#### RAÏA ZAÏMOVA

# "POUR" ET "CONTRE" L'HISTOIRE DE BYZANCE ET DE BULGARIE DANS LE DIXHUITIÈME SIÈCLE EUROPÉEN

L'époque des Lumières occidentales forme trois niveaux historiographiques par rapport à l'histoire de Byzance et de la Bulgarie:

Les historiens de l'Église ou les représentants des congrégations catholiques demeurent fidèles à la tradition humaniste. Leurs ouvrages ne sont connus que dans leurs milieux restreints nonobstant l'évolution des mentalités en Europe occidentale. Sur un deuxième niveau l'école de Voltaire fait un grand bruit par sa critique, mais sans laisser de traces dans l'historiographie occidentale et balkanique du XIXe siècle. Le troisième niveau comprend les ouvrages laïcs qui projettent quelque lumière, plutôt traditionnelle que dixhuitiémiste. Ce genre historiographique ne porte pas d'empreintes critiques et le style clair révèle l'histoire de Byzance et de la Bulgarie sous une forme convenable pour être exploité dans les milieux balkaniques où les Grecs et les Bulgares puisent des informations historiques en cherchant leurs identités nationales.

#### IOANNIS PAPADRIANOS

#### THE FIRST BALKAN ALLIANCE (1860-1868) AND THE BULGARIANS

The First Balkan Alliance was formed in 1860, thanks mainly to the diplomatic efforts of the Serbian statesman Ilija Garašanin. The purpose of the alliance was to unite all the Balkan peoples against the Ottoman Empire with the aim of liberating all their brothers still living under the imperial yoke.

In the framework of the alliance, the politicians of Serbia also turned to the Bulgarians, both those living in unredeemed Bulgaria and those of the diaspora.

Thus, early in 1867 a Bulgarian revolutionary organization which was active in Bucharest under the name of the "Benevolent Society" approached Serbia with a view to collaboration and, urged on by Russia, presented the Serbian government with a draft agreement on 27 January.

The draft was titled "Programme for Serbo-Bulgarian (Bulgaro-Serbian)

political relations; or: cordial agreement between them" (*Program političkodnosaja Srbobugaru (Bugarosrbe) ili njihov srdaču sporazum*). The Bulgarians also proposed the setting-up of a Serbo-Bulgarian or Bulgaro-Serbian state headed by the Serbian Prince Michael. Although the borders of this state were not defined, its organization was outlined in detail, and it was to have a common government, common legislation, common armed forces, and a common capital.

This article also discusses the intensive activity of the Bulgarian revolutionary Georgij Rakovski.

#### AGOP GARABEDYAN

THE CODEX OF THE CHURCH OF THE VIRGIN
IN HASKOVO AS A SOURCE FOR GREEK CULTURAL INFLUENCE
AND BULGARIAN-GREEK RELATIONS DURING NINETEENTH CENTURY

On the basis of the unpublished Codex of the Church of The Virgin in Haskovo for the period from 1831 until 1876, the report analyzes the Greek cultural influence on Bulgarian people and also the development stages of Bulgarian-Greek relation in 19th century. Certain facts from the Codex give us the reason to accept that it was essentially the Codex of the Haskovo Orthodox community, as it contained activities and decisions that went beyond the narrow scope of the parish. The Codex was written in three different ways: first in Greek, then in Bulgarian but with Greek letters, and finally in Bulgarian Cyrillic alphabet. Chronologically, these three ways of writing coincided with the stages in the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations in 19th century. Namely: stage of infinite domination of Greek culture with its corresponding favourable influence on Bulgarians; stage of manifestation of the negative consequences of this influence, especially in the process of denationalization of some Bulgarian people and their subsequent resistance; stage of struggle for spiritual, cultural and national emancipation, which resulted in the separation of Bulgaria from the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The Codex shows clearly how the gradual consolidation of the Christian City top crust and its participation in the economic life of the Ottoman Empire encouraged its aspirations to have an imposing church and a modern school. The allocated sums of money for this, described in the Codex, reveal the economic power of the city's class of traders and craftsmen. And the complete use of Greek language speaks of the infinite influence of Greek culture. The separation of Bulgarians from Greek peoples and the first manifestations of

their aspiration for spiritual and national emancipation, which started around the middle of 19th century, had its effect in the region of Haskovo and were reflected by the Codex. Here, unlike other places where ethnic Greek people lived, the majority of the Christian population was of Bulgarian origin. This is confirmed not only by the names included in the Codex, but also by a report of the Greek Deputy – Consul in Plovdiv at the name, G. Kanakaris.

