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AN OUTLINE OF THE GREEK PRESS IN BULGARIA (1879-1906)

In this study I attempt an initial presentation of such material as has been preserved on the Greek press in Bulgaria, on the basis of the newspapers themselves, correcting the mistakes and filling in the gaps of works so far published in the Greek and foreign bibliography. I have found copies of these newspapers, bound into volumes (unfortunately all defective): 1) in the National Library in Athens, 2) in the Department of Old Publications (Staropечатен otdel) of the "Cyril and Methodius" Public Library in Sofia (NBKM), and 3) in the "Ivan Vazov" Public Library in Plovdiv in Bulgaria, where the greatest number of Greek newspapers are kept, classified in alphabetical order under the entry: "Publications in Greek".

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The history of the Greek press in Bulgaria begins in 1879 in Philippopolis, the modern Plovdiv, then the capital of the autonomous Ottoman province of Eastern Roumelia, with the publication of the newspaper *Φιλιππούπολις* [Philippopolis]. Before 1878, i.e. until the foundation of the Bulgarian state and the creation of an autonomous Eastern Roumelia by the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878), no Greek newspaper or periodical was published by the Greek communities in present-day Bulgaria¹. In fact, the only Greek printing press that had functioned in this area before this period, and that only for a short time (1839-1840), was Dimitrios Kalambakidis' press at Melenikon (Melnik)²

1. We can say that the activity of the Bulgarian press in Bulgaria also begins in the year 1878. The Bulgarian papers previously published in the present day Bulgaria were *Dunav* [Danube] (1865-1877), two copies of *Iztočnik mnenija* [Source of Opinion] 1867-1868—both organs of the Ottoman authorities—*Slava* [Glory] 1871-73 and *Učilište* [School] 1876 in Rusčuk (Ruse), and the *Žurnal za nauka, zanajat i trgovija* [Periodical for science, manufacture and commerce] (1860) in Plovdiv printed in Belgrade. See Manjo Stojanov, *Bălgarska vāzroždenska knižnina* [Bulgarian letters during the national renaissance], Sofia, NI, 1957, vol. I, pp. 439, 443, 446, 454; vol. II, pp. VI, VII. *Istoriija na bălgarskata literatura* [History of Bulgarian Literature], Sofia, BAN, vol. II, 1966, p. 188.

2. P. Spandonidis, *Μελένικος. Ὁ νεκρὸς μακεδονικὸς ἀκρίτης* [Melenikos. The dead Macedonian Akrites], Thessaloniki, 1930, p. 35; Tr. Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. (Ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως μέχρι Καποδιστρίου)* [Education during the Ottoman Rule. From the Fall of Constantinople to Kapodistrias], Athens 1936, vol. I, p. 132; P. Pennas, "ὉΚαλαβακίδης καὶ τὸ τυπογραφεῖο του" [Kalavakidis and his printing press], *Ἡὼς* 29-30 (1940) 40; *idem*, *Μελένικος ὁ Ἀκρίτας τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βορρᾶ* [Melenikos. The Akrites

Article 40 of the “Organic Law of Eastern Roumelia” ensured the freedom of the press in this autonomous province within the Ottoman state³, and the publishing activity observed in the short space of its life 1878-1885 was very intense especially on the Bulgarian side⁴.

Our information to date on the Greek press in Bulgaria from Greek sources has been minimal and scattered, drawn from monographs on cities and articles on the cultural activity of the Greek communities in Bulgaria. Our knowledge of the Greek press there, was limited to the names of three or four of the bigger newspapers and outlines of the lives of the more important editors⁵.

The only collected bibliography on the Greek press in Bulgaria is in the three volume *Bългарски периодичен печат 1844-1944. Anotiran bibliografski ukazatel* [The Bulgarian Press 1844-1944. Annotated bibliography], by D. Ivančev, Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, vol. I, 1962, vol. II, 1966, vol. III, 1969.

of the Greek North], Athens, 1964, p. 24; A. Vacalopoulos, *Ίστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας* [History of Macedonia], Thessaloniki, 1969, p. 399.

3. “The press is declared free..., Censorship in advance is prohibited”, *Ὁργανικὸς νόμος τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ρωμυλίας μετὰ τῶν Παραρτημάτων αὐτοῦ* [Organic Law of Eastern Roumelia with its amendments], translated from the French and published by Athan. Nikolaidis, director of the newspaper *Φιλιππούπολις*, Philippopolis, 1879.

4. At that time in Philippopolis 17 Bulgarian newspapers and 5 Bulgarian periodicals were produced. See Hr. Negencov and Iv. Vanev, *Образованието в Източна Румелия 1879-1885* [Education in Eastern Roumelia 1879-1885], Sofia, BAN, 1959, pp. 159-160. During the same period in Philippopolis met and worked the distinguished Bulgarian writers and journalists Ivan Vazov, P. R. Slavejkov, Z. Stojanov and St. Veličkov (for whose activity there, see, inter alia M. Stojanov, *Kogato Plovdiv beše stolica* [When Plovdiv was the capital], Sofia, Otečestven Front, 1973, pp. 152-195). So one can see how important for the Greeks of Eastern Roumelia was the role played by the newspaper *Φιλιππούπολις* (at that time the only Greek newspaper in the city), and its printing press.

