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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Formation of a
Nationalist Bulgarian
Intelligentsia,
1835–1878

Thomas A. Meininger

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THE FORMATION OF A NATIONALIST BULGARIAN
INTELLIGENTSIA, 1835-1878

BY

THOMAS ALBERT MEININGER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1974

NEW PREFACE

The proposal by Garland Publishing, Inc., to publish this doctoral dissertation has presented the author with a good opportunity to think about the origin and course of the research and writing it represented. Looking back to those years reminds one of the marvellous opportunity to get to know a people and a culture that even university-educated people in the West regard as exotic. In a more narrow and professional manner, meanwhile, the subject matter of this work offered a unique chance to labor in an area largely uncultivated by specialists outside of Bulgaria itself. All of this made for an experience that was exciting and rewarding--and fondly remembered from this somewhat distant vantage-point.

But if the opportunity has arisen to think back, the author has resisted re-thinking the work itself, at least in this context. The objectives of the following dissertation were stated at the time it was written. How well those goals were met has been judged for the immediate purpose for which the work was undertaken. As a dissertation, and now in this form, the work hopes to advance knowledge of a scholarly field for current and future students of the area. The hope that it does so provides some solace for the shortcomings contained in this original and unamended study.

Since the completion of the dissertation, much new material and some important original insights have appeared (of course, particularly in the work of specialists in Bulgaria itself). Insofar as this more recent work affects the conclusions of the present study, the interested scholar will be well served by the excellent bibliographic efforts of the Bulgarians themselves in enabling the field to keep up to date.

The author was pleased with the interest and respect shown to the original dissertation by his Bulgarian colleagues. Subsequent visits to Bulgaria permitted several valuable opportunities to discuss the work in a formal academic setting. To be sure, the author recognizes that certain conclusions in the dissertation--and dealing with several overall characteristics of the activists of the Bulgarian Revival (Vŭzrazhdane)--have not found support among his Bulgarian colleagues. As suggested in the very last line of the work, the question is very much an academic one in any event, for the Bulgarian people has judged these same activists to be its national heroes.

In concluding these brief remarks, mention should also be made of the fact that sections of this dissertation have appeared in printed form in Études balkaniques, Southeastern Europe, and Bulgarian Historical Review, as well as in Bulgaria: Past and Present, edited by Thomas Butler. In the years following the completion of the dissertation, furthermore, the author had the chance to present his findings at various scholarly meetings.

The original preface contains the author's acknowledgements

for the assistance he received from many quarters. To that list the author would now want to include Garland Publishing, Inc., for undertaking the kind of scholarly series that makes possible the wider dissemination of works such as this one.

Toronto, Canada

August, 1986

PREFACE

The foreign visitor to Bulgaria is soon struck by the awareness that country's people has of its past. Bulgars know their history, and it is a subject that crops up frequently in conversations and in the popular press. One period that seems especially to attract popular interest is what the Bulgarians themselves call their Renaissance--the period from 1762 to 1878 when the rebirth and growth of national consciousness produced a movement for cultural and political independence, the latter goal achieved in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-1878. As have previous generations of this people, Bulgarians today regard the activists of the Renaissance--the nationalists who strove to win recognition of the claims of the Bulgarians to be a separate and distinct people--as national heroes.

Helping to put and to keep the nationalists of the Renaissance in the pantheon of Bulgarian heroes has been a Bulgarian historical literature which has continued to mirror some of the same romantic nationalism for which these men, and in particular the intellectuals among them, were the first spokesmen. Post-1944 Marxist historiography has likewise treated these nationalist intellectuals along

with various paramilitary figures as progressive champions of the nation's past. As a whole, furthermore, the literature on the Bulgarian Renaissance has concentrated on the achievements of the men in question--their studies in language and folklore, their writings, their journalism, their patriotic oratory, and their organization of various branches of the nationalist movement.

This study, though concerned with the accomplishments of the Bulgarian nationalist intellectuals, has tried to add to their historical portrait by focussing on who they were rather than on what they did. What follows, then, is offered as a group study of a social category--that is, of an intellectual elite--rather than as a history of cultural or political nationalism. In pursuing this aim, the study has stressed such things as the social origins, the personality formation, and the educational background of pre-1878 Bulgarian intellectuals; and it has gone on to analyze the subsequent careers of these men in terms of how their shared expectations and experiences might have helped form their corporate character as a nationalist intelligentsia. Rather than study a few selected individuals, this work has examined the careers of a large number of activists, both famous and obscure. To a limited extent, furthermore, it has relied on a quantified biographical approach (the methodology of which is discussed in Appendix I).

The purpose of this study has shaped its coverage and its organization. How "nationalist intellectual" and "nationalist intelligentsia" are defined are properly the function of the text, not the preface. But a working definition of both "nationalist" and "intellectual" would not be amiss at this point. As used here, "nationalist" means an individual who consciously accepts and identifies with his people as a supra-local community unified by bonds of history, traditions, customs, culture and language. Furthermore, unlike the "patriot" for whom a nationalist perception may be sufficiently satisfying in an emotional sense, the "nationalist" is almost by definition an activist who strives in various ways to bulwark his people's claim to a place in the sun.

By "intellectual" in the nineteenth-century Balkan context is meant an individual (almost always a male) who through formal schooling or self-education had the ability to create, use or disseminate culture. In more specific terms, Balkan intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century were most often men who worked in such culture-related fields as teaching and writing. Other contemporary intellectuals included men whose education and proclivities allowed them to play the role of intellectuals apart from their occupational responsibilities as clerics (but not illiterate village priests), as professionals, and as members of an Ottoman bureaucracy then undergoing moderniza-

tion. Greater difficulties arise with educated and activist businessmen. Here, one has to distinguish between the man who read newspapers and the one who regularly contributed to their columns.

In organizing this study, the author has tried to describe the emergence of a nationalist intelligentsia while preserving something of the chronology of the Bulgarian Renaissance. The major exception is the first chapter which, as an introduction to the social history which follows, presents the author's understanding of the socio-economic dynamics of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Bulgarian society. The second chapter represents a transition to the main subject with its discussion of the intellectuals who worked in the initial phases of the Renaissance. Over several generations these isolated harbingers sketched the broad outlines of the nationalist ideology and thereby served as the spiritual grandfathers and fathers of the activists who were to see this ideology bear fruit in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. More to the point here, in 1835 the last of the early revivalists inaugurated a system of modern and patriotic schooling that made possible the appearance of a sizable Bulgarian educated elite. How, when and why this elite became a nationalist intelligentsia are the questions pursued in the next four chapters, the main body of the text.

Sources for the principal subject of this study--the

careers of several hundred Bulgarian intellectuals--have been mainly the personal archives and published correspondence of these men, and their writings and later memoirs. Where available, scholarly biographies have been used; as have been a number of local histories which are the sole repositories of information on activists who failed to achieve a nationwide reputation. For introductory and background information, standard sources have been cited.

In the research for this study, the author spent an enjoyable and profitable nine months in Bulgaria. Most of his work there was done at the Bulgarian Historical Archive of the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia. For the considerate attention and the assistance he received from his Bulgarian colleagues, the author will always be grateful.

Making possible the research stay in Bulgaria was a grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board, an organization with whose personnel it was always a pleasure to deal. Before and after his trip to Bulgaria, the author received generous financial support from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and from the University of Wisconsin. To both, he would like to express his gratitude and his hope that he has turned their support to usefully scholarly ends.

The individuals on whose general wisdom and specific knowledge the author has drawn are too numerous to thank

individually in this context. he wants, however, to single out his major professor, Michael B. Petrovich. What the author owes to Professor Petrovich's critical and unerring eye--and to his deft inspiration--is a gratitude beyond the power of words to express.

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A NOTE ON MECHANICS

Both in the text and footnotes, Slavic-language transliteration follows the Library of Congress system. For Turkish names and terms, the usage here has employed the conventions devised by contemporary Ottoman specialists who write in English.

Pre-1878 Bulgarian titles are transliterated after the manner in which they are rendered in the major bibliography of this literature, Man'ò Stòianov's Bŭlgarska vŭz-rozhdenska knizhnina (Bulgarian Renaissance Literature). This bibliography applies an initial standardization to the orthography of the titles of works published at a time when a modern literary language was just developing and when printers were using a variety of foreign letters to approximate Bulgarian sounds. For the sake of overall consistency, post-1878 Bulgarian titles are rendered as they appear on their original title page and not (as is usually done) as though they were in the current spelling and alphabet. To have sought that consistency by use of the present orthography throughout would have been to force too many changes on pre-1878 titles.

Among the conventions which have been followed in equating Balkan terminology with English usage is the

designation of ecclesiastics with the English form of their name; where no English version exists, the Latin name is used. Foreign terms have been kept to an indispensable minimum, with unfamiliar ones defined when first mentioned. For place names, those given first preference by Webster's Geographical Dictionary are used, with variants provided when first cited, and with the exception of one or two Bulgarian versions which follow more closely the transliteration scheme used in the text (Turnovo instead of Trnovo). Dates conform to the Old Style (the Julian Calendar, in the nineteenth century twelve days behind the Gregorian Calendar).

ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from conventional English usage, and with one exception (for the name of the international Balkanist association), abbreviations are used here only for frequently repeated Bulgarian place names, terms, archives, institutions, organizations, documentary collections and periodical titles. Most of the abbreviations used follow current Bulgarian practice, but a few have been devised for use in this study. As much as possible, they try to favor immediate recognition. The abbreviations are used both in the footnotes and in the bibliography.

- ABAN Arkhiv pri Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite
- AGSR BAN. Inst. za ist. Arkhiv na G. S. Rakovski. (4 vols.; S., 1952-1969).
- ANG BAN. Arkhiv na Naiden Gerov. (2 vols.; S., 1931-1933).
- ASCh At. Shopov (ed.). "D-r Stoian Chomakov: Zhivot, deinost i arkhiva," Sb. BAN, XII, Kn. 8 (1919), pp. 1-668.
- AIEBSEE Association internationale des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes
- BAN Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite
- BIA Bŭlgarski istoricheski arkhiv
- B. i. b. Bŭlgarska istoricheska biblioteka
- BKP Bŭlgarska komunisticheska partiia

- B. m. Bŭlgarska misŭl
- Br. Broi
- B. sb. Bŭlgarska sbirka
- DBkd BAN. Arkhiven institut. Dokumenti za istoriata na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Braila, 1868-1876. (S., 1958).
- ed. edinitsa
- f. fond
- God. Su Godishnik na Sofiiskia universitet: Istoriko-filologicheski fakultet
- IaNG Iz arkhiva na Naiden Gerov. Ed. T. Panchev. (2 vols.; S., 1911-1914).
- Inst. za [bŭl.] ist. Institut za [bŭlgarska] istoria
- inst. za [bŭl.] lit. Institut za [bŭlgarska] literatura
- Ist. pr. Istoricheski pregled
- Iz. BID Izvestiia na Bŭlgarskoto istoricheskoto druzhestvo
- Iz. Dŭr. arkh. Izvestiia na Dŭrzhavnite arkhivi
- Iz. Inst. [bŭl.] ist. Izvestiia na Instituta za [bŭlgarska] istoria
- Iz. Inst. [bŭl.] lit. Izvestiia na Instituta za [bŭlgarska] literatura
- Iz. Nauch. arkh. BAN Izvestiia na Nauchniia arhiv pri Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite
- Kn. Kniga
- l. list
- Per. sp. BKD Periodicheskoto spisanie na Bŭl-
xii

garskoto knizhovno druzhestvo

S. Sofia

Sb. BAN Sbornik na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite: Klon istoriko-filologichen i filosofsko-obshtestven

Sb. nar. umot. Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia, nauka i knizhnina

Sp. BAN Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite: Klon istoriko-filologichen i filosofsko-obshtestven

Uchl. pr. Uchilishten pregled

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BULGARIAN SOCIETY

The thunder rolling across the Danube on an October morning in 1853 rang familiarly in the ears of older Bulgarians. They remembered the sounds of earlier wars and they were disturbed; for the noise of cannon stirred bitter memories of Russian advance and Bulgarian liberation, of Russian retreat and massive Bulgarian suffering and flight. The previous Russo-Ottoman wars had brought much grief to this Slavic people. Those same wars, however, had also served to quicken the growth of a Bulgarian ethnic consciousness; and the Bulgarian attitude toward them--insofar as a self-proclaimed national leadership could express this attitude--had remained ambivalent. So too the Crimean War--despite their foreboding, some Bulgarian spokesmen thought that the hour of liberation had finally come.

That the new conflict caused these Bulgars to hold a collective breath of expectation told much about their new outlook on their people's rising potentials as a distinct nation. For even where the Bulgarian elite had been concerned, three decades before mid-century the Bulgars had been an unknown people, an indistinguishable part of the

2

Orthodox Christian population of the Balkans. Now, in 1853, Bulgarian leaders were hoping for their people's political liberation from what they regarded as an oppressive Ottoman yoke. True, these men were few in numbers and they lacked the self-confidence to go beyond the hope that Russia-- Diado Ivan ("Grandfather Ivan") in the folk expression-- would win Bulgarian freedom. But it took only one more disappointment in Russia to furnish the missing self-reliance. Russia's defeat in the War of 1853-1856 would prompt a Bulgarian farà da se.

War's end brought the Bulgarian leadership greater possibilities for action. The Ottoman government, though a member of the victorious coalition, emerged from the war with a stigma of defeat, the Western-initiated Hatt-ı Hümayun (Imperial Rescript) of 1856.¹ Not only an insult to sovereignty, and thus a blow to imperial prestige, the Hatt failed to contain the grievances of Ottoman subjects; rather, its pledge to observe the equality of all the sultan's subjects inspired a revolution of rising demands--demands for a rational system of administration, for self-government, for economic security and for civil rights. The Bulgarian leadership, for example, could cite the Hatt's admission of a representative principle to legitimize a movement for ethnic

¹Bernard Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (2d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 116; for a more positive approach to the motives of Ottoman reform, see Roderic H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

autonomy.² In this way, too, the Crimean War and its aftermath served as a turning-point in the emergence of modern Bulgarian nationalism--a development that was at the heart of the historical process the Bulgars call their national Renaissance.³ For the third quarter of the nineteenth century was to become the testing ground of this Bulgarian nationalism, the period in which the Bulgarians battled for and gained their cultural, ecclesiastical and (after another Russo-Ottoman war in 1877-1878) political independence.

That success of modern nationalism, however, would not have been possible had not a more quiet revolution been slowly changing the foundations of Bulgarian life. This gradual social transformation--in which such political events as the Crimean War were episodes rather than divides--had its origins in demographic and economic developments dating from the second half of the eighteenth century. Set into motion by these developments (which affected all of Ottoman society), Bulgarian society had abandoned its lethargy and was becoming, in relative terms, an urbanized and economically diversified people. The social structure was changing as well, and the transformation of society was producing the leadership elites--business and intellectual--

²For an example of how this was done, see M. Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, Mitropolit Turnovski, 1812-1875: Biografiia, spomeni i statii za petdesetgodishnina ot smürtta mu (S.: Komitet Ilarion Makariopolski, 1925), p. 155.

³The Bulgarian work is Vüzrazhdane. Some writers prefer to translate it as "Revival."

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which were turning to cultural and then to political nationalism at least in part as a way to rationalize their own new perceptions and expectations. Since it was to some greater or lesser extent linked to social and economic change, the Bulgarian Renaissance, and the men who made it, must be seen in the larger context of Bulgarian society and in the framework of that society's growth.

2

To begin such a social portrait with demography is immediately to encounter an insurmountable problem. An awareness of ethnic identity did not generally exist among mid-nineteenth-century Balkan peoples, making questionable any attempt to establish the ethnic composition of the population. Furthermore, the massive diffusion of the Bulgars throughout the Ottoman Empire and in large-scale emigration to neighboring countries also thwarts an accurate count of their number.

The Bulgars were most numerous and most compact in their traditional area of settlement, a territory more or less contained within the present borders of their country.⁴
The Danube marks the northern frontier of this homeland, at

⁴The author's view of the Macedonian issue in particular is one that is shared by many other observers: the cultural and political movement that existed prior to 1878 in areas which are today part of Greece and Yugoslavia tended to be of the same rib as the Bulgarian revival. This study does not concern itself directly with territorial disputes; but it does include as members of the Bulgarian intelligentsia those individuals who, regardless of where they were born, identified themselves as Bulgars and participated in the Renaissance.

least until it reaches Dobruja in the east. Here, the caprice of a majestic river permitted the formation of an ethnically indeterminate area. South of the Danube comes the undulating northern Bulgarian plain. By the nineteenth century the fertility of this region together with an Ottoman policy of strategic settlement had brought about an almost equally mixed Christian-Moslem population. Starting at the Iron Gate on the Danube and sweeping dog-leg fashion south and east to the Black Sea is the southern border of the Danubian plain, the Balkan Mountains. The Bulgars call the northern part of the Balkans Stara planina ("Old Mountain"). Combined with the Sredna gora ("Middle Forest"), a part of the range which lies not too far to the south, the Balkans divide Bulgaria into its northern and southern halves. Although the Balkan Mountains are not a true geographical barrier, they, together with the valley between the branches, offered the isolation and security which helped preserve the most durable strain of Bulgarianism during the height of the Ottoman domination. Much more heterogeneous in population in the nineteenth century was the area south of the Balkans, the Rumelian (Maritsan, Thracian) plain. This plain was important agriculturally and strategically, located close to the nerve center of the Ottoman Empire. South of the Thracian plain come the powerful Rhodope Mountains. Finally, west of the Rhodope and running north and south along the Strumica River are the series of separate mountain ranges which became an area hotly contested between Bulgars and Serbs.

The Bulgarian population of the Ottoman Empire lived most numerously in the regions just described. At the time, however, geographical area had no official bearing on ethnic identity. Before the establishment of a separate Bulgarian church in 1870, the Bulgarian people had no legal separate-ness, much less a territorial one. The Bulgars formed an inseparable part of the Orthodox millet,⁵ and officially they were lumped together with Greeks and other adherents of the Eastern Orthodox Church. A kind of administration within an administration, the Greek-controlled Orthodox millet was to provide Bulgarian nationalists with a convenient first target for their demands for ethnic autonomy.

The government did superimpose a territorial administration over the millets, and some of the Empire's administrative units roughly corresponded to areas where Bulgars made up the bulk of the Christian settlement. (Moslems, both Turks and converts to Islam from among various ethnic groups, accounted for a large part of the population; indeed, in some areas the largest part.) Existing statistics for these administrative subdivisions have been helpful in establishing population patterns. A recent study of the data of the Danubian vilayet, a large province covering the

⁵The millet system was the Ottoman method of allowing some autonomy and self-rule to recognized ecclesiastical groups. In the 1860s there were six non-Moslem millets: Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenian, Roman Armenian, Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant. For a general discussion, see Kamel Abu Jaber, "The Millet System in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," The Muslim World, LXVII, No. 3 (July, 1967), pp. 213-223.

area north of the Balkans, has shown that in this region in⁷ the 1860s, Bulgars and Moslems lived together, especially in the towns. The Bulgars were evenly distributed over the whole of northern Bulgaria,⁶ but tended to be the predominant element only in the mountainous regions to the south.⁷ Little statistical information has survived for the administrative divisions covering southern Bulgaria, but the same patterns seemed to prevail. Moslems lived together with Bulgarians (and Greeks in some cases) in the plain; Bulgars predominated in the mountain settlements.

As to the actual number of Bulgars in the mid-nineteenth century, there are no sure figures. Bulgarian writers of that era spoke in terms of 5-7,000,000 compatriots. Recent Bulgarian scholarship has accepted as most reliable an official 1877 Russian count which put the number of Bulgars in Moesia,⁸ Thrace and Macedonia at 4,095,981.⁹ The first official counts of the early 1880s in the independent Bulgarian Principality and the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia, enumerations which excluded Macedonia and the Bulgars who lived abroad, led to a total of almost 3,000,000

⁶The study in question excludes the Niš region.

⁷Nikolai Todorov, "The Balkan Town in the Second Half of the 19th Century," Études balkaniques, V, Kn. 2 (1969), pp. 31-50.

⁸The old Roman name for northern Bulgaria.

⁹Konstantin Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie na bulgarskite zemi prez 60-te i 70-te godini na XIX vek (S.: BAN, 1968), pp. 62-63.

Bulgarians.¹⁰ Probably the safest guess would be to put the number of this people at between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000. (The estimated population of the Ottoman Empire at that time totalled 36,000,000, of whom 21,000,000 were Moslems.¹¹) Since the Bulgars had numbered an estimated 1,500,000 at the end of the eighteenth century,¹² their mid-century total betokened the rapid population growth observable elsewhere in Europe. And as in the rest of Europe, this growth had important social and economic consequences.

3

It is, however, impossible to say how much this factor in itself contributed to a more unique aspect of the Bulgarian demographic situation--the size and role of this people's diaspora. An estimated 750,000 Bulgars lived outside of the Bulgarian lands in the 1870s: 100,000 in various other parts of the Ottoman Empire; 500,000 in the Romanian Principalities; close to 100,000 in Bessarabia and southern Russia; and more than 25,000 in Austria-Hungary.¹³ Smaller groups had settled

¹⁰Kiril G. Popov, La Bulgarie économique, 1879-1911: Etudes statistiques (S.: Imprimerie de la Cour, 1920), pp. 3-4.

¹¹Davison, Reform, p. 61.

¹²D. Kosev, Novaia istoriia Bolgarii: Kurs lektsii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo inostrannoi literatury, 1952), p. 105; and Virzhiniia Paskaleva, "Razvitie na gradskoto stopanstvo i genezisut na bulgarskata burzhoaziia prez XVIII v.," BAN, Inst. za ist., Paisii Khilendarski i negovata epokha (1762-1962): Sbornik po sluchai 200-godishninata ot Istoriiia slavianobulgarska (S.: BAN, 1962), p. 122.

¹³Popov, La Bulgarie économique, p. 3.

in other countries. Perhaps another 30-40,000 Bulgars travelled abroad annually in search of work, most often as truck gardeners.¹⁴ Such examples of economic pressure aside, the greatest migration of the Bulgars took place during the troubled first three decades of the nineteenth century, when something like 250,000 of them fled toward safer regions of the Empire, or, in the train of retreating Russian armies, to Romania and beyond.¹⁵

Within the Ottoman Empire, Bulgars went as merchants, craftsmen and peasants to or near the cities of the southern part of Turkey-in-Europe, with some continuing on to Asia Minor and Egypt. The chief lure of the internal migration was the capital of the Empire--Istanbul (which the Bulgars called Tsarigrad). Apart from the security it offered, Istanbul acted as an economic magnet, being the commercial center of the Empire as well as a large market for goods and services. Its cultural amenities, furthermore, attracted those Bulgarians prosperous enough to claim membership in the Empire's Orthodox social and administrative elite, a group known as the Phanariots.¹⁶

¹⁴Khristo Gandev, Aprilskoto vŭstanie: Istoricheski ocherk (S.: Narodna mladezh, 1956), pp. 16-17.

¹⁵Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Za niakoi osobenosti i faktori v obrazovaneto na bŭlgarskata natsiia prez pŭrvata polovina na XIX v.," Iz. Inst. ist., XVI-XVII (1966), p. 435.

¹⁶N. Nachov, "Tsarigrad kato kulturen tsentŭr na bŭlgarite do 1877 godina," Sb. BAN, XIX, Kn. 12 (1925), pp. 3-4. Named after the Phanar (lighthouse) district of Istanbul, the Phanariots were a Greek or Grecized elite which has probably deserved its negative image in Balkan historiography.

At the time of the Crimean War, Bulgars accounted for some 30-40,000 of Istanbul's half-a-million people (only half of whom were Moslem).¹⁷ They had arrived from all parts of the Bulgarian lands and they ran the gamut of professions and social standing. Although big merchants dominated the capital's Bulgarian colony, the large majority were craftsmen, with the most notable group of these producers being the tailors who manufactured uniforms under state contract.¹⁸

The diverse economic pursuits of the Istanbul Bulgarians produced the financial power which backed this colony's prominent role in the Bulgarian revival. Equally important was the factor of location. Whereas nationalist spokesmen in the provinces were to be exposed to the full arbitrariness of officialdom, leaders in the capital were better protected by the reform pronouncements of the Porte, the seat of Ottoman government. Starting in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the Bulgars in Istanbul were able to set up organizations to coordinate a Bulgarian struggle for an autocephalous church (in effect, for a millet apart from the Greeks). In addition, the Bulgarian colony supported a number of cultural undertakings, an activity which resulted in

¹⁷L. S. Stavrianos, The Balkans since 1453 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 368; cf. Kiril, Patriarkh Bŭlgarski, Ekzarkh Antim (1816-1888) (S.: Sinodalno knigoizdatelstvo, 1956), p. 76.

¹⁸Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 4-9, 11-12 and passim; see also M. Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif i bŭlgarskata kulturna borba sled sŭzdavaneto na Ekzarkhiyata (1870-1915) (S.: Sinod na B-ta tsŭrkva, 1940), p. 21.

part from the cosmopolitan cultural influences to which Istanbul Bulgarians were exposed.¹⁹

Meanwhile, a larger group of Bulgarian migrants had fled the Ottoman Empire entirely, going north by way of the Danube. Many found a haven in the Danubian Principalities, whose Bulgar population in the 1870s numbered nearly half-a-million. Bulgars settled as peasants throughout Romania, and they set up craft shops and businesses in the cities. After mid-century, the Bulgarian colony in Bucharest rivalled that of Istanbul for leadership of the national movement. Other cities with a strong Bulgarian presence included Giurgiu (Giurgevo), Craiova (Kraiova) and Brăila.²⁰ Besides doing well in all branches of the economy, the Bulgarians in Romania enjoyed freedom to engage in nationalist agitation.²¹ The Bulgars could have asked for no better haven than they found in Romania.²²

¹⁹Khristo Tanev Stambolski, Avtobiografija, dnevnitsi i spomeni na D-r Khristo Tanev Stambolski ot Kazanlık (3 vols.; S.: Dürzhavna pečatnitsa, 1927-1931), II, pp. 13-20; Marko D. Balabanov, Stranitsa ot politicheskoto ni vürzrazhdane (S.: Bülgarskoto knizhovno družhestvo, 1904), p. 9.

²⁰Dimitür Kosev, Vladimir Dikulesku and Virzhinija Paskaleva, "Za položeniето i stopanskata deinost na bülgarskata emigratsiia vүү Vlashko prez XIX v.: (Do Rusko-turskata voina 1877-1878 g.)," BAN, Inst. za ist., Bulgaro-rumünski vrüzki i otnosheniia prez vekovete: Izsledvaniia (S.: BAN, 1965), pp. 285-287, 326-327, 331.

²¹K. A. Tsankov, "23 pisma i belezhki na V. Levski po negovata apostolska deinost v Bülgariia prez godinite 1871 i 1872," Sb. nar. umot., XVI-XVII, Kn. 1 (1900), p. 755.

²²Cf. I[van] Kasabov, Moite spomeni ot Vürzrazhdaneto na Bülgariia s revoliutsionni idei (S.: Pečatnitsa na P. M. Büzaitov, 1905), pp. 41-42.

Drawn, however, by greater promises, and perhaps by a sense of Slavic affinity, a large number of Bulgarian agricultural settlers passed through Romania and into Bessarabia and beyond. By the 1860s some 55-60,000 Bulgars lived in Russian Bessarabia, and about 27,000 more resided in that part of the province ceded to Romania by the 1856 Treaty of Paris.²³ Additional thousands of agriculturalists had settled in the Kherson and Tauride provinces of southern Russia.²⁴ Bulgarian peasants in Bessarabia benefited from Tsarist incentives for colonists and, together with the German settlers from whom they learned much, they formed a thriving agricultural element in an otherwise retarded European backwater.²⁵

Not all of the Bessarabian Bulgars were villagers. Some did well as merchants and artisans in Bolgrad, the administrative and economic center of the Bulgarian colony. In 1870 Bolgrad's largely Bulgarian population numbered 9616.²⁶

The availability of some urban life aided the cultural

²³Iov. Titorov, Bŭlgarite v Besarabiia (S.: Pechatnitsa na G. A. Nozharov, 1903), pp. 21, 275-276.

²⁴Vl. Diakovich, Bŭlgarska Besarabiia: Istoriko-etnografiski ocherk (S.: Pechatnitsa na Akts. D-vo "Radikal", 1918), p. 83.

²⁵Vl. Diakovich, Bŭlgarite v Besarabiia: Kratŭk istoricheski ocherk (S.: N. p., 1930), pp. 9-10, 52-71; Konstantin Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," Uchil. pr., XXIV, Kn. 3 (March, 1935), pp. 314-315.

²⁶Titorov, Bŭlgarite v Besarabiia, p. 275.

development of the Bulgarian colonists, as did certain Russian educational reforms.²⁷ A sign of the rising cultural awareness of the Bulgars was an 1869 petition in which the Kishinev residents asked for permission to form a "Society for the Spread of Literacy among the Bulgarians."²⁸ By now the towns and larger villages possessed primary schools taught in Bulgarian, and Bolgrad took pride in its seven-class middle school, one of the three full secondary institutions opened by Bulgarians before 1878.²⁹

The Bessarabian colony abetted the role of Odessa as the major Bulgarian émigré center in Russia (although smaller groups of Bulgar businessmen lived in other Russian cities). More than a half-century old by the Crimean War, the Bulgarian merchant colony in the Russian port had prospered. Many of the sons of these traders entered Russian professions and assimilated into Russian society. In the 1820s, however, several enthusiastic Bulgarian nationalists emerged from among the merchants, and from that point on the Odessa colony, like those of Istanbul and Bucharest, was to have a major say in the course of the Renaissance.³⁰

²⁷Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," pp. 316-317; BIA, f. 18, ed. 1, l. 3; see also the official Russian materials contained in "Novi dokumenti za búlgarskoto kulturno Vúzrazhdane," docs. 117 and 128a. (See p. 446 below.)

