists;
- the international legal status of Moldavia and the Romanian countries in the 1830s and 40s.

The modern period continues to be studied in year 8.

The curriculum includes Russian history, the Balkan peoples' national liberation struggle, the revolution of the Turks of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan wars. The national history course covers the following:

- the union of the Romanian countries (1859) and the great powers;
- Romanian independence;
- Romania and its distant territories in the opening years of the First World War;
- international recognition of the Great Union, 1918.

Contemporary history is studied in year 9. The curriculum includes several major topics:

- history of the First and Second World Wars;
- Soviet Russia;
- Bulgaria, Romania and Albania;
- the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its consequences.

The Romanian history course covers the following topics:

- Romania's foreign policy between the wars;
- Romania's relations with its neighbours 1939-41;
- Romania and Bessarabia during the Second World War;
- the foreign policies of Romania and Moldova in the current period.

Upper Secondary

At upper secondary level, history continues to be taught as an essentially humanist discipline, focusing on human beings and human activities. There are two main branches at this level, international and national history.

Year 10 focuses on the fundamental problems of ancient and medieval history, focusing on:

- the Geto-Dacian period and Greek civilisation;
- the international relations of Burebista's state. The Romanian-Dacian confrontation and its consequences.

In the area of political problems, pupils study the forms of government of mediaeval Romanian institutions and Byzantine and western influences.

The Greek *polis* is used to illustrate the organisation of the state in antiquity.

Other topics include the strengthening of the position of Moldavia and the Romanian countries in the anti-Ottoman front, the establishment of Ottoman sovereignty and the various forms the latter took.

The medieval international context includes the Romanian countries as theatres of military operations between Russians, Austrians and Turks, and their consequences. Similarly, the question of sovereignty and protectorates exercised by neighbouring empires is studied with reference to the Russian Empire's colonial policy in Bessarabia.

Two 18th Century issues receive separate attention:

- the Phanariote dominated régime with its positive and negative aspects;
- early Christianity.

One further topic requires a synoptical approach:

- the Black Sea – economic and cultural centre.

The modern period is dealt with in year 11. Pupils study the political and diplomatic moves that led to recognition of full union in 1859, including neighbouring countries' attitudes towards these events: the 1878 peace treaties and international recognition of Romania's independence, and the participation of Romanian armies in the liberation of Bulgaria, which was under Ottoman domination.

In connection with the early 20th Century, the following topics are studied:

- Romania's participation in the Balkan wars;
- the great powers' expansionist policy in the Balkans;
- Romania and Bessarabia in the First World War: problems of neutrality, declaration of war and participation in hostilities.

A synoptical approach is adopted to the following topic:

- the Black Sea as an area of confrontation.

Contemporary history is studied in year 12, under the following headings:

- Romania in the inter-war period; the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its consequences for Romania; the establishment of the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente as devices for preserving European peace;
- Romania between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente;
- Romania and its distant territories (1939-40);

- Bessarabia's occupation by the Soviet Union;
- the problem of Bessarabia in Romanian-Soviet relations.

The international history course includes:

- the history of the USSR;
- the change of political régimes and the economic transformation of Romania, Albania and Bulgaria from the late 1980s to 1990;
- current-day events in the Balkans.

This part of the curriculum requires an analysis of Romania's relations with Moldova and its current foreign policy.

Finally, reference should be made to the trend in curricula to move step by step towards a dynamic and flexible model totally adapted to current changes.

5. ROMANIA

"The Greeks and their role in the Black Sea Area in the Romanian history curriculum"

Located, as the Romanians, in the South-Eastern part of Europe, the Greeks played, as we know, an important part in this unique historical area.

In Romania, starting with 1994-1995, some history curricula that include our national history in world history have been discussed and approved. In primary school, the general topics (of course at the adequate level of understanding) and local history are emphasised.

Hence, the new curricula and the alternative history textbooks in Romania are trying to present, as close to reality as possible, the role of the Greeks in this part of Europe.

In junior high-school (12-15 years), history is taught chronologically, preparing the students for the 8th grade when they will study the history of the Romanian people, which is a compulsory subject, in the examination at the end of 8th grade.

Starting with this school year, these new alternative history textbooks have been approved, after long debates on the issue, in high school as well. Now, the teachers and students have a variety of textbooks from which they can choose the one that best suits their interest. The Greeks are mentioned more than once in the new history curricula.

