

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF GREEKS
IN VARNA
(mid 19th c.-1906)¹

As the largest port of Bulgaria, Varna, throughout Ottoman domination, having permanent communication with Europe, Russia and the capital of the Ottoman Empire, developed the classical character of a vivid multinational and multicultural city. During the second half of the 19th c. this medley of races consisted of Muslims—either of Turkish origin or islamised—, Greeks—native or settlers—, Bulgarians, Tatars, Armenians, Jews etc. Of these elements the Bulgarians had an occasional appearance in Varna after the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829 for the first time; their numbers increased considerably after the Crimean War (1853-1856) and especially the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 which led to the establishment of the Bulgarian Principality. The Armenian population of Varna was reinforced after the genocide of 1894 in Western Armenia², while after 1856 masses of Crimean Tatars were established in the city³. The presence of the Greek population in Varna was substantial at least until the beginning of the 20th century. According to available data, the Greeks of Varna numbered some 8,000 by the end of the 19th c.⁴.

1. The present paper is necessarily of a general nature due to the often fragmentary nature of the material; it is based mainly on the study of the Greek newspapers of the second half of the 19th century and is no more than a first approach to the subject. There have been used the following Greek newspapers: *Νεολόγος*, *Θράκη*, *Ανατολικός Αστήρ*, *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* of Constantinople, *Φιλιππούπολις*, *Μηνύτωρ του Αίμου*, *Ειδήσεις του Αίμου* of Philippopolis, *Οδησός* and *Εύξεινος* of Varna.

2. About the Armenians of Varna see: S. Ovnanyan, *Armeno-bălgarski istoričeski vrăzki i armenskite kolonii v Bălgarija prez vtorata polovina na XIX vek*, Sofija 1972.

3. AYE [Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry], 1856, 36/17, no. 3637, Greek vice-consul in Varna D. Harilaou to the Greek Ambassador in Constantinople, 27.5.1856; AYE, 1860, no. 5593 and 5914, Greek vice-consul of Varna S. Antoniadou to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 17.7.1860 and 22.7.1860.

4. As regards the number and the composition of the population in Varna and the whole district, see *Obšti rezultati ot prebrojavaneto na naselenieto na 1 januarij 1881 g.*, Sofija 1884; *Obšti rezultati ot prebrojavaneto na naselenieto na knjažestvo Bălgarija na 1*

Although the history of the city and the Greek community of Varna forms an essential part of Black Sea Hellenism, there is an absence of relevant studies in Greek historiography. The presence of the Greek community was intensely felt in all aspects of the city's life. It was this community which, along with the Armenians shaped and co-ordinated the economic life of a city with immense economic importance for Bulgaria as whole; it presented a multifaceted and intense social activity and displayed a particular interest in preserving and reinforcing its identity on the basis of a well organised and comprehensive education. It is this last aspect of Greek presence in Varna on which the present study focuses; its importance is further enhanced by the apparent connection between the development and preservation of a community's profile and ethnic identity and education.

As regards the education of Greeks, we only have minimal information for the period before 1840, when in fact a great cultural revival began⁵. It is interesting to mention here that the education of Greeks in Varna completed a peculiar full circle. It started off as private with *grammatodidaskali* who taught reading and writing from religious books and primers and elements of mathematics⁶. It went on in the form of community schools mainly and completed its circle as private again in 1913. Private education, however, either in the form of boys' and girls' schools or in the form of private tuition—ancient Greek, mathematics and Latin⁷—went on along community educa-

januarij 1888, Sofija 1890; Obšti rezultati ot prebrojavaneto na naselenieto na knjažestvo Bălgarija na 1 januarij 1893, Sofija 1897; Obšti rezultati ot prebrojavaneto na naselenieto na knjažestvo Bălgarija na 31 dekmvrij 1900, Sofija 1906. According to them Greeks were 8,309 in 1888 and 8,317 in 1900, including Gagauses, who spoke the Turkish language. See also, P. Nikov, *Bălgarskoto vāzraždane vāv Varna i varnenski mitropolit Ioakim i negovata korespondencija*, Sofija 1934; Velko Tonev, "From the past of the Bulgarian-Greek relations on the Western Black Sea Coast", *Balkan Studies* 25₂ (1984), pp. 565-572; N. Mihov, *Nasele-nieto na Turčija i Bălgarija prez XVIII i XIX v.*, v. IV, Sofija 1935; A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *La Bulgarie ancienne et moderne*, St. Petersburg 1856; I. Nikolaou, *H Oδησσός (Bărna) υπό ιστορικήν και αρχαιολογικήν έποψιν*, Varna 1894; V. E. Papadopoulos, "Τα δίκαια του εν Βορείω Θράκη ελληνισμού", *Αρχείον του Θρακικού Λαογραφικού και Γλωσσικού Θη-σαυρού* (Archive of the Thracian Folk and Linguistic Thesaurus) 9 (1942-1943), pp. 75-156.

5. A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *op. cit.*, p. 215; F. Kanitz, *La Bulgarie Danubienne et le Balkan*, Paris 1882, p. 464. Until 1840 Greeks had, in general, adopted the Turkish language and only the clergy and the notables knew and used Greek.