²⁸"Novi dokumenti," docs. 123 and 128.

²⁹Nikolai Zhechev, "Dva dokumenta za uchebnoto delo v iuzhna Besarabiia ot 60-70-te godini na XIX v.," Iz. Nauch. arkh. BAN, IV (1968), p. 96; and Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," pp. 312-335.

³⁰N. Nachov, "Búlgarskata koloniia v Odessa," Uchil.

Bulgarians also moved toward Central Europe. Along the way, many settled in Serbian border towns and in Belgrade. More westward movement consisted mostly of the annual work migration, but the growth of Bulgarian commerce with Europe did lead to the appearance of artisan and merchant colonies in Vienna and in other towns and cities.³¹

The three-quarters-of-a-million strong Bulgarian diaspora, and in particular its commercial and intellectual leadership, was to play a salient role in the Renaissance. In many ways the most dynamic part of the Bulgarian people, the émigrés boasted an economic prosperity which enabled them to fund a variety of nationalistic programs. They took inspiration from the cultural influences to which they were exposed; and they had the freedom of action to transform their own rising awareness to the organization and coordination of the cause in the Balkans.

4

In the Bulgarian lands proper, peasants composed the great bulk of the population. Two concurrent processes, however, prevent any simple depiction of this peasantry or of the countryside which it worked--expanding market demands and changing land relations. These factors brought movement and complication to the rural scene, but unlike the same processes at work in other societies, they were doing little to

pr., XXVIII, Kn. 5 (May, 1929), pp. 601-629.

³¹Popov, La Bulgarie économique, p. 3.

modernize farming.

Starting in the late eighteenth century, a rise in foreign demand for Ottoman crops was prompting regional specialization and the production of such market crops as tobacco, sesame seed and cotton. But the best market remained the towns and villages of the Empire itself, centers whose growing populations consumed ever larger quantities of grown food as well as meat and dairy products. Important in meeting this demand was Bulgarian agriculture, which came to represent an estimated eighty per cent of the gross production of that part of the Empire.³² (Thanks to state contracts and protection, some Bulgarian producers became extremely rich as meat and dairy suppliers. Bulgarian-owned flocks and herds sometimes numbered in the tens of thousands of animals.) As noted by Western travellers, Bulgarian production--livestock, field, garden and vineyard--"fed the Empire."³³

Market expansion by no means brought prosperity to the average Bulgarian peasant. Although the possibility existed for the small producer to find a buyer for surplus crops, the peasant could profit only if he avoided some of the tremendous fiscal obligations he faced. The real exploitation of the

³²Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, pp. 174-176.

³³See the discussion in Zhak Natan et al. (eds.), Ikonomikata na Bulgariia do sotsialisticheskata revoliutsiia, Vol. I of Ikonomikata na Bulgariia (S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1969), pp. 214-222, from which the quotation is cited.

mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman peasantry was fiscal in nature. Thus, the Ottoman peasant paid an astounding variety of taxes--taxes which the state was then raising and converting into cash obligations.³⁴ Making matters worse were rapacious tax-farmers and money-lenders.³⁵ The abuses of these men joined with insuperable taxation to thwart peasant prosperity and to retard agricultural development.

Relatedly, the state was doing little to raise agriculture from its primitive technological level.³⁶ The common plow remained a wooden one; fertilization was unsophisticated; threshing was done with antiquated instruments; and winnowing was the work of the arms and the wind.³⁷ Rural backwardness, like fiscal abuse, limited the peasant's chance to benefit from rising markets. And the Bulgarian peasant would have welcomed help in improving his techniques--he had a vested interest in the ground he tilled.

Although land tenure in the Ottoman Empire was an exceedingly complex question, de facto private ownership was increasing after the 1831-1832 reforms of Sultan Mahmud II.

³⁴Ibid., p. 222. A table listing the myriad taxes paid in one locality in the late 1850s can be found in Aleksandŭr Paylov, "Ikonomicheskoto razvitie i sŭstoianie na gr. Kazanlŭk," S., Kazanlŭshka družba "Rozova dolina", Kazanlŭk v minaloto i dnes (2 vols.; S.: Pechatnitsa na Nar. Osigur. d-vo "Balkan", 1912-1923), I, pp. 305-306.

³⁵Gandev, Aprilskoto vŭstanie, pp. 10-11.

³⁶The only notable exception concerned the reform program of Midhat Paša, governor of the Danubian vilayet in the mid-1860s.

³⁷Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, pp. 175-176.

By this legislation, by subsequent decrees, and by its actual practices, the government acknowledged private land ownership, both estate and small-scale.

Estates (often called chifliks) appeared nearly military centers and ports, and where topography and soil conditions permitted large-scale cultivation. Many chiflik owners assembled their estates by expropriating peasant-held lands, a factor in several peasant uprisings in the first half of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Generally speaking, estate owners--who included some Christians--exploited peasants in exacting quitrent, in sharecropping, or as hired labor.³⁹ These estate peasants stood on the lowest rung of society. There were, however, few chifliks in the Bulgarian lands: the skills and attitudes required for commercial agriculture were not present. Chifliks composed no more than twenty per cent of the arable land; and with less than ten per cent of the Bulgar peasants working on estates,⁴⁰ this type of exploitation hardly furnished a broad base of social discontent. In testimony of that

³⁸Khristo Khristov, "Agrarniat v̄pros i roliata na selianite v b̄lgarskata natsionalna revoliutsiia," BAN, Inst. za ist., Aprilskoto v̄stanie, 1876-1966: Dokladi i izkazvaniia na iubilainata nauchna sesiia v Sofiia (S.: BAN, 1966), pp. 20-25.

³⁹Natan et al. (eds.), Ikonomikata, pp. 212-213.

⁴⁰Khristov, "Agrarniat v̄pros," pp. 21-22; idem, "The Agrarian Problem and the National Liberation Movements in the Balkans," AIEBSEE, Actes du premier congres international des etudes balkaniques et sud-est europeennes (S.: BAN, 1967-), IV, pp. 67-68.

fact, even radical Bulgar intellectuals of the post-Crimean era were to pay little attention to the chiflik question.

These intellectuals were to ignore the problem of land liberation as well, since by the third quarter of the century the majority of Bulgarian peasant households had been able to obtain deeds to lands which they had traditionally worked or which they purchased. The Bulgarian press, foreign travellers, and later memoirists consistently described the Bulgarian peasantry as composed of generally equal landholders able to earn a living when not gouged by taxes or beset by economic crises.⁴¹

To be sure, that a landowning peasantry shaped the main contours of Bulgarian rural society did not tell the whole story. Vast seizures of Moslem properties in 1878-1879 testified to a land hunger. Moreover, quite

⁴¹For the points made, see Natan et al. (eds.), Ikonomikata, pp. 209-210; Liuben Berov, "Ikonomicheskite poseditsi ot Rusko-turskata voina prez 1877-1878 g.," BAN, Inst. za bul. ist., Osvobozhdenieto na Bulgariia ot tursko igo, 1878-1958: Sbornik statii (S.: BKP, 1958), pp. 418-419, 420; Iv. P. Kepov, Vuzstanieto v Perushtitsa prez 1876 g. (Plovdiv: Perushtitsa "Komitet 27 April", 1931), pp. 17-21; Khristov, "Agrarniat vupros," p. 22; Henry C. Barkley, Bulgaria before the War (London: John Murray, 1877), pp. xii-xiii. Bulgarian and Soviet Marxist historians continue to stress the feudal nature of landholding in the Ottoman Empire as the basic form of production, and as the source of a revolutionary ferment among the peasantry. This argument uses a dialectical inference from the state's reservation of the right to ultimate ownership to argue that this was a feudal control marked by the payment of the tithe as the "quitrent." What this interpretation overlooks is the fact that unhindered land transactions took place. However, it should be noted that many facets of the agrarian question have remained unclear. Ottoman landholding patterns never stabilized, regional differences were bewildering, and the Porte's legislation was confusing.

apart from land, the peasant had much against which to rebel. He bore the brunt of an uncontrolled tax system and he was susceptible to rampant abuses on the part of local officials.⁴² The plight of the peasants had led to agrarian disorders in the 1830s and 1840s, but after mid-century the government proved more responsive to peasant complaints, and the villagers relied more on petitions than on arms. Some peasants did join revolutionary committees, but not often the stolid head-of-household.⁴³ His reluctance was understandable: he was a property owner; and if his backward lot was sad when judged against the farmer of Western Europe, the Bulgarian peasant was so much better off than the Russian peasant that this comparison shattered some illusions among Russian soldiers in 1877-1878.⁴⁴

The peasantry took a minimal political and social role in the Bulgarian revival; indeed, its significance rested in its passivity. The peasants were that part of the people most in need of the education and advancement that an educated elite might be expected to provide. In seeking this assistance the peasants turned to the towns, a deference which illustrated well the balance of economic,

⁴²Mikhail Madzharov, Spomeni, ed. Veselin Andreev (S.: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1968), p. 175.

⁴³Cf. Simeon Damianov, Lomskiat kraj prez Vŭzrazhdaneto: Ikonomicheski zhivot i politicheski borbi (S.: Vedomstveno izdanie na gradskiaa naroden sŭvet--Lom, 1967), p. 281.

⁴⁴B. H. Sumner, Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 337-338.

political and cultural forces in Bulgarian society.

5

Towns and cities had always been important in the Ottoman system,⁴⁵ and in the nineteenth century their presence and role were being increasingly felt. Four general processes were active in the expansion of existing urban centers or in the creation of towns and cities out of smaller settlements.⁴⁶ Population movement, in terms of both natural increase and the migration from the countryside, was a particularly significant aspect in the rise in the number and size of towns.⁴⁷ The town population, a large part of which was Moslem, about doubled in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century; and by 1880 it had risen to roughly twenty per cent of Bulgaria's total population.⁴⁸ Another feature

⁴⁵For a recent study of the history of Balkan urban development, see Nikolai Todorov, Balkanskiyat grad, XV-XIX v. (S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1972).

⁴⁶Bulgarians used the word grad (seldom in any diminutive form) to refer to both towns and cities. Only with regard to specific towns (e. g., Lom) was palanka (small town or township; now archaic) used. The Ottoman authorities classified settlements administratively, but seldom with any consistency. These administrative designations changed over time, and did not necessarily reflect socio-economic realities. The craft towns of Gabrovo and Koprivshtitsa, for example, remained officially villages until the 1860s. Towns are defined here as concentrated centers of 3000 or more people for whom agriculture was not the major livelihood.

⁴⁷Kosev, Novaia istoriia, p. 107; BAN, Inst. za ist., Istoriia na Bulgariia (2d ed. rev.; 3 vols.; S.: BAN, 1961-1964), I, p. 308.

⁴⁸Paskaleva, "Razvitie na gradskoto stopanstvo," p. 122; Popov, La Bulgarie économique, pp. 11-13.

of urban development was the Empire's expanding market needs. This factor favored the rapid growth of handicraft towns among the Bulgarian mountain settlements. The industrious Bulgars of Koprivshtitsa, for example, diversified their stock-raising into a vigorous wool-textile industry. Gabrovo, Samokov, Kalofer, Kotel, Klisura, Panagurishte and other towns claimed similar origins.⁴⁹ Commerce proper contributed to the growth of such Danubian settlements as Lom, Ruse and Svishtov; and business opportunities likewise drew Bulgars to Plovdiv, Edirne and other cities of the Thracian plain; and to the Black Sea ports of Varna and Burgas.⁵⁰ Finally, some towns owed their expansion, or even their designation as towns, to the administrative needs of the government.⁵¹

The Balkan town ranged in size from several thousand inhabitants to several tens of thousands. Larger cities in the Bulgarian lands included Plovdiv, Ruse and Shumen. Among the middle-sized towns, those with populations of between 10,000 and 20,000, were Pleven, Vidin, Varna, Sofia, Svishtov, Kazanlık, Stara Zagora and others. Many of the highland towns--Elena, Kotel, Triavna, Koprivshtitsa, Pana-

⁴⁹See, for example, Petūr Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo: Monografichni izsledvania (S.: Pechatnitsa "Khudozhnik", 1929), p. 78.

⁵⁰Iurdan Iurdanov, Istoriia na bŭlgarskata tŭrgovia do Osvobozhdenieto: Kratŭk ocherk (S.: Bŭlgarskiiat tŭrgovski sŭiuz, 1938), p. 221.

⁵¹Todorov, "The Balkan Town," p. 35.

giurishte--fell into the smallest category, settlements with populations of less than 10,000.⁵² The sixty or seventy towns in the Bulgarian lands in the third quarter of the nineteenth century strikingly underscored the changing nature of Bulgarian society. If small compared to Western cities, these settlements surpassed the average Serbian town;⁵³ and, save for industry, they carried out most of the functions of larger cities elsewhere.

The entrenched rural habits of a large part of the town population somewhat impeded the thrust of urban life,⁵⁴ but overall craft production and commerce dominated the urban economy.⁵⁵ The Balkan towns bustled with vitality as centers of manufacture and exchange. A foreign visitor caught sight of this economic vigor when, seeing and hearing the sparks and sounds of the Gabrovo metal-working shops, he called it a "veritable cyclops village."⁵⁶

⁵²Ibid., pp. 32-34. Based on a careful analysis of census data of the late 1860s, Todorov's breakdown of the towns of the Danubian vilayet provides a convenient scale on which to set the towns and cities of other regions.

⁵³Ibid., p. 36.

⁵⁴Cf. Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo, pp. 31, 35-36.

⁵⁵Todorov, "The Balkan Town," pp. 41, 50. Todorov's broad occupational distribution for the towns of the Danubian vilayet reveals that 48.8 per cent of the registered population engaged in crafts and 16.9 per cent in commerce.

⁵⁶Cited by B. Sakuzov, "Istoriia na Gabrovo kato stopanski tsentur," Kniga na gabrovskata industriia, ed. Iu. N. Nestorov (Gablovo: Suiuz na gabrovskite promishlenitsi, 1934), p. 23.

Towns, like the émigré colonies, were to serve an essential function in the Bulgarian Renaissance. The urban economy supplied the Bulgarian people's most vigorous productive forces and bore the high cost of the educational and cultural revival.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the cohesiveness of town life was to give way to strong community organizations which nurtured a sense of ethnic consciousness, not only in the homogenous mountain settlements, but also in the cosmopolitan cities of the plain, where community institutions protected and furthered the Bulgarian identity. With its institutions, finally, the town was to act as a hub, spreading out the radials of a national identity to surrounding villages and to other towns. In this function, towns were to become a center of action for a Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia. In the earlier phases of the Renaissance, however, such a leadership had not yet appeared; and much of the credit for the initial development of a Bulgarian consciousness has to go to older social groups.

6

Artisans, for example, who remained the most numerous element in the towns, played a lead role in the first act of the revival. The long history of craft production in the

⁵⁷Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, p. 173; Iv. Sakuzov, "Razvitiето na gradskia zivot i na zanaiatite v Bŭlgaria prez XVIII i XIX vek," Bŭlgaria: 1000 godini, 927-1927 (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto proshvshenie, 1927), p. 687.

Ottoman Empire intensified in the second half of the eighteenth century due to population growth, role differentiation, market expansion and increased state purchasing. Coinciding with Bulgarian movement into the towns, the increased demand on artisan production encouraged this people to expand and diversify its craft activity. Bulgars, often aided by state protection and subsidization, came to dominate many trades.⁵⁸

Of the hundred or so separate industrial crafts practiced in the Bulgarian lands by the third quarter of the nineteenth century,⁵⁹ by far the most important were the various branches of the wool industry. Wool manufacture took in the production of general purpose cloth, clothing, carpets, and the braids and ribbons used with Middle Eastern dress. State purchase of uniforms and bedding stimulated wool manufacture, as did Bulgarian cultivation of a market that extended to Asia Minor.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Iv. Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardzhik: Istoriko-geografski pregled (S.: T. Pazardzhishkata obshtina, 1923), p. 157; cf. P. Tishkov, Istoriia na nasheto zanaiatchiistvo do Osvobozhdenieto ni (S.: Shiuz na zanaiatchiiskite i profesionalni sdruzheniia v Bulgariia, 1922), pp. 12-18; and Khr. St. Khinkov, "Uchastieto na zanaiatchiite v nasheto Vuzrazhdane," Otets Paisii, IX, Kn. 10 (December, 1936), pp. 386-387.

⁵⁹ Natan et al. (eds.), Ikonomikata, p. 229. Typically Bulgarian tradesmen included tailors, furriers, fur-cap makers, tanners, dyers, cobblers, coopers, coppersmiths, carpenters, packsaddlemakers, potters, blacksmiths, braziers, tinsmiths and various wool-workers. This discussion of the artisans will concentrate on the commodity-producing trades. Service professions were also important in the Bulgarian economy, but these occupations--milkmen, carters, truck gardeners, etc.--lacked the same opportunities for influence and differentiation enjoyed by artisan producers.

The wool-workers of the towns of Stara planina, to cite the example of one area of production, followed a yearly work cycle in which they were itinerant merchants as well as producers. After intensive manufacture during the spring and summer, masters and journeymen assembled in the fall in caravans for the trip south. Those who went as far as Asia Minor spent a month on the road or on the sea, selling their wares as they went. Toward the end of winter, they trekked homewards, where in their absence the women and apprentices had been rebuilding the stock of such simple items as stockings and sashes.⁶⁰

The ability of the wool craftsmen to go out and find markets helped sustain a high level of production, which in turn stimulated other local industries. But even the wool trades, like other branches of production, were rocked from time to time by the state's failure to maintain a sound monetary system and by the influx of Western manufactured goods resulting from unequal trade treaties agreed to by the Porte. On the whole, however, the Bulgarian handicraft industry remained in high gear until after that country's liberation in 1878.⁶¹

⁶⁰Khr. F. Popov, Grad Klisura v Aprilskoto vūzstanie: Ocherk za minaloto i nastoiashteto na grada (S.: Pechatnitsa S. M. Staikov, 1926), pp. 7-8; Nikolai Todorov, "Za niakoi promeni v kharaktera na tsekovata organizatsiia u nas prez pūrvata polovina na XIX v.," Ist. pr., XIV, Kn. 4 (1958), p. 49.

⁶¹Earlier Marxist historians asserted that Western competition was a shattering blow to the craft industry as early as the 1830s. While imports of such items as ready-

One indicator of this prosperity was the contribution that craft guilds (esnafi) made to the cultural rebirth of the Bulgarian people. Institutions recognized by the state, the guilds were able to exercise social as well as economic power. The government allowed the guilds to maintain their own treasuries, and the craftsmen used these funds not only for economic purposes, but also to support socially and culturally useful programs.⁶² The guilds, which themselves preserved Bulgarianism by their use of Slavic, had a tradition of supporting monasteries and literacy schools in the towns; and when in the 1830s secular education came to the Bulgarian lands, the guilds continued their patronage.⁶³ Similarly, the Bulgarian movement for a separate church was to owe a great deal to the organizational protection and the

made clothing hurt Bulgarian producers, the extent to which outside competition offset the expansionary factors of production is questionable. More recent Marxist studies have begun to qualify the earlier interpretation; one historian has pointed out, for example, that the largest Bulgarian craft, the wool industry, continued to find big markets after mid-century in Asia Minor (Todorov, "Za niakoi promeni," p. 57). For testimony on the prosperity of the crafts in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, see Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo, p. 135; Dimitur Iotsov, Kulturno-politicheska istoriia na Vratsa (2 vols.; S.: Pechatnitsa Vl. Pürshorov, 1937-1943), II, p. 356; and Ivan Khadzhiiski, Bit i dushevnost na nashia narod (2d ed.; S.: Bülgarski pisatel, 1966), pp. 168-172.

⁶²Tishkov, Istoriia na...zanaiatchiistvo, pp. 22-29 and passim.

⁶³Ibid., p. 47; Khristo S. Khinkov, Stopanski faktori na bülgarskoto vuzrazhdane (S.: Ministerstvo na informatсията i na izkustvata, 1947), p. 136; Toma Vasil'ov, Zhivot i spomeni (S.: Pridvorna pechatnitsa, 1938), p. 13.

financial backing of a number of guilds.⁶⁴

The Bulgarian revival reflected a more abstract guild contribution as well--that blend of personal and professional attitudes toward life known as the esnaf morality. A love of work, frugality, honesty and religiosity permeated the artisan ethic. His personal stature and his conscientious performance of his trade raised the handicraftsman in the eyes of outsiders and brought him the respect of Ottoman officials.⁶⁵ He and his guild treated their common funds as sacred property, an attitude in sharp contrast to the financial malfeasance of many local state and ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Relating to one another as to moral equals, the tradesmen incorporated democratic procedures into their guilds. The councils of masters, which headed the guilds, worked on the principle of collective decision, and yearly assemblies reasserted, at least symbolically, the ultimate authority of the guild's membership. Many guilds were "foyers of internal freedom."⁶⁶ Here too there was a contrast between the guilds and the arbitrary rule of the paşa, the bishop and the notable; indeed, this dichotomy eventually

⁶⁴Khinkov, Stopanski faktori, p. 53; N. Stanev, "Bulgarskata obshtestvenost do Osvobozhdenieto i Turnovskata konstitutsiia," B. i. b., IV, Tom II-III (1931), p. 161.

⁶⁵See the excellent sociological discussion of the guilds in Khadzhiiski, Bit i dushevnost.

⁶⁶C. E. Black, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), pp. 48-49.

served as one of the bases of a struggle for authority in the towns, a struggle between the forces of progress as expressed in rising Bulgarian nationalism and the traditional powers-that-be. When the tempo of the Bulgarian revival began to pick up in the 1830s, it was the guilds who first stood up to support the battle for Bulgarian autonomy and cultural expression.

The concern for culture had social as well as patriotic significance for some craftsmen. In spite of his guild affiliation, the artisan remained an individualist who took personal pride in economic success and who sought to improve his status. At that time in the Balkans status was acquiring a middle-class aura, the kind of outlook, for example, that paid attention to such things as the education of one's children. What was happening was that within the theoretically rigid and Medieval structure of the guild, material success was leading some artisans to strive for what might be called bourgeois respectability.

This upward social mobility was possible in the first place because the Bulgarian commodity-producing guilds generally failed to restrain internal competition.⁶⁷ In a more positive vein, the differentiation of guildsmen was tied to the economic boom and to the specialization of production.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Ivan Snegarov, "Po vŭprosa za klasite i klasovite otnosheniia prez Vŭzrazhdaneto," Ist. pr., VIII, Kn. 2 (1951), pp. 209-210; Todorov, "Za niakoi promeni," pp. 66-68; and see below, footnote 71.

⁶⁸Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, p. 14.

Stratification itself took the form of the retention of guild offices and the concentration of production in shops which employed ten, twenty or more apprentices. The final factor in the transformation of guildsmen was success in the commercial end of the business. Artisans who demonstrated a talent for profits saw themselves entrusted with the sale of the production of other craftsmen. They accumulated greater profits, money which they could use either to expand their own production or as founding capital for essentially commercial enterprises. Joining the merchant class completed the social evolution of the most successful and influential craft producers.⁶⁹

True, the social and occupational transformation was not always clear-cut. Some of the biggest artisan-merchants continued to identify themselves as simple guildsmen rather than as independent businessmen.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the new bearers of capitalistic interests did not try to destroy the guild system. A viable esnaf tradition and the need to oppose traditionalist notables hostile to the aspirations of

⁶⁹Nikolai Todorov, "La genèse du capitalisme dans les provinces bulgares de l'Empire Ottoman au cours de la première moitié du XIXe s.," BAN, Inst. za ist., Études historiques à l'occasion du XIe congrès international des sciences historiques--Stockholm août 1960 (S.: BAN, 1960), pp. 229-230 [Vol. I of a series prepared for major international meetings; further citations to the series will note only the short title and the volume]; idem, "Iz istoriata na Karlovskoto abadzhiistvo i gaitandzhiistvo (30-70-te godini na XIX v.," Izvestiia na Instituta Botev-Levski, III (1959).

⁷⁰P. Kisimov, "Istoricheski raboti," B. sb., IV, Kn. 9 (November 1, 1897), p. 920; V, Kn. 5 (May 1, 1898), p. 415.

artisan and modern merchant alike forestalled any immediate attack on the guilds by rising Bulgarian capitalists.⁷¹

The guilds thus fused their older role as carrier of Bulgarian identity with a progressive attitude inspired by the presence of an internal middle-class element. Throughout the Renaissance the guilds remained an active force on behalf of the rights of the Bulgarian people as a distinct ethnic group. In a more unique sense guilds brought to Bulgarian self-identity a tone of moral superiority over corrupt state (Moslem and Turkish) and ecclesiastical (Greek) officialdom; and in spite of the old-fashionedness of the artisan ethic, the moral authority of guildsmen and guild work lingered on as a standard of what was best about Bulgarians. The later Bulgarian intelligentsia was to idealize the honest and simple craftsman and to make him a model for emulation.

7

The intellectuals were not to look so favorably on another dominant town class--the merchantry; for by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, businessmen and intellectuals were challenging one another for the right to lead the

⁷¹Nikolai Todorov ("Za niakoi promeni," pp. 72-73) explains the continuation of capitalistic elements within the guilds as another peculiarity of the Ottoman system. For fiscal and logistical reasons, argues Todorov, the Porte backed up the power of the guilds; and rather than fight these strengthened and state-supported institutions from without, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie decided to develop their capitalistic interests from within.

Bulgarian people. That such a competition for power took place showed how far both classes had come in a short time. The merchants, for example--who preceded the intellectuals as an identifiable group--had in the course of several decades gone through a total change of outlook.

As recently as the first quarter of the century, commerce in the Bulgarian lands was in the hands of merchants who, regardless of their ethnic origins, considered themselves to be Greeks. In trying to be part of the Empire's elite, Bulgarian businessmen had adopted the Greek language, had Grecized their names and had taken Greek wives. In the second quarter of the century, however, Bulgarian merchants suddenly began to foresake their Greek ways for a rediscovered sense of their Bulgarianism. Among the several factors involved in this reversal were the patriotic esnaf origins of many new merchants and the example of several harbingers, revivalists whose own conversion to ethnic pride was prompted by foreign influences.⁷² Equally significant was the vigorous development of Bulgarian commerce itself, a growth linked to the economic vitality of the Bulgarian lands and thus all the more instrumental in evoking a sense of Bulgarian distinctiveness and strength. Relatedly, the most progressive part of the merchant class began to turn to nationalism as a way to achieve the reforms and changes demanded by the vested social and economic interests of

⁷²This subject is discussed in Chapter II.

a modern middle class. Finally, by stressing their own identity, Bulgarian businessmen were bypassing traditional routes and taking a shortcut to status.

Helped by the general economic upswing dating from the late eighteenth century, by international treaties, and by the low prices of local commodities, Bulgarian traders not only expanded their domestic activities, they also forged numerous commercial links with both the Middle East and Europe. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century trade volume went up steadily, and the combination of opportunity and enterprise molded Bulgarian merchants into a strong and differentiated commercial class.⁷³

The largest part of this merchant class was composed of petty traders--most commonly local retailers and providers of services (tavern-keepers, innkeepers, money-changers). A middle group of traders, meanwhile, did business over a larger area of the Empire. Such men shipped local items (wool, spirits, iron, tallow) in return for other goods, some of which they retailed in their home towns.⁷⁴ These businessmen also transacted much of their trade at fairs, where they made the contacts that enabled them to become agents for European firms. The middle Bulgarian merchants prospered, and these men became the leading citizens of their communities as well as innovators and

⁷³Virzhiniia Paskaleva has published the best studies on Bulgarian commerce. Her numerous articles are listed in the bibliography of this study.

⁷⁴Cf. Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 214.

modernizers for whom ethnic rights went hand in hand with reforms and advancement.⁷⁵ Finally, Bulgarian enterprise led to the creation of a commercial aristocracy. These big businessmen appeared in Plovdiv and other large cities of the Bulgarian lands; in major urban centers of Turkey-in-Europe such as Edirne and Istanbul; and abroad, particularly in Bucharest, Odessa and Vienna. With their domination of Bulgarian commerce, and their high social position, the big merchants claimed the right to determine the course of their society as a whole.

The first of the Bulgarian big merchants, the livestock dealers of the Ottoman Empire, wanted society to stand pat. By the early nineteenth century Bulgar meat provisioners (called dzhelepi) had taken control of the supply of slaughter animals to the army and the big cities. The government allowed these vital suppliers many privileges, including the right to collect the important tax on sheep. With such prerogatives, the livestock dealers became the wealthiest and most powerful Bulgars of the Empire. Some of them used their influence to help their people;⁷⁶ but as almost a "state service,"⁷⁷ the livestock dealers as

⁷⁵Middle traders are discussed by locality in Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, pp. 28-52.

⁷⁶Adam Neichev, "Dzhelepi i beglikchii," Iubileen sbornik po minaloto na Koprivshitsa, ed. Archimandrite Evtimii (2 vols.; S.: Koprivshenskoto druzhestvo "20 april 1876 god.", 1926-1937), I, pp. 523-534.

⁷⁷Ioakim Gruev, Moite spomeni (Plovdiv: Khr. G. Danov, 1906), pp. 8-12.

a group were exploiters and obscurantists. Hostile to Bul-³⁴
garian nationalism, they came to have a negative popular
image.