Concerning Ancient History, the Greek historians Herodotus and Strabo are mentioned as people who provided a great deal of information on the rulers and populations in the north of the Danube. Also, there is a special interest for the economic activity, the political hierarchy, the social life and the contacts that the Greek communities from Tomis, Hitria and Callatis (on the nowadays Romanian territory) had with the natives on the shores of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus). For the students in Dobrudja, the archaeological sites that are testimony of the old Greek colonies provide excellent material for the classes on local history.

In this manner, in the 5th grade (11-12 years), on Ancient Greece, students in Romania study the way this area evolved until the Roman conquest, emphasising the contacts between the Greek colonies on the Black Sea shores and the local population at that time, and then with the Byzantine Empire.

Regarding the Middle Ages, the Greeks are presented in the new history curriculum under more than one aspect: as promoters of the Orthodox Religion in the Balkans under the leadership of Byzantium, the rich gifts offered by the Romanian local princes at Mount Athos, the testimonies of Greek travellers that passed through the area. In the 6th grade (13 years), students in Romania analyse the structure of the Byzantine Empire, and, as a study on a specific topic, the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks.

Starting with the 17th Century, many Greeks passed through Moldavia and Valachia and settled here and, in time, became important political, cultural and economic icons. This is why there have been numerous cases of rejection towards them coming from the local population and nobles.

In recent times, the Greeks played a major role in the Romanian Principalities for almost a century as they dominated from 1711/1716 to 1821, the period also known as The Age of Phanariotes.

So, the local princes in present-day Romania were, in most cases, members of families of Greek origin-Mavrocordatos, Ipsilantis, Karagea. Although they mostly stood out by the major growth of the financial pressure, the Phanariot princes played an important part in political and economic innovation. This period is described very well in the history textbooks in topics such as: The Balance of Power in the Balkans in the 19th Century or Greek-Romanian Relations in Modern Times.

During the 1821 revolution in Valachia, its leader, Tudor Vladimirescu, established contact with Alexander Ipsilantis and his organisation, Hetairia Philike, for the purpose of a joint effort against the Turks. In the 19th Century, the Greeks are mentioned as skilled craftsmen and salesmen in cities such as: Jassy, Bucharest, Siebenburgen, Kronstadt, Braila and Galatz.

In the 8th grade, students in Romania study George Bratianu's view of the Black Sea's role in history. He is one of the few that researched the importance of the Black Sea throughout history and he paid with his life for his political and economic views as he came to a tragic end in the Communist period.

In high school, the new curricula that were approved in 1999 and came into use for history teachers at the beginning of this school year, contain topics that touch the tips of Greek history. Here, we only list some of them: Models of Political Organisation in Ancient Greece and Byzantium and Islam (9th grade). There is also a thesis on the Grand Sanctuaries-Olimpya, Epidaurus and Delphi. In the last classes of high school, there are no specific issues devoted to Greek history, for these are to be found in topics such as: European Diplomacy, from Raison d'Etat to the balance of power; the Ottoman Empire in Europe - the Eastern Question.

6. RUSSIAN FEDERATION

"How is the presence of Greeks reflected in the school History curricular of Russia"

Dr. N. Gorokhovatskaya

In present day Russia, there is at least one area directly historically connected with Greece – the region of Sochi, the Black sea-side area in the south of the country.

The Sochi region represents one of the most complicated regions of Russia in terms of its ethno-political situation. Its population of 450,000 people is very multicultural and consists of more than 100 nationalities. The five major cultures are: Russian, Georgian, Armenian, Alanian and Greek. Each of them possesses its own values, traditions, historical roots. Nearly 5,000 people of Greek nationality live in Sochi.

The local education authorities, taking into account the peculiarities of the region, developed a special programme called "National School in the Sochi region" which laid the ground for the creation and functioning of national schools.

In response to the demands of the Greek community of the region, special schools profited in Greek studies were set up. At present, there are six schools of that kind in Sochi working with programmes which include studies of: Greek language and literature; national and religious traditions of Greece; Greek music and drama. It should be mentioned that all these activities are carried out with the help of Greek partners, by Greek organisations such as the Secretariat General on issues of Greeks abroad, the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

In the region of Sochi, an influential organisation was established in 1989 – the Greek society "Enosi" which supports Greek studies by offering books, equipment as well as in-service training for teachers involved in the process.

