

too closely indentified with the Turks and instead sends us on an intellectual trek into the middle ages.

Chapters by Robin Fletcher on «Byron in Nineteenth Century Greek Literature», Alexis Dimaras on the non-military British philhellenes and E. D. Tappe on the revolution in the Principalities round out the essays. It ought to be noted that in a book on the «struggle for Greek independence» there is almost nothing concerning the actual military conduct of the war. Despite this omission several significant topics are covered. Though these essays raised as many questions as they answered, this should be construed as a recommendation that the book be read by anyone interested in the Greek revolution.

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N. Todorov - V. Trajkov, *Bŭlgari učasnici v borbite za osvobodnieto na Gŭrcija 1821-1828*, Sofia, BAN (Institut za balkanistika), 1971, pp. 1017.

The 19th Century was a turning point in the history of the Balkan peoples. It began with the eruption of the national liberation movements in the nations of Southeastern Europe, and ended with the formation of nearly all the national states in that region. Yet the friction and rivalry between the newly independent countries grew as the irredentist movements increased in intensity, the aim of these movements being the fulfilment of each young nation's «Great Idea». At the same time, however, the irredentist movements united the Balkan nations even more in their common struggle against the Ottomans. The groundwork for these movements had been laid in the previous centuries by a process of gradual enlightenment and the growth of a national consciousness which was further nurtured by the spread and absorption of the ideals of the French revolution in the Balkan area.

The earliest national liberation movement in the Balkans to culminate in the establishment of an independent and sovereign State after an eight-year struggle was the Greek War of Independence of 1821. The outbreak of the revolt in areas outside Greece proper such as in Moldavia and Wallachia, and the fact that flourishing Greek communities existed in most parts of the Balkans side by side with other national groups, not to mention the Greek outbreak against the common foe, made a deep impression on the Balkan peoples in general, many of whom took an active part in the rebellion.

Several works have appeared in the recent past dealing with the influence of the Greek War of Independence in the Balkans and the participation of the Balkan peoples in that rebellion [see the recent article by N. Todorov, «Novi dannii za dobrovolcite ot grăckoto văstanie prez 1821 g. v dunavskite knjažestva» (New evidence concerning volunteers in the Greek revolution of 1821 in the Danubian principalities), *Balkani* 3, Sofia 1973, 7-30, with significant bibliography. See also Sp. Loukatos, *Σχέσεις Ἑλλήνων μετὰ Σέρβων καὶ Μανροβουνίων κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπανάστασιν 1823-1826*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1970, and his «Τουρκοαλβανικοῦ φιλελληνισμοῦ ἐράνισμα κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἐθνεγερσίαν», in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 73-74 (1973), 43-63].

Nevertheless, the problem has not yet been thoroughly studied. Now, the work by N. Todorov - V. Trajkov dealing with Bulgarians who took part in the struggle for the independence of Greece constitutes a welcome addition that fills a great gap in the story of the Bulgarian patriots who participated in the War of Independence in the Greek peninsula,

and is a good foundation work for further research in that particular field. This research using as a source the *General Archives of the Greek State* was first begun by Nik. Trajkov who with his initial study «Σλαβοί φιλέλληνες αγωνισται ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνεξαρτησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος» which appeared in the *Néa Éstia* 27 321 (1940), 570-574, first emphasized the magnitude of Bulgarian participation in the rebellion, and pointed out the fact that «their total number is greater than the entire force of European volunteers» (p. 573).

The voluminous work by N. Todorov and V. Trajkov contains with the alphabetical listing of names, 1017 pages and is divided into three parts:

I) Introduction, pp. 5-47. This is a brief but precise survey of the Greek revolution and emphasizes the role of Bulgarian volunteers in the war.