Several livestock dealers mastered more sophisticated and more modern operations; and as they did so their outlook began to change. Unsatisfied with the commercial limitations of supply contracting and tax-farming, such merchants as the Istanbul-based Khristo Tūpchileshtov (1812-1875) also took up international trade in wheat, skins, at-tar of roses, silk and other items. These businessmen dealt with Western mercantile houses in major Ottoman cit-ies; and some even opened offices in Western ports.⁷⁸ Reaping great profits, these merchants joined the Empire's Levantine upper crust. In Istanbul and elsewhere they hob-nobbed with high Ottoman officials, some of whom were in their debt. The big merchants of Istanbul owned magnifi-cent houses, sent their sons to the best schools, and con-structed their own summer resorts on a nearby island.⁷⁹

Although loyal to the Ottoman state which allowed them to prosper, many of the big merchants within the Em-pire proved responsive to ethnic patriotism so long as that patriotism was kept non-political. Their position

⁷⁸Cf. N. Nachov, Khristo P. Tūpchileshtov: Zhivot i negovata obshtestvena deinost (S.: Kaloferskata blagot-vorna i kulturno-prosvetna druzhba v Sofiia, 1935).

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 36, 47, 81, 116 and 228; Marko D. Bala-banov, "Būlgarskata koloniia v edin ostrov," Per. sp. BKD, LXXI (1910), pp. 354-358.

brought these merchants a place in the highest echelons of the Bulgarian movement. Their ties to the government, for example, enabled them to defend Bulgar attacks on Greek millet authorities. The merchants also brought their weight to bear in factional disputes within the movement. The big traders in Istanbul, Plovdiv and Edirne received the deference of their fellow countrymen, enjoyed it and expected it.⁸⁰ So did their peers in Bulgarian merchant communities abroad.

The big merchants outside the Ottoman Empire dealt with foreign firms in two-way trade with the Balkans. Bulgarian commercial families in Russia not only coupled Balkan trade to that country, but dealt as well on the Trieste, Marseilles and London markets.⁸¹ Bulgarian merchants in Vienna shipped livestock and skins to Central Europe, and sent back copper, manufactured goods and glassware.⁸² More to the west, a profitable trade in skins and attar of roses brought Bulgar merchants to Leipzig, and some did

⁸⁰Nachov, Khristo P. Tūpchileshtov, pp. 144-145, 188-189.

⁸¹See Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Contributions aux relations commerciales des provinces balkaniques de l'Empire ottoman avec les États européens au cours du XVIIIe et la première moitié du XIXe s.," BAN, Inst. za ist., Études historiques, IV, pp. 265-292.

⁸²Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Ikonomicheskoto pronikvane na Avstriia u nas ot 30-te godini na XIX v. do Krimskata voina," Ist. pr., XII, Kn. 2 (1956), pp. 23-48; idem, "Ikonomicheskoto pronikvane na Avstriia (Avstro-Ungariia) v būlgarskite zemi ot Krimskata voina do Osvobozhdenieto," Iz. Inst. būl. ist., VII (1957), pp. 113-162.

business in England.⁸³

Most Bulgarian commercial activity abroad was concentrated in the Romanian Principalities. Bulgars took part at all levels in the intensive economic activity that accompanied the dredging of the channels of the Danubian delta and the construction of railroads in the area.⁸⁴ A few of these businessmen converted their export of Bulgarian products into a wide international commerce that worked out of Bucharest, Brăila, Galați and Ismail. The Georgiev brothers, Evlogi (born in 1812) and Khristo (1824), stood head and shoulders above the rest of this group. In one aspect of their business, the brothers sold skins, leather and olive oil to French firms in return for sugar and coffee. Although the Georgiev brothers met with setbacks, their firm amassed great wealth, especially after the Crimean War. The firm's vast operations linked the deepest reaches of the Balkans with much of Europe, and its capital allowed it to function as a bank of deposit and a creditor for many smaller Bulgarian businesses.⁸⁵

Like their counterparts elsewhere, the Georgiev broth-

⁸³Veliko Iordanov, "Znachenieto na Laipstsig za stopanskoto i kulturno vūzrazhdane na bulgarite," Uchil. pr., XL, Kn. 3 (March, 1941), pp. 292-308.

⁸⁴Kosev, Dikulesku and Paskaleva, "Za polozhenieto i stopanskata deinost na bulgarskata emigratsiia," pp. 285-371.

⁸⁵For a brief but helpful discussion of the commercial activities of the Georgiev brothers, see Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Arkhivniat fond 'Evlogi i Khristo Georgievi', v arkhiva na BAN za perioda 1840-1878 g.," Iz. Nauch. arkh. BAN, II (1966), pp. 58-69.

ers possessed social prestige and political clout. Though³⁷ by no means radical in their views, they and their associates in other foreign centers had less of an economic interest in the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. They pursued a policy that envisaged the furtherance of Bulgarian interests with the help of the Great Powers.⁸⁶

The Bulgarian commercial aristocracy organized in all four of its major centers--Istanbul, Bucharest, Odessa and Vienna. The merchants in the foreign cities formed special committees which, as well as supporting patriotic cultural activities, sought to be instruments of political direction in the Bulgarian movement. The Bucharest and Odessa groups, respectively the "Benevolent Society" (Dobrodetelna družina) and the "Bulgarian Board" (Bŭlgarsko nastoiatelstvo), appeared during the Crimean War, both meant to coordinate Bulgar participation in the Russian war effort. They continued to function, and in the 1860s were joined by an organization of the Vienna merchant community, the society "Progress" (Napredŭk). Without a special body of their own, the big merchants of Istanbul operated as an interest group within the bodies guiding the church movement. Individually and through their groups, the big traders coordinated such activities as the channelling of Bulgarian memoranda to foreign publicists.⁸⁷

⁸⁶This subject is discussed in Chapter VI.

⁸⁷Nachov, Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov, pp. 150, 153-154;

Some patterns of behavior held true for all levels of the merchant class. Their travels helped traders become agents of social change. They innovated in matters as mundane as dress and as consequential as the spread of progressive attitudes among a patriarchal people.⁸⁸ Acquaintance with advanced societies convinced them of the value of education and culture. They proceeded to better themselves in a number of ways, including the learning of languages.⁸⁹ What they did to advance themselves, moreover, the merchants did many times over to further a patriotic secular culture among their people. Businessmen, including those abroad, funded the construction of schools, subsidized publications, and supported the foreign education of many young Bulgars.⁹⁰

More than one merchant took a direct part in the Bulgarian cultural revival. In the first half of the century, several businessmen helped initiate discussions of the questions of national language, literature and education;⁹¹ and throughout the final phase of the Renaissance, merchants con-

Kosev, Dikulesku and Paskaleva, "Za polozhenieto i stopanskata deinost na bulgarskata emigratsiia," p. 343.

⁸⁸Madzharov, *Spomeni*, pp. 45, 71, passim; K. T. Bozveliev, *Spomeni* (Kazanluk: Uchenoliubiva družhina "Iskra" i Potrebitelna kooperatsiia "Bratstvo", 1942), p. 11.

⁸⁹[John A. Thynne] *The Marquis of Bath, Observations on Bulgarian Affairs* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880), p. 13.

⁹⁰See, for example, BIA, f. 49, ed. 92, l. 6; Georgi Khristov, *Svishtov v minaloto, 86-1877* (Svishtov: N. p., 1937), p. 177; *AGSR*, IV, pp. 359-360; and *IaNG*, I, p. 985.

⁹¹See Chapter II.

tinued to dabble in activities ranging from folklore exhibits to literary translations.⁹²

The merchants also raised the level of Bulgarian economic culture by introducing new techniques and instruments.⁹³ Unlike the Greek trader who shipped foreign goods, moreover, Bulgarian businessmen dealt with Bulgarian commodities and thereby stimulated various branches of the native economy.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the business class as a whole failed to use its capital to introduce mechanized production on any significant scale.⁹⁵

By the third quarter of the century the merchantry functioned as the primary economic mover of Bulgarian society and aspired to its social pinnacle. Ottoman officialdom deferred to merchants even more than to the respected guildsmen.⁹⁶ In return, the merchants had mixed attitudes toward the Empire. Their progressive mentality led them to

⁹²AGSR, III, pp. 78-79, 854-855.

⁹³Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo, p. 77.

⁹⁴Kosev, Dikulesku and Paskaleva, "Za polozhenieto i stopanskata deinost na bulgarskata emigratsiia," pp. 308 and 311.

⁹⁵No real industrialization took place in Bulgaria before 1878. Excluding flour mills, only about eleven factories using steam power and machinery were in operation in the 1870s (Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, p. 119). There was no urban working class to speak of.

⁹⁶On a train filled with Turkish officers during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, Mikhail Madzharov and his father immediately let it be known that they were merchants. It was a way of avoiding possible trouble in a strained atmosphere (Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 329).

feel many grievances against the retarded Ottoman system. Yet many of them had succeeded within the framework of that system. To threaten it was thus to act at their own economic jeopardy, and when the merchants did fuse their desire for progress into the cause of Bulgarianism, they took care to balance their activism with a criterion of practicality and a policy of evolutionism. This approach, together with the domineering attitude of the higher merchantry, was in the 1860s to provoke a conflict with the intelligentsia. But before the business and intellectual elites could come to grips with one another, they first had to overcome the power of a traditional elite, the notables who were the ruling caste of their society.

8

The power of these notables--or chorbadzhii as they were called--rested on their economic, social and administrative prerogatives. Their administrative role was the clearest aspect of the later development of the chorbadzhii, a group whose origins have otherwise remained obscure.⁹⁷

⁹⁷There are no fully satisfactory treatments of the chorbadzhiistvo. The best of the older studies is that of S. S. Bobchev, "Notes comparées sur les corbacis chez les peuples balkaniques et en particulier chez les Bulgares," Revue internationale des études balkaniques, III, Nos. 5-6 (1937-1938), pp. 428-445. More recently, Khristo Khristov has restudied the question of the origins of this social group ("Kŭm vŭprosa za klasite i klasovite otnosheniia v bulgarskoto obshtestvo prez Vŭzrazhdaneto: Proizkhod, sotsialna prinadlezhnost i rolia na chorbadzhiite," Iz. Inst. ist., XXI [1970], pp. 51-85). Khristov finds an origin for the chorbadzhi in the leaders of the privileged Bulgarian communities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The term itself (which, like the role with which it was associated, had parallels among other Ottoman peoples) was one of several titles used by both state authorities and the people to designate elders and other influential citizens whom imperial officials turned to for help in local administration. The chorbadzhii came to handle, through a variety of institutional arrangements, most community affairs, both state and ecclesiastical (millet). For a long time they held an unchallenged sway in the community. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, however, their obscurantism and arbitrariness was being met by the hostility of the progressive elements of town society. What made this hostility sharper was the fact that it fed on social and economic antagonisms as well as on administrative grievances.

The chorbadzhii were not simply functionaries. Some of them held office incidentally, and many not at all. Notables far outnumbered the available administrative posts, with tens of chorbadzhi families living in a given town.⁹⁸ These families held themselves apart from the rest of the population and they married amongst themselves.⁹⁹ Furthermore, not only office and group affinity, but also inheritable wealth and social influence characterized the chorbadzhii. And the

⁹⁸Iurdan Trifonov, Istoria na grada Pleven do osvoboditelna voina (S.: Plevenskoto chitalishte "Sŭglasie", 1933), pp. 341-342; Atanas T. Iliev, Spomeni na Atanasa T. Iliev (S.: BAN, 1926), p. 4; Snegarov, "Po vŭprosa za klasi-te," p. 207.

⁹⁹Trifonov, Istoria na...Pleven, pp. 341-342.

notables were affluent. They formed, in the words of one historian, "a special rich class of people."¹⁰⁰ Many chorbadzhii got their wealth from such exploitative activities as tax-farming and large-scale money-lending.¹⁰¹ The money-lenders frequently foreclosed, thus adding to another facet of their wealth--landowning and land speculation.¹⁰² All in all the chorbadzhii grew rich in ways resented by others and portrayed as illicit by Bulgarian progressives.

Their economic activities were one of the factors which indicated that the chorbadzhii seemed to form a separate class of society, one qualitatively different from the rich bourgeoisie. Although there were some borderline cases among the livestock dealers and tax-farmers--men who were the most influential chorbadzhii of all--the big traders of the 1840s and later overcame the limited economic practices of the notables; and the middle merchantry developed as a nouveau riche class, one with a progressive outlook and a modern business attitude. The typical local chorbadzhia, on the other hand, relied on traditional sources of income and re-

¹⁰⁰Stanev, "Bŭlgarskata obshtestvenost," p. 161.

¹⁰¹Zhak Natan, "Klasi i klasovi otnosheniia v epokhata na bŭlgarskoto Vŭzrazhdane," Ist. pr., I, No. 1 (1945), p. 35; Natan et al. (eds.), Ikonomikata, pp. 222-224; Snegarov, "Po vŭprosa za klasite," pp. 207-208; Dimo Minev, "Tsani Ginchev za Liaskovskite chorbadzhii i gradinarite," Ist. pr., XIX, Kn. 1 (1963), pp. 94-95; Stan'ò Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik (S.: Iubileiniiat komitet za chestuvane na 100 godini Elenska "Daskalolivnitsa" i 100 godini chitalishte "Napredŭk", 1968), p. 44.

¹⁰²Gandev, Aprilskoto vŭstanie, pp. 10-11.

tained a patriarchal outlook. Even town notables dealt on the level of the village economy. With exceptions, primitive and exploitative economic practices set the chorbadzhii apart from the new business class.¹⁰³ (The situation was complicated, however, by the use of the term chorbadzhii as an honorific by prosperous businessmen.¹⁰⁴ And further confusing the class lines of mid-century Bulgarian society was the practice of nationalist intellectuals of labelling as a chorbadzhii every influential Bulgar, regardless of class, who failed to measure up to their standards of patriotism.¹⁰⁵)

¹⁰³The question of whether the chorbadzhii formed a separate class has drawn different answers from Bulgarian Marxist historians. The interpretation here reverts back to the one formulated by Dimităr Blagoev, the founder of Bulgarian Socialism. Zhak Natan, an economic historian writing in the 1930s and later, expressed a similar interpretation. But after 1944, with the Soviet historian Nikolai S. Derzhavin in the vanguard, the Marxist historians began to treat the chorbadzhii as a bourgeois phenomenon. Dimităr Kosev refined this view by placing the notables on an upper level of the bourgeoisie; and Goran Todorov followed with a consistent definition of the chorbadzhii as the "big bourgeoisie." Khristo Khristov has subsequently reinterpreted the class nature of the notables, rejecting the view of Blagoev and Natan, but also denying that the chorbadzhii formed a higher level of the bourgeoisie. He views the notables as a "stratum" (not a class) of people whose main distinguishing feature was their administrative role. (See his "Kŭm vŭprosa...na chorbadzhiite," pp. 51-53, for a brief account of earlier interpretations with bibliographic references.) The point of view expressed here rests a great deal on the antagonistic relations between the chorbadzhii and other town groups. A necessary caveat is that the corruption of the term itself has so complicated the question that a definitive interpretation would require a full-length study.

¹⁰⁴Khristov, "Kŭm vŭprosa...na chorbadzhiite," p. 80; Nikola T. Obretenov, Spomeni za bulgarskite vuzstania, ed. M. Arnaudov (S.: "Bulgarska kniga", n. d.), p. 32.

¹⁰⁵See below, Chapters V and VI.

As well as economic activities, a distinct lifestyle separated notables from the modern business class. Their dress was special, their bearing arrogant.¹⁰⁶ In part this aristocratic haughtiness of the notables symptomized their hand-in-glove relations with state and ecclesiastical officials. As the bishop's man in the parish, the chorbadzhia collected the diocesan tithe and kept the parish priest in place.¹⁰⁷ The notable was usually Grecized, and he defended the Hellenic and Phanariot domination of the church and millet institutions. He was also a loyal mainstay of the state, wielding not insignificant state power and often able to command local and provincial officials.¹⁰⁸ With their power and influence, the chorbadzhi, like the Sicilian uomini rispettati, expected the deference of the people. They wanted to be feared, as was feared the Botevgrad notable whose glance "was so sharp and penetrating that no one could bear it."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶M. Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski: Zhivot, proizvedeni-ia, idei (S.: Universitetska biblioteka, 1922), p. 58; Naiden Patev, Iz minaloto na Tetevensko i Botevgradsko: Istoriko-eticheski opit (S.: Pechatnitsa "Khudozhnik", 1936), p. 122; Stanev, "Bulgarskata obshtestvenost," p. 162; Mikhail Dimitrov, Liuben Karavelov: Biografii (S.: BAN, 1959), p. 17.

¹⁰⁷Dobre Ganchev, Spomeni, 1864-1887 (S.: BAN, 1939), p. 34.

¹⁰⁸Bozveliev, Spomeni, p. 77; Jordan Georgiev, "Grad Elena," Per. sp. BKD, LXV (1904), pp. 80-82; Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 204; Petur Kalaidzhiev et al. (eds.), Narodno chitalishte "Iskra" Kazanluk, 1860-1960: Iubileen sbornik (S.: Natsionalen svet na Otechestvenia front, 1961), pp. 39-40.

¹⁰⁹Patev, Iz minaloto na Tetevensko, p. 122.

The notables stood as a class in defending every iota of the power which brought them deference and wealth. Their self-protectiveness led to obscurantism. A Bulgarian newspaper noted that "the chorbadzhiï do not understand the currents of the age....They want always to be such, as they have been until now."¹¹⁰ A contemporary publicist who understood well the mentality of the notables pointed out that they desired that "whatever happens [would] happen in their own way. They never have patience for contradiction even from their equals, and certainly not from people who in their opinion are obligated not to demonstrate...that they too know...something."¹¹¹

Not all contemporaries took a negative view of the chorbadzhiï (for there were notables who took an active interest in the welfare of their communities).¹¹² But most contemporary opinion held otherwise. The enlightened elements of society despised the rapacity, the arbitrariness and the anti-Bulgarian behavior of notables. They castigated the chorbadzhiï for their abuses in collecting state and ecclesiastical taxes,¹¹³ for their various economic monop-

¹¹⁰Turtsiia, November 4, 1864, cited by Kalaidzhiev et al. (eds.), Narodno chitalishte "Iskra" Kazanlūk, pp. 43-44; cf. Pravo, VIII, Br. 37, November 23, 1873.

¹¹¹P[etko] R[achev] Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte i negovite pūrvi popechiteli (Tsarigrad: [Published by the Gabrovo School Board], 1866), p. 64.

¹¹²Cf. Patev, Iz minaloto na Tetevensko, pp. 101-103, 122, 126-127; and Dimitŭr A. Georgiev (comp.), Shiroka lūka, prosvetno ognishte v Rodopite: Sbornik statii (S.: Pochatnitsa "T. T. Dragiev & Sie", 1947), pp. 43-44.

¹¹³Khristov, "Kŭm vŭprosa...na chorbadzhiite," p. 71.

olies,¹¹⁴ and for their expectation that petitioners would come "not with empty hands."¹¹⁵ Another source of antagonism against the notables was their practice of persecuting Bulgarian teachers, either at Phanariot urging or because they themselves distrusted new pedagogical ideas.¹¹⁶

The notables' class-based arrogance of power collided with the growing ethnic and social consciousness of Bulgarian artisans and merchants; and in the 1840s and 1850s these groups began to defy chorbadzhi domination of Bulgarian life. As producers, craftsmen objected to chorbadzhi control of credit; as democratic guildsmen, they despised the arbitrariness of the notables; as preservers of Bulgarian culture, they detested the chorbadzhi mania for things Greek; and as an increasingly enlightened part of the citizenry, they objected to the malfeasance of the notables.¹¹⁷ Many of the same grievances held true for the merchantry, a group which also discovered the notables to be thwarting its economic innovations and its upward mobility.¹¹⁸ In spite of

¹¹⁴B. Mintses, "Dürzhavno-politichnite i sotsialno-stopanskite idei v búlgarskata doosvoboditelna literatura," Sb. nar. umot., XVI-XVII, Kn. 2 (1900), p. 23.

¹¹⁵Obretenov, Spomeni, pp. 63-64.

¹¹⁶Turtsia, VII, Br. 43, December 11, 1871.

¹¹⁷Batakliiev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, pp. 245-246; Stanev, "Búlgarskata obshtestvenost," pp. 162-164; Sirakov (ed.), Elenki sbornik, p. 45; Pavlov, "Ikonomicheskoto razvitie...na gr. Kazanluk," pp. 306-307; Khadzhiiski, Bit i dushevnost, pp. 375-376; Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Za samoupravlenieto na búlgarite prez Vúzrazhdaneto," Iz. Inst. ist., XIV-XV (1964), p. 83.

¹¹⁸Georgi Aianov, Maliko Turnovo i negovata pokrainina:

the presence of a traditionalism which valued submissiveness to patriarchal authority, these class conflicts were strong enough to shatter all restraints.

9

The main outward expression of these conflicts were struggles for supremacy in the primary administrative institutions of Bulgarian society, institutions which the notables had come to dominate. In the towns and larger villages these institutions were of two types--the variously named local level of the imperial apparatus; and the community organization of the Orthodox millet.

With the Tanzimat, the reform era begun in 1839, the Ottoman government attempted to end its centuries-old reliance on millet self-government and personalized and decentralized provincial authority. Among other things, the Porte tried to do so by incorporating osmanlılık--the idea of a fused, supra-millet Ottoman citizenry--into a series of administrative changes. The first of these reforms came in the creation of councils (meclis) meant to assist the provincial governors. As set up in the 1840s, these councils did include some Christian ecclesiastics and chorbadzhii, but they did little to end inefficiency and corruption.¹¹⁹ The 1856

Antropo-geografski i istoricheski prouchvania (Burgas: Mal-ko-Turnovska družba "Strandzhanski kraj", 1939), p. 255; Khristo Khristov, Bulgarskite obshtini prez Vuzrazhdaneto (S.: BAN, 1973), p. 221; idem, "Kum vuprosa...na chorbadzhii," pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁹Davison, Reform, pp. 48-49.

Hatt-ı Hümayun promised much more, but it was not until 1864 that action followed. In that year the Porte devised a total reorganization of provincial and local government. The reformers again provided the chief administrator of the provincial, district and county levels of government with an advisory council (the meclis-i idare).¹²⁰ At the same time were incorporated directly into the administrative order the local councils of elders, which already existed in some form for the millet groups within a given locality (in the Bulgarian lands this body was often a council of the chorbadzhii). The incorporation of the local councils was an effort to fuse the separate millet and imperial administrations.¹²¹ The reformers attempted the same goal by including an electoral principle and by specifying non-Moslem seats on the higher councils.¹²² The Porte inaugurated the new measures in the Bulgarian lands by setting up a reorganized Danubian vilayet.

Measured according to the government's assimilative goals, the reform failed. Midhat Paşa, the energetic governor of the province, thwarted, in spite of his other accomplishments, the fusionist purpose by his distrust of many Bulgarian leaders and by his harsh repression of Bulgarian sep-

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 147.

¹²¹Khristov, Bulgarskite obshtini, p. 223.

¹²²Davison, Reform, pp. 147-151; Goran D. Todorov, Vremennoto rusko upravlenie v Bulgariia prez 1877-1879 g. (S.: BKP, 1958), pp. 18-19.

aratism. The latter policy was natural in terms of osmanliljk, but its harshness provoked a greater separatist feeling among most Bulgarian nationalists.¹²³ Nor did the reform give the Bulgars a viable new alternative in local government. The electoral procedure was so indirect that Moslems preponderated on the councils even in areas where they did not make up the majority of the population.¹²⁴ Where Bulgars did sit on the meclis, contemporaries charged, their Moslem colleagues denied them the promised right of free expression; and, as later Bulgarian historians have charged, in many areas the Moslem religious code remained the guide for administrative and judicial decisions.¹²⁵ Furthermore, most of the non-Moslem council posts fell to chorbadzhii, the stratum of society most closely linked to the old order.

Osmanliljk and centralized administration was thus implemented in a manner which alienated the majority of aware Bulgarians. Bulgarian spokesmen rejected the reforms as implemented (though not the principle of reform), able to do so because of the government's unwillingness to toss out entirely the millet concept (and also because it failed to carry out its program systematically and forcefully). For

¹²³On Midhat, see Davison, Reform, pp. 151-157; on the attitude toward him of Bulgarian nationalists, see below, Chapter VI.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 149; Todorov, Vremennoto rusko upravlenie, pp. 19-20; Gandev, Aprilskoto vustanie, pp. 47-48; Batakliiev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, p. 127.

¹²⁵ANG, I, pp. 457-460; Todorov, Vremennoto rusko upravlenie, pp. 18-19.

the Bulgars, the millet principle was of crucial importance; it was furnishing them with both a rationale and a means for a program of ethnic autonomy. Their eventual demand for an independent hierarchy was in effect a demand to set up a separate millet, one free from Greek control. The Bulgars, while reminding the government of its commitment to reform, concentrated their attention on their millet institutions, and even as the government proclaimed its reforms, they were wresting control of the lowest millet level.

The authority of the Orthodox millet passed downward from the Patriarch of Constantinople and his Holy Synod to appointed bishops. The bishops supervised the usual millet operations--church affairs, schools, civil disputes within the millet community, and revenue. Diocesan councils existed, but the bishops preferred to rely on their personal links with local elders and notables. The Orthodox millet of the early nineteenth century was a closed organization. Dioceses were bought and sold as exploitable fiefs, and chorbadzhii had entrenched themselves with Phanariot bishops in what was truly a mutual benefit arrangement.¹²⁶ As a

¹²⁶On the non-Moslem millets generally, see Davison, Reform, pp. 114-135 and passim. The 1856 Hatt-ı Humayun called for the reform of the millets, but only two Bulgars participated in the Patriarchal assembly called in 1860 to discuss the reorganization of the Orthodox millet. The eventual reform did include substantial lay control of the millet, but this power fell almost completely to the prominent Greeks of Istanbul. The reform was also more or less limited to the higher millet institutions. To the extent that they had not already been sundered by the Bulgarian movement for a separate church, the ties between the center

consequence of their ties to the hierarchy, the notables controlled the functions of the lowest millet institutions, the local community organization.

The origins of these community institutions, later referred to as obshtini, and their development until the nineteenth century have remained conjectural. In the larger villages and the towns, the community institution was theoretically a collective organization for the self-administration of a parish or a larger part of a millet group composing a town or a town quarter.¹²⁷ It was these earlier forms of collective organization which by the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the chorbadzhii had usurped. Due to local variations, to the overlapping of state and millet affairs, and to the vacillations of the government, the manner in which the chorbadzhii exercised their control was institutionally vague.¹²⁸ Simply put, as self-sustaining local oligarchies they had managed over the course of time to gather in their hands the prerogatives which the state and church allowed to the community. The vagueness of the institutional situation, how-

and the localities remained the same as before.

¹²⁷Two recent studies have thrown some light on this complex question, Paskaleva's "Za samoupravlenieto"; and Khristov's Bŭlgarskite obshtini.

¹²⁸Cf. Khristov, "Kŭm vŭprosa...na chorbadzhiite," p. 65; Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, pp. 340-342; Aianov, Malko Turnovo, pp. 186-187; Patev, Iz minaloto na Tetevensko, pp. 56-58; Danail Konstantinov, Zheravna v minaloto i do dneshno vreme: Istoriko-bitov pregled (Zheravna: Chitalishte "Edinstvo", 1948), pp. 144-151.

ever, was important. The potential existed for the progressive classes to take up a legal challenge to chorbadzhi rule at the same time as they pointed to the government's reform promises to demand true community self-government.

Though by no means following a rigid pattern everywhere, the struggle for control of local affairs usually began when the guilds, exasperated by fiscal abuses, challenged the authority of the notables.¹²⁹ Merchants soon joined the artisans,¹³⁰ and in doing so complicated the situation with their own use of the term chorbadzhiia as an honorific. But contemporaries made a distinction by referring to such merchants and artisan-traders as the "young" or "new" chorbadzhi. The "young" designation struck a chord, and the participants were soon characterizing their disputes as conflicts between the "Young" (guildsmen and merchants) and the "Old" (the patriarchal chorbadzhi). First used in a Bulgarian newspaper in 1851,¹³¹ this manner of describing Bulgarian social cleavage grew widespread after mid-century.

Mounting a campaign was itself a victory, since the chorbadzhi were entrenched in power. They drew on their

¹²⁹Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik, p. 45; Pavlov, "Ikonomicheskoto razvitie...na gr. Kazanlık," pp. 306-307; R. M. Karolev, Istoriata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshtenie, 1936), pp. 28-30; Stanev, "Bŭlgarskata obshtestvenost," p. 162.

¹³⁰Khristov, Bŭlgarskite obshtini, p. 216.

¹³¹Tsarigradski vestnik, [Vol.] A, Br. 25, March 3, 1851.

ties to the state and the hierarchy; and they manipulated those segments of the population beholden to them. As a result, the lines of battle were not always clear-cut. Factions formed and reformed on the basis of a complex intermixture of loyalties--personal, family, neighborhood, class and ethnic.¹³²

The government's confused policy added to the chaos. Then in the process of rethinking its whole approach to provincial and local government, the Porte treated community disputes on an individual basis. At first the elders easily convinced officials that their opponents were fomenting rebellion.¹³³ But as the government went on record with its reform promises, its officials could no longer ignore the strength of public opinion against the notables. Toward mid-century, the accusations of the "Young" began to result in official investigations and in the government's calling of new community elections.¹³⁴

Where they could, the enlightened members of the community took advantage of such government intervention to

¹³²Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, p. 219; Pavlov, "Ikonomicheskoto razvitie...na gr. Kazanluk," p. 307; and see the detailed account of the dispute in Gabrovo in Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte.

¹³³See, for example, Batakliiev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, p. 246; Stanev, "Bulgarskata obshtestvenost," p. 162.

