History of education in Greece: towards a new material culture of education?

Història de l’educació a Grècia: cap a una nova cultura material de l’educació?

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RESUM

A Grècia, l’orientació cap als models d’Europa Occidental, no solament del sistema educatiu, sinó de l’Estat grec en el seu conjunt, és molt fort. La imitació dels paradigmes europeus no es va produir per la seva eficàcia, sinó per l’absència a l’Estat grec de l’existència d’una teoria i una pràctica educativa tradicional i autònoma. En aquest marc, la «cultura material de l’educació» a Grècia segueix sent un camp inexplorat en els estudis històrics de l’educació, amb un grapat d’excepcions. Però aquests esforços no es van incorporar en un enfocament sistemàtic dels estudis històrics de l’educació. No obstant això, la cultura material de l’educació a Grècia ha tingut un paper crucial en l’elaboració dels programes escolars. Un paradigma de la cultura material de l’educació ofereix l’hermenèutica del material d’arxiu inèdit, en part amb fotos, en part amb informació sobre els edificis escolars i els alumnes de l’illa de Quios.

Paraules clau: Grècia, història de l’educació, cultura material.

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ABSTRACT

In Greece the orientation towards Western European models not only of the educational system, but also of the Greek state as a whole, is very strong. The imitation of European paradigms didn't take place due to their efficiency, but rather due to the absence in the Greek state of an existing traditional and autonomous educational theory and practice. In this framework the material culture of education in Greece remains an unexplored field in the historical studies of education, with a handful of exceptions. But these efforts were not embedded in a systematic approach in the historical studies of education. Nevertheless material culture of education in Greece has played a crucial role in the development of school curricula. A paradigm of material culture of education offers the hermeneutic of unpublished archival material, partly with photos, partly with information on school buildings and pupils in the island of Chios.

Key words: Greece, history of education, material culture.

RESUMEN

En Grecia, la orientación hacia los modelos de Europa Occidental no solamente del sistema educativo, sino del Estado griego en su conjunto, es muy fuerte. La imitación de los paradigmas europeos no se produjo por su eficacia, sino por la ausencia en el Estado griego de la existencia de una teoría y una práctica educativa tradicional y autónoma. En este marco, la «cultura material de la educación» en Grecia sigue siendo un campo inexplorado en los estudios históricos de la educación, con un puñado de excepciones. Pero estos esfuerzos no se incorporaron en un enfoque sistemático de los estudios históricos de la educación. Sin embargo, la cultura material de la educación en Grecia ha desempeñado un papel crucial en la elaboración de los programas escolares. Un paradigma de la cultura material de la educación ofrece la hermenéutica del material de archivo inédito, en parte con fotos, en parte con información sobre los edificios escolares y los alumnos de la isla de Quíos.

Palabras clave: Grecia, historia de la educación, cultura material.

1. Introduction

In Greece the orientation towards Western European models not only of the educational system, but also of the Greek state as a whole, is very strong.
The constitution of the Greek educational system in the 19th century provided for a wide range of ideas originating from the European enlightenment and the post-enlightenment era, such as the idea of perfectibility of mankind through the power of education, combined with the ideal of the ancient Greek period, dominated by its «great» past and its memory. In the same line, lies the necessity to transform Greece into a modern western European state. Under the influence of new-humanism, the reconstruction and preservation of the ancient Greek culture everlastingly dominates the content and the goals of education. Within this framework, education is aiming not only at transmitting «knowledge» but also at improving man to be «humane», to be a «responsible citizen», who could and should be moulded to a morally perfect being through education. The imitation of European paradigms, didn’t take place due to their efficiency, but rather due to the absence in the Greek state of an existing traditional and autonomous educational theory and practice.1 In this context the «material culture of education» in Greece remains an unexplored field in the historical studies of education. This, by no means implies that the material culture of education in Greece is unknown. On the contrary, it has played a crucial role in the development of school curricula. Nevertheless these efforts were not embedded in a systematic approach in the historical studies of education. In fact, during the 19th and 20th century we notice only a handful of publications, which refer to a material culture in schools.2