II) Documents, pp. 51-948. These include 754 documents from the *General Archives of the Greek State* and the archives of the National Library in Athens. The names of 543 combatants are recorded therein. On these documents, 545 cite individual Bulgarian participants (168 in number) and contain their military correspondence with the authorities in the course of the war or, more frequently, are requests written by patriots who had, after the establishment of the Greek kingdom, settled in Greece and had sought some financial compensation and the award of military decorations. The remainder of the documents contain excerpts of army lists with only the names of the Bulgarian participants recorded (368 in number). These lists usually report the full name, rank, the place of origin, and often age and other service information (date of enrollment and so on). At the beginning of each document is a brief summary of the contents in Bulgarian, followed by the text of the document in the original to which is appended a translation in Bulgarian. Comments, whenever they seemed advisable, are added.

Pp. 936-948 contain an excerpt, written in Russian, of a list of members of the «Philiki Etairia» who had fled to and were imprisoned in Bessarabia in 1821 after the crushing of the Ypsilantis insurrection and the military engagement at Skouleni. This highly interesting and most important document was discovered recently in the State Archives of Odessa. It lists the members of the «Philiki Etairia», 1002 in number (503 Greeks and the remainder various other nationalities) with certain information containing biographical data and intelligence of their activities. This list had been drawn up, interestingly enough, by the Russian authorities. An excerpt from this document citing 167 individuals, Bulgarians or persons originating from Bulgaria, is also published (for details see N. Todorov, *op. cit.*).

III) The third section of the book includes an alphabetical listing of the names of Bulgarian participants with certain biographical data as recorded in the documents, a list of members of the «Philiki Etairia» taken from the Russian document, another list of names of those individuals (non-Bulgarian) who are cited in the documents, and lastly a geographical index.

A translation, in French, of the most important chapters of the introduction has been appended to the book, and, in addition, some facsimiles of documents are included in the text.

In pointing out what are in my view certain exaggerations of the book specially concerning the identification of the ethnic origins of patriots who had fought in the revolution, I will rely almost exclusively on the documents which the authors themselves use.

A serious shortcoming of the work as a whole is the translation, or rather, the Bulgarianization of every name, without exception, of the participants, and of the geographical terminology of Macedonian and Thracian place-names, both in the case of the translations of

documents and in the tables of names in part III of the book. Thus Παύλος becomes Pavel, Ἀλέξανδρος Aleksandār, Ἀνδριανουπολίτης becomes Odričanin, Φιλιππουπολίτης Plovdivčanin, Νιαουσινός Negušanec, Βάρναλης becomes Varnenec, Βουλγαράκης becomes Bălgărĉeto, and so on. Moreover, the family name of Vulgaris is translated as Bălgarin (meaning Bulgar), about which more will be said later.

In the introductory note to the list of names of Bulgarian volunteers who fought in the Greek war of independence, on p. 971, the authors emphasize that in the list «includes only those volunteers who are explicitly identified as Bulgarians [read: who have the surname Vulgaris. D. L. - M.] or are from Bulgaria, or who have names that leave no doubt as regards their ethnic origin. Residents of Philippopolis, of Varna, of Bitolja and other cities and towns which contained large Greek communities are included in this volume only if they are cited in the documents as Bulgars» [with the surname Vulgaris, D. L. - M.].

In thus appears that there is no question in the minds of the authors that all those who are referred to in the documents with the surname «Vulgaris», those who come from Bulgaria and those who have Bulgarian (?) names, were Bulgarians. The Greeks, the Kutsovlachs and the Albano-Vlachs who had come from these areas in what is modern Bulgaria and from the northern provinces with their large bilingual Slav-speaking populations, which the people often popularly described as Bulgaria (Cf. the information supplied by Vlachoyannis in «Ἐνθυμήματα» of Kasomoulis, p. 11, fn. 4, to the effect that by the name «Vulgaris» the people meant every Slav-speaking inhabitant of Turkey) would normally state as their place of origin Bulgaria and use the surname «Vulgaris», especially at a time when national rivalries had not yet existed in their subsequent extreme form, and in a war, as N. Trajkov notes (*op. cit.*, p. 570) in which the Bulgarians fought as «members of the same church» and not as «alien nationals».

