BALKAN SOCIETY
FOR PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION

Dimitrios B. Goudiras and Maria Rantzou (Editors)

The Image of the “Other”/the Neighbour in the Educational Systems of the Balkan Countries (1998-2013)
BALKAN SOCIETY FOR PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION


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UNIVERSITY OF MACEDONIA
THESSALONIKI 2013
BALKAN SOCIETY FOR PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION (BA.SO.P.ED)


The Editors
Dimitrios B. Goudiras and Maria Rantzou

University of Macedonia Press
Thessaloniki 2014
BALKAN SOCIETY FOR PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION

in cooperation with

UNIVERSITY OF MACEDONIA
ARISTOTLE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI
UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN MACEDONIA
HELLENIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY – BRANCH OF MACEDONIA

16th conference, 26-29 September 2013

"The Image of the "Other"/ the Neighbour in the Educational Systems of the Balkan Countries (1998-2013)"

26th September, 2013  27 and 28 September, 2013
Faculty of Philosophy  University of Macedonia
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Under the Aegis of the
Ministry of Macedonia – Thrace
and the Municipality of Thessaloniki

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The Portrayal of the National “Self” and the National “Other” in Greek High School Textbooks of Literature

Summary: This paper constitutes an investigation of literature textbooks in Greek High School, that traces the portrayal of the National Self in close relation to the National Other. Our research shows the recurrent presence...
of Turks, the ‘eternal’ enemy in modern Greek History in all four textbooks in Greek High School. The National Other is depicted in literary texts during three significant historical periods: a) the fall of Constantinople in 1453 b) the Ottoman period thereafter, the Modern Greek Enlightenment and the National War of Independence in 1821 and c) the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922. We have also come across a few references to Albanians or Turkish Albanians, one text depicting a Turkish Albanian and an Albanian character and another extract, depicting characters of Slavic origin.

Another issue to be addressed is the striking absence of Balkan authors (i.e. Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, Turkish, etc) from Greek High School Literature textbooks, whilst European and American foreign authors are included.

In our research we took into account a narratological approach, informed with elements of cultural iconology. **Key-words:** National Self, National Other, Greek Educational System, High School textbooks of Literature

**School & National identity**

In Modern Nation States, School traditionally fosters and reinforces the formation of the students’ national identity, mainly via the teaching of History, Language/Literature and Geography, as well as with certain extra-curricular activities, such as national celebrations, educational excursions, and other creative activities.

A constituent and structurally vital element of national identity and the subsequent formation of the Self, is the presence of the Other, usually projected on a differentiation basis, between the Self and the Other: Therefore, the image of the Other is often a reverted image of the Self.

This paper constitutes an investigation of literature textbooks, used as part of the national curriculum in the Greek High School, and will attempt to trace the portrayal of the National Self in close relation to the so-called National Other. We have examined four text-books, corresponding to the three grades of Greek High School or Lyceum, A, B, C and the textbook of Literature textbook for theoretically oriented students (3rd Grade) (age of students 15 to 18).

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Structure of text-books

First of all we would like to briefly present the structure of the textbooks. Each one is an anthology of literary texts, usually shorter or longer extracts from novels or poems, written by both Greek and foreign authors. The three basic textbooks follow a historical structure, including the main areas of the history of Modern Greek literature as follows:

1st Grade textbook:
- First Phase: 10th century A.D. until 1453, the Fall of Constantinople
  a) Greek folk songs and b) literary works written by individual authors
- Second Phase: Venetian era in Crete, Cyprus, etc., 1453-1669
- Third Phase: Modern Greek Enlightenment, Memoirs of the fighters of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, Literature of the Ionian Islands or Heptanisa, etc. (1669-1830)
- The Phanariots and the Romantic School of Athens or The Old Athenian School (1830-1880)
- The New Athenian School: poetry and essays (1880-beginning of the 20th century)
- Foreign Literature

2nd Grade textbook:
2. Modern Greek Poetry (1922-1945)
3. Modern Greek Prose Fiction (1922-1945)
4. Modern Greek Essay
5. Foreign Literature

3rd Grade textbook: (1945-2000)
- Modern Greek Poetry (1945-2000)
- Modern Greek Prose Fiction (1945-2000)
- Modern Greek Essay
- Foreign Literature