¹³⁴Khristov, "Kum vŭprosa...na chorbadzhiite," pp. 77-78; M. Iv. Markovski, "Troianskite obshtestvenni naredbi v tursko vreme," B. sb., VII, Kn. 10 (December 1, 1900), pp. 652-656; S. S. Bobchev, "Kanun-name ot 1857 g. za chorbadzhiika v Turnovskia sandzhak," Sp. BAN, XVI (1923), pp. 79-86.

summon town meetings to draft formal statutes for the community's governance--and to select a new leadership in the form of obshtini or community councils. To these town meetings came notables, spokesmen for the guilds, delegates from town quarters, clerics and teachers. (The teachers, once they began to arrive on the scene in the 1840s and 1850s, had helped lead the struggle against the notables.¹³⁵)

The statutes (ustavi) which have been preserved for the mid-nineteenth-century Bulgarian obshtini have shown that these councils were usually composed of from five to ten elected members. The electoral procedure was indirect; and though the notables were in retreat, their replacements at the head of local affairs turned out to be local business stalwarts, men who with their wealth and position could command respect in a traditionalistic society.¹³⁶ What chiefly distinguished the new community councils from earlier chorbadzhi councils was the incorporation of formal controls and procedures to prevent arbitrariness and fiscal abuse. The statutes thus spelled out the duties of council members and required the keeping of strict records and budgets.¹³⁷ Sec-

¹³⁵See Stoian T. Orlovski, "Iz istoriata na uchebno-to delo v gr. Ruse do Osvobozhdenieto," Uchil. pr., XI, Kn. 10 (December, 1906), pp. 1071-1074; and below, Chapter V.

¹³⁶T. Draganova, "Gradskata obshtina v gr. Turnovo prez XIX v.," Izvestiia na Okruzniia muzei--V. Turnovo, III (1966), p. 79; G. S. Dzhumaliev, "Protest na Shumenskite esnafi sreshtu izbora na niakoi chorbadzhi v sustava na cherkovno-grazhdanskata obshtina," Iz. BID, XXV (1967), p. 184; Gandev, Aprilskoto vustanie, pp. 49-50.

¹³⁷For examples of obshtina statutes, see "Dva ustava

ond, and perhaps more importantly, the new community councils were "not chiefly organs of Ottoman power, but were institutions whose activity was...determined by the position, the social structure and the struggles of the Bulgarian people for educational and cultural development and for the winning of ecclesiastical and political independence."¹³⁸

Actually, in many localities the community councils seemed to have no actual role as organs of imperial administration--at least their statutes spelled out no such function. The progressive Bulgarians who composed the councils had no desire to collect the state's repressive taxes; and such matters often remained in the hands of separate bodies (the ihdiyâr meclisi) or other government agents. From the perspective of a government pursuing centralizing and fusionist policies, the independent-minded Bulgarian obshtini were an "enemy."¹³⁹

The commonest concern of the obshtini was the administration of the churches and schools of a locality's Bulgarian community. For the Bulgars, moreover, the councils acted as courts of mediation for civil disputes; and they notarized marriages and property transfers.¹⁴⁰ But as bas-

po naredbite na bŭlgarskoto obshtestvo v Khaskovo prez 1872 g.," Uchil. pr., XII, Kn. 2 (February, 1907), pp. 148-149; Geno Kirov, "Material za istoriata na kotlenskoto uchilishte," Sb. nar. umot., XXII-XXIII, Kn. 1 (1906-1907), p. 25; Orlovski, "Iz istoriata," pp. 1064-1068.

¹³⁸Khristov, Bŭlgarskite obshtini, p. 191.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁴⁰Besides the sources cited above, see also Batakliiev,

ically millet bodies with little voice in state taxation, the councils were financially pressed institutions. Church collections and ecclesiastical fees were a mainstay of their income. Besides these sources, the obshtini obtained income from the rental of community properties and from the fees they charged for their work as mediators and notaries.¹⁴¹ The councils had sufficient income to carry out traditional church-related activities; beyond that, they ran into trouble. Especially as they jumped on the bandwagon of the Bulgarian cultural revival they were to find themselves faced with outlays they could not meet. The problem was acute, since community councils were spearheading the spread of modern education in the Bulgarian lands.

The new councils emerged as school boards as much as they did as church organizations. Some of them designated themselves as "church-school" obshtini and dealt as a single body with both concerns.¹⁴² In other towns were created special school boards (nastoiatelstva) under the direct or indirect control of the obshtina. These bodies built schools, hired teachers and worked out formal operating pro-

Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, pp. 131-133; Draganova, "Gradskata obshtina," pp. 73-95.

¹⁴¹Paskaleva, "Za samoupravlenieto," p. 74; Iotsov, Kulturno-politicheska istoriia na Vratsa, II, pp. 52-55; Al. Popov, "Dokumenti po vŭzrazhdaneto: (Iz kondikite na Slivenskata tsŭrkovna obshtina)," Iubileen sbornik na bŭlgarsko-to narodno chitalishte "Zora" v gr. Sliven, 1860-1910 g. (S.: Pridvorna pečatnitsa, 1910), pp. 234-242; and sources already cited.

¹⁴²Batakliiev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, pp. 131-133.

cedures. A number of obshtini incorporated the several Bulgarian schools in the locality into a single system.¹⁴³

All of these efforts cost a great deal of money, and the community councils had to scramble to find additional revenue. Some imposed tuition fees, some resorted to lotteries, and some came to rely on the benevolence of former residents now among the wealthy émigré merchantry.¹⁴⁴ Revenues, however, failed to keep up with expensive educational innovations. Already by the 1860s original enthusiasm was waning, and the practical-minded businessmen who ran community affairs were beginning to retrench in educational spending.¹⁴⁵ The stage was being set for a continuation of social turmoil in many Bulgarian localities; for teachers, the most numerous part of the then maturing Bulgarian intelligentsia, were to rise in defense of their personal interests and their beliefs as nationalist awakeners. The social and attitudinal battles of the 1860s and 1870s were to be just as sharp as the earlier ones.

But regardless of the social discord of which they were a forum as much as a result, community councils made an un-

¹⁴³Paskaleva, "Za samoupravlenieto," pp. 74-75; "Materiali za istoriata na uchebnoto delo v Ruse i Silistra," Uchil. pr., XII, Kn. 6 (1907), p. 569; "Dva ustava," p. 152.

¹⁴⁴Karolev, Istoriata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, p. 146; "Materiali...na uchebnoto delo v Ruse i Silistra," p. 569; Popov, "Dokumenti po vüzrazhdaneto," pp. 234-242.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Iliev, Spomeni, p. 134; N. Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite ml spomeni prez 1871-1876 god. v Gabrovo," Uchil. pr., XII, Kn. 6 (July, 1907), p. 556; and Chapter V.

deniable contribution to the development of Bulgarian nationalism. The emergence of these institutions represented an end to the Phanariot-chorbadzhi domination of local life. They helped the Bulgars free education from Hellenic control; and in the 1860s they were to help thwart the government's attempts to combine Bulgarian and Moslem schools.¹⁴⁶ Obshtini were essential to the organization of the Bulgarian crusade for a separate church. When this movement gathered momentum toward mid-century, many localities had community councils ready to act whenever the Bulgarian leadership at Istanbul gave the signal.¹⁴⁷ Throughout the third quarter of the century, obshtini mobilized public opinion, prepared petitions, and sent delegates to Istanbul to represent their interests. They linked up with one another, exchanging all sorts of information and ideas--and thereby helped cement national consciousness.¹⁴⁸

10

The Bulgarian localities were thus arenas where the progressive classes were advancing their political and cultural interests, thereby carrying to a higher level the socio-economic transformation of the Bulgarian people. In a sense, both processes--socio-economic growth and the crea-

¹⁴⁶Khristov, Bŭlgarskite obshtini, p. 183.

¹⁴⁷See, for example, Popov, "Dokumentŭ po vŭzrazhdaneto," pp. 228-245.

¹⁴⁸Khristov, Bŭlgarskite obshtini, p. 196.

tion, in obshtini, of independent concentrations of Bulgarian power--were quiet revolutions. Contemporaries rarely noticed or appreciated the implications of the accumulating economic strength and the social differentiation of the Bulgars. Although there was turmoil associated with the struggles against the chorbadzhii, the local nature of these conflicts obscured the significance of what was taking place. And what was taking place in the Bulgarian lands was the onset of that same combined movement of nationalism and liberal progress that was affecting much of contemporary Europe.

True, for almost all of the outside world at mid-century, this movement still lacked a name, an identity. Within Bulgaria and in the émigré centers, however, the first modern Bulgarian intellectuals had also been active in fulfilling their role--the articulation of the idea of Bulgarian nationalism.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY ARCHITECTS OF BULGARIAN NATIONALISM

"I have written it for your benefit and your glory, you who love your Bulgarian nation and fatherland and who wish to know of your nation and people." Thus in 1762 wrote the monk Paisius of the Hilendar monastery at Mt. Athos in introducing his Istoriia slavianobŭlgarska (Slaveno-Bulgarian History). In this "clarion call" to his people,¹ Paisius eloquently sketched the initial program of modern Bulgarian nationalism. Using lessons from Bulgaria's past and examples of ethnic pride elsewhere, he called for the Bulgars to restore their sense of ethnic identity and to struggle to regain their place in the sun.

Paisius was the first of a series of extraordinary personalities in the early Bulgarian Renaissance. Over several generations these cultural awakeners were to shape the idea of Bulgarian nationalism as a heritage for their more numerous and better trained successors to implement. For although themselves too few and too isolated to act as a cohesive intellectual leadership, the early revivalists nev-

¹The quotations, including that of Paisius, are from Michael B. Petrovich, "The Emergence of Modern Serbian and Bulgarian Historiography," AIEBSEE, Actes, V, p. 299.

ertheless became the spiritual grandfathers and fathers of a subsequent nationalist intelligentsia.

2

A question that has often arisen about Paisius and his early followers--and a question that has to be faced before proceeding--is whether these men created nationalism, or rather expressed sentiments somehow already present. Unanswerable as an either-or proposition, the question has been valuable in turning attention to the actual historical prerequisites of modern Bulgarian nationalism. Four factors which affected the Bulgarian Renaissance--and the men whose names were associated with it--were the existence of social classes able to sustain it, the role of a government acquiescent in its appearance and growth, the availability of outside ideas and models, and the presence of a convenient foil, that is, something to struggle against.

The internal social transformation of Bulgarian society stimulated a cultural regeneration by evoking an ideology of progress to replace the former theme of despair. As the rising classes of Bulgarian society acquired the strength to Bulgarianize the guilds, to predominate in many towns, and to enjoy a vigorous economic life,² they simultaneously sought a justification and an explanation of their revitalization. Nationalism seemed to provide the answers. As a rationale, furthermore, nationalism mutually reinforced

²As discussed in Chapter I.

the consciousness and efforts of both businessmen and intellectuals. The articulators of the idea of nationalism could turn it back to the classes in society to whom it would appeal and where it would find support.³ The socio-economic transformation of Bulgarian society represented an important base of the Renaissance; and a prominent characteristic of the early Renaissance in particular was to be a close cooperation between the revivalist intellectuals and the bourgeoisie.

3

Another factor in the growth of a Bulgarian consciousness was the policy of the Ottoman government. The Renaissance was a process of tolerated subversion from within. Forced by the Islamic ethic to be tolerant toward the "peoples of the Book," the state in effect permitted autonomous ethnic development by its use of the millet system. In a more negative sense, the Porte never systematically opposed the rise of Bulgarian consciousness nor repressed that people's nationalist spokesmen. Even under the pressure of another essential policy of the state--the preservation of the Empire's integrity--the government failed to find a way to overcome the consequences of its toleration. It was left with an approach that was at best ambivalent and that, historically speaking, turned out to be acquiescent.⁴

³Marin V. Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," Nationalism in Eastern Europe, ed. Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 103.

⁴Peter F. Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots of East-

The state's administrative practices added to its dilemma: the solutions it devised for its problems aided the cause of its internal enemies. The government thus fostered the courage of the Bulgars when it permitted them to bear arms in defense of the sultan during the turn-of-the-century Ottoman troubles.⁵ The Porte breathed additional vigor into Bulgarian ethnic consciousness with the Tanzimat. The 1839 Hatt-ı Şerif emboldened the Bulgarian leadership to speak out both in the localities and at Istanbul.⁶ The next reform edict, the 1856 Hatt-ı Hümayun, strengthened the Bulgarians even more. While outwardly keeping their movement within the realm of cultural autonomy, they increased its separatist implications by their open demand for a separate church. The Hatt's call for a reform of the millets offered the Bulgars an opening for an organized assault on the Greek Patriarchate which controlled the millet. When the Hellenic hierarchy and laity ignored Bulgar demands, the latter had the right to expect the government's help.⁷

ern European Nationalism," ibid., pp. 27-28. The author is also indebted to the work of Kemal Karpat. Professor Karpat has been making, in various scholarly papers, a persuasive case for the Ottoman system's positive contributions to the preservation of a "grass roots" ethnic consciousness that was to become modern nationalism. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to use Karpat's full-length study of this question, a book that has only recently appeared.

⁵Iv. D. Shishmanov, "Uvod v istoriata na bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane," Bŭlgariia: 1000 godini, 927-1927, p. 287.

⁶Dimitrov, Liuben Karavelov, pp. 22, 40-41; Petŭr Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie na bŭlgarskiia narod: Tsŭrkovno-natsionalni borbi i postizheniia (S.: Strashimir Slavchev, 1929), p. 33.

⁷Davison, Reform, p. 58 and passim.

The Porte had put itself into a quandary; for the Bulgars soon escalated their goals, and in the 1860s the political implications of Bulgarian nationalism were evident. Thanks in part to its previous acquiescence and pledges, the government was now faced with a serious threat to the integrity of the Empire. Complete repression was no longer possible, even if it had been admissable. Instead, the government had three policies open to it--placation, alliance and Ottomanization (that is, osmanlılık). None of these approaches was to succeed in stemming Bulgarian nationalism. One reason why was the presence by that time of a nationalist leadership able to oppose the Porte's efforts (often doing so by a Turcophobic misrepresentation of the government's intentions).⁸

4

Nursed on economic growth and social development, and raised in a not unfavorable Ottoman environment, modern Bulgarian nationalism was the beneficiary of certain foreign influences. These influences should not be overstated. Before the middle of the nineteenth century few Bulgars enjoyed prolonged exposure to outside ideas; fewer still learned these ideas well enough to make them relevant to Balkan realities; and those who did lacked the means to disseminate their lessons in any general way. Nevertheless, there have survived sufficient traces of the impact of for-

⁸To be discussed in Chapter V and VI.

eign influences on Bulgarian revivalists to merit discussion of this theme as a factor in the development of Bulgarian nationalism. It is, to be sure, a complicated story, one involving not only general influences, but also the rejection by the Bulgars of one major source of inspiration in favor of another; and, finally, the fusion of influence and the idea of nationalism with the underlying Bulgarian social dynamic.

Two mainstreams of European thought can be said to have affected Bulgar awakeners--the Enlightenment and romantic nationalism. The notions of the Enlightenment showed up toward the end of the eighteenth century, when certain Balkan writers, a few Bulgars included, began to challenge obscurantism and theocracy in favor of a rationalist approach to learning and education.⁹ The ideas of romantic nationalism reached the Bulgars a little later, about the 1820s, relayed from Western and Central Europe through several intermediaries. The Serbs, the Austrian Slavs, the Russians, and the Greeks all shared in the process, with the Greeks and then the Russians playing unique roles.¹⁰

The Serbs would seem to have had little potential as a cultural transmitter; after all, there was little difference

⁹See L. S. Stavrianos, "The Influence of the West on the Balkans," The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century, ed. Charles Jelavich and Barbara Jelavich (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 184-226.

¹⁰On the lesser importance of the Romanian role, see Paskaleva, "Za niakoi osobenosti," pp. 449-450, n. 98.

between their social level and Bulgaria's. But eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Serbian culture possessed an inestimable advantage over the Bulgars--the refuge and intellectual oasis of its Austrian diaspora. Nurtured in or by this source, such talented Serbs as Jovan Rajić (1726-1801), Dositej Obradović (1742-1811) and Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) produced literary works which conveyed the spirit and the methods of romantic nationalism to Bulgar as well as to Serb readers.¹¹ Rajić, Obradović and Karadžić personified a not insignificant Serb cooperation in the early Bulgarian revival.¹² An additional contribution of the Serbs, of Karadžić in particular, was to connect several Bulgarian intellectuals with the leaders of the Austrian Slavs. Czech and Slovak scholars such as Jan Kollár (1793-1852), Pavel Safarik (1795-1861) and František Palacký (1798-1876) worked out the most comprehensive Slavic application of the ideas of Johann Gottfried von Herder, an application almost as suitable for South Slavs as it was for Western ones.¹³ Bulgarian contacts with their Western cousins increased with their expanding commerce in the Habsburg lands and, somewhat later, with the attendance of Bulgars in that Empire's universities and secondary schools.

¹¹Petrovich, "The Emergence," pp. 301-302; Shishmanov, "Uvod," p. 305.

¹²James F. Clarke, "Serbia and the Bulgarian Revival (1762-1872)," American Slavic and East European Review, IV, Nos. 10-11 (December, 1945), pp. 141-162.

¹³Black, The Establishment, pp. 27-28.

The Bulgarian émigrés in Russia similarly channelled the ideas of romantic nationalism back to the Bulgarian lands. The chief source of this Russian inspiration was Iurii Venelin (1802-1839). As a matter of fact, Venelin himself was not a Russian, but a Carpathian Slav. As a teacher in the Kishinev seminary in the 1820s, Venelin acquainted himself with the Bulgarian colonists of Bessarabia and studied their folklore, language and history. In 1829 he published the results of his work in Drevnie i nyneshnie bolgare... (The Ancient and Modern Bulgarians...). Before his death ten years later, Venelin produced several other Bulgarian studies, all based on the precepts of romantic nationalism.¹⁴

What was particularly interesting and important about Venelin's role in the development of a Bulgarian nationalist ideology was that he had a rare kind of direct and immediate influence.¹⁵ For among the Bulgars he affected was Vasil Aprilov, the revivalist who was perhaps the prime mover of Bulgarian nationalist expression in the second quarter of the nineteenth century--the period in which this Bulgar nationalism was to advance beyond the talking stage.

¹⁴James F. Clarke, Bible Societies. American Missionaries and the National Revival of Bulgaria (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971), p. 19 [a reprint of a 1937 Harvard dissertation].

¹⁵BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vūzrazhdaneto, Vol. II of Istoriia na bŭlgarska literatura (4 vols.; S.: BAN, 1966), pp. 90-92.

The offspring of a merchant family of Gabrovo, Aprilov (1789-1847) had been brought up as a convinced Hellenophile. After study in Moscow, Braşov and Vienna, he moved to Odessa where, at the time of Venelin's work, he ran a prosperous trade. As a "direct result of Venelin's inspiration,"¹⁶ Aprilov turned away from Hellenism to embrace Bulgarianism; and with a convert's fervor, he went on to become a guiding spirit of the Bulgarian Renaissance. Aprilov himself took up the study of Bulgarian culture, and his research resulted in the 1841 publication of his Dennitsa novobolgarskogo obrazovanija (Morningstar of Modern Bulgarian Education), a sort of everyman's compendium of the current Bulgarian cultural scene.¹⁷ But Aprilov was not content with individual literary efforts. He obtained the help of his fellow merchants, he enlisted intellectuals, and then he ably inaugurated steps to weave the various threads of the Bulgarian revival into a practical and coherent program. He did so first of all by arguing that there could be no true Bulgarian identity so long as the Bulgars remained culturally beholden to the Greeks. And Aprilov's stature was such that when he so rejected the reigning Hellenic influence on the Bulgars he necessarily forced a decision on his contemporaries.

5

The Greek impact on the Bulgars went beyond influence:

¹⁶Petrovich, "The Emergence," p. 305.

¹⁷Ibid.; Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," pp. 106-107.

it was a matter of the Hellenization of that Slavic people. Paisius stated the problem directly: "[T]here are those who do not like to know about their Bulgarian kind but turn to a foreign culture and to a foreign tongue....[They] learn how to read and speak Greek and feel ashamed to call themselves Bulgarians."¹⁸ These were prescient words in 1762--a warning about a danger which had just appeared. But the warning was not effective. Hellenization progressed throughout the rest of the century and into the next, successful simply because the Bulgars were finding the Greek way to be a better way.¹⁹ Besides being the lingua franca of Levantine commerce, Greek enabled leading Bulgarian merchants to establish close business and social ties with those Hellenes who controlled trade. Many Bulgarian merchants assimilated into the Greek commercial class.²⁰ Bulgarian-born ecclesiastics assimilated as well, and for the same reason--a Greek identity was a necessity for advancement in the Greek-controlled Orthodox church. Meanwhile, Bulgarian intellectuals followed their compatriots in accepting the spirit and style of the Hellenes. What attracted them in particular was the late eighteenth-century Greek cultural ferment. This Greek revival blended the ideas of the Enlightenment with the riches

¹⁸Istoriia slavianoblgarskaia, ed. Petŭr Dinekov (S.: BAN, 1963), p. 29.

¹⁹M. Arnaudov has written most often on this subject; see, for example, his "Grŭtska i bulgarska prosveta v nachaloto na XIX vek," B. i. b., I, Tom III (1928), pp. 148ff.

²⁰Khinkov, Stopanski faktori, p. 51.

of a classical tradition to create a nationalist movement that lured thoughtful Bulgars as a source of light in an otherwise dark period of Ottoman history.

A modern approach to education was the taproot of Hellenic influence. Greeks such as Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) and Eugenios Voulgares (1716-1806) translated the ideas of the Encyclopedists into secular educational reforms. They and their followers founded a number of schools throughout the Levant, both gymnasiums and primary schools of a more contemporary type.²¹ These schools flourished as centers of rational and modern enlightenment, and their fame attracted students not only from Greek families, but from other Orthodox Christian peoples of the Balkans. Having only primitive literacy schools of their own, for example, Bulgarian merchants and guildsmen sent their sons to Greek institutions. Thanks to this alternative, a part of the Bulgarian business class began to grow attuned to the spirit of the times. A rise in the number and the abilities of Bulgarian intellectuals resulted as well. Almost the whole gallery of Bulgarian activists of the 1820s and 1830s was Greek-trained. Some of these men carried the new education, in its Greek form, to their own people.

These educators (who were not always Bulgarians) set up so-called "Helleno-Greek," "Helleno-Bulgarian," or "Slavo-Hellenic" schools. These schools taught, in Greek, a pro-

²¹Naiden Chakurov, Istoriia na bulgarskoto obrazovanie (S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1955), p. 117.

gram intended to develop the new man--rationalism, humanism and practical sciences. Emanuil Vaskidovich (?-1875), probably a Greek, founded the first such school in 1815 in Svishtov. Supported by local merchants and by émigré businessmen, Vaskidovich's school soon outgrew its original building.²² In 1831 the Svishtov notables hired an additional teacher, Khristaki Pavlovich. A former Rila monk trained in the Greek gymnasiums of Melnik and Ser, Pavlovich (1804-1848) taught Greek, Slavonic, arithmetic, geography, catechism, history and rhetoric. Pavlovich viewed Hellenism as "the basic source of the new Bulgarian education."²³ No less a Hellenophile was the Karlovo teacher, Raino Popovich. From his study in the Greek schools of Thessalonike, Chios and Bucharest, Popovich (1773-1858) acquired a knowledge of mathematics, natural sciences and Greek philosophy. His Hellenic school in Karlovo enjoyed an excellent reputation.²⁴

Though popular with the bourgeoisie, the "Helleno-Slavic" schools met the opposition of ecclesiastics and notables, groups which looked on secular educational ideas as dangerous. In Sliven in the 1820s, for example, they attacked the teacher, Ivan Seliminski, as an atheist. Seliminski (1799-1867) later wrote that an anti-Bulgarian sentiment motivated the attacks against him. He overstated his

²²Khristov, Svishtov, pp. 54-56.

²³Chakurov, Istoriia.na...obrazovanie, pp. 144-149.

²⁴BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vŭzrazhdaneto, pp. 97-99.

case, however, since the Sliven school, like the others, was an institution of Hellenic culture.²⁵ Yet it was also true that the "Helleno-Greek" schools were contributing to the growth of a Bulgarian ethnic consciousness.

The Bulgars who taught and attended the Hellenic schools were able to separate the message of nationalism from the Greek medium. Even the Hellenophile teachers had a hand in this process. Popovich, for example, authored a widely used Bulgarian translation of a Greek reader; and Khristaki Pavlovich published a revised version of Paisius' History. As one historian has written, the Hellenophile teachers "knew...that their students precisely in the Greek schools would see best...what it meant to love one's people and language....They were, in spite of their great Hellenophilism, great patriots."²⁶ The best testimony of the consequences for Bulgarian nationalism of the Hellenic schools was the later activity of the students they graduated-- patriots who were to become teachers in Bulgarian schools.

What was taking place can perhaps be better illustrated by the experiences of some of the Bulgar students in the Greek secondary schools of Athens, Istanbul, Andros and elsewhere. The young Slavs studying in these institutions came to understand well what a nationalistic education was

²⁵S. Tabakov, Opit za istoriia na grad Sliven (2 vols.; S.: Komitet "Istoriata na gr. Sliven" 1911-1924), II, pp. 380-396.

²⁶Shishmanov, "Uvod," p. 301.

all about. Based on the notion that only through learning could a people earn the right to live, Greek schooling nourished Greek nationalism and was in return galvanized by the same sentiment. Greek nationalistic pedagogy, when combined with the allure of Hellenic culture, exercised a strong assimilative pressure on young Bulgars. For some of these students, however, Greek schooling had a completely different effect. At some point in the education of these young men, a spark appeared to inflame their Bulgarian consciousness. The catalyst might be the reading of Paisius' History; it might be the arrival of a converted fellow student. Once pushed over the threshold, the young Slav began fervently to apply the lessons so well taught by his Greek teachers. He looked for ways to define and to defend his own nationality in the face of Greek exaggerations and belittlement of other peoples. He searched ancient sources for arguments to use to contradict his teachers. Going further, he instigated his fellow Bulgars to form a student society to look after Slav interests in the now unfriendly confines of a Greek school.²⁷

²⁷Arnaudov, "Grŭtska," p. 163; idem (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 31 and passim; idem, Grigor Purlichev: Kharakteristika i belezhki (S.: Natsionalen svet na Otechestvenia front, 1968), pp. 23-32; idem, Bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane (2d ed.; S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshlenie, 1942), pp. 130-156; P. V. Odzhakov, "Mestovospitanieto na nashite ucheni v nastoiasheteto stoletie do 1868 godina," Uchil. pr., IX, Kn. 1-2 (1904), pp. 115-121 [written in 1868]; and IV. D. Shishmanov, "Ivan Dobrovski: (Po lichni spomeni i sŭobshteniia)," Bŭlgarski pregled, III, Kn. 7-8 (July-August, 1896), pp. 156-170.

The paradox was striking. Greek nationalists were training Bulgarian nationalists, and doing so in a way that provoked them to launch their careers by rejecting their mentors. But before the rejection occurred, the Bulgars had learned much from their erstwhile idols; for from the Greek tutelage they acquired specific examples and practical experience for waging a nationalist movement. Bulgar merchants and their sons, for example, learned the responsibility of supporting their people's cultural advancement. Intellectuals found out how to obtain this support; and at the same time they picked up such ideas as the importance of a literary language for nationalism and the need to establish patriotic publishing ventures.²⁸ In these and many other ways, the positive Greek impact on the Bulgarian Renaissance was immeasurable.

Bulgarian nationalists were soon painting another face on that Greek role. They came to use the Greek cultural domination as a convenient target against which to direct both the grievances and the aspirations of the Bulgarian people. Influenced by romantic nationalism's need for a foil,²⁹ Bulgar intellectuals of the 1830s began to impart a strong

²⁸Mikhail Arnaudov, Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Braila, 1869-1876 (S.: BAN, 1966), pp. 8-9; *idem*, "Grŭtska," pp. 163, 172-173; Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 65-66; and Boris M. Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pečat, Vol. I of Nachalo, razvoi i vŭzkhod na bŭlgarskiia pečat (S.: Pechatnitsa "Globus", 1946), p. 32.

²⁹Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots," pp. 9-11, 34-44.

anti-Greek character to their writings and oratory. When the Bulgars subsequently organized their movement as a struggle for millet autonomy, the identification of millet oppression as Greek oppression guaranteed the pivotal place of Grecophobia in the Renaissance.

Although something of an anti-Greek element had been present in Bulgarian writing since Paisius, the first real characterization of Greeks as national enemies was voiced by the monk Neophyte of Hilendar, better known as Neofit Bozveli (ca. 1785-1848). As a teacher in Svishtov from 1814-1836, Neofit unsuccessfully sought to be made a bishop, and thwarted ambition explained some of his Grecophobia.³⁰ Assuming the role of a grief-stricken "Mother of Bulgaria" in several manuscripts, Neofit bewailed the fate of the Bulgars as helpless victims of Greeks and Grecized chorbadzhii. He turned his people's grievances into a bill of particulars against Greek millet authorities. At the same time, he spawned nationalistic enmity by his derogatory comments about purported Greek ethnic traits. In referring to Greek bishops, for instance, the "Mother of Bulgaria" summoned her sons to "root up from their maternal, divinely blessed courtyards these godless, utterly lawless, Tartar-bred, Aegean dirty old men [chapkuni]...together with their Grecized fellow-travelling chorbadzhii, those Janissary

³⁰For a biography of Neofit, see M. Arnaudov, Neofit Khilendarski Bozveli, 1785-1848 (S.: BAN, 1930).

spirits."³¹

Neofit's Grecophobia was to be followed by most subsequent writers of the Bulgarian revival, nationalists who brought this enmity to an even higher level of invective. An anti-Greek sentiment appeared in almost all Bulgarian belles lettres published in the middle decades of the nineteenth century,³² just one indication of this theme's importance in the ideology of Bulgarian nationalism.