Let us now examine the significance of the name «Vulgaris» as used in the documents. In the excerpts of military lists of combatants, are entered the name and surname, the place of origin, and other information concerning the volunteers, and very often one notes that instead of recording as the place of origin a city or town, or a certain region, the word «Vulgaris» is used (pp. 812-935), meaning coming from Bulgaria and not Bulgarian.

In entry No. 216 (according to the alphabetical listing of patriots) the volunteer Ioannis Vulgaris writes in his petition to the mayor of Gumeria (p. 375) that he is «from Yannina», yet the clerk records at the bottom of the request «Ἐκ Βουλγαρίας, διαμένων εἰς Μουζάκι Ἠλείας» obviously misled by the surname Vulgaris.

Hatzi Stefanis Adrianopolitis (of Adrianople), listed as No. 421, is none other than the brother of Hatzi Georgiou of Adrianople whose petition with a biographical note was published in the 5th volume of *Θρακικά* by Tryphon Evangelides, on pp. 222-225. (In his *Απομνημονεύματα*, Bk. I, Chapt. 8, p. 237, Makriyannis mentions the two brothers as does Kasomoulis in his *Ἐνθυμήματα* who however mistakenly considers them Easterners from Aleppo, and so on). Though undoubtedly they were Greeks, the Ministry of War refers to Hatzi Stefanis as Vulgaris (p. 584), as coming from the North.

During the Greek war of independence ethnic rivalries that distinguished Bulgars from Greeks did not exist. This was to come much later in the century and was to be nurtured and encouraged by foreign powers and interests. The inhabitants of the Balkans throughout the 18th and the early years of the 19th Century were first and foremost Orthodox Christians and secondly Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, and so on, and they held no prejudice for one name or another. Thus, without any second thoughts, the Greeks of southern Greece unhesitatingly gave the surname Vulgaris to all the patriots who had come from the northern provinces, where Slavophones resided, to fight in the War of Independence.

One should at this point cite the practice of placing the country or town of origin next to the Christian name (since the use of the surname was not as widely practiced as today). This was an old custom and was commonplace in the period in question (Cf. *inter alia* the catalogue of students who had attended the Academies of Bucharest and Jassy, drawn up in Camariano-Cioran's book *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies, 1974, pp. 289-306, where next to the name of the student is noted, in the form of a surname, the place of origin of the student). The place of origin was entered next to the name as an epithet without necessarily indicating the ethnic origin. A typical example of this practice is the case of Constantine Vardalachos the Egyptian (see Camariano-Cioran, *op. cit.*, table XLII).

The name Vulgaris as a surname is an old distinguished name in Greece and is encountered in the Peloponnese, Corfu, Hydra, continental Greece and elsewhere, and there certainly can be no doubt about the ethnic origin of Evgenios Vulgaris or of the Hydriote political leaders Vulgaris, or of the Corfiote family of Vulgaris. The only reason for citing here the above Vulgaris is because the name has been entered in the lists without any indication as to the place of origin, even in those cases where the individual was born in the Peloponnese or Athens, such as in entry No. 106, where the volunteer Georgios Vulgaris (p. 206) «was born on the 6th of May 1809 at Lohova» (a village in the Argos-Corinth region), or No. 60, the soldier Athanasios Dimitriou Vulgaris (p. 174) «born in and resident of Chryso (Amphissa)», or No. 405, Spyros Vulgaris, the Athenian, who signs his name as Spyros Vulgaris, a native (αὐτόχθων) Athenian (p. 547). We cannot understand the reason that prompted the authors to comment on the word «αὐτόχθων» (native), interpreting it as meaning a resident (žitel). It should be noted that in the list of names of volunteers in the third part of the book, the place of birth of the above patriots is not recorded, and what should be their place of birth is declared only as place of residence.