However, studies of Greek history are mostly conducted in accordance with the State standards of the Russian Federation and with the use of the same textbooks and study materials that are available for the rest of Russia.

Concerning Greece, the major focus is still on the history of ancient times which constitutes a part (18 hours) of the 68-hour course "History of the ancient world" offered to 5th grade pupils in secondary school (11-12 years).

For many years now, the course of ancient Greek history has been taught with the help of the textbook "History of the Ancient World" written by Vigasin, Goder, Svetsitskaya. Within the theme "History of Ancient Greece", the following topics are covered:

- early Greece (nature, population, crafts, ancient States of Crete, Mikens; the Trojan war; religion, mythology, poems "Illiade" and "Odyssey");

- polises (cities-states) (development of agriculture and crafts, origin and development of Athens; notions of demos and aristocracy; Solon reforms; freedom and slavery; Sparta, Greek colonies, Greek-Persian wars);
- Hellenism (the rise of Macedonia, its army, the loss of Greek independence, Alexander the Great's empire and its collapse);
- culture (the development of sciences, education, literature, theatre, sports).

All these elements are present in the textbook mentioned. A number of slide and video materials are available for use in teaching such topics as architectural monuments, the Olympic games etc.

The textbook is being continuously improved. The way in which the material is selected and presented is considered by the users to be appropriate for the age-range of pupils. It contains a lot of illustrations, maps, additional documental material and an important element: a set of tasks. For example, one can find in the textbook a task such as: Imagine that you are in ancient Athens; describe the way you arrived there and what you see around you; make presentations of people whom you meet; compose a story about your trip to ancient Athens. As a rule, pupils are very enthusiastic about this kind of task, they write wonderful stories and illustrate them themselves.

At present, in addition to the textbook, there are working notebooks available which support the material presented in the textbook with a series of exercises and tasks for the autonomous work of a pupil.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the history of ancient Greece has always been very attentively and thoroughly studied in Russia and that it represents a period of great interest for Russian students and scholars.

There is another course offered to pupils in secondary school - "The World Art Culture"- which contains a lot of material on the historical and cultural development of Greece in ancient times. The course is optional.

But, most schools in Russia introduce it into their curricula. The course is supported by sets of textbooks and working notebooks.

Unfortunately, the same quantity and quality of material could not be found in teaching Greek history at the next stages of historical studies in Russian schools. After the profound encounter with ancient Greece, we come back to the issue of its history only in the general course on Western European history which is split into three parts:

1. The History of the Middle Ages (50 hours at secondary school). Within the course, there is no special topic on Greek history, but it is partly dealt with in the studies of the Byzantine empire where the issues of culture, religion and political structure are covered.

2. The History of New Times or New History (50 hours at secondary school) covering the development of Western European countries in the period of the 16th-19th Centuries. In this course, Greece is present in the "International Relations" part referring to the 18th-19th Centuries where the following topics are covered:
 - the struggle of Greece for independence in the 19th Century in connection with the role of Russia, Great Britain and France; the liberation of Greece in 1821 and the proclamation of its independence in 1822.
3. Modern History of the 20th Century (34 hours at secondary school). In this course, we meet Greece again in the part devoted to International Relations in connection with the Balkan wars of 1912-1913.

The first world war; the fascist dictatorship started in 1934; occupation in 1940 and liberation in 1944.

That is practically all that is taught concerning Greece within the course of Western European history.

However, in the course of Russian history, there are also a number of topics related to Greece and its history.

Thus, in the course of Russian history of the 9th-14th Centuries period (33 hours at secondary school), the relations of Russia with Byzantium are studied involving the establishment of diplomatic relations and the spread of Greek culture and language in Russia together with the adoption of Christianity.

Also, while covering the period of the Russian-Turkish wars of the 18th-19th Centuries, the so-called "Greek project" of Catherine II is studied which supposed the support of orthodox states of the region, the re-establishment of their independence, the creation of a new Byzantine-type empire.

The Russian support of the Greek struggle for independence in 1821-1822 is also covered.

Concerning Greek history in the 20th Century, there is practically no information in the course on Modern Russian History, though it should be mentioned that the relations between the two countries represent quite a complicated and, until now, not properly presented topic which surely deserves special attention and evaluation from both sides.