5. Pol. Papachristodoulou, “Μία ἐπέτειος. Δύο ἡρωϊκοὶ δημοσιογράφοι καὶ ὁ ἑλληνικὸς τύπος τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως” [An anniversary. Two heroic journalists and the Greek press in Philippopolis], newspaper *Καθημερινή* [The Daily], 16 July, 1949; *idem*, “Οἱ ἑλληνικὲς ἐφημερίδες στὴ Βόρειο Θράκη καὶ ἡ καταστροφή τους” [The Greek newspapers in Northern Thrace and their destruction], newspaper *Μακεδονία-Θράκη*. [Macedonia-Thrace], 15 January 1960; *idem*, “Ἀγωνιστικὴ ἐπιχειρηματολογία ἀπὸ ἱστορικὲς πηγὲς τῆς ἑλληνικότητος τῆς Θράκης” [Strong arguments drawn from historical sources proving that Thrace is Greek], (hereafter “Ἀγωνιστικὴ ἐπιχειρηματολογία...”) *Ἀρχεῖον Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ Θησαυροῦ* (hereafter *ΑΘ*) [Archive of the Thracian Folk Treasury] 20 (1964) 168-169; K. M. Apostolidis, “Βιογραφίαι διακριθέντων Φιλιππουπολιτῶν” [Biographies of distinguished Philippopolitans], (hereafter, “Βιογραφίαί...”) *ΑΘ* 14 (1947-48) 64-94; *idem*, *Ἡ τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως ἱστορία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων* [The History of Philippopolis from antiquity to our own times] (hereafter *Ίστορία Φιλιππουπόλεως...*), Athens, 1959, pp. 447-448, 699-700; Kostas Mayer, *Ίστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ τύπου* [History of the Greek Press], Athens, 1957, vol. I, pp. 290-291, vol. III, p. 320.

The Greek press is considered in vol. III, pp. 14-17; but since D. Ivančev has not himself seen most of the newspapers, and his second-hand information about several of them comes from notices in the Bulgarian press of the period, the evidence with which he provides us is often insufficient or incorrect.

Before that, bibliographical information about all the Greek periodicals and newspapers published in Varna from time to time, had been included in I. Bliznakov's article "Varnenski periodičen pečat, 1880-1944" [The press of Varna, 1880-1944] in the periodical *Izvestija na Varnenskoto Arheologičesko Družestvo* [Bulletin of the Varna Archaeological Society] (hereafter *IVAD*), 12 (1961) 92-93. Unfortunately, though Blizankov mentions that several newspapers are to be found in the city's public library, I was unable to find any of them there (1974).

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In the space of twenty-eight years (1878-1906), fifteen periodical and papers written in Greek, according to our present information, circulated in Bulgaria; to be precise: six in Philippopolis (Plovdiv): *Φιλιπούπολις* [Philippopolis], *'Ο Κοσμοπολίτης* [The Cosmopolitan], *'Ο Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου* [The Balkan Messenger], *Σατανᾶς* [Satan], *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου* [Balkan News], *'Υγίειο* [Health]; seven in Varna: *Τηλέγραφος* [Telegraph], *'Οδησός* [Odessa], *Ἐξέτεινος* [Euxine], *'Ανεξαρτησία* [Independence], *'Ο 'Αμερόληπτος* [The Impartial], *Πανδαισία* [Banquet], *Φωνή* [Voice]; and two in Pyrgos (Burgas) *Τὸ Βῆμα* [The Rostrium] and *Θεατῆς* [Spectator]. Of these papers the Philippopolis *'Ο Κοσμοπολίτης* and the Varna *Τηλέγραφος* were published by non-Greeks. We can give the precise chronological limits of operation for only five of the newspapers: 1) *Φιλιπούπολις* 1879-1906, 2) *'Ο Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου* 1894-1896, 3) *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου* 1896-1906, 4) *'Υγίεια* 1905-1906 and 5) *Πανδαισία* 1898-1900. Certain copies of the remaining papers are preserved which define the beginning of their lives but not the end.

These newspapers constitute a basic historical source for the history of the Greek communities of the Balkans, supplying information on the political, economic and cultural activity of Greeks in Bulgaria during the final quarter of the last century.

PHILIPPOLIS (PLOVDIV)⁶

1) *PHILIPPOUPOLIS* [Φιλιπούπολις]. Ἐκδίδεται κατὰ Τετάρτην καὶ Σάββατον. Διευθυντής καὶ ἰδιοκτήτης: Ἄθ. Νικολαΐδης. Συντάκται: Δ. Ι.

6. In the study the papers are dealt with by cities and in chronological order of publication. The full title of the paper is given, with the date of the first preserved copy, the names

Κουμαριανός - Π. Μ. Μαρτύ. Ἔτος Α΄, ἀρ. 29. Τετάρτη 29 Μαΐου 1879⁷. [Philippopolis. Published every Wednesday and Saturday. Director and owner: Ath. Nikolaidis. Editors: D. I. Koumarios - P.M. Marty. Year 1, no. 29. Wednesday 29 May 1879].

The newspaper printed its main news in French as well as in Greek. In the French text dates are given according to the new, Gregorian, calendar.