The first act of the struggle for cultural and national emancipation in Haskovo was the 1845 decision of the local notables to school lessons to be taught in Bulgarian. Then as a reaction, the adherents of the pro-Greek party tried to drive away the Bulgarian teachers and Bulgarian language, which were already accepted at school and in church. The result of this struggle won by the Bulgarian element, was the organizational separation of the pro-Greek citizens of Haskovo. In 1853 they opened their own school and, eight years later, a church. All these things are illustrated from the Codex and also by the circumstance that in the year when the Greek school was opened the Codex's Greek language was replaced by Bulgarian language with Greek letters.

The expansion of the struggle of Bulgarians after the Krim War and the 1858 Church Council was reflected by the Codex. Since 1866, in the eve of the forthcoming schism, the Codex started to be written in Bulgarian Cyrillic alphabet.

#### RUMIANA KOMSALOVA

# LE THÈME GREC DANS LA PRESSE PÉRIODIQUE DE PLOVDIV PENDANT LA PÉRIODE DE LA ROUMÉLIE ORIENTALE

La presse périodique à Plovdiv, la capitale de la Roumélie Orientale, jouit d'une liberté plus grande que celle de la Principauté de Bulgarie, ce qui explique pourquoi les tentatives de faire passer en justice des rédacteurs de journaux n'aboutissent pas. La presse reflète tous les problèmes aigus de la région. Elle accorde une importance particulière au thème des axes prioritaires du développement de la région autonome: deviendra-t-elle un vilayet turc ordinaire dont les communautés perdront peu à peu leur conscience ethnique ou bien une de ces communautés affirmera-t-elle sa domination sur les autres. Le thème grec focalise dans la presse les aspects de cette lutte. Si, jusqu'au début du XIXe siècle, les Bulgares de Plovdiv s'efforcent de s'élever au niveau spirituel et culturel de leurs confrères orthodoxes —les Grecs—nous sommes en présence d'un nouveau processus: la redécouverte de l'identité nationale. La supériorité numérique leur permet de "bulgariser" peu

à peu toutes les institutions de la Roumélie Orientale et de transformer la région en une "Bulgarie défavorisée" dont la tache principale consisterait à s'unir avec la "Bulgarie favorisée". Dans ce contexte, la minorité grecque a toutes les raisons de redouter la dépersonnalisation ethnique et la discrimination nationale. Aussi, sa tendance à s'opposer à la domination bulgare estelle explicable. Les faits viennent démontrer que les situations extrêmes, telles les campagnes électorales ne font qu'exacerber la confrontation. Et pourtant, la tolérance ethnique domine dans l'ensemble, ce qui résulte aussi bien de la cohabitation séculaire, que des principes démocratiques qui régissent les Statuts organiques.

#### YANNIS SKOURTIS

#### GREEK EDUCATIONAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL PRESENCE IN SOFIA (1880-1920)

In 1879, the Greek press reported the start of Greek-Bulgarian diplomatic talks regarding the establishment of a Greek consulate in Sofia. The town had a small but flourishing Greek community. These dynamic Greek aliens felt the need for official diplomatic protection.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, many efforts were made to develop Greek-Bulgarian relations in various sectors. It was at this time that the Greeks of Sofia built themselves a church and a school. The paper uses archive sources to trace the Greek community's activities and the steps it took to establish an official Greek educational and ecclesiastical presence in the Bulgarian capital. This was associated with efforts to develop Greek-Bulgarian relations.

A Greek church and a Greek school were eventually built and operated in Sofia during a specific period, 1880-1920. The archive material allows us confidently to assert that the church and the school operated for many years, because a document dated 1919 refers to a grant from the Greek Foreign Ministry to these two small Greek establishments in Sofia.