2. 19TH CENTURY: THE ALLELODIDACTICAL SCHOOL

In 1830 Ioannis Kokkonis, a Greek educator, published the Reader for the Allelodidactical Method, a study on the implementation of didactical media in primary schools. This type of Greek monitorial school, the so called Allelodidactical school, is the leading paradigm of Greek primary school in the 19th

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century. School furniture and didactical material is the medium of educating, disciplining and shaping Greek pupils through the domestication of the body. The Allelodidactic School, is an adaptation of the model of French monitorial school, and in particular of the method developed by Charles Louis Sarazin, who followed himself the method of Joseph Lancaster (1805). Monitorial schools in Greece were established even prior to the war of independence against ottoman rule in 1821. Nevertheless, the first systematic attempt to organize monitorial schools took place in the period of Capodistrias, the first Governor after the war of independence. The new method was a translation of Sarazin’s book Manuel des écoles élémentaires ou exposé de la méthode d’enseignement mutuel by Ioannis Kokkonis, a scholar of him, and became the single authorized school method in 1830 with the declaration 1032/12.7.1830 or simply the “Reader” (Οδηγός) and was reprinted and edited several times. The most important editions were that of 1842 and 1860. The new method was introduced by the Model School in Aegina, founded by Capodistrias and which was attended by pupils and future school teachers. Consequently, the monitorial school dominated the educational system in Greece in the 19th century and beyond.

The Allelodidactical school, played a crucial role in the formation of Greek pupils. Under this system, concepts like time and space, observation and the encoding of body movements, were placed into the center of teaching practice. It is precisely the implementation of these processes, the detailed methodological techniques, the hierarchical observation, the control of the body, assisted by school equipment and furniture, the regulation of class space, as well as the examinations and the regulation of time, which rendered effective these strategies towards a particular type of pupil. Thus, the monitorial school
gradually became an institution of learning, of supervision, of hierarchisation and reward with the aim to register, domesticate and normalize the pupil’s bodies in order to increase their performance and efficiency. In order to achieve this, the school made use of the hierarchical observation or hierarchical eyesight, the normalising judgment, the punishment in addition to the exams and the regulation of time and space.

It is obvious that the Reader describes in detail everything about the monitorial school. The selection of the school place, the architecture of the school-house and the schoolroom, the playground (school court), the hygiene places, the equipment of the school class, the school desk and the school methods, the day program are all determined and described in every detail7. No changes are permitted and so this method gets a dogmatic character. Any detail of the teaching method is regulated in such a way that the teacher took only a regulatory role.

The monitorial school was separated in eight classes and the pupils were divided according to their knowledge, which means that there was no correspondence between school class and age and so pupils could participate in more than one class. Teaching was assigned to the monitors, who were the best pupils, as far as their knowledge or behaviour were concerned. The monitors were separated in several categories according to their function. So they were called general monitors, part monitors or monitors for dictation, explanation, etc. In the monitorial school the teacher had only the role of the supervisor.

The discipline of the body transpired by mechanisms, which allowed for the continuous observation of the pupil, where nothing, even the slightest detail could not escape from the pedagogical eyesight, as a source of protection and truth. At first, the body became a subject of study and after that, the docile body of the pupil became transparent, domesticated, functional and useful. The monitorial school functioned as a mechanism of learning, which kept pupils always busy. With the support of a code system of orders aimed to domesticate the body and to focus the power in order to achieve the goal. In this way the observation and the control of the pupil were the main characteristics of the didactic method, which aimed at the increased efficiency of the pupil. With the subordination of the body the discipline of the pupil was achieved.