Concerning the purely Bulgarian character of certain names, all one can say is that names such as Yanoutsos, Panos, Naoum, Kitsos and so on are equally common among the Koutsovlachs and the Albano-Vlachs. Certainly those names listed after No. 83, Vasilios Marcou Gekas from the province of Bulgaria, No. 163, Demetrius Vulgaris Gekas, No. 204, Ilias Gekas Vulgaris, No. 207, Ilias Philippou Gikas, *inter alia*, are probably Albanian Vlachs.

The Greek feeling and consciousness of some combatants emerges very clearly, from certain documents. In entry No. 316 Michael Io. Maheras Vulgaris in a request addressed to the Greek authorities writes (p. 454), «... therefore, since in fact the present government recognizes all those Greeks who made sacrifices on behalf of their country, I appeal to the fair sense of the royal secretariat, knowing it is always aware of the suffering which the Greeks have undergone for our liberty, and award me...». Entry No. 407, Spyros Paschalis Vulgaris from Macedonia in his appeal to the King reveals (p. 551) that «... I hastened with full heart to serve my country as a soldier... and I took part in battles and in sieges and never failed to fulfil my duty to Greece... I am now alone, bereft of all relatives whom I sacrificed in the struggle for our liberty». Philippos Vulgaris Niaoustinos (No. 452) in his petition to the municipality of Old Patras (p. 650) says: «I am one of the Greeks who come from a place which is unfortunately still under the Ottoman yoke and whom free Greece is obligated to help...». George Petrou Philippoupolitis (he is nowhere referred to as Vulgaris) points out in his plea for a military award (p. 247) that «... even though, I have already previously referred to the Bavarian era, which could not tolerate to see the breasts of the Greeks without a single medal and that is the reason why I have not received my

decoration, which rightfully belongs to me...».

The hero of the Greek War of Independence from Edessa, Angelis Gatsos, is listed unreservedly as a Bulgarian soldier. Unfortunately, I was not able to consult the article by Kiril Mladenov, «Angelos Gatsos, an unknown fighter for the freedom of Macedonia. Information concerning his Bulgarian origins» (in Bulgarian), published in the newspaper *Zora*, No. 6944, August 1942, which the authors cite in the introduction (p. 30, fn. 73). But I will refer to the documents published in the book concerning Gatsos. On p. 100, there is a letter addressed by the Minister of Interior and acting Minister of War, John Colettis, to Captain Gatsos (Corinth, 4/4/1822): «You did, after all, your duty to our sacred country and took up arms and the Cross to strike the hateful enemies of our religious faith and our independence. Certainly the inhabitants of Olympus should know the kind of ancestors from whom they are descended...».

The Minister of War, Chr. Perraivos (No. 102), in a letter to Captain Gatsos, dated May 5, 1823, writes, «With absolute faith in the bravery of the Greeks, the government is preparing a new offensive with the hope of obtaining new laurels... Brave troops of Captain Gatsos, you are suffering for faith and country in this war... but with weapons we will be able to ensure the frontiers of Greece and henceforth to enjoy the fruits of freedom and independence».

There is a report (p. 126) drawn up by Karatasios and Gatsos for the Greek chief of state (from the Megara army camp, 30/7/1828) in which they speak with much bitterness of the doubting of their Greek origins, the purpose of which was to usurp their rights. «We have never disobeyed any command of your excellency, as some did, but have always shown such discipline that all of us soldiers who were there decided to obtain loans to obligate the unfortunate Greeks to move out, and after we arrived here we see that we are being persecuted to such an extent that they do not wish to recognize us as Greeks, even though we have made so many sacrifices and our families have suffered captivity, and we have done so much for our fatherland».

Astonishing is the fact that the natural son of Angelis Gatsos, Nicolas, who in the destruction of Naoussa was taken prisoner and was ransomed only after the liberation of Greece, is not included in the list of names of Bulgarians as is his father, but the other names (not Bulgarians) cited in the document are included.

Mehmet Loftzalis (from Loveč) (No. 291) declares, «I was a soldier serving in the command of compatriots and my fellow Muslims in Athens...» (p. 445), but the authors consider him a Bulgarian Muslim, a conclusion which in no way can be drawn from the document published.