Its director was Ath. Nikolaidis, one of the Nikolaidis brothers who had published, in Constantinople, the daily paper *Κωνσταντινούπολις* [Constantinople]⁸. The fact that its editor was D.I. Koumarios who with Vlassis Gavriilidis⁹ was also one of the editors of *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, is typical. After the Russo-Turkish war, Ath. Nikolaidis and his editor Koumarios began in Philippopolis the publication of the newspaper of the same name.

Φιλιπούπολις was published in Greek and French until 1885, and from 1885 to 1906 in Greek alone. The other editor, P.M. Marty, dealt with the French section. From the issue of 22/12/1879 no. 93 onwards the name of A. Passalery is mentioned instead of Marty's; the former was the chief engineer of the city, and for a time published a French satirical paper called *Le Charivari Rouméliote*¹⁰. From the issue of 29/3/1880 no. 119 onwards, Koumarios alone is mentioned as editor.

D. Ivančev, in *Bългарски периодичен печат*, refers to Argyrios Dimitriadis as editor-in-chief in 1885, and Koumarios as director and publisher. Argyrios Dimitriadis was, until his death in 1900, a teacher and governor of the Greek schools of Stenimakhos (today Asenovgrad)¹¹.

In the first period of its life 1878-1885, *Φιλιπούπολις* found itself in continual opposition to the Bulgarian newspaper *Marica*¹², and its leaders often referred to articles in the Bulgarian paper. At this time its publisher, Ath. Nikolaidis, was not infrequently prosecuted by the Penal Court of the Pre-

of the director and editor on the basis of this same copy and finally the important points in the paper's history. A full account on the Greek press in Bulgaria is in the stage of preparation by the author of this study.

7. Athens National Library, years 1879-81, 1891-92, 1895-98, 1903; NBKM Staropecaten Otdel, years 1880-82; Plovdiv Library, years 1894-98, 1906; Ivančev, *Bългарски периодичен печат*, vol. III, p. 15, nos. 8222 and 8223. Ivančev mistakenly has the *Φιλιπούπολις* 1879-81 (no. 8222) as different from the *Φιλιπούπολις* 1885-1906 (no. 8223).

8. K. M. Apostolidis, "Βιογραφία...", *ΑΘ* 14 (1947-48); M. Stojanov, *Kogato Plovdiv beše stolica*, p. 20. And the paper *Κωνσταντινούπολις* (1869-1973) itself.

9. Subsequently publisher and director of the newspaper *Ἀκρόπολις* [Acropolis] in Athens.

10. *Φιλιπούπολις* no. 294 of 6/1/1882.

11. *Πανδαισία* no. 5 1/3/1900, p. 456.

12. The first Bulgarian newspaper to be published in the city, 25th July 1878, after the foundation of Eastern Roumelia. M. Stojanov, *Kogato Plovdiv beše stolica*, p. 162.

lecture for insulting the authorities. This was usually the result of taking up a stand in opposition to that of *Marica*; in the first two years after the paper's foundation he was convicted twice¹³.

Soon after 1882 the name of Nikolaidis ceased to be mentioned, and Dimitrios I. Koumarios alone became director and editor of the newspaper.

The newspaper had its own printing press, probably since its foundation.

After the destruction of his press in 1906 and his condemnation to death by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Committee [IMRO], Koumarios fled to Greece. In 1910 he was appointed interpreter to the Royal Greek Embassy in Belgrade, where he died in 1912¹⁴.

His paper constitutes a highly valuable source for the life of the Greek communities in Philippopolis and Stenimakhos, and also gives us important information on the life of the other communities throughout Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia.

2) *Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ*¹⁵ [The Cosmopolitan]. International newspaper of farming, trade and industry. Published every Sunday. Nos. 1-2 (3rd January - 6th February 1883).

Heading and text are printed in Greek, Bulgarian, Turkish, and French.

The publisher was a Philippopolitan lawyer of Slovak descent, Ivan Petăr Žilka, who supported the view that the Aegean, the Danube, the Ober and the North Sea should be connected by canals.

3) *Ο ΜΗΝΥΤΩΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΟΥ*. 'Εφημερίς έκδομένη δις καθ' ἑβδομάδα. 'Αρ. 1. 'Εν Φιλίππουπόλει τῆ 13/9/1894¹⁶ [The Balkan Messenger. Newspaper published twice a week, no. 1. Philippopolis 13/9/1894].

The editor and the director are not mentioned in the heading. On the

13. Φιλιππούπολις no. 166 of 20/9/1880.

14. Apostolidis, *Ἱστορία Φιλίππουπόλεως...*, p. 699; P. Papachristodulu, "'Αγωνιστική ἐπιχειρηματολογία", *ΑΘ* 20 (1964) 169; *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν Ὑπουργείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι διπλωματικοῦ σώματος* [The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Yearbook of the Diplomatic Corps in Greece], Athens, 1911, p. 168.

15. My only source on this newspaper is Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 323, no. 3275, from where I take those details concerning the paper given here.

16. Athens Library, years 1895-96; Plovdiv Library, years 1894-96; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8217. Ivančev, who has not seen the paper, erroneously supposes that perhaps the *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου* is the same paper. Also on indirect information—from a Bulgarian paper of the time—he catalogues a newspaper with the title "Omnius to Emu" (vol. III, p. 15, no. 8220), which is none other than *Ὁ Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου*.

last page the name of the publisher and man responsible for the paper is printed—Petros Christu.