6. The presence of a teacher in Varna is mentioned as early as 1740 (Tr. Evangelidis, *H Παιδεία επί Τουρκοκρατίας*, v. II, Athens 1936, p. 342), while about 1835 there were six teachers of this type, who were teaching the children of, mainly, the wealthy families (I. Nikolaou, *op. cit.*, p. 193).

7. *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* of 3.12.1867; *Οδησσός* of 26.7.1891, 16.10.1891 and 17.10.1892;

tion during the whole of the second half of 19th century.

Community education was initiated when the Bishop of Varna, Joseph (1830-1849) contributed considerably to the foundation of two schools: one, called "Hellinikon", a three-class secondary school with special emphasis on the teaching of ancient Greek (1840-41) and another, a lancastrian primary school (1844-1845)⁸. Until the end of the Crimean War (1853-1856) the condition of the education remained stagnant. In fact, during the war the Greek schools did not operate and were used as storehouses by the French Army⁹.

Just after the war a new impulse was given in education from *Tanzimat*'s reforms among other sources. The increase in the number of students made the community set up two more schools: a boys' primary (1857) and a girls' primary school (1856)¹⁰. The primary schools and the "Hellinikon" were organised as far as the method of teaching and the syllabus are concerned, according to equivalent schools in Athens, having French and Turkish as extras.

Throughout the 1860s, both male and female education prosper; new premises are built for the girls' school where Jewish, Armenian and Bulgarian students attend as well¹¹. A kindergarden (1868) and a new boys' primary school (1864) are set up, while the "Hellinikon" adds a class of secondary level education¹². At the end of the decade Greek education in Varna consists of 8 schools, among which 2 *grammatodidaskalia*; in other words their number has been doubled in relation to that of the previous decade. The total number

P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 254 (Letter of Bishop Ioakim to the Patriarch, 15.10.1865) and p. 457 (Report of the inhabitants of Varna to the Patriarch, 23.11/4.12.1872); V. D. Kallifron, *Εκπαιδευτικά και Εκκλησιαστικά*, Constantinople 1867, p. 134.

8. *Νεολόγος* of 12.12.1868 and 9/21.10.1879; A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *op. cit.*, p. 215, 216; P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 55 and 449 (Letter of the Community of Varna to G. Zarifis, 20.4.1869). In the lancastrian primary schools the teacher taught only the elder and advanced pupils and they transferred their tuition to the younger ones, according to a concrete programme. The curriculum was similar to that of a four-class primary school.

9. I. Nikolaou, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

10. *Νεολόγος* of 12.12.1868; S. Loucatos, "Les villes et les regions du littoral de la mer noir comme foyer du developpement des relations Greco-bulgares, 1830-1860", *Aktove na Vtorija Bălgaro-Grăčki Simposium*, Sofia 1984, p. 29.

11. Tr. Evangelidis, *op. cit.*, p. 342-343; K. Xiradaki, *Παρθενωγεία και Δασκάλει τον Υπόδουλον Ελληνισμού*, v. II, Athens 1972-73, p. 44-45; S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 28-29.

12. *Νεολόγος* of 7 and 9.3.1868 and of 12.12.1868.

of the students is also increased as is that of the teaching staff¹³.

In the decade of 1870 the course of the Greek education continues its upward movement as regards both the number of students and schools and the quality of teaching provided. In the beginning of the decade the "Hellinikon" evolves into a two-class gymnasium and so does the central girls' school by the end of decade¹⁴. Meanwhile, the Greek community has added other two girls' schools in 1871 and in 1873, a third primary school and a second kindergarden¹⁵. Thus, at the end of the decade of 1870 the community runs 7 schools; a "Hellinikon" with two classes of gymnasium for boys, three primary schools for boys and three for girls¹⁶.

For the 1880s we only know that the "Hellinikon" boys' school acquires new premises¹⁷. The continuation of smooth operation of schools in the decade of 1890 allows us to draw the conclusion that the condition of education must have been satisfactory in general terms in the previous decade as well.

In the decade of 1890, the central primary school for boys evolves into a six-class primary school, known as "Astiki". The level of education offered in schools remains high as indicated from the subjects that were taught. Also, apart from the number of students, the number of teachers increases as well¹⁸, a fact that proves the progress achieved in education. Schools run smoothly despite the various problems that came up during the decade. Apart from financial difficulties and some teachers' inefficiency, the Greek community faces problems with some government officials¹⁹. The school inspector of the district of Varna was extremely persistent in putting into practice the "State Education Act" of 1891; he continuously tried to close the Greek

13. *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* of 3.12.1867; P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 254 (Letter of Bishop Ioakim to the Patriarch, 15.10.1868).