6

As they began to reject Hellenism, the Bulgarian revivalists of the 1830s sought a new source of Slavic inspiration, particularly in Russia. The instigator of this shift was the merchant-intellectual, Vasil Aprilov. To turn his people's attention to Russia, Aprilov relied on his own personal stature, a prestige earned in part from his deep sense of commitment to the cause. "My goal consists in this," wrote Aprilov in 1839, "to be useful to my fellow countrymen, to do good, to encourage them onto the path of learning."³³

Aprilov had to draw on all of his prestige to persuade his compatriots to base their hopes on Russia and their cul-

³¹Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 58, citing the manuscript "Mati Bolgariia."

³²Boian Penev, Bŭlgarska literatura prez vtorata polovina na XIX vek, Vol. IV of Istoriia na novata bŭlgarska literatura (4 vols.; S.: Ministerstvo na narodno prosvetstvenie, 1930-1936), pp. 194-195.

³³Cited by Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 174.

tural advancement on Russian education. Hellenophile Bulgars--still, in spite of the incipient Grecophobia, the majority of the Bulgarian elite--opposed such a reliance. Save that it was perhaps a little more up-to-date and a little more Western, Russian education was not at this time (the 1830s and 1840s) much different in content than Greek schooling. For the Hellenophiles, however, both in its Slavic orientation and its Russian context, it seemed far removed from the needs of Bulgarian society. Greek learning, they argued, combined an intrinsic value with the advantage of being close to the cultural and social foundations of Bulgarian life. Aprilov considered Russian schooling to be more progressive than overrated Greek education, but his main riposte was that Hellenization meant the end of Bulgarianism. He argued more positively that Russia's ethno-cultural affinity with the Bulgars would best help his people resurrect its own Slavic language, history and culture. For Aprilov, Slavic Russia held the key to Bulgarian cultural independence.³⁴

Aprilov's arguments carried the day, thanks in no small part to a Russian willingness to help its fellow Slavs. Prodded by Aprilov and his Odessan cohorts, the Tsarist government opened up a number of educational opportunities; and by the 1840s numbers of young Bulgars were

³⁴Michael B. Petrovich, "The Russian Image in Renaissance Bulgaria, (1760-1878)," East European Quarterly, I, No. 2 (June, 1967), pp. 94-95.

attending Russian seminaries and universities.³⁵

The turn to Russia heralded the start of a new phase of the Renaissance. Russian-educated intellectuals who began to return home just before mid-century were to introduce predominately Russian and Slavic influences into literature, education and political expression. What was happening, however, was not the replacement of one influence by another. With the Russian alternative, the Bulgars got past the impasse posed by Hellenism--the influence that had been a goal in itself. Freed now from being swamped by Hellenism, and yet still able to draw on outside inspiration, the Bulgarian intellectuals of the 1830s and 1840s, unlike those who came earlier, could look with greater optimism on the building of a Bulgarian cultural identity.

7

This second phase of the Renaissance confirmed the existence of a first phase--that long period that had passed since 1762 and Paisius' History. During those decades the revival had followed three streams of development. Two of these streams--the growth of a progressive bourgeoisie and the penetration of some foreign ideas--had nothing necessarily Bulgarian about them. Only the third stream of the Renaissance showed a specifically Bulgarian character, the current which saw an occasional awakener voice the ideas of progress and nationalism in Bulgarian, for Bulgarians. Be-

³⁵See below, Chapter IV.

tween these men and Bulgarian society, however, there were few conscious links. They could not overcome the restraints imposed by their own historical milieu, and their nationalist expression remained a fragile creation. For these harbingers, fame and significance came later, when their nationalist successors resurrected them as the first heroes of the struggle for a Bulgarian cultural identity.

It was not until long after his death, for example, that a new generation of Bulgarian activists canonized Paisius of Hilendar as the father of the Renaissance.³⁶ And when they did, they made full use of this monk's ideas of secular nationalism and his passionate appeal to patriotism. Though but a step removed from a Medieval approach, and laced with religious allegories, Paisius' History broached secular and modern themes of citizenship with its use of a "vocabulary that in western Europe was the hallmark of deism and rationalism." Besides calling for education to restore a Bulgarian civic consciousness, Paisius fostered ethnic pride by contrasting the good and simple Bulgars with what he called the guileful Greeks.³⁷ Another theme of Paisius picked up by later revivalists was that of the jeremiad--an emotional lament for the fate of the Bulgarian people. It was a motif suggesting the role of monasteries as the milieus which sustained a Bulgarian ethnic

³⁶Petrovich, "The Emergence," p. 299.

³⁷Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," pp. 100-102.

identity (and the preservers of that identity) well into the nineteenth century.³⁸

Monastery resources and training had been essential to Paisius and to Spiridon of Gabrovo, the author of a 1792 manuscript entitled "Kratka istoriia na bulgarskiiia slavianski narod" ("A Short History of the Bulgarian Slavonic People"). But the next towering revivalist after Paisius was Bishop Sophronius of Vratsa (Sofronii Vrachanski, 1739-1813). Sophronius made one of the first copies of Paisius' History. After many years as a cleric and teacher active in educational reform, he authored in 1806 the first printed Bulgarian book, Kiriakodromion, sirech Nedelnik pouchenie (The Sunday-Book of Lessons), a collection of Greek moralistic readings translated into a language close to the Bulgarian vernacular. In his more original "Zhitie i stradania greshnago Sofroniia" ("The Life and Sufferings of the Sinful Sophronius"), a manuscript not published until 1861, Sophronius graphically described the grief of his people. His writings provided later revivalists with the example of the vernacular, of present-mindedness and of an awareness of the need for modern education.³⁹

But in his own time Sophronius was a voice crying out

³⁸Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 38-41; idem, Natanail, Mitropolit Okhridski i Plovdivski (1820-1906) (S.: Dŭrzhavno knigopechatano predpriiatie "Dencho Stefanov", 1952), pp. 82-84.

³⁹Paskaleva, "Za osobenosti," pp. 425-426; for a biography of Sophronius, see M. Arnaudov, Sofronii Vrachanski (2d ed.; S.: BAN, 1947).

in a wilderness of Bulgarian apathy. He was not the spokesman of any general Bulgarian movement, and for a decade and a half no successor of comparable stature continued his work. Filled with sweeping international events and domestic turmoil, the first quarter of the nineteenth century was a time when the Bulgarian cultural rebirth was muted. The activities of the Bulgarian elite seemed inseparably a part of the Greek national movement. In terms of ethnic consciousness, this quarter century was the darkest hour before dawn.

8

That dawn did come, however; for the events themselves of this period helped crystallize the awareness of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. Many Bulgar townspeople and émigré merchants sharpened their outlook by their participation in putting down internal disorders;⁴⁰ and by their involvement in the Serbian revolution, in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1806-1812, and especially in the Greek revolution of 1821.⁴¹ Businesses were disrupted, merchants and artisans were persecuted for their activities; but they came out of this period with a sense of their own strength--and a commitment to a Bulgarian nationalist idea. Among the many ways they demonstrated this attitude was their support of the construction of new churches, sumptuous buildings like that of "Sv.

⁴⁰Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," p. 104.

⁴¹Nikolai Todorov, Filiki Eteriiia i bulgarite (S.: BAN, 1965).

Bogoroditsa" ("Holy Mother of God") in Pazardzhik or "Sv. Petūr i Pavel" in Sopot. Similarly, in 1833 Bulgarian businessmen rebuilt Rila Monastery into a beautiful monument of Bulgarian culture.⁴²

And now--in the 1830s--the Bulgarian Renaissance seemed to coalesce into a viable movement of modern nationalism. It was at this point that Aprilov, sensing the upsurge of ethnic consciousness among the bourgeoisie, suggested the Slavic and Russian alternative to Hellenism. The effect of his contribution was to help bring businessmen and revivalists together and, as a larger and more unified body than the first awakeners, to share a concern for the restoration and future of Bulgarianism. Furthermore, these men now had a clear course to follow; for the last of the early enlighteners had just suggested how a program of nationalism should be inaugurated--in a system of modern patriotic education.

The originator of the suggestion was Petūr Beron. Like Aprilov, Beron (1800-1871) combined business and cultural careers. A university graduate, a doctor and a dilettantish philosopher of the natural sciences, Beron found time to look after a number of commercial ventures. His sole book in Bulgarian was an 1824 primer entitled Bukvar s razlichni poucheniia (Primer with Various Instructions), but popularly called "Riben bukvar" ("Fishy Primer") because of its cover's picture of a dolphin and a whale. With its

⁴²See the excellent discussion of these themes in Paskaleva, "Za niakoi osobenosti," pp. 434-438.

secular and encyclopedic content (examples were used from history, geography, folklore and the physical sciences), Beron's Primer became so popular that it was reprinted five times.⁴³ Its widespread acceptance spelled the end of the prayer-book method of teaching. But more than that, in the book's preface Beron argued the need for a secular system of education, one based on the Bell-Lancaster method of teaching.⁴⁴ Beron's pedagogical ideas appealed to Aprilov and the other Bulgarian leaders then discussing how best to build a viable Bulgarian identity. The revivalists of the 1830s decided to follow Beron's advice--to lay the foundations of a cultural rebirth in new Bulgarian schools of the Bell-Lancaster type.

9

The activists who turned their attention to education took on a task of major proportions. The better schools then operating in the Bulgarian lands were Hellenic institutions. The sole Bulgarian schools--and they were Bulgarian only to the extent that they taught the Church-Slavonic language--were the primitive cloister or "cell" schools. Originated as centers of monastery learning outside the monastery walls, the "cell" schools were taught by itinerant monks to provide training in reading and religion to boys

⁴³Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 166.

⁴⁴BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vŭzrazhdaneto, pp. 86-87.

whom they intended to take back as novices. In time, some secular priests set up similar literacy schools in villages to train young men to act as their stand-ins.

Town "cell" schools underwent a degree of development. By the end of the eighteenth century, clerical teachers had been joined by lay instructors called daskali or grammatitsi; and as the middle class sought education for its sons, the number of "cell" schools increased and their operation became regular. Some teachers expanded the original religious curriculum to include secular subjects. Early nineteenth-century "cell" schools were training not only prospective clerics, but "copyists, drafters of documents, clerks in the employ of merchants, and teachers." The last named group, a kind of "lay intelligentsia of the time,"⁴⁵ carried what they learned into other parts of the Bulgarian lands.

"Cell" schools, however, allowed little real improvement in the level of education. Highly personalized arrangements characterized their operation. The lay teachers conducted school at the same time as they practiced a domestic craft, usually shoemaking or weaving.⁴⁶ Such teachers treated their pupils as apprentices, only from time to time taking notice of their academic progress.

Not surprisingly, even the literacy taught by "cell"

⁴⁵Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," p. 95.

⁴⁶Cf., for example, Stoil T. Orlovski, "Istoria na uchebnoto delo v Vrachansko," Uchil. pr., IX, Kn. 10 [Supplement] (1904), p. 6.

schools was questionable. Students studied letters not by sound, but by names, that is, by words begun with the letter in question. Although the phonetic quality of the language helped, learning to read in this manner was strained, time-consuming and boring. Once the student could interpret words, he studied and memorized prayers and other religious literature. Writing, where taught at all, was taught poorly. The student practiced his letters in sandboxes.⁴⁷

"Cell" education was a case of something better than nothing. These schools kept a semblance of literacy alive in the Bulgarian lands.⁴⁸ By their teaching of Church-Slavonic, they also preserved an important base of Slavic culture. But for the revivalists, the "cell" schools had outlived their limited usefulness.

10

These cultural nationalists wanted education to do more

⁴⁷The above account of the "cell" schools is based on information in the following sources: Chakurov, Istoriia na ...obrazovanie, pp. 103-107; Luka Iv. Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivshtitsa predi osvobozhdenieto ni," Iubileen sbornik...Koprivshtitsa, I, pp. 273-279; Veliko Iordanov, Selo Medven, Kotlenska okoliia: Istoriko-obshtestven pregled (S.: Pechatnitsa "Stopansko razvitie", 1940), pp. 30-32; Ivan N. Undzhiev and Ivan Peikovski (eds.), Grad Troian: Iubileen sbornik (S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1968), p. 122; and Stoil T. Orlovski, "Istoriia na uchebnoto delo v Vratshansko," pp. 1-6. For memoir accounts of "cell" education, see Kisimov, "Istoricheski raboti," IV, Kn. 9, pp. 922-924; and Khr. G. Danov, "Spomeni ot uchenichestvoto mi v Klisura i opisanie na tamoshnoto kiliino uchilishte ot 1785 do 1856 g.," Khristo G. Danov: Biografichen ocherk, ed. S. Iv. Barutchiiski (2d ed. rev.; Plovdiv: Iubileniinat komitet, 1905), pp. 144-149.

⁴⁸Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 106.

than teach literacy in an outdated, bookish language. They sought instead a schooling to combine the teaching of secular knowledge with training in patriotism. Beron showed them the way when he stressed that schools should teach letters by sound, should adjust teaching to the level of the students, and should concentrate on secular and practical subjects to prepare the student to prosper in contemporary society.⁴⁹ Following up on Beron was Aprilov, a revivalist who likewise sought to revamp education in a modernist spirit. The curriculum, Aprilov believed, should be secularistic, rationalistic and patriotic. Schools were to prepare patriots by teaching the Bulgarian language, history and geography; and at the same time they were to turn out useful members of society by developing the intellectual capacity and the personal maturity of the students. Aprilov expected schools to teach the student to "know the world,...himself,...his obligations to society and how to proceed in his business."⁵⁰

Like Beron before him, Aprilov found the Bell-Lancaster technique particularly suited to his educational aims. Brought to the Middle East by English missionaries, the Bell-Lancaster monitorial method had spread quickly among the Greeks, and the Bulgar revivalists were familiar with it. This system's limited requirements and its use of

⁴⁹Petūr Berovich [Beron], Bukvar s razlichni po-uchenia (Brașov: [The Author], 1824), pp. 2-11.

⁵⁰Cited by Chakūrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 175.

advanced students as assistant teachers took into account Bulgaria's backwardness and promised the greatest benefit from a single trained teacher. Furthermore, given the ease with which the method could be mastered, an original Lancaster school could prepare teachers to carry the new education to other parts of the Bulgarian lands.⁵¹

In the early 1830s, Aprilov, joined by Nikolai Palazov, another Odessan Bulgarian merchant, decided to establish a Lancaster school in Gabrovo, their native town. The two initiators asked their colleagues in Odessa and Bucharest to contribute to a special educational fund, while at the same time they persuaded the Gabrovo elders of the need for such a school. In return for the latter's agreement and pledge of help, the émigrés promised to send a teacher trained in the monitorial method. In 1833 construction began on a school building, and by the end of the following year, all was in readiness for the arrival of the teacher.

The choice for this post fell of Neophyte of Rila (Neofit Rilski, 1795-1881). Born into a priest's family in Bansko, Neophyte took the vows in Rila Monastery. After study in a Greek school in Melnik, he spent several years as an itinerant monk and "cell"-school teacher. In 1834 the metropolitan of Turnovo recommended him to Aprilov, who in turn asked Neophyte to go to Bucharest to master the Lancaster method at a Greek institution in that city. In Bucharest,

⁵¹Clarke, Bible Societies, p. 204.

supported from funds collected for the Gabrovo school, Neophyte used Russian models to prepare wall charts, the textbooks of the Lancaster school. Although a monk, he recognized the importance of secular education, and he imparted that kind of knowledge into his charts.

Neophyte opened the Gabrovo school at the beginning of 1835 with an initial class of about seventy students. At the same time as he taught his pupils how to read and write in Bulgarian, he introduced them to basic concepts of history, geography, civic duties, religion, arithmetic and other subjects. After two years in Gabrovo, Neophyte moved on to Koprivshtitsa, where he opened a second Lancaster school. His pioneering efforts earned him recognition as the "patriarch of Bulgarian scholars and pedagogues."⁵²

The Lancaster school inaugurated by Neophyte in Gabrovo resembled a public school (in the American sense) in that it was meant to serve the population as a whole. Most classwork took place in semi-circles of fifteen to twenty students gathered around charts displayed along the walls, a procedure that allowed several hundred students to be taught in one large hall. Training to read and write remained the primary goal (and letters were now taught more simply as a combination of sound and name), but as the pupils progressed through the charts they learned a great deal

⁵²Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 178-181; on Neophyte, see also Iv. D. Shishmanov, "Novi studii iz oblasta na bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane: V. E. Aprilov, Neofit Rilski i Neofit Bozveli," Sb. BAN, XIII, Kn. 21 (1926), pp. 1-544.

more than literacy. Students who finished the Lancaster school possessed at least some idea of secular learning and Western culture. Moreover, they left school as fledging patriots. With their teaching of history, geography and literature, Neophyte and his successors instilled in their students a love for their country, a respect for its culture and a desire to improve its future.

The opening of the Gabrovo school marked the start of a new cultural era for the Bulgars. As Aprilov himself wrote, with the Gabrovo school was "laid the beginning of the first national educational institution in Bulgaria." He pointed out the long-range implications of this departure: "Future writers," he remarked in 1841, "with gratitude will...point to Gabrovo [and] will say: 'Here is the cradle of our literature.'"⁵⁴ Finally, as Aprilov had hoped, the Gabrovo school proved to be the cornerstone of a nationwide system of modern education.

The Lancaster method spread quickly throughout the Bulgarian lands. Graduates of the Gabrovo school, whose enrollment tripled in three years,⁵⁵ played a key role in the founding of similar schools in Koprivshtitsa, Svishtov,

⁵³The Lancaster schools are discussed in more detail, and from the perspective of the student, in Chapter III. On the founding of the Gabrovo school specifically, see Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 1-16; and Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 7-15.

⁵⁴Vasil Aprilov, Dennitsa novobŭlgarskago obrazovania (Odessa: [The Author], 1841), p. 15.

⁵⁵Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, p. 21.

Triavna, Kazanlūk, Elena and Sopot. By 1840, twelve Lancaster schools were operating, all in towns with a strong middle class.⁵⁶ Signifying the advent of the new education, a number of these communities constructed impressive school buildings.

In some areas, however, educational innovation travelled a rocky road. Facing a loss of income, "cell" teachers fought against the introduction of a Lancaster school.⁵⁷ They found allies among Phanariot ecclesiastics and Grecized chorbadzhii. Mired in obscurantism, the traditionalist elite understood that modern education threatened its power and influence. It engaged in a policy of obstructionism that thwarted educational improvement and that added a major issue to local factionalism. Other, unexpected problems arose when some businessmen began to back-track in the matter of financial support for the schools.

Several factors stood behind this hesitance. The construction of special buildings and the hiring of trained teachers required larger expenditures than had been anticipated. The merchants were interested in progress, but their sense of commitment, their degree of awareness and their idea of a fair share of sacrifice in no way matched the demands being made on them by idealistic revivalists. With pledges not forthcoming, even the Gabrovo school experienced prob-

⁵⁶Chakūrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 188; cf. Damianov, Lomskiiat krai, p. 223.

⁵⁷Chakūrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 189.

lems that bedeviled Aprilov and Palauzov.⁵⁸ Reacting strongly, Aprilov berated his own business class for its failure to fulfill its promised support. He criticized the patriotic insensitivity and the selfishness of Bulgarian businessmen generally: "Our fellow countrymen," he wrote in 1840, "are very greedy with their money....They find a reason to excuse themselves at every single request for help."⁵⁹ In such accusations, Aprilov anticipated charges that the coming generation of nationalist intellectuals, revivalists much less attached to the business class, would never cease to express.

Aprilov and his colleagues solved neither the problem of school financing nor that of obscurantist opposition. Undoubtedly, they knew a struggle to be necessary--at least in a nationalistic sense. Aprilov himself saw educational reform as a tactic in the battle against Greek cultural domination. In 1839 he and Palauzov asked a powerful cattle-dealer to use his influence to stir the ethnic consciousness of the Bulgars of Plovdiv and Edirne. Why, they asked, do the Bulgars in these cities, "where they have lived...about a thousand years," not have their own churches and schools? What is worse, "we...hear that the Greek schools there...are supported by Bulgarians and not by Greeks." "Fainthearted

⁵⁸Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 22-23 and passim.

⁵⁹Vasil Aprilov, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, ed. Mikhail Arnaudov (S.: BAN, 1940), pp. 406-410.

and blind compatriots," they charged, "you fork out your money...so that the people which...seeks to keep you under its power can become famous! O, God, when will you show us your mercy!...A Slavic people three million strong...wants to hide itself behind ten Greeks."⁶⁰ Aprilov reached across seven decades to join hands with Paisius of Hilendar. Like Paisius, he combined flattery and castigation to spread the idea of Bulgarianism among his people.

Aprilov waged these battles until his death in 1847. With other leaders, he had helped bring a new intensity to the Bulgarian resurgence and perhaps no more crucially than with his role in the founding of the Gabrovo school. For with this effort Aprilov helped make possible the emergence not only of a patriotic citizenry, but also a group of educated nationalist activists, men who were to devote their lives to the cause of Bulgarian culture.

11

Actually, the creation of a network of Bulgarian schools itself led to a situation where intellectuals were needed more than ever before. The spread of the Lancaster schools, for example, stimulated literary activity, since success in both the general and the patriotic goals of education depended on the availability of resources for the teaching of language, history, geography and other subjects.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 375-377.

Furthermore, the schools could be expected to create a larger reading public. Intellectuals could now hope to enjoy the audience for which they had ached, and to which they could carry the message of nationalism in various literary forms. Their initial efforts, however, revealed a gap between their desires and their abilities--and between their hopes and the reality of their people's cultural level.

The writing of national history thus did little but "spin about in a closed circle."⁶¹ Paisius' dated manuscript was relied on far into the nineteenth century, when most of its known copies and revisions were made. A published version finally appeared in 1844, Khristaki Pavlovich's Tsarstvenik ili Istorija bolgarskaia (Book of Kings or Bulgarian History). Other than reworkings of Paisius, writers produced no new history; and for newer studies, the revivalists referred to the work of Venelin and other foreign scholars.⁶² The lack of a national history was sorely felt by Bulgarian spokesmen,⁶³ but the work could not be done overnight; and history remained weakly developed until after mid-century and the work of better equipped nationalist intellectuals.

Scholarly histories required university-trained writers, the amassment of documents, and, as a typical source for ro-

⁶¹Petrovich, "The Emergence," p. 303.

⁶²Cf. "Novi dokumenti," doc. 14.

⁶³Petrovich, "The Emergence," p. 305.

mantie historiography, folk materials. By the 1830s the influence of Karadžić, Venelin and Aprilov had sensitized some Bulgar intellectuals to the significance of the folk ethos. The first published folklore study by a Bulgar was Ivan Bogorov's 1842 Bulgarski narodni pesni i poslovitsi (Bulgarian Folksongs and Proverbs), a collection of twelve heroic songs and two hundred proverbs. It was a good initial effort, one encouraging other Bulgars to collect folk materials, to exchange them with one another and with foreign scholars, and, after a time, to publish them in massive volumes.

Meanwhile, literary expression in general was suffering all the shortcomings of its immaturity. One reason why Bulgarian literature was being held back was the persistence of a religious and moral tendentiousness. In a sense, the early generations of revivalist writers simply added rationalism and sentimentalism to the Bulgarian literary tradition of sermons, Biblical stories and edifying tales--the manuscript collections of which were called damaskini.⁶⁴ Paisius and his successors rejected much of the Medieval spirit of the damaskini, but they maintained their didacticism and even their form. Sophronius of Vratsa poured his progressive ideas into the old bottle of scriptural tales. Throughout the first four or five decades of the century, publications remained predominantly religious--prayerbooks, sacred his-

⁶⁴ Charles A. Moser, A History of Bulgarian Literature, 865-1944 (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 35-36.

tories, hagiography, catechisms and lives of Christ.⁶⁵ Only ⁹⁵
in Beron's "Riben bukvar" did Bulgarian literature achieve
more than a degree of secularism, in this case a secular
moralism accompanied by rationalism and sentimentalism.⁶⁶

This eighteenth-century Western literary mood, for
that is what it was, entered Bulgarian literature primarily
in the form of translations. Translations themselves were
both a symptom and a cause of Bulgarian cultural adolescence;
for Bulgarian writers slavishly followed foreign texts and
carried little originality into the form and content of
their work. Raino Popovich based his 1837 Khristoititia--a
restatement of the golden rule in everyday life--on a Greek
version of the writings of an Italian humanist of the pre-
vious century. Another eighteenth-century writer whose
thinking reached the Bulgars in translation was Benjamin
Franklin. In 1837 Gavril Krüstevich (1817-1898), then a
student in a Greek gymnasium in Istanbul, published a popu-
lar rendition of Poor Richard's Almanack (Mudrost dobrago
Rikharda). Writers likewise translated a number of fables,
allegories and sentimental stories. Although the ideology
of this literature was nearly a hundred years old in the

⁶⁵Man'ò Stoianov (comp.), Bülgarska vürozhdenska
knizhnina: Analitichen repetoar na bülgarskite knigi i
periodichni izdaniia, 1806-1878 (2 vols.; S.: Nauka i iz-
kustvo, 1957-1959), I, pp. 471-472.

⁶⁶BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vürazhdaneto,
p. 112.

West, it was new for Bulgarians. It added a more bourgeois tone to their older esnaf morality, it shored up their secular and patriotic mentality, and it was to remain a factor in the intellectual make-up of subsequent Bulgarian nationalists.⁶⁷

Similar eighteenth-century themes permeated Bulgarian school literature (wall charts, primers, grammars and readers), the authors of which heavily relied on foreign sources.⁶⁸ But since verbatim copying of foreign textbooks would not have served the patriotic purpose of education, translations involved Bulgarianizing at least the examples. Aprilov and other leaders encouraged a greater Bulgarian content in school literature: "A geography for the children was necessary," Aprilov wrote to Neophyte of Rila in 1838, "so you have done a good thing by translating [a Russian geography textbook]. We do not doubt...that [in talking] about Turkey you will talk in detail about Bulgaria."⁶⁹ Though plagiarized (and translators seldom mentioned the originals), Bulgarian schoolbooks did begin to convey pa-

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 97-98; Nadezhda Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo v bulgarskoto Vuzrozhdensko uchilishte: (Vuzpitatelni idei, khudozhestveni kachestva) (S.: "Narodna prosveta", 1969), p. 25.

⁶⁸Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, p. 56. Until the 1840s Greek texts remained the usual sources for translations (cf. Clarke, Bible Societies, p. 263); afterwards, Russian textbooks served as the commonest source (when, indeed, they were not used in the original) (cf. IaNG, I, pp. 835-844 and passim).

⁶⁹Aprilov, Súbrani súchinienia, pp. 381-387.

triotic themes. Neofit Bozveli compiled his 1835 Slaveno-bolgarskoe detevodstvo za malkite detsa (A Slaveno-Bulgarian Guide for Small Children) from Greek pedagogical literature; but instilled in it a pathos for the glory of Bulgaria's past and a feeling of hatred for national traitors.⁷⁰ The growing awareness of folklore contributed to the ethno-cultural content of schoolbooks.

In belles-lettres, this period saw only hesitant first steps. No prose fiction appeared, and it was not until the late 1840s that a combination of folk inspiration and Russian influence helped Bulgarian writers to overcome the model and spirit of Greek lyrical poetry and Turkish erotica. The high point of Bulgarian poetry before the Crimean War was reached in the ballad Stoian i Rada, written in 1845 by Naiden Gerov. Gerov (1823-1900), later the Russian consul in Plovdiv, employed folk melodies and "certain vital moods of Bulgarian reality" to compose, in the vernacular, this sentimental love story.⁷¹ His "Tsar Krum before Tsarigrad," a manuscript poem of a year later, addressed itself to patriotic themes:

The brave Tsar Krum has chased
The Greeks to beat them,
To catch them and beat them,
Always will he master them.
He has chased them, yea has reached

⁷⁰Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, pp. 18-19.

⁷¹M. Arnaudov, "Naiden Gerov i nachenkite na bulgarskata poezia v XIX v.," Uchil. pr., XXII, Kn. 10 (1923), pp. 719-747.

The fusion of folk melodies, patriotism and Russian inspiration inaugurated a new phase of poetry, but one whose center of gravity fell after mid-century.

12

In the second quarter of the century, meanwhile, journalism was emerging as a nationalistic tool for Bulgarian intellectuals. Men of the pen found journalism a natural medium for propagandizing their concepts of Bulgarianism. Furthermore, given the fervor which set intellectuals apart from practical businessmen, the polemics of journalism allowed the men of the pen their first institutional chance to assert an independent voice in the leadership of the Bulgarian movement. The business class financially sustained the periodical press, but this was a field monopolized by intellectuals who could bring to it a total commitment and fulltime activity.

To their journalism, Bulgarian intellectuals immediately brought a spirit of battle. Argumentation and polemics came to characterize even the first Bulgarian periodicals. Unlike the informational character of early West European newspapers, Bulgarian periodicals sprang up as "newspapers of the idea, of a precisely defined task and goal."⁷³ The passionate revival-

⁷²Reprinted in full by Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivshitsa," pp. 354-363.