7 Kokkonis, Ioannis. Reader for the Allelodidactical Method (Εγχειρίδιον διά τά Αλληλοδιδακτικά Σχολεία ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδακτικής Μεθόδου...υπό Σαραζίνου). Aegina: Ethniki Typografia, 1830.
In the monitorial school the architecture plays a crucial role, because the discipline depended on the observation, the *hierarchical eyesight*. First of all, the school had to be built within the community but not close to a busy street, so that the principle of the isolation would not be followed always. The architecture of the schoolhouse followed two principles. Firstly, there must be a complete division between the inside and outside. So, the playground should be surrounded by a high wall, which did not allow the contact of the inner-with the outer space. Secondly, the inner space must be characterized from transparency, to allow the observation of the inner space and the control of the pupil. The schoolhouse should be a rectangular with high walls, and their measures depended on the pupils, because every pupil had to occupy a strict space. The schoolhouse had high windows, which allowed the air to transfer, according to the hygiene of the time, which assumed that dirty air was dangerous and transmitted diseases. The high windows separated the inner- from the outer space, since the eye contact was not possible. On the contrary, the inner space was always transparent. The teacher’s desk was high and allowed the complete control of the school class through the *pedagogical eyesight*. The same strategy followed the hygiene places. The toilets were constructed in such a way and they had doors that permitted the teacher to observe the foot and the head of the pupils, but they had high sidewalls, which did not allow the eye contact between the pupils.

The enclosure, or the isolation, in combination with the «plotting» of the body and the separation of the individual in the space allowed the appearance of a new mechanism of classification and controlling, that is the *series*. In this hierarchisation belonged also the pupils with the final aim the absolute control of the children’s body and their urge for movement. The Reader focused this principle in the phrase «each place for one thing and everything in its place» (*Είς τόπος διά καθέν πράγμα καί καθέν πράγμα είς τόν τόπον τού*). In a political level, this culminated in the Panopticism of Bentham, which allowed the perfectibility of the power mechanism and the escalation of the efficiency.

The punishment was an important aspect by the discipline of the pupil. Anything that was escaping from the rules, did not fulfil the intended goal and could not be adapted to the social model, became an aim of the disciplinary

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system, intending the limitation, correction and the restriction of deviation. The punishment and the reward were the means for the adjustment, formation, harmonisation and the homogenisation. The consequence of this classification was the evaluation in gut and bad behaviour of the pupil. In the Reader there was a detailed report on all the types of punishment, such as report, blame, humiliation, etc., as well as of reward, developing a complicated system of symbols and in an economy of numbers.

The exam is also an important aspect of the disciplinary system and of the monitorial school, because it combined the hierarchical observation with the punishment. The exam functioned as a mechanism of supervision which led to the acquisition of capacities and on other hierarchies and punishments, creating a transparency in the pupils that takes a ritual form. The exam, which is at same time hierarchisation and punishment, combined a certain form of power with a particular form of knowledge. The power was incorporated in the exams, because it captured the pupil in an «objective» mechanism of evaluation, which hided exactly this power. The exam is the core of those procedures which regards the pupil as product and object of power and knowledge. So, with the help of the exam, the greatest use of power was achieved, as well as time, the continuous increasing of capacities, the hierarchy and finally the choice. In this framework, the Reader provided for every lesson several exams beyond the regular exams of the school law of 1834, which established the Greek primary education.

Finally, a key role in the discipline of the pupil was time. This development influenced the monitorial school where with the help of new methods sought for the registering, accumulation, dominance and efficiency of time. In this procedure, helpful methods which derived from the military practice, the military discipline and later were adopted in educational practices. So, time was divided in small unities, which had continuity but different goals. Every unity ended with an exam, which led to the next unity. These unities got organized in more complicate and connected unities, in series, where every individual


11 Ibid., p. 238.
had a certain position which depended on his level and hierarchy. The school program of the monitorial school reflected this picture and every movement of the pupil was strictly regulated on time. Exactly this regulation of time allowed the intervention of power and their dominance on body and time. With the organization of time, social rules, models and power relationships got incorporated. The monitorial school played a crucial role in these procedures because children learnt time rules as rules and in this way learnt new form of discipline, and capacities of work and forms of rationality.\textsuperscript{12} In particular, linear time dominated already in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century life and was closely connected with the idea of progress and development.\textsuperscript{13} The irreversibility of time, which means not only the temporary nature of man itself but even of nature and universe led to the phenomenon of shortage of time. Subsequently, the acceleration of life, of progress and of the development of humanity seems to have a possible answer to the acceleration of time itself.\textsuperscript{14}