14. *Νεολόγος* of 1/13.6.1871 and 23.12.1871/4.1.1872 (Report of the inhabitants of Varna to the Patriarch, 17.12.1871); P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 457; K. Xiradaki, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

15. *Νεολόγος* of 14/26.8.1871, of 23.12.1871/4.1.1872 (Report of the inhabitants of Varna to the Patriarch, 17.12.1871) and of 18/30.4.1873; *Επετηρίς του εν Βάρνη Φιλεκπαιδευτικού Συλλόγου* (Annual of the Society for the Promotion of Education in Varna) (from now on *E.B.Φ.Σ.*), A (1872) and B (1873-74), Constantinople 1875, p. 15; P. Nikov, *op. cit.*

16. I. Nikolaou, *op. cit.*, p. 208; S. Ziogou-Karastergiou, *Η μέση εκπαίδευση των κοριτσιών στην Ελλάδα (1830-1896)*, Athens 1986, p. 254.

17. *Φιλιππούπολις* of 10.1.1881; *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* of 4.2.1881.

18. *Οδησός* of 8 and 22.6.1891, 6.7.1891, 3 and 10.8.1891.

19. *Οδησός* of 13 and 23.7.1891, 3 and 10.8.1891, 18.9.1891 and 5, 10, 17 and 22.9.1892.

schools of the city, besides the relevant affirmations of the Minister of Education to the Greek community that the schools should remain open²⁰.

The number of community schools (7) and that of the students (1,200) remains steady until 1906. Then, the "State Education Act" of 1891 is put into practice. According to the Act only Bulgarian schools were considered state schools and so Greek education was limited into two private schools until 1913²¹.

The main characteristics of Greek community education in Varna may be summed up as follows:

1. As regards the number of the students and teachers, it is on the increase till 1906. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that there is a significant increase in the number of girl students, which in the decade of 1890 far outnumbers that of boy students²².

2. Female education starts off about a decade later than that of boys' and in the beginning it is limited to the elementary level of education including the basic subjects: ancient Greek, mathematics, history and needlework. It gets upgraded gradually, though; the syllabus is enriched and the years of study are increased. However, from a comparison of the syllabuses of the two-class gymnasiums, the boys' and the girls', follows that male education is far more thorough as regards the range of subjects, of ancient Greek and the respective exact sciences²³.

3. As regards school premises, it seems that if not from their foundation, soon afterwards, schools were housed in their own building²⁴ and this was one of the main concerns of Greeks of Varna. Many of these schools were equipped with noteworthy libraries as well²⁵.

20. By both the "State Education Act" of 1891 (introduced by the Minister of Education Zivkov) and that of 1894 (introduced by the Minister Radoslavov) the Bulgarian language had been introduced as the only compulsory language at the primary schools and according to them the teachers should be of Bulgarian citizenship. See on this subject, *Νεολόγος* of 18.9.1895 and *Μηνύτωρ του Αίμου* of 16.9.1895.

21. M. Maravelakis-A. Vakalopoulos, *Αι προσφυγικαί εγκαταστάσεις εν τη περιοχή Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1955, p. 19.

22. *Οδησός* of 17.10.1892; from the 1,147 students, 681 are girls and 466 boys.

23. *Νεολόγος* of 1/13.6.1871; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 16 and 18; K. Xiradaki, *op. cit.*, p. 44-45.

24. *Νεολόγος* of 12.12.1868; *Φιλιππούπολις* of 10.1.1881 and 13.1.1905; *Εγκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* 25 (1905), p. 14; S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

25. A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *op. cit.*, p. 216; F. Kanitz, *op. cit.*, p. 465; S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 29 and 32.

4. We cannot give a conclusive view for the syllabus, the teaching method and the textbooks. From the material we have gathered, however, it is clear that the Greeks of Varna tried to follow the development of the educational issues in Greece. Thus, even from an early stage, many teachers, graduates of Athenian institutes, are hired, while the schools, both primary and the "Hellinikon", were organised according to equivalent schools in Athens. This parallel course is attested by the fact that many students from the "Hellinikon" school for boys continue their studies in the second class of gymnasium in Athens after having finished the first in Varna. The celebration of the Three Hierarchs, a religious event, is decreed as a formal celebration for schools at the same time as in Greece and was considered one of the most important celebrations of the community²⁶. Also textbooks were sent from Athens or Constantinople²⁷.

5. As regards the level of education offered, we are surprised by the depth and variety of subjects from the unfortunately random samples of syllabuses that we indexed²⁸. However, we know that in the secondary level classes of the "Hellinikon" boys' school subjects of a higher standard (than the prescribed level) are taught in order to cater for the poor students who would not have the chance to complete their studies in other cities²⁹.

6. There was a school committee entrusted with the maintenance of the Greek schools in Varna; there were originally 3 or 4 members who were not elected, but appointed every 2, 3 or 4 years by the community council and consisted of notables, local Greeks or Greek citizens. From 1878 onwards this same committee consisted of 4 or 5 members elected at the same time as the Bulgarian community elections from candidates nominated by the community assembly, and consisted solely of Greek Bulgarian citizens. President of the committee was the Bishop whose post was quite substantial before 1878 but became honorary afterwards. From 1885 onwards the school committee represented the Greek community for every case, and for this reason,

26. *Νεολόγος* of 12 and 18.12.1868; 4/16.2.1872 and 7/19.2.1874.

27. Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν των Ελληνικών Γραμμάτων (Society for the Dissemination of Greek Letters) (from now on Σ.Δ.Ε.Γ.), *Ἐκθεσις πεπραγμένων 1876 και 1877*, Athens 1878, p. 94-95; Σ.Δ.Ε.Γ., *Η δράσις του Συλλόγου προς διάδοσιν των ελληνικών Γραμμάτων*, Athens 1970, p. 85.

28. ΑΥΕ, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102, Greek vice-consul in Varna S. Antoniadēs to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 9.6.1860; Σ.Δ.Ε.Γ., *Ἐκθεσις πεπραγμένων 1876 και 1877*, p. 94-95; *Νεολόγος* of 1/13.6.1871, 14/26.8.1871 and 27.7/8.8.1872; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 16.

29. *Νεολόγος* of 14/26.8.1871 and 27.7/8.8.1872; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 16 and 18; *Οδησός* of 22.6.1891, 6.7.1891 and 3.8.1891.

its president was elected in a special caucus³⁰. Also, the great care they took of education, led the Greeks of Varna to set up special committees for the inspection or revision of syllabuses at schools³¹.

7. Finally, we have to mention that the maintenance of schools weighs solely on the Greek community and the expenses are quite high. The Greek schools considered by the "State Education Acts" of 1891 and 1894 (art. 4) as private and they were not subsidized from the Bulgarian state. Resources come from renting property owned by the schools, from proceeds of the churches and other monastic property³², from bequests, from special donations and voluntary contributions from the citizens³³ and from interest of capital deposited in the National Bank of Athens. Sometimes the expenses for running the schools were covered by lottery, Balis and theatrical performances³⁴, by raising money at the 'Three Hierarchs' Day and other collections voluntary or compulsory that the community imposed on its members according to what they could afford, in periods of financial difficulties. It is important that in 1891 the Greek community council and the school committee proceeded to revise the system of taxation which divided the citizens into five classes whose share would contribute to the expenses for the schools³⁵. Small financial aid came from the registration fees that the community imposed and from which poor students were exempted³⁶. There were also subsidies from big educational Societies from Athens and Constantinople mainly in the mid-1870s³⁷. At this point we have to note the contribution, material

30. *Νεολόγος* of 18/30.7.1879 and 28.9.1896; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 20; M. Maravelakis-A. Vakopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

31. *Οδησός* of 2.9.1893; a committee of three members was appointed for the reorganisation of the Gymnasium's curriculum.

32. P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 254 (Letter of the Bishop Ioakim to the Patriarch, 15.10.1865) and p. 280 (Letter of the Bishop Ioakim to the Patriarch—undated; probably between 15 and 30 of April 1866); *Νεολόγος* of 1.2.1884 and 8.2.1885; *Θράκη* of 20.7/1.8.1874; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 19.

33. *Νεολόγος* of 6/18.6.1872, 16/28.1.1874 and 9/21.11.1878; *Φιλιππούπολις* of 10.1.1881; *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* of 26.8.1872 and 4.2.1881; I. Nikolaou, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

34. *Νεολόγος* of 7/19.2.1874, 2.3.1884, 10.1.1885 and 8.2.1885; *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, p. 19; *Οδησός* of 12.2.1892 and 12.3.1892, 4.2.1893 and 15.3.1893; *Εύξεινος* of 2.12.1895.

35. *Οδησός* of 13.7.1891. See also, *Νεολόγος* of 4/16.2.1872, 7/19.2.1874 and 8.2.1885; P. Nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 254 (Letter of the Bishop Ioakim to the Patriarch, 15.10.1865); *Θράκη* of 20.7/1.8.1874; *Εύξεινος* of 2.12.1895.

36. *Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.*, *op. cit.*; *Νεολόγος* of 8.2.1885; *Εύξεινος* of 2 and 16.9.1895.

37. *Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (Greek Philological Society of Constantinople, Journal) 7 (1872-1873), p. 218; *Θράκη* of 30.9/12.10.1874 and 20.9.1875; *Ανατολικός Αστήρ* of 28.8.1874; Σ.Δ.Ε.Γ., *Έκθεσις πεπραγμένων 1876 και 1877*, p. 94-95

as well as moral, of the Greek Bishops of Varna and certain Greek vice-consuls³⁸.

Greek education in Varna was closely connected with cultural activity. This is proved by the fact that not only most societies that were set up in the city had a direct or indirect educational activity, but also by the fact that the first known attempt to set up a society was in order to raise money to found a girls' school. This society was called "Φιλόμουσος" (= Lover of the Arts) and was set up at the time of Joseph, Bishop of Varna (1830-1849)³⁹.

From the Greek cultural societies of Varna, eight are known by name. In the 1860s, there was in Varna a club set up by young Greek merchants which was called "Cazino"; it had a library, a collection of maps and Greek and foreign newspapers. Most probably, it was in this club that in 1870 lectures were frequently given by doctors and teachers of the city⁴⁰.