The fourth textbook, Literature textbook for theoretically oriented students (3rd Grade), is structured thematically, including some full texts:

A. Poetry: Dionysios Solomos, “The Cretan” (1833), full text; Giannis Ritsos, “Sonata”, full text; Modern Greek poems on poetry, Kiki Di-
moula, various poems


C. Essays and Critical texts on the previous works

This compilation of different literary extracts, far from being a continuous narration, constitutes nevertheless a selection, denoting an explicit or implicit ideological stance. What is emphasized in historically structured textbooks is the continuity in time and space of the National Self, foregrounding peak moments in history, in which the National Subject exhibits heroism and patriotism, fighting for democracy, justice or freedom of Motherland against all odds. At these moments the Greek National Self usually has to face a National Enemy, that is the Turks.²

Methodology

Examining twenty-three texts, we took into account the following criteria: first the nationality of the authors of the literary extracts, included in these books; secondly the presence of the Other traced in the titles of the extracts; thirdly references made to the Other via narrative comments or other characters’ words in the textbooks; last but not least the literary characters representing the Other in these extracts and the narrative techniques employed. More specifically we have considered the following narratological parameters: the place and the time in which the literary works are set; the characters (main or secondary) and their discourse (point of view); basic themes (stereotypical images of the Other or representation of human and humane aspects of the Other); narrative comments about the Other. Our research is also informed with elements of cultural iconology.³


³ Frangiski Ambatzopoulou. 1998. Ο Άλλος εν διωγμό. Η εικόνα του Εβραίου στη λογοτεχνία. Ζητήματα ιστορίας και μυθοπλασίας. Athens: Θεμέλιο, pp. 147-166; Philothei Kolitsi, “Μια μεθοδολογική προσέγγιση του Άλλου στη λογοτεχνία”. In Kolitsi Ph., Papastasiou A., Tsoumari M., Πρακτικά Ημερίδας. Ο Εκπαιδευτικός της Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης απέναντι στη Διαπολιτισμική πρόκληση της επ-
Concerning the nationality of the authors, we have detected the absence of any Balkan author in Greek High School literature textbooks. Moreover, the explicit presence of the Other was detected in the titles of three extracts: “Moskov Selim”, “Ishmail Ferik Pasha”, “Zavali maiko”. Regarding references and literary characters representing the Other in these textbooks we have come across the recurrent presence of Turks, the ‘eternal’ enemy in Modern Greek History and Modern Greek Literature, in all four textbooks used. References made to the Turks or Turkish literary characters are recorded in literary extracts, set in three critical historical phases in Modern Greek History: (1) the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (2) the Ottoman period thereafter, the Modern Greek Enlightenment and the National War for Independence in 1821 and (3) the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922. Regarding other Balkan countries, we have come across few references to Albanians or Turkish Albanians, one text depicting a Turkish Albanian and an Albanian character - all extracts set in the context of the Greek War of Independence in 1821- and one literary extract, depicting characters of Slavic origin. In order to codify our extracts we have used a capital letter A, B, C, denoting the grade and a number, denoting the pages of the extract in each textbook. Finally, the indication “Theoretical Orientation” accompanied by a page number refers to the Literature textbook for theoretically oriented students (3rd Grade).

References to the Other (narrative comments & other characters’ words)

The Fall of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, one of the most critical events in Greek History is represented in a variety of Greek literary texts. For example, “The Mourning song about Constantinople” (A 66-68), written probably just after the historical event of the fall of the City, is a folk song, bitterly lamenting the fall of the City of the Cities (Polis), resulting in the inconsolable grief of all Greeks, who have lost their “home”, “their pride”, “their holy city”, and are now pleading the sun not to shed his sunbeams on the newly born Turkish city, so that the “irreverent dogs” cannot see and commit “illegal” and disrespectful acts, such as, “plundering the churches”, “burning the icons”, “tearing off the golden gospels”, “dishonoring the holy


4 In few cases there is a brief reference in passing to Balkan countries or people in the introductory notes or in the footnotes of the extracts.
crosses”, “grasping the silver and the pearls, and destroying the holy relics of the orthodox saints”. Harsh words are used throughout the text, expressing the grief of the Greek people, as this event constitutes a terrible omen for the “fate of Hellenism”, as it is pointed out in the introductory note of the text (p. 66). A similar folk song, written in the Greek-Pontian dialect has the title “Parthen” (A 43), that is “It was taken”, referring to the Fall of Constantinople and constituting a plaintive elegy on the historical event.