3. 21\textsuperscript{TH} CENTURY: FRAGMENTS OF A MATERIAL CULTURE OF EDUCATION

After this first initiative, which took place outside of any theoretical framework, during the 19\textsuperscript{th} and the 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, there followed a long period of research work lacking research in the field of material culture of education. This period of the Greek education, in particular the first half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, is not adequately documentated, because of the lack of research material. In this context it would be very challenging and demanding to reconstruct a «monumenta graeca paedagogica» and a Greek pedagogical paradigm, as it happened in Germany or in Italy.\textsuperscript{15} Only in the last two decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} and 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries a few new publications were released. Noteworthy is the research work on \textit{Girl’s education and instruction, Greek considerations (1830-1910)}


\textsuperscript{13} Kamper, Dietmar; Wulf, Christoph. \textit{Im Schatten der Milchstraße}. Tübingen: Konkursbuchverlag, 1981; Sting,


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In her documentary work, she analyzes the woman education in the 19th century Greece, based on archival material, which also includes a very short photographic material. However, this interesting research work, did not represent a paradigm of material culture of education. Likewise, is the School buildings in primary schools, 1821-1929 (Τα σχολικά κτήρια της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης) in 1988 by Eleni Kalafati. She examines, based on archival and photographic material, the role of school buildings as a basic instrument to create a national educational policy and a nationwide teaching method in primary schools. In this framework the aspect of architecture and space in primary schools is of key importance. In The Allelodidactical Method in 19th century in Greece (Η αλληλοδιδακτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελλάδα του 19ου αιώνα) from 1992, Lydia Papadaki demonstrates the teaching principles of this method, used in the Greek Allelodidactical School in 19th century and the way in which it influenced the primary school. Iosif Solomon, in his Power and order in new Greek schools. A typology of school places and praxis 1820-1900 (Έξουσία και Τάξη στο Νεοελληνικό σχολείο. Μία τυπολογία των σχολικών χώρων και πρακτικών) from 1992, analyses effectively the connection between school spaces and praxis with the power mechanisms in Greek schools and the Greek society of the 19th century. The same author together with Gerasimos Kouzelis in Discipline and Knowledge (Πειθαρχεία και Γνώση) in 1994, refer to disciplining mechanisms in primary schools and the connection between power mechanisms and knowledge in the classroom. Georgios Tzartzas follows a similar approach on his Allelodidactical school in service at the disciplinary society (Το Αλληλοδιδακτικό Σχολείο στην υπηρεσία


της πειθαρχημένης κοινωνίας), published in 2003, analysing the application of educational media and power mechanisms in order to form a new type of pupils in Allelodidactical Schools. This type of monitorial school plays a crucial role with respect to the aim of disciplining, forming and normalizing Greek pupils. In these processes, concepts like time and space, observation and the encoding of bodily movements, move to the center of teaching practice. It is just the domestication of these processes, the detailed methodological techniques, the hierarchical observation, and the control of the body, assisted by school equipment and appliance and the regulation of class space, the normalizing judgment, the exams and the regulation of time, which finally make effective these disciplinary strategies. In this way, the Allelodidactical school becomes an institution of learning, of supervision, of hierarchisation and reward with the aim to register, to domesticate, to normalize the pupil’s body and consequently to utilize him, to increase his performance and efficiency.