At the same time, i.e. from 1860 until at least 1874, there was a Greek theatric circle, consisted of young amateur actors whose activity was directly educational. The revenues from the performances, in which students took part sometimes, were always for the benefit of schools. It was only during the academic year 1870-71, one of its most fruitful, that nine theatrical plays were given including dramas and comedies, all held at the girls' school. Response from the audience varied depending on the year⁴¹.

Cultural activity grows even more from 1872 onwards. In August of that year "Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος" (= The Society for the promotion of Education) is set up in Varna by the same people who set up another educational society called "Ελπίς" (= Hope) in 1864⁴². Its objective was the spread of Greek culture. The president of its nine-member board was the Bishop and the society's resources came from members contributions, donations, bequests and interest from the society's capital. The society in its attempt to provide financially for the Greek schools, stated in its Articles

38. *Νεολόγος* of 12.12.1868; F. Kanitz, *op. cit.*, p. 465; A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *op. cit.*, p. 216. About Bishop Ioakim, see P. Nikov, *Bălgarskoto vāzraždane vāv Varna i varnenski okrāg i varnenski mitropolit Ioakim i negovata korespondencija*, Sofija 1934; S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 29; AYE, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102, Greek vice-consul in Varna S. Antonades to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, 9.7.1860.

39. S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

40. *Νεολόγος* of 3/15.3.1870; F. Kanitz, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

41. *Νεολόγος* of 4/16.3.1871, 12/24.1.1872, 28.1/9.2.1872, 9/21.12.1872, 11/23.1.1873, 21.2/5.3.1873, 28.2/12.3.1873, 16/28.1.1874 and 13/25.2.1874.

42. *Νεολόγος* of 10/22.11.1872 and 19.2/3.3.1879.

that its property should pass automatically to them in case of its dissolution⁴³.

Some of the achievements of the "Society for the Promotion of Education" are the foundation of a primary school in Varna, the completion of the school in Kavarna as well as the foundation of a girls' school in the same town. Moreover, the society saw to finding teachers for the villages in the area, sending books to primary schools and financial aid for the foundation of churches and for the organisation of public lectures during the winter semester⁴⁴; it assisted other societies in the province of Varna, supporting scholars from the villages in order to be trained as teachers⁴⁵ and also ran an Archeological Museum. This Archeological Museum, a continuation of an earlier attempt by the Greek vice-consul A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, was presented enriched in an exhibition in Paris after a request submitted by the "Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" (= Greek Philological Society of Constantinople) to the "Association pour l'encouragement des Etudes Grecques" in 1874⁴⁶.

During its operation the "Society for the promotion of Education" (in Varna) maintained close contact with the "Greek Philological Society of Constantinople", the "Thracian Society for the promotion of Education" (= Θρακικός Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος) and the "Society for the Dissemination of Greek Letters" (= Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν των Ελληνικών Γραμμάτων), all of which assisted it financially and with books⁴⁷.

In the years 1877-1879 the society was on the decline due to lack of resources and indifference on the part of the villagers concerning their children's education. Attempts from the administrative board and the vice-consul of Greece Ch. Nomikos for its revival did not yield any recorded effect⁴⁸.

In the academic year 1873-74 the "Μουσικός Όμιλος" (= Music Company) is set up; this was a musical society for the spread of vocal and instrumental music to its members and generally the people of Varna. The same society had a drama club and gave performances at the girls' school Hall for the benefit of the schools, not only the Greek ones but the Armenian

43. *E.B.Φ.Σ.*, p. 1, 6, 11 and 14; *Νεολόγος* of 10/22.11.1872 and 29.4/11.5.1874.

44. *E.B.Φ.Σ.*, p. 36, 38, 39 and 42; *Νεολόγος* of 9/21.12.1872, 17/29.1.1873, 26.1/7.2.1873, 3/15.2.1873, 28.2/12.3.1873, 8/20.3.1873 and 29.4/11.5.1874.

45. *E.B.Φ.Σ.*, p. 46; *Νεολόγος* of 29.4/11.5.1874.

46. S. Loucatos, *op. cit.*, p. 30; *Νεολόγος* of 29.4/11.5.1874.

47. *E.B.Φ.Σ.*, p. 42 and 43; *Νεολόγος* of 1/13.3.1873 and 29.4/11.5.1874.

48. *Νεολόγος* of 19.2/3.3.1879 and 26.3/7.4.1879.

too; the society's band played in the intervals of these performances⁴⁹.

Regarding the cultural activity of the Greeks in Varna in the rest of the 1870s and throughout the 1880s we do not have but scarce information. We know that in 1880 there were public lectures held in the Commercial Club of Varna, while theatrical performances of young amateurs were still going on for the benefit of schools. Also, we know that in 1888, there was a "Ομιλος Φιλομούσων" (= Lover-of-the-Arts Society) which together with the Bishop Gabriel decided to resume lectures in the central girls' school Hall⁵⁰.