At the end of this presentation, it seems appropriate to quote the words of the first Vice-Minister of Education of the Russian Federation, Professor A. Kiselev, who unfortunately was not able to attend this meeting who says: "We consider Greece as the cradle of European civilisation, where, for the first time in human history, the ideas of

state and democracy were brought into being and which laid the foundation for cultural and social development of the contemporary world".

That is why cooperation with Greece within the Council of Europe Initiative is important for us and the projects bringing together our specialists are very welcome.

7. UKRAINE

History curriculum in Ukraine

National curriculum - the 16 tuition hours for the History of Ancient Greece are assigned in the Sixth Form.

In particular, such themes as the following are studied:

- Nature and population;
- Culture (including religion);
- Formation of the Athenian State;
- Great Greek colonisation;
- Athenian democracy;
- The Empire of Alexander of Macedonia;
- Hellenism and so on.

When teaching the history of Greek civilisation, Ukrainian teachers pay special attention to its role in the spiritual and cultural improvement of humankind as well as to relations with others peoples.

It is natural that Greek colonisation and the foundation of City-states (polises) on the Northern Coast of the Black Sea are of special interest to Ukrainian students.

More than 30 Greek City-states, existed within the modern borders of Ukraine in 8th - 4th Centuries BC.

The largest of them were:

- Chersones (Sevastopol);
- Pantikapey (Kerch);
- Olvia;
- Feodosiya.

Mention is also made about the Greek "polises" in other countries of the Black Sea:

- Bizantiy (Turkey);
- Lipolonia (Bulgaria);
- Istria (Romania);
- Dioskurida and Fasis (Georgia).

Also, one of the objectives of the Ukrainian National Curriculum is to study Greek History in the 19th - 20th Centuries.

This material is included in the coursebooks.

Thus special attention is paid to the liberation movement for State independence of Greece and to its role in the Balkan Wars, the First and the Second World Wars, and in modern world developments.

All of us understand, that history is more than just the study of names and dates. History in Ukraine is also taught as a way of searching and sifting evidence as well as developing an appreciation of different periods and cultures. At last we teach history as a way of making sense of the present.

We really have a good tradition of seeing the past which may contribute to people living peacefully together in a multicultural society.

The reflection of the Greek presence in the region of the Black Sea in our school history curricula is a good example of such seeing.

We consider that Greek city-states on the Northern Coast of the Black Sea such as Olvie, Hersones, Ponticapey can soon be regarded as a good pattern of pluralistic and multicultural society.

We can now pay more attention to learning this theme, because recent political and social changes in our country have led to significant changes in our school history curricula. That is why only nowadays can we really appreciate the importance of studying such Greek values as democracy, pluralism, tolerance and so on.

As in many countries of Europe, we have two courses which touch the questions of the Greeks' presence in our country and the Greeks' influence on our history. The first one is world history (I mean the indirect way of influence) and the second one - the History of Ukraine (I mean direct way).

I would like to note, that during the second course, we pay much attention, not only to the presence of ancient Greeks on the territory of our country. We appreciate also the influence which was brought about by the Byzantine Empire.

As you know, for two centuries, Kiev had close ties with the Byzantine Empire, but, on the other hand, it was a strong bulwark of Greek political and social culture.

Ancient Ukrainians adopted the Greek religion (I mean Orthodox Christianity) as well as their written literature.

It was through Kiev that Christianity spread to the territory of modern Ukraine, Belorussia and Russia.

The adoption of Orthodox Christianity (in Ukraine it is sound Greek) was the important event of the early history of Kiev Rus. Through the Church, Greek culture influenced literature, art, laws, customs and architecture of Kievous Rus (enough to mention the copy of Constantinople's St. Sophia Cathedral, which was built under the rule of Yaroslav the Wise, 1037).

Orthodoxy also helped unify the Kievous Rus with a common religion.

But, in addition, Ukraine stayed outside the Roman Catholic Church and thus was isolated from the Latin civilisation of Western Europe. However, we understand well and really appreciate the contribution of the Greek presence in our Heritage at the political, cultural, spiritual, linguistic, ethnographic level. And I hope we shall mention it always!