⁷³Andreev, Vuzrozhdenski pechat, p. 30.

ists filled periodicals with clashes which bespoke the polem-
icization of the whole person. "This was a psychological
characteristic...of the Renaissance," wrote one historian,
"explainable in the intensive striving toward activism and
the need to verify fresh and unformed knowledge and ideas.
The activists of that time felt a deeper need of argument,
they sought it out, they wanted objections, as if to test
their powers."⁷⁴

The Bulgars followed their Balkan neighbors (save the
Albanians) in setting up a periodical press. Only five per-
iodicals came out before the Crimean War. The first was the
magazine Liuboslovie (Philology), published by Konstantin
Fotinov in Izmir from 1844-1846. Despite its title, this
monthly had an encyclopedic rather than a philological con-
tent. Its tone was didactic and rationalistic; the Greek
magazine which Fotinov followed was called Magazine of Use-
ful Knowledge.⁷⁵ In his journal Fotinov published a version
of Paisius' History; other historical, geographical and lin-
guistic articles; and polemical criticisms of Bulgarian in-
attention to their culture. Lack of support forced Liubo-
slovie to cease publication at the end of its second year.⁷⁶

Another Bulgarian periodical had in the meantime ap-

⁷⁴V. Pundev, Periodicheski pechat predi Osvobozhden-
ieto (2 vols.; S.: Dürzhavna pechatnitsa, 1927-1930), I,
p. 8.

⁷⁵Clarke, Bible Societies, pp. 258-259.

⁷⁶Andreev, Vuzrozhdenski pechat, pp. 33-34.

peared in Western Europe--the newspaper Bulgarski orel (Bulgarian Eagle). This paper was edited and published by Ivan Bogorov (ca. 1820-1892), a Karlovo native then studying chemistry in Leipzig. Wounded Bulgarian pride motivated Bogorov. He saw that the Greeks, Serbs and Romanians had newspapers, and had thus "raised their head to see what is happening in the world and what they had to do." As Bogorov asked in the first issue, should the Bulgars "remain the living dead as we have until now? Should we not utter at least one word in the realm of people?"⁷⁷

Bulgarski orel expressed a greater patriotic purpose than did Liuboslovie, but it copied that magazine's pattern of an encyclopedic content presented in an educationalist and rationalist spirit. Bogorov's first issue promised coverage of general political news, especially from the Balkans; an educational section with geographical descriptions, history and tales about Bulgaria's past heroes; a part devoted to school work in other countries; a department with information useful to merchants and artisans; a feature section containing tales, stories, songs and proverbs; and, finally, reviews of Bulgarian literature. The program was appealing, but Bulgarski orel was published too far away from its subject and its readership. It lasted but three issues.⁷⁸

Bogorov inaugurated a more successful paper after his return from Leipzig when he founded Tsarigradski vestnik

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 40. ⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 38-44.

(Tsarigrad Herald), a newspaper to enjoy the longest life (1848-1862) of any pre-1878 Bulgarian periodical. Its location helped, allowing it to depend on the large Bulgarian community of the Ottoman capital; and it appealed to readers elsewhere with its on-the-scene reporting on the struggle for a separate church. The editors of the paper shored up its circulation by printing bourse information of interest to Bulgarian businessmen everywhere.⁷⁹

During his editorship (1848-1850), Bogorov devoted much of Tsarigradski vestnik to cultural news. He serialized translated fiction, including the novel Robinson Crusoe, a story that enthralled young readers and led them to badger their fathers to buy subscriptions.⁸⁰ Bogorov published articles on the Bulgarian language, as well as the patriotic verses of emerging Bulgarian poets. A similar concern for cultural questions was shown by the next editor, Aleksandŭr Stoilov Ekzarkh. Ekzarkh (1810-1891), a self-proclaimed elder statesman of the Bulgars, administered the paper to 1860, printing articles on the need for local libraries, on the celebration of SS. Cyril and Methodius day (May 11) as the Bulgarian national holiday, and on many literary and linguistic topics.⁸¹

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 52.

⁸⁰Kisimov, "Istoricheski raboti," V, Kn. 5, p. 415.

⁸¹Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pechat, pp. 48-52; Georgi Borshukov, Istoriia na bulgarskata zhurnalistika, 1844-1877, 1878-1885 (S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1965), pp. 54-72.

The two other Bulgarian periodicals to appear before the Crimean War differed little in content and tone from the three that have been discussed. All of these early periodicals were amateurish, and they were limited in circulation to no more than several hundred subscribers.⁸² They did, however, bring both the outside world and the problems of Bulgarian identity to growing numbers of Bulgars. As a frame upon which the issues of nationalism were nailed up for all to see and to question, they helped the formulation of a Bulgarian program; and they cemented the national feelings of Bulgars far and wide. These periodicals, moreover, encouraged educated Bulgars to take up literary work; and they provided later Bulgarian journalists with the model of passionate and argumentative nationalistic writing. To be sure, for both the early editors and their successors, the vicissitudes were many.

The difficulties facing journalists included money, the technical aspects of publishing, and language. "A house cannot be built...unless we have adzes," wrote Ivan Bogorov in explaining how lack of financial support had forced him to abandon Tsarigradski vestnik.⁸³ Editors despaired when they tried to persuade their countrymen to subscribe to periodicals. Not only were newspapers and magazines expensive,

⁸²Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pechat, p. 179.

⁸³Cited by Borshukov, Istoriia na... zhurnalistika, p. 63.

the thrifty Bulgar preferred to hear them read aloud in a local tavern rather than to buy them. The limited extent of literacy was an obvious source of problems, but writing itself was the reverse side of the coin--for no literary language yet existed. Even well educated Bulgars could hardly understand the language of the early publications.⁸⁴ The absence of a literary standard was what Bogorov had in mind when he wrote that "at the present moment it is the easiest and most difficult thing to write in Bulgarian."⁸⁵

13

The appearance of a periodical press itself accelerated the need for a literary language. Whereas writers of books could devise their own linguistic solutions and hope for the best, editors of periodicals strove for consistency of grammar, orthography and spelling. They thus had a practical motive for allotting so much space to articles on linguistics.⁸⁶ But the language question involved far more than editorial standards.

A national literary language was for Bulgarian revivalists what it was for all East European intellectuals of the time--a keystone of nationalism.⁸⁷ Romantic nationalism

⁸⁴Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pechat, p. 37.

⁸⁵Cited by Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," p. 109.

⁸⁶Pundev, Periodicheski pechat, I, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁷Emil Niederhauser, "Les Intellectuels et la société balkanique au XIX siècle," AIEBSEE, Actes, IV, p. 412.

put language on the highest pedestal among the traits that expressed a people's individuality and genius. The restoration of a national tongue was a crucial and an emotional issue.

Bulgarian intellectuals almost had no language issue to debate, so extensively had the Bulgarian elite adopted Greek as its vehicle for economic and cultural communications. The learning of Greek was mandatory for the children of wealthy families, and Slavic was contemptuously rejected. Ivan Dobrovski (1812-1896), a teacher and editor, recalled that when he took up the study of Church-Slavonic as a boy, his father asked him why he bothered with a "barbarian language."⁸⁸ It was natural, if ironic, that Aprilov, Neophyte of Rila and other early Bulgarian revivalists used Greek in their correspondence on ways to restore a Bulgarian national language. These men could more effectively express their Bulgarianism in Greek.⁸⁹ Then again, they had no alternative, since neither of the two existing forms of Bulgarian--Church-Slavonic and the vernacular--was an appropriate literary tool.

A new literary language, however, would have to use one of these alternatives as its base; and the decision as to which one caused bitter disputes. Both Church-Slavonic and the vernacular had many faults. Although "invaded by

⁸⁸Cited by Shishmanov, "Ivan Dobrovski," p. 160.

⁸⁹Arnaudov, Bŭlgarskoto vŭzrazhdane, pp. 161-162.

the spoken language," Church-Slavonic (or Old Church Slavic, the original South Slavic literary language devised in the ninth century) remained "stilted, bore a Russian imprint, and was removed from the people."⁹⁰ The people, on the other hand, used not so much a language as a number of dialects filled with Turkisms and lacking any rules of syntax, grammar and spelling. A reliance on the vernacular meant an arbitrary and divisive selection of one variant, and then the need to formulate a new grammar.⁹¹ But if the choice was hard, it had to be made; and in the 1830s a division of opinion broke out between defenders of a Church-Slavonic-based language and those who championed the vernacular.

The Old Slavonic linguistic group employed a number of valid arguments (the impossibility of basing a literary standard on a plethora of dialects, the criterion of a language's ancient purity),⁹² but the nationalistic implications of language almost inevitably pointed to the language of the people, the vernacular.⁹³ The champions of the spoken tongue got off to a slow start, an illustration of the

⁹⁰Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism," p. 109.

⁹¹Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, p. 230 and passim.

⁹²BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vūzrazhdaneto, p. 113; S. S. Bobchev, "Zaslugi na Tsarigradskiiā pechat v osvoboditelното delo s ogleđ kŭm slavianskata ideia," Slaviansko družhestvo v Bŭlgariia, Proslava na osvoboditelnata voina, 1877-1878 g.: Rusko-bŭlgarski sbornik (S.: Pechatnitsa "Vitosha", 1924), p. 98.

⁹³BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vūzrazhdaneto, pp. 100-101.

strength of the Greek and classical influence on the elite. The first revivalists to espouse the cause of the vernacular did so more by example than by argumentation. Not until the late 1830s and the 1840s did Aprilov and others state the case for the common language.

Aprilov was versed in the practical as well as the theoretical aspects of the language question. For a national language, he reminded Neophyte of Rila in 1838, "it is first of all necessary that there be compiled a dictionary...in Bulgarian, like that of the Russian Academy [of Sciences]. Such a dictionary would be the basis of the language." A year later Aprilov and Palauzov praised a Koprivshitsa cattle-dealer who intended to subsidize the publication of Neophyte's projected dictionary. "This dictionary," they wrote, "will allow the Bulgars to educate themselves, to come to know themselves, their language and their debt toward their faith and the government."⁹⁴

Reflecting the impact on him of young Bulgar writers and the work of cultural nationalists elsewhere, Aprilov gave up his earlier belief in Church-Slavonic and adopted the vernacular in his own writing. He staunchly defended his conversion. "We have to follow the people," he wrote in 1847, "and according to its speech should we compose grammars and write amongst ourselves, otherwise we swim against the tide."⁹⁵

⁹⁴Aprilov, Sŭbrani sŭchinenia, pp. 375-377, 381-387.

⁹⁵Idem, Misli za segashното bŭlgarsko' uchenie (Odessa:

Aprilov's new ideas--ideas which represented a victory for the democratic trend in the Bulgarian revival--were "healthy and acceptable, they found a large response among contemporaries, [and] they were notably instrumental in the formation of a common literary organ."⁹⁶ Yet a literary language did not immediately appear. The debates went on with the same intensity, though now more concerned with which variant of the vernacular to choose. What was deciding the issue was not argument, but the literary excellence beginning to show itself at mid-century in the work of the writers of the emerging new generation of nationalist intellectuals.

14

Another, less esoteric problem besetting writers had to do with the publication and distribution of their works. Some two hundred Bulgarian books had come out by 1850 (three fourths of them in the 1840s), but only twenty-three of these titles had been published by Bulgar-owned presses. The revivalists were depending on foreign presses in Istanbul, Bucharest, Budapest, Belgrade, Kragujevac, Leipzig, London, Paris, Izmir and other cities.⁹⁷ Distance, a lack

Gradskata pechatnitsa, 1847), p. 33.

⁹⁶Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, p. 239.

⁹⁷St. Kutinchev, Pechatarstvoto v Bulgariia do Osvozhdenieto: Prinos kum kulturnata istoriia na Bulgariia (S.: Duzhavana pechatnitsa, 1920), pp. 214, 234-240, 251.

of coordination, and the variety of publishing procedures stood in the way of a flourishing national literature. The revivalists needed a press of their own.

Aprilov, as might be expected, understood this need as well as any contemporary, attempting several times to encourage the founding of a press to serve the nationalist movement. Another attempt was made by Neophyte of Rila, who turned his attention to one of the two or three Bulgars operating a press in the 1830s, Nikola Karastoiarov of Samokov (ca. 1778-1874). But Karastoiarov lacked permission from the government to run a press, and he refused to answer Neophyte's proposal that they join together in a book publishing partnership. Karastoiarov limited himself to producing religious objects and a few prayerbooks.⁹⁸ A Bulgarian press operating in Thessalonike from 1838-1843 likewise issued several religious works. Other than these limited activities, no other Bulgarian-owned press opened in Bulgaria itself until the liberation. After the Crimean War, however, several Bulgars were to establish printing operations in Istanbul and in the émigré centers.

The actual printing of a book was but one stage of a publishing process filled with troubles for the revivalist writer. He had to take it upon himself to find funding for his publication (which he did by rounding up subscriptions);

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 18-26; Clarke, Bible Societies, pp. 266-267.

he had to travel abroad to locate a printer; and he had to carry the printed books to his readers. As he took on the role of an itinerant bookdealer, the writer could now expect at least the satisfaction that accompanies the delivery of a literary creation to its audience. Instead, and to his great dismay, the writer discovered that many subscribers refused to honor their pledges. They had changed their minds, or, as was often the case, they objected that the published book cost more than the subscription price.

Their many disappointments and their indebtedness embittered writers. They sought an outlet for their frustration in attacks against those whom they saw as thwarting their holy work by failing to support it materially, in particular the business class. Such criticism became more pronounced as time went on--and as the intellectuals formed into a more distinct force in Bulgarian society.⁹⁹

15

The discontent of some intellectuals was soon leading them to blame their problems on the people's inability to control its own destiny. They linked their fate with that of the people as a whole, and in their critical commentary they broached political questions. On the whole, however, the political stream of the Renaissance remained extremely weak in the first half of the century, with almost all of

⁹⁹These matters are discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

the Bulgarian leaders of this era recognizing that cultural growth had to precede political goals. Evolutionist leaders distrusted even muted political commentary. Aprilov, for example, looked askance at the title Bogorov chose for his first newspaper, and remarked that "Eagle" was unnecessarily provocative to the government.¹⁰⁰

A few spokesmen did draft certain political ideas into petitions for reform. The most famous petitioner before the Crimean War was Aleksandŭr Ekzarkh. Ekzarkh literally made his name in this way, adopting the term "exarch" to dress himself in the cloak of a national leader. An 1843 memorandum which Ekzarkh submitted to the Porte and to the five Great Powers began by noting Bulgaria's geographical and demographical worth to the Ottoman Empire. Asserting that his people accepted Ottoman rule as "an accomplished fact," Ekzarkh suggested that "in this position they wish to seek again the foundations of their liberty, to make known their nationality, and to be...informed of their rights." He argued that fulfillment of the Hattı Şerif would dissuade the Bulgars from conspiracies guided by the Porte's enemies. Ekzarkh urged the government to assist the Bulgars to train their children in "their Christian and civil obligations" by permitting the publication of school books, by setting up technical training, and by helping the education of young people abroad.¹⁰¹ Ekzarkh combined a de-

¹⁰⁰Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pečat, p. 41.

¹⁰¹The petition is reprinted in Boris Iotsov, "Edin

sire for Bulgarian progress with an attitude which other Bulgars came to call Turcophilism--that is, staunch loyalty to the sultan and the state.

Sentiment against the Turcophiles, however, or even against the Ottoman state, was not strong until after mid-century. Early spokesmen said little about independence or autonomy. Indeed, some of them sought to create an affinity between their people and the government in order to carry forward the idea of a separate Bulgarian church. Only afterwards--with the denouement of the church question as an essentially separatist phenomenon--did such an affiliation appear to be a strange alliance.

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The Bulgar struggle for an autocephalous church, while related to the millet concept and to Ottoman reform, drew its inspiration from the interaction between nationalized religion and the presence of the Greek foil. The identification of religion and nationality went back to the early centuries of Balkan Christianity when "church and state appeared as two sides of the same coin." After the Ottoman conquest of their states, Balkan peoples turned to the church as "the most important surviving institution with which they could identify their past, present and hopes for the future."¹⁰² The church kept this institutional signifi-

memoar na Aleksandŭr Ekzarkh," Rodina, II, Kn. 3 (March, 1940), pp. 161-167.

¹⁰²Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots," pp. 32-33.

cance in the age of nationalism. Just as it had once protected Orthodoxy in general, it could, so the Bulgarian revivalists believed, serve equally as well the interests of their people's ethnic culture--that is, if it could be delivered from Greek hands. For in the meantime Greek nationalists both in the Empire and in the Greek Kingdom had perceived the church to be an excellent instrument for achieving Hellenic destiny, and they had begun to control and administer it in that light.

The mechanism of the church struggle lay in the ensuing antagonism between two nationalisms. The quarrel gave rise to polemics on canon law and ecclesiastical practice, but these issues were relatively unimportant. More significant were the economics of the question. The acceptance of Bulgar demands threatened an already financially troubled church with serious losses of revenue. Yet even this aspect came to be of secondary concern to the participants. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, as the Orthodox Church of the Ottoman Empire was known, came to be guided more by the interests of Greek nationalism than by fiscal or ecclesiastical considerations. The primary target of the Bulgars was Greek control--Greek in the liturgy, Greek or Greized bishops dominating the hierarchy. The Bulgars fought not so much against a corrupt and backward hierarchy as against what they saw as national oppressors.

The church question itself, however, began in the 1820s precisely in the form of complaints against the rapacity of

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certain bishops. Local protests spread quickly, and by the early 1830s between five and ten dioceses were affected, the most notable of which was Tŭrnovo. When a despised metropolitan of that diocese died in 1838, the Patriarchate nominated a hierarch whose reputation was equally odious to the Bulgarian population. A segment of local opinion injected nationalism into the dispute by suggesting that a solution lay in the appointment of a Bulgarian bishop. They put forward the name of Neofit Bozveli, a cleric eager to push his own cause. The Tŭrnovo challenge was a serious threat to Patriarchal authority, due to that diocese's size, its revenue potential, and the implications of installing a Bulgar in a see which had once been the capital of one of the Medieval Bulgarian kingdoms.¹⁰³

Meanwhile, the rising climate of ethnic consciousness in the 1830s and 1840s infected other local disputes. The Bulgarian populations of Lovech, Ruse, Sofia, Samokov, Vidin, Plovdiv, and other towns, refusing to accept the bishops they had, petitioned for Bulgarian pastors.¹⁰⁴ The Patriarchate stood adamant, diocesan seats fell vacant, and bishops learned from bitter experience the hostility they raised when they tried to administer their sees.

Neofit Bozveli had in the meantime moved to Istanbul to press his claim to the Tŭrnovo Metropolitanate. After winning with his powerful patriotic oratory the support of

¹⁰³Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, p. 42. ¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 67-74.

the Bulgarian guilds of the capital, he proceeded to make his cause the national cause. Several new leaders associated themselves with Bozveli; but in 1841, before much could be accomplished, the Patriarchate had the Porte exile Neofit for sowing rebellion against millet authority.¹⁰⁵

With the charismatic Bozveli removed from the scene for the next three years, the struggle in Istanbul subsided. But in 1844 Bozveli returned to the capital and, together with Stoian Mikhailovski (1812-1875), the future Hilary of Macariopolis, reinvigorated the crusade. Both men tried to legalize their position by obtaining plenipotentiary powers from the capital's guilds. They then cited this authority to speak on behalf of the whole Bulgarian people in separate petitions which they presented to the Porte. Bozveli's petition attacked the fiscal administration of the Patriarchate and went on to recommend that Bulgarian dioceses have Bulgarian bishops, that Bulgarian hierarchs hold three seats on the Patriarchal Synod, and that the government designate three or four Istanbul Bulgars as that people's representatives to the Porte, a procedure meant to avoid Greek intermediaries. Mikhailovski did not go quite so far in his memorandum, but he did ask that the Bulgars of Istanbul be allowed to build their own church building, that a Bulgar newspaper be permitted, and that the government ensure the greater representation of

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 37-40; Khinkov, "Uchastieto na zana-tatchiite," p. 389.

Bulgarian dioceses in the capital.¹⁰⁶

Bozveli and Mikhailovski overestimated the protection they had with their guild affiliation. An enraged Patriarch turned the arms of the church against the petitioners, and demanded that the government remove them from Istanbul. In 1845 the Porte sent Bozveli and Mikhailovski into exile. Bozveli never returned, dying in 1848 in Mount Athos.¹⁰⁷

Doldrums once again seized the Istanbul leadership of the church movement. The only victory achieved in the capital before the Crimean War was the construction of a church to serve the Bulgarian colony.¹⁰⁸ The incentive and the courage required before leaders would try to re-grasp the reins of widespread local disputes, which continued to rage, came in the aftermath of the Porte's 1856 reform edict, the Hatt-ı Hümayun. This pronouncement, with its call for reforms of all levels of the millets, emboldened Bulgars to plan an attack on the Patriarchate on a broad front. In December, 1856, the Istanbul leadership sent letters to the localities to ask them to send representatives to an assembly in the capital to formulate ecclesiastical and millet demands into a national program. Twenty delegates arrived from the provinces, joined with about forty Istanbul Bul-

¹⁰⁶ Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, pp. 51-52; Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, pp. 115-118.

¹⁰⁷ Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 121.

¹⁰⁸ Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, pp. 55-56.

gars, and the Bulgarian church movement was an organized reality.¹⁰⁹

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The Bulgarian leaders put into place the strongest pillar of their people's nationalism when they organized the campaign for a separate church into a coordinated national effort. This accomplishment climaxed the second phase of the Renaissance, a phase in which revivalists, heeding the call of several forerunners, laid the foundations of nationalism and erected a part of its framework.

The leaders of the 1830s and 1840s--Aprilov, Neophyte of Rila, Konstantin Fotinov and others--were men of foresight. They looked to the future by building from the ground up, by starting with a system of modern primary education. Slowly but surely the new schools were raising the cultural level of the towns. They offered children training in basic knowledge, in the concepts of modernity, and in patriotism. The fruits of the educational work of the early revivalists were not long in appearing. Already before the Crimean War, Lancaster-trained Bulgars had gone on to higher education, had prepared themselves as intellectual workers, and had begun to set up a layer of middle schooling on top of the Bell-Lancaster foundation.

This subsequent generation of nationalist intellectuals was also to advance the work on other branches of cul-

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 86.

tural nationalism begun by the early revivalists. The first Bulgars who climbed the literary scaffolding were apprentices. They borrowed from experienced practitioners elsewhere, and their own creations were a drab, if indispensable, brickwork. Nevertheless, these writers were acquiring greater talent as they addressed their people with a literature that combined the messages of progress and Bulgarianism.

Neither message was complicated. The underlying principle of progress in the Bulgarian Renaissance was the same principle found in Western writings of the late eighteenth century and after. Advancement meant domestic tranquility, an end to arbitrariness, educational and cultural opportunities, personal security, liberty, and greater participation in government. Bulgarian intellectuals knew the directions of Western progress and, sometimes disregarding the more primitive base of their society, they called for the same things.

Nationalism, too, was a matter of simple beliefs. The revivalists asserted that the Bulgars were a Slavic tribe, a people distinct from the Greeks, and, by an act of faith, a nation with the right to live its own life. The nationalists based their belief in Bulgaria's future on the vitality they saw in the people's way of life, on the survival of its language, and on the strength of its history. They sought to reinforce this belief by studying the people's customs, by recapturing its tongue, and by shaping its history into

lessons for the present. Perhaps because of nationalism's simpleness and directness, the revivalists were succeeding in converting ever larger numbers of Bulgar townspeople to its cause, as evidenced in the movement for a separate Bulgarian church.

The beginnings of a unifying national consciousness throughout the Bulgarian lands was perhaps the major accomplishment of the first builders of modern Bulgarianism. Beron and Aprilov, to cite an example, both pointed out to their readers the need to rise above the locality; and both took practical steps in that direction with their efforts to create a nationwide educational system. They and their colleagues saw the people as a whole, and then went out to convince the people of its nationhood. Here, too, a beginning had been made for successors who were to enjoy greater possibilities for action.

Finally, even as the early leaders were unifying the people, divisions arose amongst themselves. Personality differences led to the first conflicts, but sometimes, as was the case with Aprilov, these divisions were exacerbated by the intense sense of conviction, the adamant self-assurance that was the hallmark of the intellectual and that was to become a common characteristic of the next generation of Bulgarian intellectual activists.

Another cause of cleavage in the national leadership-- a conflict between merchants and intellectuals--had revealed

only its barest outline before mid-century. Throughout the early Renaissance a close cooperation had dominated relations between the business class and cultural workers, a linkage -- sometimes epitomized by the "merchant-intellectual." On occasions, however, bitterness had broken out when idealist intellectuals blamed their prosperous fellow countrymen for their frustrations and disappointments. This antagonism was rapidly to worsen in the third quarter of the century--not because the bourgeoisie regressed, but because intellectuals were to become a separate and distinct group, a class conscious of its own growing vigor and size. The Bulgars who received the torch of nationalism from their predecessors were to appear as a more idealistic, a more activist and a more presumptuous intelligentsia.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINS AND UPBRINGING OF A NATIONALIST BULGARIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

Starting particularly in the 1830s, early Bulgarian revivalists focussed much of their attention on the upbringing and education of the nation's youth. It was a concern that sprang from their belief that a solid cultural preparation had to precede any truly viable nationalist movement. What was needed, they said, was attention paid to the training of future generations of enlightened and patriotic citizens. Schools were thus the keystone of their program of Bulgarian rebirth.

Aware Bulgarian townspeople were also attentive to the proper rearing of their sons, though for somewhat different reasons. Their awareness of the outside world and their concern for social respectability convinced middle-class Bulgars of the desirability of providing their offspring with a modern education. They went on to build schools in Bulgaria itself and they sent their sons abroad for foreign learning.

With their efforts in education, both revivalists and parents contributed to the formation, from the 1840s on, of an educated Bulgarian elite. By the time of Bulgaria's lib-

eration in 1878, this elite composed hundreds of teachers, writers, journalists, professionals and clerics. Perhaps more than the early revivalists could have expected, furthermore, the educated Bulgarian elite put its heart and soul into the cause of nationalism.

To be sure, neither the contours nor the internal structure of this intellectual and nationalist elite had hardened. Cultural pursuits remained within the grasp of the self-educated dilettante; and no formal obstacles stood in the way of a businessman becoming an editor or a teacher becoming a merchant. Within cultural fields, too, little specialization had taken place: writers were teachers, teachers were editors, editors were doctors or lawyers. Nevertheless, enough of a crystallization had occurred to warrant consideration of the origins and formation of the intellectuals as an identifiable corporate force in Bulgarian society, as, in other words, a kind of nationalist intelligentsia.

2

To begin with, the Bulgarian intellectual elite was almost entirely male. Revivalists as early as Fotinov had proclaimed the cause of feminine education, but powerful social restraints prevented any significant emergence of women in pre-1878 Bulgarian society. Although a number of girls received schooling, even the best educated of them stayed within narrow bounds as educators of other women.

The exceptional women who entered a wider arena of cultural activity amounted to a footnote, perhaps to an appendix, in the history of the Bulgarian Renaissance.¹

A second general trait of the educated elite of the late Bulgarian Renaissance was its youth. Based on a tabulation of the birthdates of a study group of 191 intellectuals active in the nationalist movement from about 1840 to 1878 (ecclesiastics, teachers, writers, editors and doctors),² this educated elite was a generation that came of age at the same time as the Crimean War heralded the start of the final phase of the Renaissance. The study group had 1836 as its "average" date of birth. As a whole, therefore, this nationalist elite was born precisely at the time when secular patriotic education took root in the Bulgarian lands. Its childhood years coincided with a period when its people's consciousness was growing rapidly as a result of the struggle against the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The nationalist intellectuals sprang from that part of the country where this ethnic identity was strongest. A

¹But as a special subject in its own right, the role of women in the Bulgarian Renaissance has deserved the full-length study admirably provided by Virzhiniia Paskaleva, Bulgarkata prez Vŭzrazhdaneto: Istoricheski ocherk (S.: Bulgarska komunisticheska partiia, 1954).

²Appendix I discusses in detail the methodology used to determine and to study this "study group" of Bulgarian intellectuals. Simplifying the content of the appendix, the study group is composed of as large as possible a number of Bulgarian intellectuals active in Bulgarian affairs in the late Renaissance (ca. 1840-1878). Basically, it is a selected representation.

breakdown of the study group by place of birth has supported the traditional contention of Bulgarian historiography that the mountainous regions of central Bulgaria gave birth to most of the leaders of the revival (see Table 1, next page). Almost half of the study group had origins in Balkan Mountain towns such as Karlovo, Kotel, Gabrovo and Koprivshtitsa. These Balkan towns were in an area where Turkish and Greek influences were least felt and where local autonomy was most developed due to long-standing privileges granted by Istanbul. The homogeneity of Bulgarianism in the Balkan Mountain region nourished the patriotic feeling of the future intellectuals. They came, moreover, from milieus whose craft and commercial prosperity communicated to them a sense of their people's vitality. They were affected as well by the physical surroundings, by the majesty of the Balkan Mountains themselves. Later, as romantic nationalists, these intellectuals were to use the Balkans to symbolize what they meant by the Bulgarian spirit.

Because of an intermixture of populations, a lower economic level, and other factors, ethnic consciousness developed more slowly in other Bulgarian-inhabited regions. One practical consequence of the delay was a relative lateness in the appearance of modern schooling; another and related result was the low incidence of natives of these regions in the pre-liberation Bulgarian leadership. Not one individual in the study group, for instance, was born in Plovdiv, a hotbed of Bulgarianism only after mid-century;

TABLE 1
 REGION OF BIRTH OF 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST^a
 INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Region	Locale		Totals	
	Towns	Villages	Combined No.	Percent. ^b
Northern Bul.	29	5	34	17.9
Central Mountain Region	80	14	94	49.5
Thracian Plain	21	7	28	14.7
Southern Bul. and Rhodope	2	1	3	1.6
Western Bul.	7	2	9	4.7
Yugoslav Macedonia	4	2	6	3.2
Greek Macedonia and Thrace	1	3	4	2.1
European Turkey	4	1	5	2.6
Elsewhere	4	3	7	3.7
Unknown			1	
Total Born in Towns	152			
Total Born in Villages		38		
Overall Totals			191	100. ^c

^aAppendix I discusses how this information was gathered.