### NADIA DANOVA

#### LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ÉCOLE HELLÉNIQUE DE PLOVDIV

La communication se propose le but d'analyser les catalogues de la bibliothèque de l'École hellénique de Plovdiv, insérée dans le Codex de la métropole. Le premier catalogue comporte l'inventaire des livres de l'école

hellénique de Ploydiy de 1794, alors que le deuxième fut élaboré en 1830. On attire l'attention sur quelques titres intéressants figurant dans l'inventaire de 1794. En premier lieu ce sont les deux tomes de l'ouvrage de l'éminent représentant des Lumières grecques Iossipos Missiodakas Théorie de la Géographie, l'un des plus remarquables ouvrages de la pensée grecque dans le domaine des sciences exactes de cette période. Nous découvrons dans le catalogue le titre de la géographie en trois volumes de Georgios Fatseas. Il convient d'attirer l'attention sur la traduction grecque de l'Histoire, le célèbre ouvrage du représentant des Lumières françaises. Charles Rollin, Les nombreux dictionnaires que nous révèle le catalogue, facilitaient l'accès aux différentes langues et cultures: hollandais, allemand, italien, etc. Le catalogue témoigne de l'intérêt typique de cette époque pour les sciences exactes, de l'ouverture de l'esprit aux acquisitions de la science mondiale et d'un élargissement des horizons de la pensée. Le catalogue de 1830 contient des nombreux ouvrages d'auteurs antiques dont certains sont édités aux premières décennies du XIXe siècle par Koraïs. Dans l'école de Plovdiv, Koraïs est représenté encore par un de ses ouvrages les plus révolutionnaires, à savoir la "Prédication fraternelle" qui est une critique impitoyable contre l'ordre existant dans l'Empire ottoman et avant tout contre la politique de compromis du patriarcat de Constantinople. Nous découvrons dans le catalogue de 1830 le titre d'un autre ouvrage qui avait agité les esprits du XVIIIe siècle: l'Apologie de l'éminent représentant des Lumières grecques, Iossipos Missiodakas, qui est une apologie de l'esprit des Lumières et de leurs principes révolutionnaires dans le domaine de l'éducation, de la pédagogie et de la philosophie. Nous découvrons dans le catalogue de 1830 le nom d'un autre éminent représentant des Lumières grecques, Christodoulos Pamplekas, condamné par l'Église orthodoxe pour sa critique du clergé orthodoxe. Ici, il est représenté par son livre De la philosophie et des philosophes, contenant dans une traduction grecque des articles fondamentaux de l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert. La bibliothèque de l'école contenait aussi les ouvrages de géographie et de mathématiques de Nicéphoros Théotokis, les mathématiques de Méthodios Anthrakitis et de Konstantinos Koumas, de chimie et de physique de Koumas, de géométrie et de métaphysique d'Eugenios Voulgaris. Nous pouvons voir aussi des titres d'ouvrages d'Ant. Gazis et de N. Doukas. Nous y remarquons aussi la traduction grecque des ouvrages du grand philosophe et astronome français du XVIIIe siècle J. Lalande, du géographe allemand Adam Gaspar. Parmi les ouvrages des représentants des Lumières européennes traduits en grec, une place particulière dans ce catalogue occupent l'ouvrage de Voltaire consacré aux querelles des Églises polonaises, édité en grec en

1768 par E. Voulgaris, l'étique de Soave, l'œuvre de Montesquieu sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains, la logique et la philosophie de Heinetius et la métaphysique de Genovese. Les titres et les auteurs énumérés présentent d'une manière très caractéristique les tendances dans la vie spirituelle des Balkans où l'établissement des idées nouvelles s'est réalisé après bien des efforts et des hésitations. En conclusion on revient au thème du rôle de l'école hellénique de Plovdiv dans la formation de personnalités hautement instruites pour leur temps comme l'éminent représentant des Lumières bulgares Konstantin Fotinov de Samokov, Joakim Grouev, Vassil Čolakov et Damascènes de Veles, qui ont occupé une place importante dans la vie spirituelle du XIXe siècle bulgare.