The last decade of the 19th century is marked even from its first year by the founding of the "Ελληνική Φιλανθρωπική Αδελφότης" (= Greek Charitable Brotherhood) of Varna, which was a society with a charitable as well as an underlying educational character. In cooperation with an amateur theatrical group which gave performances on behalf of the society, the Brotherhood cared for the needy students of Varna whom they assisted financially⁵¹.

From 1895 onwards, we have regular classical music concerts from the choir and the Philharmonic which were often followed by a lottery for charity purposes. Meanwhile, amateur theatrical performances for the benefit of poor students and schools, still continue, while touring troops from Athens, apart from providing a proof for the social standard of life in Varna, contribute financially to the Greek schools with their performances⁵².

Finally, special reference should be made to the two Greek societies of Varna that were active in the final years of the period that we examine. In 1896 "Το Αναγνωστήριον των Οδησσιτών" (= The reading-room of the Odessans) was set up. From the beginning of its operation, although not yet in perfect order, it regularly had 15 Greek newspapers, the main Bulgarian ones, 1 French, the best Greek periodicals, 3 French and many more. Its library was enriched gradually and in 1906 it contained 2620 volumes. Moreover, during the winter the society organised public lectures held with the eager contribution of local Greek men of letters twice a week⁵³.

In 1901, the "Φιλανθρωπική Ένωσις Κυριών" (= Ladies' Charitable Union) was set up in Varna which organized Ball nights with lottery for the

49. *Νεολόγος* of 29.4/11.5.1874; *Θράκη* of 23.5/4.6.1874, 23.11/5.12.1874, 18/30.12.1874 and 8/20.3.1875.

50. *Νεολόγος* of 3/15.1.1880 and 9.1.1888.

51. *Οδησσός* of 18.5.1891, 6.7.1891 and 21.12.1891.

52. *Εύξεινος* of 23.12.1895, 20.7.1896 and 28.9.1896; *Οδησσός* of 20.8.1892.

53. *Εύξεινος* of 29.4.1896; *Φιλιππούπολις* of 8.1.1904, 29.1.1904 and 18.2.1906; M. Maravelakis - A. Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

public benefit. The Union supported a sewing school, called “Επαγγελματική Σχολή” (= Vocational School), where more than 50 girls studied. The activities of the “Charitable Union” included financial aid to poor families, provision of clothes, shoes and books for the poor students of Varna as well as, from its foundation until 1906, their annual registration fees at school. On top of these, the Union sent two students on a scholarship to the “Vocational School” of Athens for perfection and future development of the Vocational School of Varna⁵⁴.

An integral part of the cultural activity of the Greeks in Varna is the publication of the Greek newspapers of the city, for the most of which our knowledge is rather fragmentary. From 1887 onwards 8 Greek newspapers and a philological magazine were published in Varna. The first short-lived Greek newspaper was published in 1887 for at least 4 months and was called “Τηλέγραφος” (= Telegraph)⁵⁵. Another one, short-lived also, called “Varna” came out twice a week in the city in 1888⁵⁶.

In 1891, at least two Greek newspapers were published. One must most likely have been a society’s bulletin and was called “Εφημερίς των Κυριών” (= Ladies’ Bulletin)⁵⁷; nothing else is known about it. In 1891, also, one of the longer-lived Greek newspapers of Varna, “Οδησσός” (= Odessa) commenced its publication which was greeted as an event of great importance by the other Greek newspapers of Bulgaria. “Οδησσός” was printed in its own printing-house from May 1891, originally once a week and later twice, at least until the end of 1894 when its operation became irregular. The editor V. Gounaropoulos later worked with another newspaper in Varna, the “Εύξεινος” (= Euxeinos) and he was at the same time director of the Philarmonic of Varna⁵⁸. The newspaper was of quite a high standard and provided information about home news as well as correspondence from all the countries of the Western World. It is also valuable for the information it gives concerning the life of the Greek community of Varna.

54. *Φιλιππούπολις* of 3.1.1904, 17.2.1904, 13.3.1904 and 23.9.1904.

55. *Νεολόγος* of 4.6.1887, 31.8.1887 and 7.9.1887. D. Loukidou-Mavridou in her article “An outline of the Greek Press in Bulgaria (1879-1906)”, *Balkan Studies* 19 (1978), p. 355, mentions the existence of a newspaper under that title, which according to Ivančev (*Bălgarski Periodičen Pečat*, v. III, p. 16) and P. Blišnikov (“Varnenski Periodičen Pečat 1880-1944”, *Izvestija na Varnensko Arheologičesko Družestvo* 12 (1961), p. 92) “was published in 1881 by N. S. Čolakov, with parallel text in Greek and Bulgarian”.

56. *Φιλιππούπολις* of 18 and 25.2.1888; *Νεολόγος* of 9.1.1888.

57. *Οδησσός* of 1.6.1891.

58. *Φιλιππούπολις* of 3.1.1891; D. Loukidou-Mavridou, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

Equally valuable is the Greek newspaper "Εύξεινος" (= Euxeinos) which started getting published in Varna in 1894 once a week by the same people who had originally published the newspaper "Οδησός". The last surviving issue of the newspaper is that of September 1896⁵⁹.