^bOf total known (190).

^cTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding.

and only two came from the large but cosmopolitan northern town of Ruse. (The Balkan Mountain town of Koprivshitsa, on the other hand, gave birth to twelve of the activists in the study group.) That an insignificant number of intellectuals originated south of the Thracian plain bespoke the weakness there of a Bulgarian ethnic identity. On the other hand, the somewhat larger number who sprang from areas in Macedonia later to be ethnically contested testified to the presence of some Bulgarian consciousness in those regions.³

Eighty per cent of the study group had town origins. Though linked to parentage and to the availability of schooling, the town background of the future intellectuals was significant for its own sake. The young Bulgar who was raised in a town had a much greater exposure to the outside world than did his country cousin. His urban socialization attuned him to a changing rather than a static world. The other side of the coin was that he grew up with scant knowledge of the village and the peasant, an ignorance which led the future Bulgarian nationalist intellectual to resemble the Russian narodnik.

³A breakdown of the study group by place of death reveals their role as an elite, and also indicates how their talent was concentrated in one or two major cities at the expense of provincial and local needs. Based on 151 known places of death, only 12 per cent of the study group died in the same place they were born. Thirty-seven per cent died in the capital, Sofia; and 9 per cent passed away in Plovdiv. Another 18 per cent died abroad. At roughly the same point in time for which these figures are applicable, more than 80 per cent of the population as a whole lived in the locality in which they were born (Popov, La Bulgarie économique, p. 18).

The social background of the intellectual elite paralleled its town origins (see Table 2). Close to half of the

TABLE 2
FATHER'S OCCUPATION, 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST
INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Total Known
Large-scale Businessman	23	22.0
Middle Businessman	20	19.0
Petty Businessman	5	4.8
Artisan	13	12.4
Large Landowner	1	1.0
Middle Peasant	6	5.7
Small Peasant	8	7.6
Hired Worker	2	2.0
Priest	14	13.3
Publisher	1	1.0
Teacher	12	11.4
Unknown	86	
Total	191	100. ^b

^aSee Appendix I.

^bTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding.

study group had fathers engaged in commercial activity. They were born into social classes able to educate their children at a time when education was exceptional. (A smaller per-

centage emerged from the artisan sector per se.⁴ The small¹²⁷ craftsman lacked the means to surrender a son to extensive education.) After the sons of businessmen, the next largest group of the activists in the study group had parents who were teachers or priests. The majority of these urban clerics and educators belonged to the middle-income group;⁵ and, moreover, they furnished their sons with special incentives toward education. The largely prosperous origins of the intellectuals⁶ were never to disappear in their character as a class.⁷

3

In trying to relate how the future nationalist intel-

⁴Admittedly, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish artisans per se from those craftsmen who were involved in commerce. See Chapter I and Appendix I.

⁵See Chapter V and Appendix II.

⁶Of the 119 members of the study group for whom some indication was available, only 14 per cent had origins described in the sources as "poor." Eighty-six per cent came from families whose income status was "middle" (51 per cent) or "wealthy" (35 per cent) (see Appendix I). Marxist historians give the impression that the intelligentsia sprang from the impoverished strata of Bulgarian society. They do so artfully, but the logical end of their qualifications is to destroy the original notion. Dialectics aside, a stress on the "poor" origins of the intellectuals flies into the face of the facts--insofar as the facts can be determined. To be sure, P. R. Slaveikov never had money to spare in his mature life; he was born, however, to a father who at that time employed 16 apprentices. G. S. Rakovski's father was a chorbadzhiia; so was Liuben Karavelov's. A list of other prominent revolutionaries who sprang from wealthy families could begin alphabetically: Georgi Apostolov, Georgi Benkovski, Ilarion Dragostinov, Ivan Drasov, and so on.

⁷A contention that is supported infra.

lectuals grew up, the most difficult part of their lives to recapture is their early childhood. Most of them seemed to have enjoyed happy and secure childhoods. Some sons of commercial families, however, of whom there were many among the later intelligentsia, lacked a normal relationship with their fathers, men who were away on business much of the year. More than one memoirist has recalled how he saw his father as a mysterious figure; and, because his mother would try to keep him in line with threats as to what a returning father would do, as a symbol of fear.⁸

Some of the same memoirists related how in this situation they turned to a surviving grandfather as their father figure. Spending their boyhood at grandfather's knee, they underwent a common enough generational process--a third generation's identification with the first. For the boy whose father was distant and unknown, the grandfather stood out as a hero of the struggles of the tumultuous first decades of the nineteenth century. Grandfather's tales stirred the boy's natural romanticism. Where this relationship existed--and it was certainly the exception rather than the rule--it possibly could have acted as an early source of a son's estrangement from what he in comparison saw as his father's

⁸Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 47; Iliev, Spomeni, p. 18; Iv. T. Brakalov, Spomeni i belezhki po uchebnoto delo (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshtenie, 1927), p. 22; Dimităr Blagoev, Kratki belezhki iz moia zhiivot (2d ed.; S.: Bŭlgarska komunisticheska partiia, 1949), pp. 11-12.

crass and business-minded generation.⁹

Meanwhile, as a contemporary noted, "because our fathers...were abroad [so much],...our mothers were the chief factor in our upbringing."¹⁰ The level-headed Bulgarian mother ran the merchant's household. She raised the children, cared for the home, looked after the gardens and animals, and handled part of the business as well. She stood at the center of the child's life, dispensing authority and passing on root values. She grounded the children in religion--at least she took them to church often enough; and she implanted patriotic feelings by her folk songs.¹¹

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, however, there was a weakening in the role of mothers and other transmitters of traditional values. The economic and social metamorphosis of society was calling old mores into question and was replacing them with new and more variegated value subcultures. The artisans, it is true, preserved a great deal of the older patriarchalism while drawing on their own roots to protect notions of godliness, honesty and frugality. The commercial class, on the other hand, framed a bourgeois approach to life. Its outlook stressed acquisitiveness, a success ethic, and a relaxed and materialistic attitude toward life's pleasures. Older teachers and priests went

⁹Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 51; Iliev, Spomeni, p. 18.

¹⁰Brakalov, Spomeni, p. 22.

¹¹Paskaleva, Būlgarkata, passim; Khadzhiev, Bit it dushevnost, pp. 44-45 and passim.

along with the traditional ways, but newer educators took a secular and modern stance, one they blazoned with their Western clothes.¹² Since values were changing slowly, a superficial glance would have seen a society dominated by traditionalism. But in fact the young generation was maturing at a time when norms were beginning to shift, when new ideas and attitudes were in the air. The absence of a strong and uniform value system increased the chance that young people would pick up different values entirely. Formal education enhanced that possibility for that part of the young generation able to acquire it.

4

Education itself illustrated the complex of attitudes within Bulgarian society. By no means had formal schooling won full acceptance. Many parents, hearkening back to a time when schooling was for clerics only, regarded education as at best superfluous and perhaps subversive. These parents forbade their children to go to school.¹³ For the majority of middle-class parents, however, the effect of the old attitude was to restrain rather than to prevent an acceptance of education. Bulgarian townspeople came to see schooling as a practical necessity to be limited to

¹²Cf. Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 6.

¹³Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovsското uchilishte, p. 21; Khristo Khristov, "Zakhari Stoianov: Obshtestvena i politicheska deinost," God. Su, XLIV, Kn. 2 (1947-1948), p. 19.

three or four years and to teach only what was "necessary in life."¹⁴

Some more sophisticated businessmen took a higher view of education. Such a father's own success convinced him that proper schooling could help his son do even better in commerce--a field he expected him to follow. Mikhail Madzharov (1854-1944), a Koprvishtitsa memoirist, told how his father hoped to make him "a trader according to the new times." Commerce, his father argued, "is a respected [calling]. In trade you can traverse all the seas, see all foreign countries. Trade is an independent calling; it even gives you the chance to give orders to the Turks." As the father acknowledged, "the new trade demanded greater knowledge...than he himself had"; for rather than a "common wool-dealer," he wanted his son to be a "modern trader, [one] equipped with foreign languages and mathematics."¹⁵

Speaking for the majority of business parents, the elder Madzharov dissuaded his son against the teaching profession. Though they recognized the need for educators, merchant fathers turned ambivalent when it was a question of their own offspring. They preferred to see their sons follow in their own footsteps. Local circumstances, however,

¹⁴N[esho] Bonchev, "Za uchilishtata: Na Bŭlgarete trebvat sredni uchilishta: gimnaziia, realno uchilishte i dukhovna seminariia," Per. sp. BKD, I, Kn. 3 (1871), p. 8.

¹⁵Madzharov, Spomeni, pp. 124-128; cf. Vasil'ov, Zhivot, p. 155.

could change their mind. If a hometown teacher had won respect, if he earned good money, and if he was spared the persecution of the notables, a merchant father might objectless to his son's desire to enter that vocation.¹⁶

Teachers themselves encouraged their sons to take up intellectual professions, and for that reason to get as much education as they possibly could. Bot' o Petkov (1815-1869), the father of the later revolutionary Khristo Botev, stood as a tragic example of a teacher's constant concern for the education of his children. "How happy that day will be," wrote Petkov, "on which I receive permission to send my son [to study] in Russia!"¹⁷ Khristo's later expulsion broke his father's heart.

Once committed to the education of their children, parents kept track of their progress. They beamed with joy at their son's successes in the local school, particularly pleased when he was asked to perform at a church service or when he did well at public examinations.¹⁸ Their concern took fathers into the school itself. Liaskovets parents, for example, "competed in sweetening up the teacher" so that he would teach their child "a little better,...would beat him a little less."¹⁹

¹⁶Iliev, Spomeni, p. 86. ¹⁷IaNG, I, p. 32.

¹⁸Iliev, Spomeni, p. 48; Bozveliev, Spomeni, p. 16; Raicho Iliev Bluskov, "Avtobiografii na Raicho Iliev Bluskov," Sb. nar. umot., XVIII, Kn. 1 (1901), p. 563.

¹⁹Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 2.

A close parental relationship carried over into the initial period of a child's schooling away from home. A Gabrovo merchant thus corresponded with Naiden Gerov, the Bulgar who was Russia's consul in Plovdiv, on the placement of his son in that city's middle school. The father asked Gerov to protect his son from the corruption of the big city, and he stressed that the boy was to study the subjects necessary for a good businessman.²⁰ Some young Bulgars revealingly matched their fathers' interest by sending letters home which contained local economic and market information.²¹ But this practice was usually shortlived. Physical separation and higher education completed the shaping of a new individual, one who no longer shared his father's business interests. This alienation from parental origins came as the culmination of a weaning process that had begun in the local school.

Parents, of course, had not expected that result from the many schools they built and supported. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, hundreds of local schools were operating in the Bulgarian lands. The 1873 census of the Danubian vilayet showed that in that province alone more than 25,000 boys and 5000 girls were enrolled in about

²⁰IaNG, II, p. 660.

²¹For examples of how sons relayed market information, see BIA, f. 227, ed. 33, l. 8-9; and Liuben Karavelov, Sub-rani sūchinēnīa v devet toma (9 vols.; S.: Būlgarski pīsatel, 1966-1968), IX, pp. 484-486.

650 non-Moslem schools, the majority of which were Bulgarian.²² The vast bulk of these institutions were primary schools, and most of the pupils were satisfied with an elementary education that provided them with the reading and writing skills helpful in the pursuit of a livelihood.

The combination of desire and opportunity, however, led other young Bulgars to post-primary education. The parents who wanted this schooling for their children, or who at least went along with it, tended to be the most progressive elements of society. But more and more the initiative came from young Bulgarians themselves, sometimes in defiance of their parents. At any rate, a choice was there. The development of Bulgarian schooling had, by mid-century, reached the point where Bulgars had access to three types of primary and secondary education--the old "cell" school; the Lancastrian primary school; and the "class" or middle school, this last category including several institutions which offered a relatively full middle education to students from all over the Bulgarian lands.

5

"Cell" education survived long after the 1835 introduction of the Lancastrian method. Though private schooling died out in the towns (where it was unable to compete for students), it persisted as the sole form of education in

²²Kosev, Novaia istoria, p. 463.

many large and small villages. This "cell" training remained as backward as ever, despite the efforts of some teachers or daskali to innovate, for instance in the use of primers.

The boy signed up by his father to learn to read and write from a private teacher could look forward to one or two years of frustration and boredom. He might learn to read; he might simply waste his time until his father threw up his arms in disgust and gave him over to a craft. Success hinged on the daskal--on his ability to explain, on his patience, and on whether he spared enough time from the handicraft that fed his family.

A typical "cell"-school day passed in the tedious repetition of letters or the memorization of religious texts. Students who endured for a year or two mastered several liturgical books, learned to write; and, in some places, picked up how to add and subtract simple figures. At best, "cell" education trained people to participate in church services and to be able to conduct the correspondence necessary for their craft or commercial business.²³

In spite of its shortcomings, "cell"-taught literacy opened up new horizons for the young Bulgarian willing to improve on it. Some prominent revivalists whose formal edu-

²³On the "cell" schools, see the sources cited in footnote 47 of Chapter II; on the village schools generally, see Velko Tonev, "Belezhki po uchebnoto delo v Severoiztochna Bulgariia prez epokhata na Vuzrazhdaneto," Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei--Varna, II, (1967), pp. 71-97; IV (1968), pp. 75-114; V (1969), pp. 159-190.

cation stopped here went on to acquire, in self-learning, impressive intellectual abilities. Rashko Blūskov (1819-1884), for example, proceeded from the "cell" school to the world of books, where he gleaned the knowledge that served him well as a teacher and writer of pedagogical literature.²⁴

6

Most of the later Bulgarian activists had a better primary education, thanks to the Lancaster schools. Greek elementary and secondary schools continued to operate in a number of towns,²⁵ but within a decade or two after the establishment of the Gabrovo school, Bulgarian Lancastrian institutions dominated elementary schooling throughout much of the Bulgarian lands. The Lancaster school--or the "mutual" (vzaim) school as it was called--brought formal education properly speaking to the Bulgarian people.

The young Bulgar (aged six to eight) who enrolled in the local Lancaster school came to a brand new building, perhaps the biggest building in town.²⁶ He spent all of his

²⁴Blūskov, "Avtobiografiia," pp. 546-550.

²⁵See G. Chassiotis, L'Instruction publique chez les Grecs depuis la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Ernest Léroux, 1881), pp. 416-418; N. Iv. Vankov, "Nashite klasni uchilishta do osvobozhdenieto ni: Grūtsko i rusko vliianie vŭrkhu poiavata i kharaktera na klasnite uchilishta u nas," Uchil. pr., VI, Kn. 1 (September, 1901), p. 2; "Novi dokumenti," docs. 114, 158.

²⁶D. Tsanev, "Belezhki po istoriata na uchebnoto delo v Vratsa," Uchil. pr., XI, Kn. 10 (December, 1906), pp. 1102-1103.

time in the school's one large room or hall. The room was well ventilated and had good natural light. It had to be so--several hundred students gathered here every day. The pupil could see toward one end of the room the raised platform of the teacher. Rows of writing tables were lined up before the teacher's desk. The student sat at his table when he practiced his letters or took dictation. The rest of the day saw him grouped with other pupils in a semi-circle around one of the charts hung along the walls of the room.

The boy devoted his first year to mastery of the initial charts. From them, with the help of monitors, he learned the alphabet, word recognition and spelling. Literacy came easier now, thanks to a simplification in the designation of letters (but only after the mid-1860s did the pupil learn letters by sound). During his second year, the young Bulgarian improved his reading ability as he worked through the drills and the reading exercises contained in the later charts. This reading introduced him to fundamental concepts of religion, language, literature, history and geography. He learned to write, first with a sandbox and eventually with slates. He studied his numbers up to a thousand, and knew how to add, subtract, multiply and divide.²⁷

²⁷For details on the Lancaster schools in Bulgaria, see Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivshitsa," pp. 290-304; Blüskov (ed.), *Materiali*, pp. 93-138; I. Gruev, "Vzaimnoto uchilishte v Koprivshitsa prez 1837/8 i 1838/9 uchebni godini," *Per. sp. BKD*, LII-LIII (1896), pp. 688-695; Undzhiev

Later students, those who entered school after the Crimean War, supplemented the charts with primers and readers, and they also studied some subjects separately. This development of the curriculum required some reorganization. After 1858 in Gabrovo, to cite one example, the pupil underwent a third year of primary schooling. The first year was as before; but in his second year, the student was now taught penmanship, arithmetic, catechism and the history of religion; and by the end of his third year, he was expected to know the four functions of arithmetic, the history of the church, and some geography and history.²⁸

The Lancaster schools, meanwhile, were serving more than an academic purpose. They were institutions that sought to shape the whole person; and the didacticism of their content was more than matched by the formalism of their method. Brought to the level of the student, that method was regimentation.

The initiators of the movement in Bulgaria improved, if that is the right word, the structured approach devised by the English inventors of the system. They drew up detailed rules and procedures which spelled out the duties of school officials, teachers, students and parents. The Ko-

and Peikovski (eds.), Grad Troian, pp. 122-123; Brakalov, Spomeni, pp. 8-10; N. Kotsev, "Istoriia na uchebnoto delo v gr. Ikhtiman," Uchil. pr., IX, Kn. 10 [Supplement] (1904), pp. 53-56.

²⁸K rolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 33-35.

privshtitsa pupils, for example, were required to listen every Saturday as an older student read a fifteen-point directive on their behavior: to come to school on time, to have clean faces, to be honest, to respect their elders, and so on.²⁹ An 1860 code of twenty-seven rules guided the students in Shumen. In this case, the rules were accompanied by a list of thirty-nine punishments keyed to each rule. If the pupil "maliciously vilified" the teacher, he was to be "struck 15 blows on the back"; the second offender got thirty blows. Other sanctions warned the students about the consequences of rowdiness, uncleanliness, neglect of school property, smoking, lying, and associating with bad influences.³⁰ "The chief educational tool," wrote a contemporary, "was the thrashing."³¹ Other common punishments included a sharp tug on the hair; "standing" on one's knees; imprisonment in the "dungeon" (tūmnitsa, the hole in the floor under the teacher's raised platform); and various forms of public humiliation.³²

Discipline was part and parcel of the military order of the Lancaster school. For the pupils, its staff resembled a chain-of-command. At the top stood the "master

²⁹Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 186-187.

³⁰Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 144-152.

³¹Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 56.

³²Popov, Grad Klisura, pp. 24-25; Iordanov, Selo Medven, pp. 32-35.

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teacher" (glaven ucitel),³³ responsible for overall administration and instruction. The "chief supervisor" (glaven nadziratel), an older student, headed a hierarchy of student assistants. A kind of top sergeant, he kept things running on schedule and brought offenders to the "master teacher" for punishment. Other "supervisors" helped him monitor conduct. The academic monitors, those who drilled new pupils, were called "demonstrators" (pokazateli).³⁴

This staff followed a rigid operating procedure that took in the entire school day. A Ruse memoirist remembered how the "chief supervisor" "commanded us like soldiers. He shouted: 'Hands on the knees!' And we all stood quietly with our hands on our knees."³⁵ Every school activity, reading and writing included, began and ended on a formal command. And the regime extended beyond the classroom. When a student column passed a respected citizen on the street, the "supervisor" in charge ordered hats to be raised in salute. The "chief supervisor" visited the parents on Sundays to ask about the pupil's conduct at home. A mischievous child was punished the next day.³⁶

The military atmosphere fitted well with the didacticism of the Lancaster school's content. This morality

³³For a different use of the term glaven ucitel, see below, pp. 256-257.

³⁴Blůskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 98-100; Chakůrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 182-186.

³⁵Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 52. ³⁶Ibid., pp. 52-55.

harped on basic social values, with religion in the lead. The pupil prayed several times a day; and attendance at church was mandatory, with the ever present monitors making sure that the pupils were there and behaving themselves. The young Bulgarians lost their Sunday afternoons to special instruction on the gospel for that day.³⁷

Actually, didacticism assaulted the pupil from two directions at once--religion combined with moralistic rationalism. Wall posters admonished the student that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"; that "the roots of learning are bitter, the fruits are sweet"; and that he "should do unto others as he would have others do unto him."³⁸ The tardy pupil thought himself lucky to avoid a beating when instead he was told to write a hundred times: "Time is dearer than money."³⁹

School literature likewise preached a rationalistic and bourgeois-related ethic. Biblical stories, religious tales, allegories and fables lectured the young reader on the rewards for good behavior and the punishments for bad.⁴⁰

³⁷Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 107.

³⁸Blūskov, "Avtobiografiia," pp. 578; Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 5.

³⁹D. Ralchev, "Nikola Pūrvanov: Zhivot i deinost," Uchil. pr., XXI, Kn. 7-8 (1922), p. 593; cf. Milan Radivoev, Biografiia na Ivana Nikolov Momchilov s kratūk ocherk na prosvetitelnata mu deinost (1819-1869) (S.: Knizharnitsa na T. P. Dzhamdzhiiev, 1912), pp. 14-15.

⁴⁰Kovacheva-Vūleva, Detskoto chetivo, pp. 33-34, 70-71 and passim; Penev, Būlgarska literatura, pp. 446-448.

More than that, the student came to understand reward to mean material prosperity. In a related way, school readings glorified diligence and work. The pupil was constantly reminded of the moral of the bee:

Into a flower pokes its nose
Honey collects
The little bee.
An example gives,
It teaches,
"Work is praiseworthy."⁴¹

These and similar lessons sought to motivate the student's zeal in his study by promising that diligence and work would lead to a successful and prosperous future.

There was a contradiction, the seed of a future emotional problem, between this success ethic and the patriotism also instilled by the Lancaster school. Simply put, in the ideology of this schooling materialism collided with idealism; for at the same time as he was learning a bourgeois code of enrichment, the young Bulgar was being told that nothing, not even material success, surpassed the virtue of service to the nation. "Sacrifice your life for the fatherland," he read in one of the charts, "prefer a glorious death to a life without honor."⁴² An 1860 primer phrased the same notion in reverse. "The person who renounces his fatherland," the student read, or who "cares not

⁴¹P[etko] R. Slaveikov, Kratka chitanka (Istanbul: Pechatnitsa "Makedonija", 1869), p. 25.

⁴²Cited by Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 187-188.

for its good...will never see good, but always will be unfortunate....No one will love him and no one will help him, but everyone will hate him and censure him as a useless and dishonorable citizen."⁴³ School literature held out the detested chorbadzhii as the personification of selfish disloyalty to one's people.⁴⁴

Primers cultivated a more positive patriotism as well. In being groomed in the qualities of a good Bulgarian citizen, students were introduced to all the techniques of romantic nationalism, beginning with religion. An 1868 primer used the dialogue format to stress the essential connection between religion and patriotism:

- ...What is most sacred for man?
- ...His faith and nationality.
- ...What is your faith?
- ...I am a Christian.
- ...What is your nationality?
- ...I am a Bulgarian.
- ...Why?
- ...Because my parents are Bulgarians and I speak Bulgarian.
- ...Cannot man change his faith and nationality?
- ...There are such people who change their religion and nationality but they commit the gravest sin and they are considered traitors by the world. They are not dear to anyone, everybody hates and despises them and that is why I shall never think of such things and I shall always try to help such misled people to find the true path.⁴⁵

⁴³Kh[risto] Danov, Bukvar ili vzaimnouchitelni tablitsi (2d ed.; Plovdiv: Khr. G. Danov, 1864), p. 58.

⁴⁴Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, pp. 19, 23-24, 45-46, 54-55, 57.

⁴⁵BAN, Inst. za ist., Documents and Materials on the History of the Bulgarian People (S.: BAN, 1969), p. 149.

Folk themes and images likewise filled school texts; and the Bulgarian language was held up as a value in itself.⁴⁶ In the same way, everything the student read about his people's history offered patriotic conclusions. In past centuries Bulgars always seemed to be defeating Greeks in glorious battles.⁴⁷ Geography served a similar purpose. "O, how rich is Bulgaria," the pupil read in a popular grammar. "Here the land is a garden, flowers bloom, the foliage is green, with mountains it is girt. In this land the mountains rise high over the clouds, so high that the sun skips o'er their peaks....Here everything grows--a veritable paradise on earth."⁴⁸

The students, coached by their teachers, learned to voice these patriotic sentiments themselves. At public examinations and other festivities, pupils sang such compositions as a Shumen teacher's "National Prayer":

Heavenly Father, God all-powerful,
 Preserve [thy people] from its oppressor.
 O! Safeguard its integrity,
 Drive far away its enemy....

In another song, the students echoed the lament for the people that had been a part of Bulgarian intellectual expression since Paisius:

Fatherland, our dear fatherland,
 For four centuries darkened,

⁴⁶Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, p. 64.

⁴⁷Barutchiiski (ed.), Khristo G. Danov, p. 85.

⁴⁸Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, pp. 74-75.

And by all peoples forgotten
And by all peoples almost despised.

They balanced this despair, however, with the optimism of fledgling patriots:

They know, everyone already knows,
That first and foremost the Bulgarian language
We Bulgars have to learn,
So more easily to be able,
Our mental powers to develop,
Our glory to acquire
The glory of our forefather Slavs....

These songs brought student patriotism to a high emotional pitch, sometimes to the embarrassment of local elders who had invited Ottoman guests to attend school functions.⁴⁹

Public performances afforded the young student his first opportunity to speak as the voice of Bulgarian conscience. A Shumen student thus declaimed

A voice of wisdom
to the Bulgarian people.

O! Patriotic citizenry
All who desire learning
Allow me to say
That which I have heard as one voice.

A salutary time is approaching,
From learning a dawn is breaking
For the Bulgarian people today,
This people so glorious in olden times!

⁴⁹The songs quoted are cited from Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 166-171; for other examples, see Radivoev, Biografii na...Momchilov, pp. 17-18. English travellers disclosed that in Bulgarian schools "phrases complimentary to the Sultan have been framed into a sort of school hymn. True, the same tune has another set of words in honour of him who shall deliver the country from Turkish rule. One or another version is sung before the visitor, according as he is judged to be Christian or Turcophile." (G. M. Muir [Mackenzie] and A. P. Irby, Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe [2 vols.; 4th ed.; London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1877], I, p. 81.)

In this nineteenth century
 Wisdom now summons it,
 To rise from its deep slumber
 And to free itself from the darkness.

.....

O! People, poor Bulgarian people,
 Which is gifted with a true gift
 Open your eyes now
 In this clearly favorable time.

.....

Enough! O God, our people has slept
 It has lived without a national feeling
 Give to it now the ability
 To know what is a nationality.⁵⁰

Not empty words, these declamations had a specific purpose-- to berate and to appeal to the fathers in the audience to spend more of their money for the cultural revival.⁵¹ Early education was already casting the young Bulgarian in the mold of the nationalist intellectual.

The Lancaster schools, as shown by this incipient activism, fulfilled their patriotic purpose very well. The same could not be said for their academic training. These schools were too crowded to allow individual attention,⁵² and there were problems in the quality of the teaching itself. The best teachers, those who had foreign training, looked down on primary education and concentrated their activity in the mid-

⁵⁰Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 168-171.

⁵¹Cf. Matei Georgiev, Vuzrazhdaneto na grad Sofia: Istoricheski materiali (S.: Pridvorna pechatnitsa, 1920), p. 82.

⁵²Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 132-133.

dle school of the town. According to one astute observer of the Bulgarian scene, many youngsters left the Lancaster school without an effective reading and writing ability.⁵³ Local conflicts led to numerous interruptions of school life,⁵⁴ and there were no real checks on academic standards. The public examination was intended to act as such a control, but fear for their jobs led teachers to coach the students beforehand. For the parents, furthermore, what they heard at public examinations was all strange and new.⁵⁵

Lancaster schools nevertheless played a critical role in the eventual formation of a nationalist educated elite. They poured a foundation of secular learning that permitted young Bulgarians to proceed to higher education. Their success ethic captured the imagination of students and encouraged them to continue their schooling in order to guarantee themselves a good future. At the same time, and more than a little paradoxically, elementary schools were shaping young Bulgars as idealistic patriots and were urging them to be more than just good citizens, to be in fact the people's activists.

7

All three processes were intensified in the Bulgarian

⁵³The observer was Naiden Gerov. See IaNG, I, pp. 124-125, 128-129.

⁵⁴Cf. Ganchev, Spomeni, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵Kirov, "Material," p. 35; Todor Ikonov, "Memoarite na Todor Ikonov," Iskra, VI, Kn. 1 (1896), p. 30.

"class" school, an institution that bridged primary and secondary education. "Class" schools varied widely in their scope; the least developed added little to the Lancastrian base, while the best provided the youngster with a relatively complete middle education.

"Class" schools emerged out of the Lancaster schools. Enterprising teachers of the 1840s began to place their better students into a special row (chin) of the writing tables, where they led them in studies beyond the common curriculum. Some of these students wanted to continue this special study for more than one year. A second chin was set up, while the first accommodated a new group of students who had just finished the elementary program. The chinovc, embryonic classes or grades, acted for a long time as primitive academic divisions in a one-roomed schoolhouse.⁵⁶ Teachers sought separate facilities, but it took time to persuade school boards to provide the extra money.