In the issue of 12/10/1894 (no. 7), G.O. Skavanis is mentioned as director and owner.

From the second year (no. 89 of 5/9/1895), the paper was published three times a week.

From the issue of 12/10/95 (no. 103), Georgios Iv. Zeku became responsible.

The paper ceased publication in February 1896, the last issue being no. 146 of 8/2/1896.

The publisher and editor of the paper, even though his name is not mentioned on the first issue, was Sotirios (Germanos) Skanavis¹⁷.

Skanavis was co-owner and editor, with Ch. Lambridis, of the Varna newspaper *᾽Οδησσοῦς*. In 1894 he settled in Philippopolis, where he began to publish the *Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἰμου*. When the paper ceased publication in 1896, Skanavis transferred his publishing activity to Burgas (Pyrgos) where, in November of the same year, he began circulation of the newspaper *Τὸ Βῆμα* which was a continuation of *᾽Ο Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἰμου*. This is made clear by the editorial of the first edition of *Τὸ Βῆμα* and the numbering of its editions¹⁸.

4) *ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΟΥ*. Ἐφημερίς ἐκδιδομένη κατὰ πᾶσαν Πέμπτην καὶ Κυριακὴν. Ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 1, ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει 25/4/1896. Διευθυντῆς καὶ συντάκτης Γ. Μουσαῖος¹⁹ [Balkan News. Newspaper published every Thursday and Sunday. Year 1, no. 1, Philippopolis 25/4/1896. Director and editor G. Mouseos].

From the issue of 2/6/1896 (no. 12), Sk[arlatos] Konstantinidis became editor-in-chief, and G. Museos director and co-editor. G. Museos ceases to be mentioned as the paper's director in 1897.

G. Museos, a well-known scholar of Philippopolis²⁰, was appointed consular agent in Stenimakhos by order of the Greek Government²¹.

The paper was, at different periods, published three times, twice and once

17. *Ἐῶξιμος* no. 25 of 18/9/1894: "We have taken the first number of a newspaper published in Philippopolis under the title of *᾽Ο Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἰμου*, and edited by a great man well-known in our society, Sotirios Germanos Skavanis".

18. See below.

19. Athens National Library and Plovdiv Library, years 1896-1906; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8214. Ivančev mentions that the papers of years I, III and IX are missing; yet in Plovdiv Library I was able to leaf through a complete set of the newspaper.

20. Editor of the *Γρηγόριος Πακουριανὸς μέγας δομέστικος τῆς Δύσεως καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Πετριτζονίσσης* [Gregory Pakourianos Great Domestic of the West and his *Τυπικὸν* of the Monastery of Petritzos], Leipzig, 1888.

21. *Πανδαισία* no. 10 of 16/5/1898. See also in *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐξωτερικῶν*

a week. Argyrios Skarlatos Konstantinidis, a doctor, was director and editor of the paper from 1896 until it ceased publication in 1906²².

Some copies of an offshoot publication of the newspaper have survived; they have the title *Μηνιαῖον Φιλολογικὸν Ἐπιστημονικὸν παράρτημα τῶν Ἐιδήσεων τοῦ Αἴμου*. [Monthly Literary and Scientific Supplement of the *Balkan News*]²³. These are pamphlets I (January 1906) and II (February 1906), which contain amateurs stories and poems and translations of sentimental stories of no particular interest.

5) *ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ*²⁴ [Satan], with the subtitle “Ὁ ἄνευ ὄρου τοῦ Δημήτρη Θεοδώρου” [Without bounds by Dimitris Theodorou]. Second year, no. 28, 28/10/1895. A satirical verse paper published every Saturday. We know nothing about the editor of this paper apart from his name, not even the duration of the paper he edited. Georgis Ivan Zekov was responsible for it. (See p. 350 Georgios Iv. Zeku).

6) *ΥΓΙΕΙΑ*. Μηνιαῖον περιοδικὸν ὑγιεινῆς καὶ δημῶδους ἰατρικῆς. Ἐκδιδόμενον χάριν τῶν οἰκογενειῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ Ἀχιλλέως Ἰ. Ἀρμοδίου, παθολόγου, εἰδικοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν παιδικῶν νοσημάτων. Ἔτος Α', τευχ. Α', Σεπτέμβριος, Φιλιππούπολις, 1905²⁵ [Health. Monthly periodical of health and popular medicine. Published for families by Dr. Achilles I. Armodios, pathologist and specialist in children's diseases. Year 1, vol. 1. September. Philippopolis, 1905].

This is a popularized medical periodical. On p. 3 of the first instament we read: “*Health* has as its aim the development of the chief principles of health, the popularization of sundry information about it and the transmission of the rules of health”.

The final instament no. 8 was published in April 1906. Armodios left for Athens, after the events of 1906, and continued publishing his periodical there for a short time²⁶.

Ἰ. Υπουργείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι διπλωματικοῦ σώματος. (G. Museos was appointed Consular Agent in the Vice-Consulate of Stenimakhos on April 17, 1899).