Furthermore, the 1st grade textbook includes two extracts from the “Chronicle”, written by Georgios Frantzis (A 64-67), an imperial employee in the service of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Palaiologos. In the first one, Mehmed II the Conqueror addresses his co-warriors, reminding them of their afterlife reward in heaven, in case they die in the battle (beautiful gardens, abundance of food and a harem of virgins, waiting for them to satisfy all their bodily needs), whilst promising them double salary and the freedom to plunder as much gold, silver and clothing as they can. Conversely, in the second extract, Constantine Palaiologos addresses his own people, pleading them to resist with boldness and heroism, adequate in a struggle for freedom against the “tyrants” and the enemies of “their faith” and inciting them to die for four reasons: their holy faith, their country, their ordained king, and all their friends and relatives. Main motif for Greek resistance is the preservation of their high ideals and moral values.

In the above mentioned extracts the Other (Turks) is portrayed to have opposite characteristics of the Self (Greeks). We may observe that the Turks are presented to give priority to material goods and values, as opposed to the Greeks, who are depicted to focus on spiritual values, perhaps implying a cultural difference between the two peoples and the two religions.

Finally, a folk song, “The looming of Adrianoupolis” (A 42), refers to the capture of Adrianoupoli (Edirne) by the Turks in 1361, after the city was consecutively sieged and destroyed by the Francs, the Bulgarians and others.

The Turks are mentioned in a rather satirical context, in Georgios Chortatzis’, “Katzourbos” (A 90-93), one of the most famous comedies of the Cretan theatre, influenced by Italian Renaissance and written in the 16th century. Koustoulieis, the type of the arrogant soldier, boasting in front of his servant, Katzourbos, says that he is ready to face a whole Turkish army with three hundred soldiers and army-officers, and a thousand Janissaries, and throw them out of the island of Crete and even more “grab Mehmed’s beard and tear it away”.

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In three folk songs included in the textbooks the National Other (Turks) is not mentioned at all, but their presence is implied, due to the prominent heroism of the Greek Klefs and Armatoloi: “Armatoloi of the night” (A 48-49), also emphatically portraying their love for life; “[Song] Of the Kolokotronis family” (A 50-51), also exhibiting the heroes’ pride; “[Song] Of the Kontogiannis family” (A 52-53), announcing the heroic death of a hero, fighting the enemy.

In other folk songs the Turks together with the Turkish Albanians (Arvanites and Liapides) are presented as the enslavers and the conquerors, against whom the Greek Rebels fight courageously. In the “[Song] Of Despo” (A 45), the boldness of the female heroine is emphasized, whilst in the “[Song] Of Parga” (A 48-49), the heroism of the Greeks is exulted as opposed to the cowardice of the enemies. A similar opposition between the boldness of the Greek protagonist (the Cretan Manolis) and the cowardice of the Turks and the Turkish-Albanian police officer (secondary characters in the work) is portrayed in “Patouchas” (B 79-92), a novel written by Ioannis Kondylakis in 1892, whilst the struggle of Greek Cretans against the Ottoman Rule continued, and the protagonist set an inspiring example for his co-patriots.

In other texts the Turks are presented as tyrants, who deprive the Greeks of basic human rights such as freedom, honor, and their belongings. Rigas Feraios in 1797 severely criticizes the Sultan’s tyranny; with his “Revolutionary Manifesto” (A 146-150), invites and incites to a political and social rebellion not only the Greeks who lived in Rumeli (mainland Greece), Asia Minor, Mediterranean islands, and Danubian Principalities, but also all the enslaved Balkan nations, suffering under the despotism of the Ottomans. Interestingly enough, Rigas, in his revolutionary call, addresses even the Turkish people, without discriminating between Christians and Muslims. Similarly, Panagis Skouzes, in his narrative “The Chronicle of enslaved Athens” (A, 183-187), written in 1841, also underlines the Turkish tyranny, recording his bitter memories from his childhood in his hometown, Athens, under the Ottoman rule, and portraying all the cruelties and atrocities that Greeks suffered because of the Turkish tyrant, Chatzi-Ali: house looting, thefts, severe surveillance, overwhelming cruelty and violation of