APPENDIX V

REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS

2 December 1999

Working group 1

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Chair: | Dr. Paata Ramishvili (Georgia) |
| Rapporteur: | Dr. Natalia Gorokhovatskaya (Russia) |
| Resource person: | Emmanuele Curti (UK/Italy) |
| Participants: | Anastasia Kyrkini (Greece) |
| | Tatiana Tzvetkova (Euroclio) |
| | Sarris Kostas (Greece) |

The participants of the working group were be asked to compare the different approaches in teaching history in the Black Sea area:

- multicultural approach in teaching the history of the Black Sea area;
- sensitive and controversial issues;
- ethnocentric approach;
- criteria of selection of information for lessons.

The key-word of the discussion was "balance".

We all agreed that, in teaching the history of the Black Sa area and in working out the teaching pack supporting the course, a multicultural approach should be implemented both in the process of selection of material, in which all the countries should have their share, and in the content of the final product where the approaches existing in our countries should be taken into account.

This is a complicated matter, but, at the same time, an important factor of success. We all agreed that, to a certain extent in teaching history in our countries, the ethnocentric approach prevails. Hence the first point which needs careful balancing is the ratio of national and international issues which have to be covered in the Black Sea history course.

At the same time, we agreed that to kill local history means to kill your identity so we have to be very careful about it especially taking into account the fact that national history grows from local, and international in its turn from national. So the suggestion is to introduce an approach which would present national history issues in close connection with a broader context.

The practical suggestion is the following: to introduce into the teaching pack a small ethnographical volume of materials which would represent the variety of peoples living in the region.

Coming to the sensitive and controversial issues, we tried to find another balance: between the national desire to glorify the history of one's own country and the need to respect other countries' approaches; very close to it there is the need to balance "positive" and "negative" elements in history teaching. By this we mean that we should concentrate not so much on contradictions but rather on the development of relations because we believe that pupils should be aware of the problems and the ways they were solved in the past. But most important for them is to learn that historical development is evolutionary and such qualities as tolerance and respect towards each other have to be present in dealing with disputable issues.

So we agreed that controversial and sensitive issues have to be present in the course of history teaching but we have to handle them with care taking into account the age of our pupils and their readiness to understand complex problems.

A practical suggestion is to publish additional materials on controversial issues in the form of small booklets which could be used as appendices of supplementary materials to the generally used textbooks.

The next point of our discussion was the "criteria of selection of information for lessons". Here, the first point where we were again looking for balance was the huge amount of material available and the need to make a proper selection of it which would be relevant for the particular course.

It was also our suggestion that, in the course presented in the teaching pack, it is worthwhile concentrating on the issues of modern and contemporary history but a certain amount of historical background should be present as well.

In our discussion, we also identified the need to balance the use of written sources and of material objects such as archaeological findings.

Finally, we all agreed that the perspective to work out the united history of the Black Sea region is challenging and fruitful and we would gladly contribute to this process.

2 December 1999

Working group 2

Chair and Rapporteur: Mr. Mihai Manea (Romania)

Resource person: Zosia Archibald (UK)

**Participants: Maria Benova (Bulgaria)
Doru Dumitrescu (Romania)
Daniela Buga (Moldova)
James Wimberley (Council of Europe)**

The participants were asked to reflect on the similarities in the history curricula for secondary schools teaching about the history of the Black Sea area:

- what periods of history of the Black Sea area are presented in school curricula;
- the role of the Black Sea in the European history;
- what changes could be done in the curricula concerning the history of the Black Sea area.

The participants were asked to reflect on the similarities in the history curricula for secondary-school teaching about the history of the Black Sea e.g. what periods of history of the Black Sea are presented in school curricula; the role of the Black Sea in European history; what changes could be made to the history curricula concerning the history of this area.

The participants started the discussion by identifying the causes and effects of the events in general. They asked themselves about the role of a MODEL in history. They focused on the major periods of history in this area: the Greek Age, the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the present-day period (19th - 20th Century period).

The participants stressed the unique role of the Black Sea on the periphery of Europe although the frontier of our continent moves further to the East. The Black Sea area is a cross-roads between East and Europe, between Christianity and Islam. So, in this area, an exceptional mixture of languages and knowledge took place during history.

The participants agreed that a purely ethnic label on this area can be used starting only with the 19th – 20th Century when national identity was more strongly revealed. The Black Sea was an area where contacts between land and sea were active and fruitful.

The participants in the group stressed the comparison between the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea according to the main trends in these periods. It is necessary to underline the dominant trends of each of these periods in the Black Sea area, e.g. in the Middle Ages-Christianity and the Ottoman Empire.