22. On his personality see K.M. Apostolidis, *Ἱστορία Φιλιππουπόλεως...*, pp. 447-448 and 700-701; *idem*, “Βιογραφία...” p. 53 P. Papachristodoulou, “Ἀγωνιστικὴ ἐπιχειρηματολογία”, p. 169. Apostolidis incorrectly writes that the *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου* replaced *Ὁ Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου* edited by G. Museos. As we have mentioned the continuation of the *Μηνύτωρ* is *Τὸ Βῆμα* in Burgas, and Museos is the first editor of *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου*.

23. Plovdiv Library.

24. Nos. 28-36 (1895) and 37-41 (1896) are preserved in Plovdiv Library. The publication of this paper was unknown. Not even Ivančev catalogued it in his work.

25. Athens National Library, years 1905-06 nos. 1-8; Plovdiv Library, years 1905-06 nos. 1-7; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8215.

26. Athens National Library, *Υγεία* period 2, year I (1909-10), year II (1910-11).

VARNA

7) *ΟΔΗΣΣΟΣ*. Ἐκδιδομένη κατὰ Σάββατον. Διευθυντῆς καὶ ἐκδότης Ἀναστ. Ἀθανασιάδης. Συντάκτης Β.Ν. Γουναρόπουλος. Ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 18, Βάρνα 11/5/1891²⁷ [Odessa. Published every Saturday. Director and publisher Anast. Athanasiadis. Editor V. N. Gounaropoulos. Year 1, no. 18, Varna 11/5/1891].

The paper from the issue of 4/9/1891 (no. 33) onwards was printed at its own press: "Διεθνὲς τυπογραφεῖον Ὀδησσοῦ" [Odessa International Printing]²⁸.

From the issue of 10/8/1891 (no. 33) Charalambos A. Lambridis became director and publisher in place of Athanasiadis. V. N. Gounaropoulos continued as responsible editor and the paper was published twice a week.

From the issue of 17/1/1892 (no. 65), Ch. A. Lambridis became director and editor with sole responsibility, and the paper appeared three times a week.

As from January of the fourth year of its publication, certain changes were made in the paper: Ch. A. Lambridis became director and editor-in-chief, and G.O. Skanavis²⁹ co-owner and editor (no. 309 of 1/1/1894). The format of the paper became bigger, and was announced that in the next issue there would be published: "... the *Odessa* anthology, in which there will appear the finest short stories, in 36 supplements of 32 pages each"³⁰. Unfortunately not a single one of these supplements has survived.

Ch. A. Lambridis is mentioned as sole owner and editor in the edition of 3/7/1894 (no. 356). G. O. Skanavis has moved on to found *Ὁ Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου* in Philippopolis in September 1894, as we have mentioned.

It is not known precisely when the newspaper ceased publication; the last issue preserved is from 1894. We have information from the local Greek press that at the end of 1894 the paper's publication was irregular³¹.

8) *ΕΥΞΕΙΝΟΣ*. Ἐφημερίς πολιτικῆ, φιλολογικῆ καὶ ἐμπορικῆ ἐκδιδομένη ἀπαξ τῆς ἐβδομάδος. Διευθυντῆς Ἀναστ. Ἀθανασιάδης. Ὑπεύθ. συντάκτης καὶ ἐκδότης Β.Ν. Γουναρόπουλος. Ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 1, Βάρνα 30/3/94³²

27. Athens National Library, years 1891-94; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8218; Bliznakov, "Varnenski periodičen pečat 1880-1944", *IVAD* 12 (1961) 93.

28. A number of Greek publications were printed at this press, among them Io. Nikolaou's book: *Ἡ Ὀδησός (Βάρνα) ὑπ' ἀρχαιολογικὴν καὶ ἱστορικὴν ἀποψιν* [Odessa (Varna) from the archaeological and historical viewpoint], Varna 1894.

29. Interesting information about the personality of Lambridis and Skanavis is included in a letter of the adjutant consul of the Greek consulate in Varna, 13/3/1893, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Athens, AYE/KY, 1893, B 29,3.

30. *Ὀδησός*, no. 309 of 1/1/1894

31. *Ἐξείνος*, nos. 19 of 6/8/1894 and 29 of 15/10/1894.

32. Athens National Library, years 1895-96; Plovdiv Library, years 1894-96; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 14-15, no. 8214; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

ΣΑΤΑΝΑΣ

Ο ΑΝΕΥ ΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ

21361

Τὸν ἀρμαίον Σατανά μου εἶναι δεύτερος ὁ χρόνος
καὶ ἀποθνήσκω ὁ Γεώργιος ἵσταν Ζάκωσ εἶναι μόνος.

Ἐπὶς γὰρ ἐκτακτικὰ ἐναντιώμενος καὶ κίνας
καὶ ἀρμαίον ἐμὴ πρὸς με βροχὰ πρὸ με πονάντα.

Ἐν Φιλιπποπόλει ἔδραν ἔχω

καὶ γὰ κἀθὼνα οὐδέποτε πλάξω.

ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΣΤΟΙΣ ΟΡΟΥΣ ΜΑΣ

Τὴν ἀδελφίδα μετ' ἑσέ ὁ „Σατανάς“ θὰ ἔσται
καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὴν κλίσιν μας τὴ πνοῦρα καταβάνῃ
Φροῦδὸν δὲ εἰς σὺνδερμὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔσται
ἴσταν προσηγορία ἔσται δὲ τὴν ἰσοκρίσια
ἔσται ἄλλοι χροῖα καὶ τὴν κλίσιν δὲ εἰς ἄλλο μὲρ
ἄλλο καὶ πρὸς γὰ ἀπὸ πρὸς, ἔσται μὲρ σαρμῆρα

ΚΑΙ ΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ ΣΤΟΙΣ ΗΘΟΥΣ ΜΑΣ.