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5 Greek Christians commissioned by the Ottomans to enforce the Sultan’s authority within an administrative district.
basic human rights. Finally, Andreas Kalvos in his poem “To the Saracens” ["Eis Agarinous"], a term referring generally to all Muslims but in this case in particular to the Turks, (A 212-215), also criticizes the merciless, even “blood-thirsty” tyrants, seeking for justice and pleading for their fair punishment.

The atrocities delivered by the Turks against the Greeks are also pinpointed in the poem “The Cretan” (1833) (C, Theoretical Orientation 13-29), written by the Greek National poet, Dionysios Solomos. Turkish and Turkish-Egyptian army are presented here to be tough warriors, killing violently the elderly, dishonoring women, and most importantly exercising mass kidnapping of children (Devşîrme). In Solomos’ other significant work, “The Free Beseiged”, written between 1830 and 1844 in the literary context of German Romanticism (A, 224-248), the heroic resistance of Greeks in Missolonghi under the Turkish siege and their heroic exodus on the 10th April 1826 on Palm Sunday are portrayed. This struggle for freedom acquires a further meaning, as it becomes not only a struggle against the conqueror, but a struggle of the spirit against matter. The Turks are also named “Agarinoi”.

**Literary Characters representing the Other**

In High School textbooks we also come across literary texts, portraying the Other in a central role. These texts are set: in the years of the Greek War of Independence in 1821 or thereafter; at the end of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th; just after the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922.

In Georgios Viziinos’ short story “Moskov Selim” (B 28-42), written in 1895, a simple, kind-hearted, Turk of good intentions holds the central role; brave warrior and faithful to the Sultan and his country, he nevertheless faces rejection, disbelief and ridicule by his army officials. Moskov Selim fought in Krimaia against the Russians, but was deeply disappointed, because he was treated unfairly by the army officers; thereafter, in a confused state of mind, he has been expecting the Russians to save him.

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In this narrative other aspects of the Ottoman Empire are also presented: all subjects express a blind loyalty to the Sultan, who is identified with the country; the Turkish army is characterized by corruption, since a deserter receives the war medal instead of Moskov Selim; the state officials consider him a spy, because they are illiterate and incapable of reading; the patriarchal structure of the Turkish family is also emphasized, assigning an inferior and passive role to women, who are dedicated to housework, whilst men are dedicated to war.

In another Vizitinos's short story, "Who was the murderer of my own brother?" (B 19-27), written in 1883, the main character of the story, the narrator's mother, shows special empathy and affection to a young Turk, Kiamil, who proves to be the actual murderer of her son; in fact he committed the crime undeliberately, trying to revenge his friend's death and by accident murdering the wrong person. Kiamil is a simple minded person who at the end loses his mind. The Greek mother is characterized by humanity and philanthropy towards a Muslim, whilst the narrator expresses his distaste for Turks in his narrative comments.

In an extract from Giorgos Theotokas' theatrical work, "The price of freedom" (B 362-372), written in 1958, the main characters are Ali Pasha, the Turkish Albanian ruler of Ioannina, Veli Gekas, an Albanian confidant of Ali Pasha, Vasiliki, Ali Pasha's youngest wife, of Greek origin and others. Ali Pasha is portrayed to secretly plot the murder of the courageous Kleft, Katsantonis, whilst Vasiliki tries to save Katsantonis' family. Ali Pasha wonders why Greeks fight for their freedom, since they maintain better houses that the Turkish ones and have their own priests and teachers. The violent character of Ali Pasha is exposed, whilst the servile attitude towards him undertaken by his confidants is also emphasized.