The participants discussed the impact of all these ideas for students and the link between the past and the present. Some proposals on topics for the curricula such as everyday life in some areas during the Greek Age or the Ottoman Empire. On the Black Sea history, we know more about the Northern, Eastern and Western parts than the Southern parts where information is still lacking.

The participants in the discussions agreed that the history of the Greeks influenced not only the peoples in the Black Sea area but the Mediterranean as well. Their heritage is tremendous for world civilization. Some practical aspects on these topics can be used for the teaching pack as well.

2 December 1999

Working group 3

Chair and Rapporteur: Andriy Osmolovskyy (Ukraine)

**Participants: George Machabeli (Georgia)
Gheorghe Corovai (Moldova)
Pavlo Polianskiy (Ukraine)
Tatiana Milko (Council of Europe)**

The participants were asked to discuss teaching methods and how the history of the Black Sea area is presented in textbooks and make their proposals for changes or improvements:

- how photos, maps, documents, films, video etc can be used in teaching the history of the Black Sea area;
- how the history of the Black Sea area should be presented in the textbooks on history for secondary schools.

In the course of the discussions, there have been different approaches to answering the questions, which were put to working group 3. But, at least, all the participants were unanimous at the start, that there is a close connection between modern approaches to teaching the history of the Black Sea area, school history curricula and the speciality of the teaching methods.

The participants pointed out that textbooks on history for secondary schools should prepare pupils to live peacefully together in a multicultural society. They should be ready to compare different points of views of the same events and the processes, which took place in the past.

On the other hand, school history curricula must foresee clear and convincing examples of cooperation between the people of neighbouring countries.

The working group considered that the textbooks should develop the friendly awareness of pupils and form constructive pluralistic opinions. Textbooks must reflect the existence of disputable issues in the history of the region and stimulate students' critical thinking. They should also present how people experienced history in different ways. That is why teaching the history of the Black Sea area should encourage interactive methods, which enhance historical skills, that can prepare students for better understanding of the past, teach them how to evaluate the present and successfully use their historical experience, such as the analysis of events and documentation, evaluation and interpretation of information, public debates, creation and defence of collective projects, civic activity, which are directed to the solution to the region's global problems.

At the end of the discussion the participants made the following proposals which are to:

1. consider worthwhile the continuation of the cooperation of experts on searching for balanced visions of the history of Black Sea area;
2. correlate (bring together or adjust) the approaches to the same events and processes of the region in national courses of history;
3. state that the reflection of the Greek presence in the Black Sea area in school history curricula is fully presented;
4. prepare a package of materials (teaching resources) together with the Council of Europe on the problems of:
 - the cultural interrelations of Black Sea peoples;
 - conflicts in the region and their consequences;
 - tendencies of international processes in the region;
 - solving the global problems that face the States of the region.

3 December 1999

Working group 1

Chair: **Emmanuele Curti (UK/Italy - speaker)**

Rapporteur: **Paata Ramishvili (Georgia)**

Participants: **Anastasia Kyrkini (Greece)**
 Doru Dumitrescu (Romania)
 George Machabeli (Georgia)
 Alexios Savvidis (Greece)
 Gheorghe Corovai (Moldova)
 Sarris Kostas (Greece)
 Tatiana Tzvetkova (EUROCLIO)
 Adelaide Ismirliadou (Greece)
 George Machabeli (Georgia)

The participants were asked to discuss the image of each and every one of the peoples of the Black Sea area in history textbooks.

The participants of Working Group 1, before starting the discussions on the topic: "The image of each and everyone of the peoples of the Black Sea area in history textbooks", listened to an interesting presentation by Mr. Alexios Savvides (Hellenic National Research Foundation at Athens) on the theme: "Convergence of cultural assimilation". The example of the Georgian, Chani, in Byzantine Empire of the Grand Commeni of Pontus-Trabizond. Most Byzantinists and medievalists in general believe that the Chans were assimilated in the Greek environment of Byzantine Pontos since their Christianisation by Justinian I in the middle of the 6th Century. The assimilation, however, does not mean extinction: we have definite proof provided by medieval sources (both Byzantine-Greek and Oriental) that Chans continued to exist and played a significant role within the context of the Byzantine Empire, especially at the time of the Grand Commeni of Trabizond. In the Byzantine Pontic texts, they survive "mountaineering bands of the Matruhas and Chaldaeos". The participants considered that the presentation of Mr. A. Savvidis is a new avenue in the research on Greek-Georgian historical relations.