Ἄλλο εἰς τὸν πρὸς τὸν κλίσιν ἐπὶ κλίσιν
Ὅτι θὰ ἐκτακτικὰ ἐναντιώμενος εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν
Ἄλλοις τοῦ ἀρμαίοντος καὶ ἔσται ἰσοκρίσια
καὶ ἔσται δὲ ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ καταγρηθόμενος
Ὅτι δὲ ἐκτακτικὰ ἐναντιώμενος εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν
καὶ ἔσται δὲ ἐκτακτικὰ ἐναντιώμενος καὶ ἴσταν

Τὸν Οὐκὸς ἐστὶν εἶναι εἶναι,
καὶ εἰς τὴν κλίσιν λέγει ἀντί.

Νόημα εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν,
ἔσται ἔσται μὲ καὶ ἴσταν.

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ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΗΡ

(Αφοσιώται τὸ εὐχρηστικὸν κομμάτι Γ. Παπαγεωργίου πρόξενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Βιέννῃ
καὶ τῆ ἀδελφῆς τοῦ γένου τῆς κλίσιν κλίσιν)

Ἐκτακτικὰ εἶναι τὸ εἶναι καὶ
ἔσται καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν
Τὸ εἶναι τὸ εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι μὲν ἴσταν
καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν

ἔσται ἔσταν καὶ ἴσταν
ἔσται ἔσταν τῆς κλίσιν καὶ ἴσταν

Ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν, ἐκτακτικὰ ἐκτακτικὰ
ἔσται καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν
καὶ ἴσταν, καὶ ἴσταν, καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν,
ἔσται, ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν

Ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν, ἐκτακτικὰ ἐκτακτικὰ,
τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν, καὶ ἴσταν, καὶ ἴσταν,
ἔσται ἐκτακτικὰ, καὶ ἴσταν, ἐκτακτικὰ
καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν, ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν

Ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν, ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν,
ἔσται καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν

Ἐκτακτικὰ καὶ ἴσταν, τῆς κλίσιν καὶ ἴσταν,
ἔσται καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν,
τὸ εἶναι τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν,
καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν καὶ ἴσταν

[Euxine. Political, literary and commercial newspaper, published once a week. Director Anast. Athanasiadis. Responsible editor and publisher V.N. Gounaropoulos. Year 1, no. 1, Varna 30/3/94].

The paper very frequently found itself in opposition—often sharply—on community, and also on personal subjects with the *᾽Οδησός*, and more particularly during its initial period, with its editor, G.O. Skanavis³³. It is clear that the two newspapers represented two politically opposed factions in the spectrum of the Greek community of Varna, the same thing occurred in Philippopolis with the papers *Φιλιππούπολις* and *Εἰδήσεις τοῦ Αἴμου*³⁴. I may note here the fact that the Euxine's director Anastasios Athanasiadis and its editor V.N. Gounaropoulos were the publishers of the *᾽Οδησός*, up to no. 31, Gounaropoulos continuing as editor up to no. 64³⁵.

V.N. Gounaropoulos, a musician and a director of the Varna Philharmonic³⁶, and editor of the newspaper, gave up his work with it in April 1894 because, as the paper says, "he has moved to Athens in order to finish his musical studies"³⁷. Thus from no. 34 onwards Anastasios Athanasiadis became both director and editor-in-chief.

After the edition of 25/2/1896 (no. 99), Aristodimos Chatzipetrou became responsible editor of the paper: he was a personality in the Greek community and a member of its council of elders.

The last edition of the newspaper preserved is no. 127 of 25/9/1896. It is not known when the *Ἐξέλιξις* ceased publication.

9) *ΟΔΗΣΣΟΣ-ΕΥΞΕΙΝΟΣ*³⁸ [Odessa-Euxine]. I have found no information on this paper from any source except Ivančev, who mentions that it was published at the "International Press" of the *᾽Οδησός* in 1897, and Bliznakov, who notes the following bibliographical evidence on it: "*Odessa-Euxine*, Greek newspaper, years I-IV, 1893-1897 (evidenced by the newspaper *Svoboda*, 7/4/1893)".

Perhaps this is a conflation of the titles of two separate newspapers, the *᾽Οδησός* and the *Ἐξέλιξις*, as neither Ivančev nor Bliznakov personally saw the paper, but drew their evidence from Bulgarian publications of the time.

33. *Ἐξέλιξις* nos. 15 of 9/7/1894, 18 of 30/7/1894, and 22 of 27/8/1894.

34. P. Papachristodoulou, "Ἀγωνιστικὴ ἐπιχειρηματολογία", p. 168.

35. See above on the *᾽Οδησός*.

36. The Greek community's "Philharmonic Union of Varna" was founded in 1893. See the *Ἐξέλιξις* of 30/4/1894 (no. 5).

37. *Ἐξέλιξις* no. 32 of 5/11/1894.

38. Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8215; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, 93.

10) *ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΙΑ*³⁹ [Independence]. Newspaper published twice a week. Editor T. Paraschos. Varna, nos. 1-2 (1897).

The paper is not preserved in any library and information on it derives from the contemporary Bulgarian press.

11) *ΑΜΕΡΟΔΗΠΤΟΣ*. Ἐφημερίς πολιτική, ἐμπορική, φιλολογική καὶ κοινωνική ἐκδιδόμενη Τετάρτη καὶ Σάββατον. Διευθυντῆς καὶ συντάκτης: Ἄ. Δ. Οἰκονομίδης. Ὑπεύθυνος: Δρ. Β.Δ. Παράσχος, Ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 1. Βάρνα 19/5/1899⁴⁰ [The Impartial. Political, commercial, literary and social paper, published on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Director and Editor: A.D. Ekonomidis. Responsible: Dr. V.P. Paraschos. Year 1, no. 1, Varna 19/5/1899].

The paper clearly followed a pro-Turkish and anti-Russian line in politics, in the belief that it thus supported the true interests of the Greeks of Bulgaria⁴¹.

The responsible of the paper, Dr. V.P. Paraschos, was a well-known lawyer and a leading figure in the Greek community of Varna. In the edition of 27/5/1899 (no. 3) G. Vasiliadis is mentioned as responsible editor. As appears from a comment in the paper (no. 3 of 27/5/99), V Paraschos had left because adverse criticism and reaction against the Turcophile line of Ἄμερόληπτος were very strong, from the Bulgarian side⁴², but even more so from the Greek one⁴³.

The last copy of the paper preserved is of 29/5/99 (no. 4). It is not known exactly when it went out of circulation.

12) *ΠΑΝΔΑΙΣΙΑ*. Ἡθικόν, κοινωνικόν καὶ ἐγκυκλοπαιδικόν φύλλον ἐκδιδόμενον τρίς κατὰ μῆνα τῇ συνεργασίᾳ πολλῶν ἐκπροσώπων διαφόρων κλάδων τῆς ἐπιστήμης. Ὑπὸ Δ. Χη Δανιήλ, Διδάκτορος τῆς Φιλοσοφίας

39. Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 14 and vol. II p. 393, no. 7127; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

40. Plovdiv Library, year 1899; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 14, no. 8210; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Neither Ivančev nor Bliznakov found the newspaper; their information is second-hand.

41. See the leading article in no. 1 of 19/5/1899: "... Perhaps there will be those who will characterize us as they wish, but there will be those who cannot perceive how beneficial our policies of logic towards Constantinople will be to Hellenism, those who do not understand the nation's true interests; we forgive them for this lack of understanding, awaiting the opportunity to make them fellow-developers of Hellenism's real interests".

42. Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 14.

43. Ἄμερόληπτος no. 3 of 27/5/1899: "We publicly thank our dear friend, the popular lawyer of the city Mr. V. Paraskhos, for his kindness in serving as holder of responsibility for Ἄμερόληπτος. Unfortunately reasons unconnected with his own will, or rather pressures from men who misinterpret the programme of our paper, have forced our good friend to cease undertaking responsibility any further for what is written by us".

καὶ προλύτου τῆς Θεολογίας. Ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 1, Βάρνα, 10/1/1898⁴⁴ [Banquet. A moral, social and encyclopaedic paper, published three times a month and prepared through the co-operation of many representatives of various branches of science, under D. Chadzidaniil, Doctor of Philosophy and Bachelor of Divinity. Year 1, no. 1, Varna, 10/1/1898].

From 1899 it was published twice a month.

Chadzidaniil published his translations of philosophical and religious works and his own treatises in separately published volumes⁴⁵.

The periodical uses continuous numbering of pages throughout its issues. In its final issue no. 24 of 15/12/1900 it is announced that "The Banquet will become, from the sixth of January next, a political, social and literary weekly paper format...". Thus the following paper appears as its continuation.

13) ΦΩΝΗ. Ἐφημερίς πολιτική, ἐμπορική καὶ κοινωνική ἐκδιδομένη κατὰ Σάββατον ἐπὶ Δ. Χη Δανιήλ, Περίοδος Β', Ἔτος Δ', ἀρ. 1, Βάρνα 27/1/1901⁴⁶ [Voice. Political, commercial and social newspaper published every Saturday by D. Chadzidaniil. Period II, Year 4, no. 1, Varna 27/1/1901].

It was published in a larger size than the *Πανδαισία* and the pages of the issues are not numbered continuously. Its last preserved issue is that of 9/7/1901 (no. 24). We do not know when it ceased publication.

14) ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΟΣ⁴⁷ [Telegraph].

The only sources on this paper are Ivančev and Bliznakov. According to their information, the paper was published in 1881 nos. 1-3, 15th June 1881 by N.S. Čolakov, with parallel text in Greek and Bulgarian.

BURGAS (PYRGOS)

15) ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ. Ἐκδίδεται ἐν Πύργῳ Τρίτην καὶ Παρασκευήν. Διευθυντής καὶ ἰδιοκτήτης Γ.Ο. Σκαναβῆς. Περίοδος Α', ἀρ. 147, Βάρνα 20/11/

44. Plovdiv Library, years 1898-1900; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8221; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, 95. Bliznakov mentions the existence of a Greek periodical under the title "Pankrezija". I think that this is the *Πανδαισία* with the title incorrectly spelt by the Bulgarian newspaper from which he takes his information.