However, these studies don’t consider school media and praxis as an important source of producing cultural characteristics. Max Liedtke demonstrated exemplary, how institutional school influence the production of the Western «Sitting Society». According to Liedtke school media, desks, books and architecture, the teacher’s «cathedra», played a crucial role in these processes. In this context it is interesting to consider the development of educational museums in Greece. In the last two decades educational museums have been created or reorganized in Greek Universities and foundations, providing a new perspective by researching material culture of education. Educational museums are not only oriented to preserve the cultural inheritance related to education, but even to explore material culture of education. It is relavant here to mention


the Museum for Education of the University of Athens (Μουσείο της Παιδείας), the Museum for Education of the University of Patras (Μουσείο Εκπαίδευσης), the School Life Museum of Chania (Μουσείο Σχολικής Ζωής), the School Life and Education Museum (Μουσείο Σχολικής Ζωής και Εκπαίδευσης) in Athens. In particular is to refer the School History Museums & Collections and Teachers Profession (LSRHETP) at the University of Crete (Κέντρο Μελέτης και Έρευνας της Ιστορίας της Εκπαίδευσης και του Διδασκαλικού Επαγγέλµατος) a newly founded Center by Antonis Hourdakis, an educational historian at the same University. Its aim is to explore the concept of historical culture both at the level of relations with the educational past and its dealing and the level of its acquired and mediated meanings with the present. Thatfore, focuses on the research and study of past school education and the development of the Teaching Profession, during the later period of the Greek history as well as the historical education of future teachers. Combining space and time, archival material and school equipment, is giving an excellent paradigm of material culture of education in Greece.

4. The education council and its archive: a new paradigm

In this framework, it is interesting to disclose a photographic archival material, which is part of the national Archives of Ministry of Education, archived by the Center of Education Research, which is now the Institute of Educa-


26 Hourdakis, Antonis; Karras, Konstantinos; Polyzou, Angeliki; Suka, Marina. «School History Museums & Collections and Teachers Profession: the example of the Laboratory for the Study and Research of the History of Education and Teachers’ Profession (LSRHETP) at the University of Crete, Greece», Šolska kronika / SchoolChronicle, 3 (2019), p. 404-420; Karras, Kostas G.; Calogianakis, Pella; Eleftherakis, Theodoros. «Challenges facing school museums in a time of globalization and digitization, the case of the museum of education of the University of Crete, Greece», 18th Symposium for School Museums and History of Education Collections «Challenges for the school museums and history of education in a time of globalization and digitization». Emdrup, Copenhagen, 3-5 July 2019 (available at: https://skolehistorie.au.dk/fileadmin/skolehistorie/Abstract_Kostas_G._Karras_University_of_Crete_Greece; last access: 08/12/2020).
tional Research, in Athens. The main part of this archival material contains the proceedings of the Education Council (Εκπαιδευτικό Συμβούλιο), from 1928 until 1958. The Education Council, an institution of the Greek Ministry of Education, was the supervising body of the Primary and Secondary Education. It was established on 1914 and emerged from the unification of the following institutions, the Local Supervising Council for Primary Education (Τοπικών Εποπτικών Συμβουλίων της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης) established on 1895, the Supervising Council for Secondary Education (Εποπτικών Συμβουλίων της Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης) established on 1905 and the Central Supervising Council for Primary Education (Κεντρικού Εποπτικού Συμβουλίου της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης) established on 1911. The new established Education Council took over their tasks and other supplementary work. It was divided in two sections, in that of Primary and of Secondary Education, and had as a main function the organization, governance and supervision of Primary and Secondary Education. The efforts of the Education Council to improve quality in education are of key importance. The analysis of this archival material indicates the influence of New Education at the beginning of the 20th century in Greece, in particular in the second and third decade. In this period we observe a strong effort to reform Greek education system, to establish and to build new schools, to improve teacher training and school programs through new educational methods, to define the standards for the production of new school books and their selection, to produce new school curricula, to prepare new school laws and decrees for education matters, to promote teachers’ careers, to discipline teachers and pupils.27 In this framework, vital questions emerged, such as, in what extent ideas from Progressive Education are introduced in the Greek educational system and how strongly it influenced the development of Primary and Secondary Education or if one could speak for a «pedagogic turn» in Greece. The main thesis of this analysis is that here more is planned than a simple educational reform. Moreover, it is an attempt to create a new image of the teacher and the pupil through a new anthropological approach of educational matters. Furthermore, the fact that in 1930 several of the five board members of the Educational Council have studied in Germany at the

begin of the 20s, such as Miltos Kountouras and Maria Amariotou, who returned in Greece in 1926 and were appointed in important governmental posts, support this thesis.