The Chair of the Working Group, Dr. E. Curti, opened the discussion on the topic: how should the modern history of the Black Sea countries be written, especially, after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Mr. G. Machabeli considered that several topics should be chosen, e.g. cultural or economic aspects in the relations of the Black Sea countries and a comprehensive history of each of them.

Dr P. Ramishvili presented a brief outline of what is included in Georgian national textbooks about the Black Sea countries from the pre-historic period up to 1991.

Mr Gh. Corovai analysed what has been done for the creation of the new generation textbooks in Moldova. On the question of Ms T. Tzvetkova concerning how the history of Bulgaria is studied in Moldova, Mr Gh. Corovai answered that it is widely presented in the national and world history textbooks. Mr Corovai also answered the question of Dr E. Curti about the differences in the histories of Moldova and Romania. In fact, both of these countries have the same historical roots and their developments run in parallel up to the 19th Century. Separation started when Bessarabia was included in the Russian Empire, and afterwards, in Soviet times, received the name of Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova.

Mr D. Dumitrescu informed the participants about those problems which are topical in Romanian history textbooks, e.g. focusing not only on the chronological aspects, but on their thematic composition.

Dr P. Ramishvili proposed including some information about Georgian history in the forthcoming Moldovan and Romanian textbooks.

Mr A. Savvidis evaluated positively the recently published Moldovan textbook presented by Mr Gh. Corovai, which was created by the historians of the Department of Medieval Studies at the State University of Chisinau.

Ms A. Ismirliadou stated that the newly compiled textbooks in Greece have improved the image of their neighbours, but there are still many topics which should be revised.

Ms A. Kyrkini reviewed some Greek history textbooks. Authors are trying to avoid negative characteristic or stereotypes of other peoples, nations or countries. According to Ms Kyrkini, the image of other peoples of the Black Sea area is positive. In cases of wars, the reasons of enmity or violent actions are not attributed to ordinary people, but to leaders or ruling systems: totalitarianism, absolutism, etc. Among the peoples of the Black Sea area, the history and the culture of Orthodox Christians are presented in more detail than the history of other religions. In the new history curriculum in Greece, information about all neighbouring peoples will be presented substantially, especially in the schools.

Summarising the debate in Working Group 1, it clearly emerged from various interventions that it is difficult to write a history of people using as a definition the concept of modern nations. Too often, in fact, the term of modern nation is recent, while the history of ethnic groups can be of considerable antiquity. Furthermore, within definitions of ethnicities, we can use ancient and modern parameters to distinguish between terms and labels as they have been used in the past from contemporary entities. Therefore, we need to clarify our terms of reference at the start of any discussion on this matter.

3 December 1999

Working group 2

Chair: **Zosia Archibald (UK - speaker)**

Rapporteur: **Daniela Buga (Moldova)**

Participants: **Natalia Gorokhovatskaya (Russia)**
 Mihai Manea (Romania)
 Maria Benova (Bulgaria)
 Markos Christodoulopoulos (Greece)
 Pavlo Polianskiy (Ukraine)
 Andriy Osmolovsky (Ukraine)
 James Wimberley (Council of Europe)

The participants were asked to discuss the image of each and every one of the peoples of the Black Sea area from the point of view of teaching practice.

During the discussions on criteria, the position of the teacher and teaching methods, members of the working group suggest:

- providing an objective evaluation of the effectiveness of decisions taken and results achieved;
- introducing more democratic processes, and democratic developments;
- involving the humanistic character in education,
- using protection and development with the help of the education system of national cultures and traditions;
- making use of the Internet, CD-ROM and new technologies;
- accelerating the production of new teaching materials and innovations in the textbooks;
- discovering any attempt to politicise history textbooks or to impose a particular ideology;
- concentrating instead on a relatively small number of selected historical events;
- preparing young people to live in multicultural societies as democratic citizens;

- democratising teacher-student relationships;
- encouraging schools to choose their own course materials, many of them introduce the history of world civilisation instead of deeper study of national history;
- presenting a variety of new points in textbooks.

In creating the teaching pack, we suggest including:

1. conflict and cooperation in the Black Sea area in the 20th Century;
2. the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the Balkan States in the 20th Century.