At the end of the 19th century two short-lived Greek newspapers circulated in Varna. The "Ανεξαρτησία" (= Independence) in 1897 and the "Αμερόληπτος" (= Impartial) in 1899, both having V. Paraschos, a well known lawyer in Varna, as editor-in-chief and publisher. The former is known to have been published twice a week, but no issue has survived. The latter was also published twice a week and it had a strong pro-Turkish and anti-Russian standpoint due to which it came in for a lot of criticism both from the Bulgarian and the Greek side⁶⁰.

In the beginning of the 20th century Dr D. Hatzidaniel began to publish a political and social newspaper called "Φωνή" (= Voice) which must be considered as a continuation of an earlier publication in Varna. The newspaper started to get published in January 1901 and still circulated at the end of 1905⁶¹.

The same editor, Dr D. Hatzidaniel, also published a magazine called "Πανδαισία" (= Banquet) three times a month since 1898. In 1899 the magazine was published twice a week and in 1900 it changed format. Irrespective of its format or frequency, the "Banquet" continued its publication at least till the end of 1905⁶².

The rallying of the Greeks of Varna around their associations and brotherhoods with principal aim the safeguarding and improvement of Greek education greatly contributed to the preservation and reaffirmation of their ethnic identity. Equally important was the role of the Greek Press in this process, particularly after this community was faced with the assimilating policies of an enthusiastic infant national state. The Greeks of Varna expressed almost freely their ethnic and cultural identity through their schools,

59. D. Loukidou-Mavridou, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

60. *Ibidem*, p. 354; about "Impartial" see P. Blišnikov, "Varnenski Periodičen Pečat", *Izvestija na Varnensko Arheologičesko Družestvo* 11 (1960), p. 93.

61. *Ειδήσεις του Αίμου* of 9 and 30.5.1891; *Φιλιππούπολις* of 10.9.1905; see also D. Loukidou-Mavridou, *op. cit.*, p. 355. A newspaper with a similar title must have been published for at least three years in Varna; when D. Hatzidaniel published his own in 1901 it was written in its first number "Περίοδος Β, Έτος Δ" (Period II, Year 4).

62. *Φιλιππούπολις* of 18.2.1906. The reference of the journal's existence in 1905 reverses D. Loukidou-Mavridou's suppositions that the newspaper "Voice" was the continuation of the journal "Banquet". It is more likely that both of them were simultaneously published.

associations and newspapers, until 1906. During that year the assimilating policy of the Bulgarian Principality turned to an open policy of persecution directed against all Greek communities throughout Bulgaria. After persecution was completed all schools, associations and newspapers which belonged to the Greek communities were forced to stop their activities. However, very few Greek families of Varna emigrated to Greece at that time. A wave of emigration to Greece took place in 1913, when after the Balkan Wars, the last two private Greek schools of Varna were forced to close.

Institute for Balkan Studies

APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

- AYE, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102** : AYE, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102, Greek vice-consul in Varna Antoniadēs to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 9.6.1860.
- E.B.Φ.Σ.** : *Επετηρίς του εν Βάρνη Φιλεκπαιδευτικού Συλλόγου*, v. A & B, Constantinople 1875.
- E.Φ.Σ.Κ.** : *Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*.
- Evangelidis** : Tr. Evangelidis, *Η Παιδεία επί Τουρκοκρατίας*, v. II, Athens 1936.
- Kallifron** : V. D. Kallifron, *Εκπαιδευτικά και Εκκλησιαστικά*, Constantinople 1867.
- Kanitz** : F. Kanitz, *La Bulgarie Danubienne et le Balkan*, Paris 1882.
- Loucatos** : S. Loucatos, "Les villes et les regions du littoral de la mer noir comme foyer du developpement des relations Greco-bulgares", *Vtorija Bălgaro-Grăčki Simposium*, Sofija 1984.
- M. Maravelakis - A. Vakalopoulos** : M. Maravelakis - A. Vakalopoulos, *Προσφυγικά εγκαταστάσεις εν τη περιοχή Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1955.
- Nikolaou** : I. Nikolaou, *Η Οδησός (Βάρνα) υπό ιστορικήν και αρχαιολογικήν έποψιν*, Varna 1894.
- Nikov** : P. Nikov, *Bălgarskoto vāzražda ne vān Barna i varnenski okrāg i varnenskiĵat mitropolit Ioakim i negovata korespondencija*, Sofija 1934.
- Papadopoulos-Vretos** : A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, *La Bulgarie Ancienne et Moderne*, St. Petersburg 1856.
- Xiradaki** : K. Xiradaki, *Παρθενουργεία και Λασκάλες του Υπόδουλου Ελληνισμού*, v. II, Athens 1972-73.

TABLE I
Greek Schools in Varna (19th c.)