45. See *Πανδαισία* no. 11 of 1/6/1900, where mention is made of the publication and circulation, from 1899 on, of his work Ἐρμηνεία τοῦ Ἐθαγγελίου τῶν Κυριακῶν [Interpretation of the Sunday Gospel]. See also Dh. Khadzidaniil, Ἀπὸ Βάρνης εἰς Σωζόπολιν, ἢ τὸ ναυάγιον καὶ ἡ διάσωσις ἡμῶν [From Varna to Sozopolis, or our shipwreck and rescue], Varna, 1905. For information about him see also Evangelidis, Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 343.

46. Plovdiv Library, year 1901: Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15, no. 8213; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

47. Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 16; Bliznakov, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

1896. Περίοδος Β', ἔτος Α', ἀρ. 147⁴⁸ [The Rostrum. Published in Pyrgos on Tuesdays and Fridays. Director and owner G.O. Skanavis. Series I, no. 147, Varna 20/11/1896. Series II, year 1, no. 1].

The paper, as we have already mentioned, appeared as a continuation of the Philippopolis *Ὁ Μηνύτωρ τοῦ Αἴμου*. This explains the numbering of its first issue, no. 147 (the *Μηνύτωρ* having stopped at no. 146).

The co-owner of the newspaper was Nikolaos G. Nikolaidis

Τὸ Βῆμα announces in its issue of 26/1/1897 no. 20 that it has obtained its own printing machine.

The paper often changed in format and size; from the issue of 7/4/1897 no. 36 onwards it was published in small format and became a daily paper up till no. 60 of 7/6/97 "because of the prevailing political circumstances, in which Greece is playing the leading part..."⁴⁹. At this period the paper is full of correspondence from Greece, news from the front and foreign news. Copies of it were snapped up to use a modern phrase; a fact that shows the interest of the Greeks of Pyrgos in developments in Greece.

From no. 60 onwards the editors of the paper frequently changed; Ghr. Papadopoulos, Ghr. Anastasiadis, Milt. Vazoles, and its format became larger, as before.

From the issue of 14/8/97 (no. 77) onwards, G.O. Skanavis became the only director and editor of *Τὸ Βῆμα*.

The last preserved issue is that of 4/1/1898 (no. 101). We do not know when it ceased publication.

16) *ΘΕΑΤΗΣ* [Spectator]⁵⁰. Weekly newspaper. Publisher, director and editor-in-chief G. Gorgias. 31st March-22nd July 1899.

This paper has not been preserved in any library. Ivančev from whom the evidence on the paper comes, mentions that the heading and text were written in Greek, French and Bulgarian, and refers the reader to the Bulgarian press of the time⁵¹.

Information as to the existence of the paper and the name of its publisher are to be found in *Ἀμερόληπτος* no. 2 (22/5/99)⁵² and no. 3 (27/5/99)⁵³.

48. Plovdiv Library, years 1896-98; Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 15.

49. *Τὸ Βῆμα* no. 36 of 7/4/1897.

50. Ivančev, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 343, no. 2536.

51. *Ibidem*.

52. "... the newspaper *Θεατής* which has recently started up in Pyrgos..."

53. "We are requested by Mr. G. Gorgias, who has recently arrived here from Pyrgos, to inform the public that on account of his travels through various parts of Bulgaria where he was studying social questions, the *Θεατής* has not been published".

These periodical papers contain four pages of four, six or eight columns each and have the form and size of modern newspapers (apart from the *Πανδαυσία* and the *Ύγιεια* published in the form of a periodical).

The paper's editorial, where there was one, was placed on the first page: it usually comments on internal or foreign events, and sometimes those of the community. Along with this appear foreign news, especially communications from the "Havas" agency, and dispatches from Greece. The interest shown by the Greeks of Bulgaria in the affairs of Greece proper can be seen from the fact that there was no Greek paper that did not dedicate at least one of its columns to news from Greece.

On page two we usually find internal Bulgarian news: reports from parliament (*săbranie*), government reports, news about the royal family, legislative decrees, various other pieces of news. Statements on the government's programme, the King's public address and the various legislative decrees were always in every newspaper, often in a supplement.

Local and community news is consigned to pages three and four; it contains reports by the local authorities and the Greek community on school examinations, the elections for the community elders, church festivals, theatrical performances, dances and all kinds of presentations of the Greek community, weddings, funerals, engagements etc. Also on page three is printed information on the Greek communities of other areas of Bulgaria, and frequently letters from readers on various community problems. The last two pages also contain, often in serials, excerpts from translations of literary works, and original philosophical, literary and archaeological treatises (see M. Apostolidis and Chr. Tsountas on the antiquities of Philippopolis in *Φιλιππούπολις* and *Ειδήσεις τοῦ Αἰμον*, Io. Nikolaou on the antiquities of Varna in *Ὀδησός*, and s.o.). The fourth page is usually dedicated to various advertisements for shops and products.

These newspapers offer unique information on the state of Greeks in Bulgaria in face of the internal problems of Bulgaria and Greece: on their cultural, and also political activity.