#### †GIORGOS TOUSIMIS

# THE BULGARIAN HIGH SCHOOL IN THESSALONIKI (PUBLISHED POSTHUMOUSLY ON THE BASIS OF THE AUTHOR'S HANDWRITTEN NOTES)

In order to show that it was implementing reforms, in 1880 the Ottoman government decided to withdraw the privileges of the Greek metropolitans, who controlled the Bulgarian schools, and to bring these under state control. The Exarchate initially accepted this with some relief, though the measure did affect the privileges it had been granted by sultanic firman.

In many areas, the Ottoman authorities looked favourably on education. And so Bulgarian educational activity began in the vilayet of Macedonia under favourable conditions.

The inspiration behind the Bulgarian High School for Boys and Girls in Thessaloniki is considered to have come from an elderly teacher from Ohrid named (Kusman) Sapkarev. Objections came from Sofia, however, with regard to Thessaloniki, which the Bulgarians regarded as a foreign city because the majority of the population was Greek.

Eventually, the following arguments supported the founding of a Bulgarian High School in Thessaloniki. 1) The students would not come from Thessaloniki itself, but from the province around the city and the hinterland more generally (indeed all of Macedonia), because Thessaloniki occupied a central location in the region. 2) The city's cosmopolitan character would help the students to learn about things which they were not taught at school. 3) As a coastal city, Thessaloniki enjoyed considerable commercial activity, people flocked there, mainly from Asia Minor and Europe, many countries had

consulates there, and many foreign nationals were established there, even Americans; so many Bulgarians believed that the Macedonian city could also display a Bulgarian character, along with all the rest. 4) Once the Bulgarian High School had officially opened in Thessaloniki, it would be more difficult for the Ottoman authorities to close it down, in case the consuls intervened.

After much shilly-shallying, the Thessaloniki High School did eventually open. But throughout its life it experienced periods of peaceful progress and periods of internal unrest and rebellion. It was the battlefield of two rival political trends.

Interesting statistical data reveal the impact on the Exarchists of the Bulgarian High School in Thessaloniki, which operated continuously for thirty-three years, from the academic year 1880-1881 to 1912-1913.

Death brought Giorgos Tousimis's notes to an abrupt end. However, this study may help future researchers to find their bearings more easily in the field of research in which Giorgos Tousimis was involved.

#### NIKOLAY ARETOV

### THE KIDNAPPED IDENTITY AND THE MYTH OF THE BOOK BURNING

The national identity could be seen as an outcome of the deliberate efforts of some kind of élite to consolidate an ethnic community. Every identity needs a mythology to legitimate it for the others and in the consciousness of its members. Such mythology defines the Own and distinguishes it from the Alien, it combines several elements—the glorious past, some key figures and the Enemy, who always must be available. To obtain the status of mythology the narratives about them must manifest a universally recognized through about the community, to define its identity and the laws it submits to.

One typical myth from the time of the Bulgarian national Revival tells us the story of the burning of some old Bulgarian books. For its contemporaries its deep meaning is to explain one significant absence and to point at the guilty kidnapper. These two operations must forge the national identity. The events take place in the 1820s and 1830s in the town of Tarnovo when Ilarion from Crete (1821-1827, 1831-1838 "Exarh of the Hole Bulgaria"), but they repeat something happened in illo tempore.

The situation could be described like this:

The old books as symbol and testimony of the desired and prestigeous identity are missing or are not enough. There is an Enemy for whom they thought that this absence is favourable, hence he must be blamed for it and his

guilt is accepted a priori. Someone throws up a piece of unconfirmed information from the past and it is repeated deliberated from many outer people.

This paper traces the spring up of the myth and examines its most impressive and representative variations and looks for the mental constructs that form its basis. It also shows the attempts to disagree with the myth and its connection with the struggle for separation from the Patriarchate.