Another interesting character is "Ishmael Ferik Pasha" (C 385-390), an extract from the homonymous novel, written by Rea Galanaki in 1998. Ishmail is a Janissary of Greek origin born in Crete, who was captured in one of the Cretan rebellions against the Ottomans, was subsequently islamised, changed his name, followed an army career and became a Pasha in Egypt. About half a century later returned to Crete to repress the Cretan rebellion of 1866-1868. He is depicted as a split identity, with conflicting feelings for his two countries Crete (Greece) and Egypt, as Ishmail reaches his birth place and his old home. Galanaki addresses her subject with much sensitivity and respect for otherness.
In Ilias Venezis', The number 31328 (B 323-330), written in 1931, the tragedy of Greek captives in forced labour camps is presented, after the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922. The Greek captives are under the surveillance of safe-guards, "mafazades", old Turkish soldiers about to retire from the army, who are presented to be illiterate, frightened, inactive, incapable to assert their rights; they turn to the Greek captives in order to seek advice and support with regard to their Turkish superior army officers. Between the Greek captives and the old Turkish guards a reciprocal companionship and mutual support is developed, which results in a humane message. At the same time the situation in the Turkish army is presented, as the superior officers exercise their power, by ignoring basic human rights not only of Greek prisoners but also of Turkish soldiers and imposing on both similar harsh punishments. In this work, Venezis, born in Aivalik, recorded his personal experience as a captive in forced labour camps for fourteen months, himself being one of the twenty-three survivors out of 3,000 captives.

In the fourth textbook, a whole narrative is included, that is Stratis Doukas, The story of a captive (C, Theoretical Orientaton, 183-239), written in 1929. It is the first significant work published just after the Asia Minor Disaster, by an author also originating from Anatolia (Moschonisias islands, located near Aivalik). In this work harsh facts are recorded, as the traumatic experience and atrocities that Greek captives suffered by the Turkish officers as well as the Turkish crowds are portrayed. At some point the Greek protagonist manages to escape and find rescue in the caves and mountains of the area, whilst later on he seeks for a refuge and a job at a Turkish farm owner, Chatzi-Mehmed (Chatzimemetis); the latter is depicted to be an honorable and magnanimous man, who appreciates the protagonist's industrious and conscientious character and wants him to get married with his niece. At the end the Greek captive leaves his new boss and manages to reach Greece.

It is very important to note that in a work, written as early as 1929 by an Anatolian Greek author, who experienced Asia Minor Disaster in 1922, an honorable Turkish character is depicted, in a central role, expressing the author's humane and anti-war views. The atrocities that the Greek captives suffered mainly are attributed to the Turkish army officials, whilst the generally good relations between the two people, the Turkish and the Greeks are underlined. The narrative includes only harsh facts, whilst narrative
comments and characters’ feelings are entirely absent. This narrative holds a clear anti-war message, emphasizing the unjustified cruelty from one human being to another, when human tolerance reaching its own limits.

The only extract in which characters of Slavic origin are depicted is Stratis Myrivilis’ “Zavali maiko” (B 277-280), extract from the novel Life in the Tomb, written in 1930. It is a war narrative, depicting the Macedonian front during the First World War, in which the author participated himself. In this extract simple people from the Monastiri area are portrayed, showing friendly feelings for the Greeks, because they are Orthodox, recognizing the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Antsio, the kind-hearted mother figure has two sons fighting in the front on the side of the Bulgarians and expresses a particular affection and compassion towards the Greek wounded narrator.

Another issue to be addressed is the absolute exclusion of Balkan authors from Greek High School Literature textbooks, whilst European and American foreign authors are included. The criteria for selecting the above mentioned foreign authors appear to be based on both an ideological and aesthetic basis: on the one hand the Western Literary Canon, foregrounding major literary figures and texts, and implying West/East ideological, political and economical differentiation-discrimination, associating the former with claims of superiority and the latter with traits of inferiority. Russia, credited with multi-faceted influences on modern Greek literature, is the only eastern country that holds an important position in our list. Latin America countries, such as Chile or Argentina seem to fit within the Western Canon, with big names such as Borges or Neruda, the latter one well known to the Greek public because of his political ideas and rebellious attitude.