Year	Schools of rudimentary knowledge	Lancastrian Primary Schools	Schools of the Hellenikon type	Girls' Primary Schools	Kinder-gardens	Gymnasiums (2-class)	School of the Astiki type	Vocational Schools	Private Schools	Summary	Sources
1841		-	1	-						1	Nikov, 55; Papadopoulos-Vretos, 215
1844		1	1	-						2	Papadopoulos-Vretos, 216; Nikolaou, 194
1856		1	1	1	-	-				3	Neolόγος of 12.12.1868
1857		2	1	1	-	-				4	Loucatos, 28
1861		2	1	1	-	-				4	AYE, 1860. 36/17, no. 51102
1864		3	1	1	-	-				5	Neolόγος of 12.12.1868
1865-67		2	1	1	-	-			2	6	Averrotes Aoyή of 3.12.1867; Nikov, 254
1868-69	2	2	1	1					2	8	Neolόγος of 12.12.1868
1870-71		2	1	1						4	Neolόγος of 1/13.6.14/26.8 and 21.10/2.11.1872
1871-72		2		2	2	1*			5	12	Neolόγος of 23/4.1.1872; Nikov, 457
1872-73		3		3		1		-		7	E. B. Φ. Σ., 15-19
1873-74		3		3		1		-		7	E. Φ. Σ. K. 10 (1875-76), 192
1875-76		3		3		1		-		7	Xiradaki, B', 45
1878		3		2		2**		-		7	Neolόγος of 18/30.7.1879
1879		3		3		1		-		7	Odipotos of 8.6.1891
1890-91		2		2		1	1***	-	1	7	Eγγεγραφοί of 8.6.1896
1896		2		3	1	1	1	-		8	Φιλολογικόν of 13.7.1904
1904		2		3		1	1	-		7	Maravelakis-Vakalopoulos, 23-24
1906		2		3		1	1	1	2	8	ibidem, 19
1913		-		-		-	-	-		2	

- : This symbol means that this type of school did not exist in Varna. In case of uncertainty as to whether such a school existed or not, no symbol is placed.

* : The "Hellenikon" evolves into a 2-class gymnasium.

** : The central girls' school also evolves into a 2-class gymnasium.

*** : The central primary school becomes a school of the "Astiki" type.

TABLE II
Students in the Greek Schools of Varna
(19th c.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Sources</i>
1844	300	Only the students of the Greek community public schools	Nikolaou, 194; A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, 216
1861	500	Only the students of the Greek community public schools	ΑΥΕ, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102
1865-67	1,000	Plus the students of the private Greek schools	Nikov, 254; <i>Αντιολικός Αστήρ</i> of 3.12.1867
1868-69/1870-71	680	Only the students of the Greek community public schools (200 of them girls)	<i>Νεολόγος</i> of 12.12.1868; 1/13.6 and 21.10/2.11.1871
1871-72	1,120	Plus the students of the private Greek schools (300 of them girls)	<i>Ε.Φ.Σ.Κ.</i> 6 (1871-72), 192
1872-73/1873-74	890	Only the students of the Greek community public schools (382 of them girls)	<i>Ε.Β.Φ.Σ.</i> , 15-19
1875-76	940	Only the students of the Greek community public schools (420 of them girls)	<i>Ε.Φ.Σ.Κ.</i> 10 (1875-76), 192
1878.	1,200		Nikolaou, 194
1891-92	1,147	466 of them are boys and 681 girls	<i>Οδησός</i> of 3.8.1891, 22.6 and 17.10.1892
1896	918		<i>Ευξείνως</i> of 8.6.1896

TABLE III

Teachers in the Greek Schools of Varna (19th c.)

Year	Teachers	Comments	Sources
1835	6	Teachers of rudimentary knowledge (reading, writing, elements of maths)	Nikolaou, 193; Evangelidis, 342
1844	2	Teachers of the Lancasterian method	Nikolaou, 194; Kanitz, 465; Papadopoulos-Yretos, 215
1861	6	4 of them were teachers of the primary school (2 female) and 2 of them were teachers in the "Hellinikon"	Α.ΥΕ, 1860, 36/17, no. 51102
1865-67	10		Kallifron, 134; Ανατολικός Αστήρ of 3.12.1867
1868-69	9	4 in the "Hellinikon", 3 in the primary schools, 2 female teachers	Νεολόγος of 12.12.1868
1870-71	14	5 in the "Hellinikon", 4 in the primary schools, 5 in the girls' primary school (3 of them female teachers)	Νεολόγος of 1/13.6, 14/26.8 and 21.10/2.11.1871
1871-72	12		Ε.Φ.Σ.Κ. 6(1871-72), 192
1872-73	14	3 in the "Hellinikon", 4 in the primary schools, 7 in the girls' primary schools	Ε.Β.Φ.Σ., 16-19
1875-76	14	3 in the "Hellinikon", 4 in the primary schools, 7 in the girls' primary schools	Ε.Φ.Σ.Κ. 10(1875-76), 192
1885	22		Νεολόγος of 8.2.1885
1890-91	20	3 in the "Hellinikon", 3 in the primary schools, 8 in the girls' primary schools, 6 in the "Astiki"	Οδησός of 22.6, 6.7, 20.7, 3.8 and 7.9.1891
1891-92	7<	4 in the "Astiki" and 3 in the central girls' school	Οδησός of 2.7.1892