#### SPYRIDON SFETAS

# THE IMAGE OF THE GREEKS IN THE WORK OF THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY AND INTELLECTUAL GEORGI RAKOVSKI

Rakovski had an ambivalent attitude towards the Greeks. Instilled with Greek education and consorting with Greeks, he regarded the Greeks as a model for the Bulgarians, emphasizing above all their patriotism, love of learning, and solidarity when the circumstances called for it. Once he had moved into political action on behalf of the Bulgarian national awaking, he gradually came to regard the Greeks as the Bulgarians' adversaries. The graecomania of the wealthy Bulgarians posed an obstacle to the Bulgarian national cause and he attributed it to a plan of the Oecumenical Patriarchate to "hellenize" the Balkan peoples. Rakovski soon turned his fire on the political forces in the Greek state, whose "Great Idea" he regarded as a fantasy invented by the Phanar.

#### SANYA VELKOVA

## PERCEPTION OF THE "NEIGHBOUR" IN PERIODS OF CRISIS: THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN BULGARIA AND IN GREECE

The report compares the characteristics of Bulgarians and Serbs in the beginning and at the end of the 20th century in Greek sources. An attempt is made to compare elements of these national images with their analogues of Serbs and Greeks in the Bulgarian literature. This comparison in chronological and geographical terms brings out two interesting trends: attitudes and stands from 70-100 years ago, related to the strong tension among the Balkan countries around the period of the wars (1912-1922), appear in scientific (popular science) publications of 1999-2000 addressed to a relatively broad reading public. It is also interesting that in the last 5-6 years in Bulgaria and Greece efforts are made (successful at that) to "clean" the school literature from any negative references to the neighbour and in this way overcome the

negative stereotypes in the collective consciousness placing "the neighbour" in the field of "the enemy".

The report has two accents, placed on the analysis of diverse sources from the early 20th century, and on newly published articles in the Bulgarian and Greek periodicals (2000). The latter are of interest because they elucidate, from the viewpoint of the present day and in its development, the issue of the relative invariability of the features of the "Balkan neighbour", inspecting this image from a comparatively great chronological distance.

Use was made of conclusions in studies of the image of "the other" ("the neighbour") in Bulgaria and Greece based on various sources: scientific, scientific-propaganda and epistolary literature, travel notes, fiction, as well as history textbooks for 5th-8th grade in the two countries.

#### XANTHIPPI KOTZAGEORGI-ZYMARI

# EDUCATION AS A MEANS FOR NATIONALISTIC PROPAGANDA THE BULGARIAN POLICY OF ASSIMILATION IN EASTERN MACEDONIA AND THRACE 1941-1944

During WW II and after the accession of Bulgaria to the Axis Eastern Macedonia and Thrace were occupied by the Bulgarians from April 1941 up to October 1944. As this occupation was an excellent opportunity for potential permanent annexation of those regions to the Bulgarian state, Bulgaria followed a clear policy of assimilation in all sectors of public life. Among them was that of education, since the Bulgarian Ministry of National Education itself proclaimed that the control of education is the best and most efficient way for the channeling of the intellect. This article examines: a) The incorporation of the Region's Education into the Bulgarian Educational System, b) The propagandistic nature of Bulgarian Education, which was applied mainly to the Greek population and the Pomaks, c) The role of the Bulgarian Educators, who were considered as front-line fighters for the imposing of Bulgarian-cultural models and d) the vague, practically non existant, "results" of the Bulgarian Educational Planning.

## EKATERINA NIKOVA

CATCHING UP AND FALLING BEHIND:
BULGARIA AND GREECE AT THE TURN OF TWENTIETH CENTURY

Bulgaria and Greece are a prime example of the possibilities and limits

of the process of the belated and accelerated Balkan modernization. For most of the late 19th and early 20th centuries the two countries have been stagnating. At the end of the Second World War each undertook a different strategy to overcome historical backwardness.

The two countries were considered the economic miracles of their own economic blocks. Yet the crisis of the early 1970s and particularly the decade of the 1990s revealed the dark side of the two countries' economic dynamism. Their dramatic economic and social transformation caused the second postwar miracle—the gradual and peaceful democratization of the political systems—since 1974 in Greece and since 1989 in Bulgaria. The analysis of the postwar development of Greece and Bulgaria brings us to a moderate optimism. Despite the persistent lag vis-à-vis developed Europe (particularly great in the case of Bulgaria), both countries can claim that they belong to the modern world. The "dirty work" of modernization, which in the West had taken centuries, was carried out by the efforts of two or three postwar generations of Bulgarians and Greeks.