The striking absence of Balkan authors (i.e. Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, Turkish, etc) may be attributed to the political situation in Europe, that is the Cold War, after the 2nd World War and the fact that most Balkan

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7 The Greek textbooks include the following foreign authors: seven French (Moliere, Montaigne, Baudelaire, Eluard, Camus, Stendhal, Sartre); four Russians (Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Mayakovsky, Sholokhov); three English (Shakespeare, Tennyson, T. S. Eliot); three Germans (Goethe, Brecht, Heinrich Böll); two Americans (Pound, Dos Passos); two Italians (Dante, Petrarcha); two Spanish (Cervantes, Lorca); one Czech (Kafka); one Chilean (Neruda); one (Pessoa); one Argentinian (Borges); one Swedish (Gullberg).
countries sided with Soviet Union and their allies. Last but not least may be the fact that until the beginning of the 20th century Balkan countries were involved in official and unofficial (guerilla) war until 1913.  

Conclusion

After examining the Greek High School textbooks we may conclude the following: The National Other in Modern Greek History and Literature is the Turk, depicted in critical historical moments, such as the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman period, the years of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, and the Asia Minor Disaster in 1922. In these critical historical times the Turks are presented as follows: On the one hand, as compared with the Greeks, the Turks seem to lie on the other end of the national spectrum; mainly army officers or state representatives, are portrayed to be harsh, cruel, committing atrocities against the Greek people, at times being coward; on the other hand the Greeks (elderly, women, children) are presented as either the innocent victims, suffering from the oppression of the Ottoman tyranny, or courageous soldiers and rebels, fighting for their freedom, their faith, their homeland, and their families. Therefore, the stereotypically negative image of the “historical Turk” is mainly portrayed in the textbooks.

Some of the literary works are set in places that hold a symbolic dimension in Greek history and Greek collective memory: i.e. Constantinople, the City of the Cities, or Missolonghi, the symbol of freedom and self-sacrifice. Furthermore, there are texts emphasizing different cultural traits, attributed to the two peoples and religions, Orthodox Christianity and Islam: focus on the moral values and ideals on the one hand and material values on the other.

Most literary extracts include references to the Other. However, in some of them the Other holds a central role in the text. In these cases either the Other is represented close to the negative stereotypical image (i.e. Ali Pasha); or is a central and positive character, but simple minded and weak, seeking help and advice from the Greeks (i.e. Moskov Selim, “mazakades”). We may

8 The 1st grade the Teacher’s Guide includes the Albanian, Bulgarian and Serbian variations of the folk song of “The Dead brother”.

call this type of character a “naively positive image of the Turk”. Doukas, *Story of a captive* stands out as an exception, by portraying in a central role a magnanimous Turk, land owner, who is temporary boss to the Greek captive; he is an entirely positive literary figure, underlining the anti-war, humane message of its author and the friendship between the Greek and the Turkish people. From an entirely different point of view, Galanaki’s Ishmial Ferik Pasha is portrayed as a split personality, foregrounding respect for otherness.

In our modern globalized and multi-cultural societies with many economic immigrants, school education needs to foster bilateral knowledge of both the Self and the Other, discussing overtly the negative stereotypical images of the national and religious Other and attempting to cultivate respect for and acceptance of Otherness. This does not mean annihilation of historical memory, or oblivion of the past, but rather, as Stratis Doukas says in his motto in the *Story of the captive*: “Μονάχα οι ηλικιώτικαι οι νεκροί έχουν δικαιώματα να λησμονούν. Μα οσοι έχουν την πνοή της ζωής μέσα τους, οφείλουν να θυμούνται για να στοχάζονται και να συγχωρούν.” “Only the stupid and the dead have the right to forget. The ones who are still alive have the obligation to remember in order to meditate and forgive.” *The story of a captive* (1929, 1st edition).

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10 Ibid., p. 329.


**APPENDIX**

Suggested Balkan Nobel Laureatae Authors that could be included in National Curriculum Literature Textbooks

**Bulgaria**
- Elias Canetti, Literature, 1981

**Greece**
- Odysses Elytis, Literature, 1979
- Giorgos Seferis, Literature, 1963

**Romania**
- Herta Müller, Literature, 2009

**Serbia**
- Ivo Andrić, born in Austro-Hungarian Empire, now Bosnia and Herzegovina, Literature, 1961

**Turkey**
- Orhan Pamuk, Literature, 2006