These educationalists were influenced by the German progressive education, which at that time reflected new educational processes. The goal of the progressive education was the production of a new type of pupil and was based on a education «from the child» and «for the best of the young man» as well as on autonomy, rationality, individuality, democracy and not least on the child’s own experience. It is a new paradigm, standing in opposition to Herbart’s normative pedagogy. A new «feeling of life» led to new types of school, such as the Activity School of Kerschensteiner and Gaudig, (Arbeitsschulbewegung), the Country Boarding Schools (Landerziehungsheime), and the Artistic Awakening (Kunsterziehungsbewegung). It is exactly this period of the anthropologic turn in humanistic studies in Germany, influenced by Helmuth Plessner (1928), Hermann Nohl (1929), Max Scheler (1929) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1958) in the late 20’s (Tzartzas, 2007).

The progressive education in Greece forms part of a general claim on democratic progress and the development of Greek society. It should be noted that the Greek educational system until the present-day is characterized by an endless reform and counter reform and a continuous antagonism between an antiquated ancient Greek tradition and a realistic and democratic approach of educational matters. Therefore the Greek eminent Educators and the most important representatives of demoticism, that is the democratic reorganization of education, participate in this attempt to reform the Greek school system. The new ideas stand in opposition to the educational tradition in the country, which was dominated by Herbart and his pedagogy. The Herbartianism, as a closed normative system of knowledge, was introduced in Greece on 1880 and was exclusively the one and only used educational method in Greek schools. The Greek educational system follows a new path, avoiding the normistic

pedagogic system of Herbart, with its monolithic and pure mimetic way of ancient Greek tradition. Consequently, the compulsory school includes all classes of the primary school, the educational standards in secondary education were achieved, new measurements were taken for vocational and woman education, new curricula were developed according to the educational needs. The improvement of teacher training was effective, which made the teacher role efficient and more influential in school policy. The feeling is, that there was an effort to produce a new image of teachers characterized by rationality and reflexivity, teachers who get involved in the educational process. Reports to Education Council from supervisors in primary and secondary education, confirm this thesis. These reports describe errors, inaccuracies, faults, punishments and other activities in schools. They indicate a clear idea of the microcosmos in school, the daily effort of teachers to improve educational processes, pupil’s behavior in the school, and their everyday life in country, in a small town or in a village. Moreover, they mirror the society and its structure, their hopes and fears, they show us not an ideal image of a teacher but a realistic one in their daily life in school. The Education Council intents to replace the old image with a new one and to create a new, democratic school, characterized by the educational relationship between teacher and pupil, functioning not only as a place of learning, but even more as a place connected with the society.29

A paradigm of material culture of education offers the hermeneutic of the above mentioning archival material. It contains an album of unpublished material, partly with photos, partly with information on school buildings and pupils in the island of Chios from 6th April of 1955 until the 31st December of 1960. The album was created by Spyros Chondrogiannis, a school inspector in the district of Chios, and includes 32 photos or architectural designs from school buildings.

This little photographic archive demonstrates the efforts, which are made to improve the quality in education through the construction of new buildings in the island of Chios. The photos document the improvements in terms of numbers, like the pupil’s population or the construction of new school buildings, mainly by donators, local or immigrants in America, and by governmental assistance. In the following appendix the whole documental material is presented.

5. Epilogue

In the last two decades in Greece, we observe various publications particularly in the field of didactic media or in the implementation of new technologies in primary and secondary education. But these researches are not embedded in the field of historical studies in education and often follow commercial interests. Publication in this field remains rare and we cannot notice a systematic approach. Consequently, it is more than questionable to reach the conclusion that we observe the rise of an innovative trend or even a Material Turn in the historical studies in education in Greece.

Moreover, the systematic efforts of educational historians in Greece, as paradigmatic indicated above, have the responsibility to explore the material history in education, to stimulate a historical turn in Greece and to visualize its contents through a new, systematic and innovative interpretation of historical materials.

Appendix

Fig. 1