On p. 183 there is found a photostatic copy of a document concerning the patriot Athanasios Philippou Vulgaris. In the text taken from the photostat on p. 181, we read, «as every destitute and not native-born Navpactian, but Bulgar (Βούλγαρος)...», whereas in the photostat the word Vulgaris (Βούλγαρης) is clearly distinguished. All told, there are photostatic copies of 16 documents.

On the other hand there are a considerable number of volunteers cited in the documents who reveal Bulgarian feeling and conscience, as in entry No. 225, a Ioannis Marcou Vulgaris who writes (p. 387), «... and I came here to Greece ready to shed even my blood for her independence... and now I am without home, and as a foreigner completely destitute» (27/1/1840). Georgi Stavro from Vidin, entry No. 134, signs his name in Cyrillic script. No. 2, Alexios Hatzi Stanou Adrianopolitis writes: «... I abandoned without compassion my children and came to Greece to fight on behalf of the faith as many other Christians

had . . . and I shall weep for the destruction that befell my home for the sake of Greece» (22/6/1831). Anagnostis Ioannou Varnalis, No. 4, on p. 55 says, « . . . although a foreigner and a guest, nevertheless as a Christian I suffered to this very day . . . » (3/8/1823), and so on.

The omissions existing in the lists in the last section of the book are insignificant when bearing in mind the mass of material the writers had at their disposal and the difficulty in identifying the volunteers whose names are recorded differently in various documents. There are omissions of the place of origin and the place and date of settlement in the town in Nos. 52 (Athanasios Vulgaris), 60 (Athanasios Dimitriou Vulgaris), 106 (Georgios Vulgaris), 110 (Georgios Vulgarakis), 118 (Georgios Ioannou Vulgaris), 152 (Demetrios Vulgaris), 184 (Dimas Nicholaou Vulgaris), 225 (Ioannis Marcou Vulgaris), 224 (Ioannis Iliou Vulgaris), 255 (Hatzi Constantis Christou), 259 (Constas Vulgaris who is the same person as Costas Vulgaris, No. 261), 378 (Petros Gourgaris), 388 (Petros K. Vulgaris), 405 (Spyros Vulgaris Athinaios), 410 (Stavros Ioannou Vulgaris), 414 (Staicos Milosis), 461 (Christos Vulgaris), 472 (K. Christos Philippoupolitis), 485 (Christos Kyriacou Vulgaris), 493 (Stoyiannos Marcou Vodenlis), and 495 (Sterios Vulgaris).

And a final comment. From our review and critical comments, one can conclude that the title of the book «Bulgarian participants in the Greek war of independence . . . » is not an accurate enough title for the work. I would suggest instead, «Volunteers with the surname Vulgaris or with Bulgaria as place of origin, who took part in the liberation of Greece».

Highly commendable are the Bulgarian translations of the documents, very accurately done and properly clarified where the Greek text may be somewhat confusing.

Another important virtue of the book is the useful list of names in part three of the work, with a brief biographical sketch of the volunteers, which could well form the basis for further research on the subject.

The importance of this contribution must be emphasized for it presents, for the first time, a concentrated collection of material that deals with those patriots who came from the North to take part in the revolution. This material in conjunction with the extant sources found in the memoirs of the participants in the war, historians of the revolution and other information available in Greece, and the memoirs, historical works and monographs of the cities and towns available in Bulgaria, would make a more thorough study of the subject possible and would expose in all its depth the importance of the role played by Bulgarian patriots in the War of Independence of 1821.

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K. Mitsakis, *Macedonia Throughout the Centuries*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies No. 139, 1973, pp. 53.

Based on the text of a lecture delivered at Strathclyde University of Glasgow on the 24th of February 1970, *Macedonia Throughout the Ages* is a handsomely printed, compact survey of Macedonian history from its origins to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). Because of its original lecture format there is no division into sections or chapters but rather a single continuous narrative and commentary. Though presented from a Greek point of view, it is,