Naiden Gerov, upon his graduation from a Russian lyceum, opened what is regarded as the first "class" school in 1846 in Koprivshitsa.⁵⁷ Other teachers, primarily Russian-

⁵⁶Chakūrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 201-202; Naiden Chakūrov and Zhechko Atanasov, Istoriia na obrazovanieto i pedagogicheskata misul v Bulgariia (2d ed.; S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1962), p. 172; N. Belovezhov, "Spomeni," Iubileen sbornik...Koprivshitsa, I, p. 86; Bluskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁷Gerov's initiative is discussed by Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivshitsa," pp. 322-354; and in Chakūrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 202-203.

trained, followed his example; and within the next two decades, "class" schools were operating in many Balkan towns (Elena, Pazardzhik, Kalofer, Plovdiv, Tŭrnovo, Karlovo, Sofia, Iambol, Ruse, Shumen, Stara Zagora, Gabrovo, and Svishtov), and in the émigré colonies (Istanbul, Bolgrad and Bucharest). An estimated twenty-five "class" schools appeared altogether, including a number which did not survive.⁵⁸ The actual number of classes fluctuated from school to school and from year to year.⁵⁹

The "class" schools, despite their Lancastrian origins, took a far more modern approach to education. Gerov formulated rules for his Koprivhstitsa school, and his example was copied elsewhere; but these regulations accepted the greater maturity of the student. Some went further to suggest the equality of responsibility between the students and teachers. "Class" schools avoided excessive regimentation and they relaxed discipline.⁶⁰

All in all, the "class"-school student entered a new

⁵⁸An account of "class" schools by locality is contained in L. Iv. Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, sredni i spetsialni uchilishta predi Osvobozhdenieto (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshtenie, 1925).

⁵⁹Vankov, "Nashite klasni uchilishta," p. 5.

⁶⁰On Gerov's rules, see Dorosiev, "Ūchebnoto delo v Koprivshitsa," pp. 329-333; and Chakŭrov, Istoria na... obrazovanie, pp. 202-204. A copy of the rules of another "class" school is available in S. Argirov, "Materiali za istoriata na nashata prosveta," Uchil. pr., VI, Kn. 2 (February, 1901), pp. 128-131. On discipline, see Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite mi spomeni," pp. 552-553.

world of learning. "My passing from the [Lancaster] school ...into the [class] school," a Koprivshtitsa memoirist remarked, "was a great change. Between the two existed such a difference as exists between one epoch and another. In the regulations, in the treatment of the teachers, the one school represented the past, and the other the future." One of the most striking outward changes in the "class" school was its Europeanized teachers with their "trousers, starched shirts ...and shoes. If the two schools were not in the same building...a person would not have believed that they belonged to one and the same obshtina."⁶¹ Another student described how advancement into the "class" school meant "new songs, new ideas, new feelings, other ideals."⁶²

Only a small percentage of Bulgarian boys, however, had the opportunity to experience the modern influences of the "class" school. These institutions, with the partial exception of those which served the whole of Bulgaria, had small enrollments; and in comparison with the hundreds of pupils in primary schools, numbers of students in the "class" schools fell off sharply, in some cases to but several tens of students.⁶³ Responsible for this fall in enrollment, and for

⁶¹Madzharov, Spomeni, pp. 105-106.

⁶²Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 6.

⁶³Batakliev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, p. 251; S. Tabakov, Opit za istoriia na grad Sliven (2 vols.; S.: Komitet "Istoriata na gr. Sliven", 1911-1924), II, p. 429; Vladimir A. Karamanov, "Daskal Todor Peiov," Uchil. pr., XLII, Kn. 2 (February, 1943), p. 224.

the growing educational differentiation which resulted from it, were a number of factors--the more limited availability of "class" schools, higher costs, greater academic demands, and the need for a strong belief in education.

The boy who entered the "class" school studied six or more hours a day, six days a week, from September to the end of June. He faced several difficult examinations throughout the school year, and his Russian-trained teachers imposed the high failure rate with which they were familiar from their own study in Tsarist schools.⁶⁴

A Russian influence similarly predominated in the curriculum of the "class" school.⁶⁵ Most of the teachers taught subjects they had studied in the lower and middle classes of Russian gymnasiums and seminaries. That many teachers had seminary training⁶⁶ no doubt affected the continuing emphasis on religious instruction, but the main reason for it was simply the kind of society it was. The student took several courses in religion, being taught these subjects in the usual straightforward manner of the parochial school. In many "class" schools religion was taught by the poorest teachers,

⁶⁴Karolev, Istoriata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 168-169.

⁶⁵Greek and Russian influence on the "class" schools is discussed in Vankov, "Nashite klasni uchilishta," pp. 2-5; Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 175; and in Chakurov and Atanasov, Istoriia na obrazovaniето i pedagogicheskata misul, p. 168. For a tabular comparison of the subjects of a Russian seminary and a Bulgarian "class" school, see Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik, p. 83.

⁶⁶See Chapter IV.

and young Bulgars acquired no abiding interest in the subject.⁶⁷ And even though many hours were allotted to religious instruction, its effect was curtailed by the same school's teaching of secular subjects. The student learned religion by rote; like his society as a whole, he developed no intellectual understanding of it. His beliefs, in other words, remained susceptible to the infection of the secularism and materialism that he was to encounter later on in his education.

Languages, too, claimed much of the student's time. Bulgarian, taught over several courses, took first place. One "class" student from Lom later re-created what happened in his Bulgarian class when he missed the stress on the word zakon (law):

- What? Zákon?! Does your father say zákon?
- No, teacher, my father says zakón.
- Your mother, does she say zakón?
- No, she says zakón.
- But why do you say zákon? Why don't you speak like your father, your mother?

The student explained how he had overheard Dalmatian boatmen on the Danube pronounce the word in that way. The teacher warned him not to repeat the mistake: "Speak like your parents and watch well their language."⁶⁸

Besides Bulgarian, several other languages were taught. Among them was Greek, the knowledge of which remained essential. The student's father in particular wanted him to mas-

⁶⁷Brakalov, Spomeni, p. 25; Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 267.

⁶⁸Cited by Ralchev, "Nikola Pürvanov," p. 594.

ter this language of commerce. For the same reason, and as an accommodation with the facts of political and social life, students were made to learn Turkish. The school boards often hired a Turk to teach this course, and the unfortunate man found himself the target of student disdain for things Turkish. French was by far the major Western language taught, though it was not taught well. What the students acquired was a familiarity with the language; it was up to them to develop a reading ability.⁶⁹ In the majority of schools, young Bulgarians were expected to learn Russian entirely on their own.

Courses in the humanities and social sciences--geography, history and literature--took the student over both general and patriotic ground. Political rather than physical geography was stressed, and the young Bulgar studied demography, peoples and places, and current events. Among other things, he learned to be proud of the fact that he belonged to the most numerous linguistic group in Europe.⁷⁰ History, the student learned, was a didactic discipline. "From history," one teacher told his students, "we can find out that

⁶⁹On Greek, see N. Nachov, "Bŭlgarskoto uchilishte sv. Kiril i Metodi na Fener v Tsarigrad do 1877 god.," Uchil. pr., XXI, Kn. 5-6 (May-June, 1922), p. 379; on Turkish, see Iord. Georgiev, "Dokumenti po uchebnoto delo v Vratsa, Grads, Elena, Gabrovo, Razgrad, Sofiia, Sliven i Shumen," Uchil. pr., XII, Kn. 4 (April, 1907), p. 377; and Vek, I, Br. 40, October 12, 1874; on the teaching of French, see Khr. Uvaliev, "Frenskata ni uchebna kniga do osvobozhdenieto," Uchil. pr., XVIII, Kn. 5 (January, 1914), pp. 354-361.

⁷⁰Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivshtitsa," p. 344.

all humans are equals, all are weak creatures and make mistakes, but are also able for great deeds."⁷¹ The other lessons the students drew from history (and from the related discipline of literature) were nationalistic ones. Several contemporaries remembered the strong impression made on them by their "class"-school study of written accounts of Bulgarian history. From these stories of past heroes dying with sword in hand, recalled one memoirist, "we did not learn very much, but how great were the feelings which filled the young chests."⁷²

Mathematics and natural sciences composed the other major subject area of the "class" school. In mathematics, the student progressed as far as algebra and trigonometry. His courses in natural sciences included elementary science, mechanics, biology, chemistry and physics. He received, however, only a superficial and haphazard introduction to these subjects. With one or two exceptions,⁷³ the schools lacked facilities and properly trained teachers. Members of school boards hesitated to purchase laboratory equipment of which

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²The quotation is from Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 8; cf. Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 55-56.

⁷³The Stara Zagora school, for example, had a relatively good program in science. It hired a teacher who had graduated from the faculty of natural sciences of a Russian university; and, thanks to Protestant missionaries, it had equipment for science courses (Chakurov, Istoriia na... obrazovanie, p. 207).

they had no concept whatsoever.⁷⁴ In his study of mathematics and science, the young Bulgarian stuck to practical problem-solving and natural phenomena. He acquired no real comprehension of science and he was not really equipped to pursue this field in later education.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, these "class"-school courses did introduce him to the materialism and positivism that he might encounter later at the university.

"Class" schools throughout the Bulgarian lands had a common core curriculum, their programs diverging chiefly in terms of completeness.⁷⁶ The formal course of studies for the Razgrad school in 1876 can thus be taken as more or less typical for "class" schools on the eve of the liberation:

Class I	Class II
"God's Law"; the Bible	Catechism
Bulgarian history	World history
Bulgarian (I)	Bulgarian (II)
Four functions of arithmetic	Arithmetic ("Rule of Threes")
Geography (I)	Geography (II)

⁷⁴On the attitude of elders, see Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, p. 273; and cf. Iubileen sbornik po otpraznuvane 50 godishninata ot I-ia vipusk na Gabrovskata "Aprilovska" gimnaziia (Gabrovo: Pechatnitsa "Moderno iskustvo", 1925), p. 20.

⁷⁵Cf. Bozveliev, Spomeni, p. 37.

⁷⁶But compare the remarks of Vankov, "Nashite klasni uchilishta," p. 8. See also ibid., pp. 9-13. Cf. the school programs contained in Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 9 and passim; Dorosiev, "Uchebnoto delo v Koprivnitsa," pp. 327-328, 368-370; Toma Vurbanov and Nikola T. Balabanov (eds.), Bulgarska prosveta: Niakoga i sega (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshenie, 1940), p. 73 and passim; and ANG, I, pp. 75-76.

Penmanship
Singing
.....
.....
.....

Class III

Church history
Arithmetic

Geography (III)
Bulgarian (III)
Turkish grammar
Slavonic grammar and
translation
World history
Trade
Science
Agriculture
Physics
Singing

Penmanship
Singing
Hygiene
Turkish primer
Slavonic reading
and prayers

Class IV

.....
Geometry, short course;
algebra
Geography (IV)
Bulgarian literature
Turkish grammar
Slavonic grammar and
translation
World history
.....
Science
.....
Physics⁷⁷
Singing⁷⁷

(This program, like that of other schools, has to be taken with a grain of salt. The teacher who composed it was trying to influence local authorities to increase the school's budget. Impressive on paper, such full programs were seldom taught.)

Another interesting thing about the curriculums of the "class" schools was the scant attention they paid to vocational and commercial subjects. Sometimes, as above, a teacher included a course on trade as window dressing. Actually, few teachers cared or knew about the subjects dear to the hearts of many fathers. What one contemporary wrote about the Turnovo school could have been repeated for the others:

⁷⁷Adapted from Khristo Stoikov, Prosvetnoto delo v Razgrad prez Vuzrazhdaneto (Razgrad: Bulgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo, 1968), p. 89.

"About trade, about crafts, about political or home economy, there is not a word about this. The students are preparing to become geographers and historians."⁷⁸

In their academic rather than commercial or vocational programs, the "class" schools approximated the lower divisions of European gymnasiums or Realschulen. On the rare occasions when they employed Western terms, Bulgars called such schools progymnasiums or "semi-gymnasiums."⁷⁹ Only three "class" schools offered the student a fuller middle education--those of Plovdiv, Gabrovo and Bolgrad.

8

Naiden Gerov laid the foundations of the "Cyril and Methodius" school in Plovdiv in 1850, after the Bulgarian notables there had persuaded him to come from Koprivshtitsa. Proving to be a perfect foyer for Bulgarian nationalism in that Hellenized city, the Plovdiv school enjoyed the backing of wealthy businessmen⁸⁰ and soon came to be acknowledged as a "general diocesan...institution" for the Bulgars of the region.⁸¹ Furthermore, the school's reputation drew students

⁷⁸[Ivan A. Bogorov], Niakolko dena razkhodka po bulgarskite mesta (Bucharest: Pechatnitsa na K. N. Radulesku, 1868), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁹Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 34-36; Iurd. Trifonov, V. Drumev--Kliment Branitski i Turnovski: Zhivot, deinost i karakter (S.: BAN, 1926), pp. 15-16.

⁸⁰Ioakim Gruev, "Eparkhiiskoto v Plovdiv uchilishte 'sv. Kiril i Metodii'," Bulgarski pregled, III, Kn. 7-8 (July-August, 1896), pp. 118-138.

⁸¹ANG, I, pp. 75-76.

from other parts of the Bulgarian lands,⁸² their parents sending them despite Plovdiv's high cost-of-living (about 2500-3000 grosha a year to maintain a student⁸³). Thanks to the intercession of Gerov, who after 1857 was the city's Russian consul, the Tsarist government and private Russian organizations supplied the school with educational materials. Ottoman authorities suspected this Russian connection, and their distrust was fostered both by Greek accusations and by the activism of the Bulgarian students. In 1869 the board of the school adopted the designation "seminary" to forestall government threats to shut down the institution.⁸⁴

By this time the school had grown to six classes and the student body to between two and three hundred. Many of its graduates were to go as teachers throughout the Bulgarian lands.⁸⁵ They took with them a solid middle education and an intensive nationalism; for as students in Plovdiv, they had formed the strike force in the many pitched battles which took place in the third quarter of the century between that city's Greeks and Bulgarians. A number of Plovdiv graduates went on to higher education.

The Gabrovo school surpassed the academic level of the Plovdiv "seminary," but only after the early 1870s. It was

⁸²IaNG, I, p. 503.

⁸³Ibid., II, pp. 428-429. The grosh was a monetary designation used by the Bulgars (see Appendix II).

⁸⁴Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 130-135.

⁸⁵Kosev, Novaia istoria, p. 464.

in the six or seven years preceeding the liberation that the Gabrovo "class" school, later the "Aprilov Gymnasium," earned its reputation as the best Bulgarian school. Although Gabrovo boasted the longest history as a center of modern Bulgarian education, it was a history filled with a dissension that paralyzed school affairs for long periods of time.⁸⁶ The transformation came in 1871 when the school board hired three new teachers directly out of Russian universities. Students who showed up for classes in September of that year listened in shock as their teachers told them that they were to repeat their previous class.⁸⁷ The new teachers had devised a plan to raise academic standards and to turn the school into a full middle institution. Over the next three years, they added to the original three classes a fifth, a sixth and a seventh class.⁸⁸ The school's reputation grew apace. It lured young people from all parts of the country. These outside students--as many as two hundred in 1874⁸⁹--lived in a special pension or dormitory, their parents paying from 1200-1300 grosha a year.⁹⁰

As shown by the school's 1872 program (see Table 3, next page), the Gabrovo student underwent a formidable

⁸⁶See Chapter V.

⁸⁷Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite mi spomeni," pp. 550-551.

⁸⁸Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovsното uchilishte, pp. 89-124.

⁸⁹Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 137.

⁹⁰Iubileen sbornik... "Aprilovska" gimnazia, p. 15.

TABLE 3
CURRICULUM, GABROVO MIDDLE SCHOOL (1872)^a

Subject	Class		
	I	II	III
Religion	Prayers; the Ten Commandments	Hist. of the Christian rel. to the Jewish state	Life of Christ; Faith
Bulgarian	Parts of speech	Grammar and dictation	Grammar and dictation
Geography	Basic concepts of physical geography	Asia, Africa, America and Australia	Political geography of Europe
Mathematics	Parts and kinds of numbers	Fractions and decimals	"Rule of threes," Business arithmetic
Natural Science	Popular zoology; classification of mammals	Birds, amphibians, fish and insects	Botany
French and Turkish	Alphabet and pronunciation	Grammar and simple readings	Grammar and translation
World History			Ancient history to the Barbarian invasions
Slavonic			
Bulgarian History			
Literature			
Other Subjects			

^aKarolev, *Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchiishte*, pp. 98-116

TABLE 3--Continued

Class			
IV	V	VI	VII
Hope and Love	Church history to the Great Schism	The Western Church to the Reformation	Liturgy
			Physical geography
Algebraic fractions; equations; geometry	Quadratic equations; geometry	Logarithms; spheres; trigonometry	
Inorganic chemistry	Elementary physics	Physics--heat, refraction, polarization	Physics--magnetism, electricity
Translation and irregular verbs	Tenses and moods; translations	Syntax and translations	Syntax and translations
From the Great Migrations to Ottoman conquest	To the Great Northern War	The Enlightenment and the French Revolution	
Alphabet, grammar and translation			
To the Second Bulgarian Kingdom	To the Ottoman Conquest	Bulgarian Church history to the present	
	Theory and types of prose and poetry	A short history of world literature	Bulgarian and Slavic literature
		Cosmography; astronomy	Pedagogy; religious upbringing

schooling. No other Bulgarian middle school attained this sophistication. But despite its impressive program, the caliber of instruction at Gabrovo suffered some gaps and shortcomings. Perhaps the best summation came from the pen of one of its graduates. "The course," this student wrote, "contained many subjects for the acquisition of a broad general education. It helped create in us...a critical thought, [and]...it pushed us toward independent intellectual work." It best prepared the student, however, for further study in the classics and humanities, since "in its general education course there was a weakness in the teaching of natural sciences,...mathematics,...[and] technical subjects."⁹¹ Few contemporaries, on the other hand, denied the relative general excellence of the Gabrovo school.

Another first-rate middle school was founded by the Bulgarian colonists in Bessarabia. When the 1856 Treaty of Paris forced St. Petersburg to cede this province to the Romanian Principality of Moldavia, the Tsarist government decided to hand over to the colonists the property rights over five profitable fishing lakes. In 1858 a delegation of colonists went to Iasi to seek permission to establish a "central" school in Bolgrad and to finance it from the income of the lakes. The Moldavian authorities approved, and the "central" school opened in the spring of 1859.⁹²

⁹¹Brakalov, Spomeni, p. 29.

⁹²Petur Atanasov, "Za Bolgradskata gimnaziia," Uchil.

Administered by a board composed of elected trustees and an appointed school director, the Bolgrad school had a lower and a middle division. The lower division taught a three-year course in religion, church history, geography, Bulgarian history, arithmetic, natural history, commerce, penmanship, Bulgarian, Romanian, and (as optional languages) Russian and Greek. In the four years of the middle division, the student took courses in faith, ethics, Bulgarian literature, Romanian literature, Bulgarian history, world history, mathematics, mechanics, physics, agronomy, commerce, civil law, Latin, Slavonic, and (if he desired) French or Greek.⁹³

As well as Bessarabian Bulgars, students came to the Bolgrad school from south of the Danube. They procured an excellent education. Generally competent school directors succeeded one another, and the six to eight teachers on the staff possessed good qualifications.⁹⁴ Bolgrad students had homerooms, an innovation not to appear in Russian schools for another ten years. The school's competitive scholarship program motivated students with the promise of financial help for higher education abroad.⁹⁵

pr., XXXVII, Kn. 10 (December, 1938), pp. 1293-1296; Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," pp. 312-335. The charter of the Bolgrad school is reprinted in Diakovich, Bŭlgarite v Besarabia, pp. 73-103.

⁹³Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," pp. 320-321.

⁹⁴Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 173-174.

⁹⁵Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," p. 331.

The Bulgarians who in fact went on to foreign schools would discover many shortcomings in their local "class" or middle education. To their consternation, they failed to pass formal entrance examinations for higher schools; and their impressive-looking certificates had little weight with directors of foreign institutions. Unless they decided to make an exception, these officials required young Bulgars to do remedial work before admitting them.⁹⁶

What had happened? Essentially, even in the best Bulgarian middle schools academic quality remained directly proportional to the ability of individual teachers. Students learned what the teacher knew; and the Bulgarian teacher at that time taught what he best remembered and liked in his own higher education. Students looking forward to study in a Russian university, for example, were taught a smattering of psychology at the expense of instruction in the Russian language. Teachers lectured them from old notes, and when they turned the last page of these notes, they lost their one-step advantage. A Gabrovo teacher greeted his class one morning by holding up a chemistry textbook and announcing: "In the fourth class I taught you with the help of notes, and, what I knew, I taught; now I too will be studying with you."⁹⁷ More generally, the students suffered from a pedagogy that empha-

⁹⁶See Chapter IV.

⁹⁷Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite mi spomeni," p. 557.

sized memorization, mechanical drills, detached theories; and from instruction that began and ended when the teacher said: "Read from here to here."⁹⁸ Education was shortchanged as well by the listlessness of teachers who bore a heavy course load. Most schools had fewer teachers than classes,⁹⁹ and students spent hours in solitary reading of assigned texts. Finally, high staff turnover also frustrated a systematic educational program.

The situation would have been more serious had not the student had alternative ways for self-learning. His textbooks, for example, helped him overcome the gaps in his teacher's knowledge. In lieu of published texts, early teachers had shared their notes with the students, but after mid-century the use of schoolbooks became widespread. Students in the lower grades were able to buy Bulgarian works, and upperclassmen relied on Russian school literature. They could not understand every word, but at least they acquired a more systematic grasp of basic subjects.¹⁰⁰

Students also broadened their education by independent reading. They frequented the local "reading-rooms" (chitalishta), a unique phenomenon of the Bulgarian revival that brought the equivalent of the public library to most towns.

⁹⁸Brakalov, Spomeni, p. 13.

⁹⁹Vankov, "Nashite klasni uchilishta," p. 15.

¹⁰⁰On Russian textbooks, see "Novi dokumenti," docs. 97 and 98; and ANG, I, pp. 385-386, 449-450; II, p. 115.

Several schools possessed their own excellent libraries. The Gabrovo student borrowed from a huge collection of Bulgarian, Greek, Russian, Serbian, French, German and Italian titles.

The core of this library was Aprilov's personal collection of over a thousand titles, a holding strong in French Enlightenment literature and in French and Russian belles-lettres.¹⁰¹

The young man in the Bolgrad school browsed among periodicals as well as books. His school library subscribed to thirty-five journals and newspapers--Bulgarian and Romanian, of course; but also Serbian (Vidov dan), Russian (Pedagogicheski sbornik, Golos', Kolokol', and eleven others), French (Revue des deux mondes, Journal général de l'instruction publique, and four others), German (Pedagogisches Archiv, Journal für Buchdrucken), and English (The Illustrated London News).¹⁰²

Later Bulgarian intellectuals were to characterize independent reading as an indispensable part of their early education.¹⁰³

However eclectic and dependent on extracurricular work, his education contrasted the middle-school student to his society. A Stara Zagora student recognized that when he finished the third class he surpassed the learning of his fa-

¹⁰¹Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 87-108.

¹⁰²Diakovich, Bŭlgarite v Besarabia, p. 21.

¹⁰³Iv. D. Shishmanov, Iv. Vazov: Spomeni i dokumenti, ed. M. Arnaudov (S.: BAN, 1930), p. 22; Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 17-18; Petŭr Dinekov, "Marin Drinov i Nesho Bonchev," Sp. BAN, XXVIII (1957), p. 196.

ther, himself an educated person.¹⁰⁴ Although he was only fifteen at that point, the student in question had reached the point where he considered himself as a young man. When memoirists looked back from old age to their "class" schooling, they equated those schools to the eight grades of secondary education in early twentieth-century Europe.¹⁰⁵ Despite a natural bias for "the good old days," there was merit in what they said. The Bulgar in the "class" school saw himself as a mature student, not as an adolescent pupil.¹⁰⁶ He took himself and his studies seriously. Older students accepted the responsibility of helping beginners;¹⁰⁷ and in general students brought an attitude of diligence to their work. Separated already from their usual origins in the commercial class, and in the process of becoming an elite trained in the ideas of modern progress, Bulgarian students were showing a concern for the advancement of their people as a whole. One particular way they demonstrated this attitude was in attempting to translate useful foreign literature.¹⁰⁸ In a phrase, Bulgar students were already acting as a leaven in their society.

10

In their education young Bulgars had learned that prog-

¹⁰⁴Iliev, Spomeni, p. 67. ¹⁰⁵Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 272.

¹⁰⁶The Bulgarian language offers a great distinction between student (student) and uchenik (pupil).

¹⁰⁷Vasil'ov, Zhivot, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸Iubileen sbornik...Koprivshtitsa, I, pp. 540-542.

ress and nationalism were two sides of the same coin, and even as students they had begun to take on the appearance of a nascent nationalist intelligentsia. Whereas their patriotism in the primary school had been coached by the teacher, "class"-school students proclaimed their own commitment to nationalism. They took to the podium on public occasions as confident spokesmen on the problems of Bulgarian actuality. At an 1864 Cyril and Methodius Day celebration, for example, a Bolgrad student analyzed the mistakes that had led to the collapse of Bulgaria's Medieval greatness, painted the present Phanariot yoke in its darkest colors, and perorated his speech with a challenge to his fellow students to do everything possible "to help the fatherland."¹⁰⁹

A full-fledged student activism followed from this nationalist awareness. In Plovdiv it was a student who had the honor of making a de facto declaration of Bulgarian ecclesiastical independence when local leaders asked him to rise in church to read the epistle in Slavonic.¹¹⁰ When, as in Plovdiv, the church struggle deteriorated into street violence, students hurled the first stones and led the assault on the bishop's residence.¹¹¹ The struggle against the Greeks acted as a rallying-cry for students everywhere. In the "class"

¹⁰⁹Titorov, Bŭlgarite v Besarabiia, pp. 191-192.

¹¹⁰Gruev, "Eparkhiiskoto," p. 126.

¹¹¹Danill Iurukov, Spomeni iz politicheskia zhivot na Bŭlgariia (2d ed.; S.: Georgi D. Iurukov, 1932), p. 10; Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 59; Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 84-85.

school at Istanbul, young Bulgars trained to become agitators for Bulgarianism in the ethnically contested region of Macedonia.¹¹² A Gabrovo student told of students who were "with few exceptions enthusiastic patriots and idealists....They were diligently occupied in preparing themselves to serve their people. Some...were thinking of going as teachers to the most...remote villages and towns in Macedonia...to awaken the sleeping Bulgarian masses and to fight against the national enemies."¹¹³

Given some of the influences to which they were exposed, students joined the progressive side of the factional battles of the community. Confrontations between students and elders led to expulsions at Gabrovo, Plovdiv and elsewhere. Students despised Turcophile and Grecophile chorbadzhii. When in 1864 the Stara Zagora elders chased away the teachers and shut down the school, a group of students took to the streets to express their displeasure with the chorbadzhii.¹¹⁴

Student radicalism took quasi-political forms as well, though in view of the circumstances, only in a limited way. Teachers infected their students with a revolutionary nation-

¹¹²Dimităr Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov: Obshtestvena i politicheska deinost," God. Su, XLV (1948-1949), p. 9.

¹¹³Jubileen sbornik..."Aprilovska" gimnaziia, p. 19.

¹¹⁴Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 52-53. Cf. Nezavisimost, III, Br. 28, March 31, 1871; Madzharov, Spomeni, pp. 107, 262-263; and Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, pp. 326-327.

alism by their songs and in their private conversations, but in the classroom they trod a more cautious line.¹¹⁵ Making up for some of the constraints on their teachers, young Bulgars nourished their revolutionary romanticism by smuggling in and reading radical Bulgarian émigré newspapers.¹¹⁶ Some students signed up with revolutionary committees; and a Gabrovo observer recalled how the students there stockpiled rocks to use as weapons should a rising occur.¹¹⁷ But on the whole students experienced the same limitations on political nationalism as did their elders.

Another aspect of student activism was its collectivity. The larger "class" schools brought hundreds of students together under one roof. In the formal pensions of Gabrovo and Bolgrad and the informal ones of other schools, furthermore, students lived a common extracurricular life. The teachers who ran the pensions copied the model of the Russian seminary, and even then the result resembled a reformatory more than a monastery. That local parents registered their own troublesome children indicated a prevalent belief that the pension was to discipline boys, not just to house them.¹¹⁸ Students protested the restric-

¹¹⁵Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite mi spomeni," pp. 560-561.

¹¹⁶Madzharov, Spomeni, pp. 364-365.

¹¹⁷Brakalov, Spomeni, pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁸Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, p. 149.

tions and the diet of the pensions; where they could, they moved to private quarters; and where forbidden to do so, they sometimes revolted. In 1874 a group of Gabrovo students demonstrated their grievances in the most shocking way they could think up--a public flouting of the Lenten fast. As in this case, student rebellions led to shrill correspondence in the newspapers, to investigations, and to expulsions.¹¹⁹ The collective life of the pension undeniably furthered the politicization of young Bulgarians.

The students in pansions, for example, obtained a national perspective in the geographical sense of that term. In their dormitories, students from different parts of the Bulgarian lands cross-fertilized one another's patriotism. "It was natural," wrote a Bolgrad graduate, "that any young Bulgarian boy, finding himself far from home," described his birthplace with stories drawn in the "brightest and most pleasant colors. As a result of these tales about the beauties and riches of the various corners of the enslaved fatherland,...in our souls [appeared] a paysage of the most beautiful and richest country in the world....[T]he spirit grew, phantasy beckoned, and for us there became more understandable the songs...which our...mothers sang to us about the sufferings of our people....Before us sprang up the champions of the heroic songs, fighting for the people's lib-

¹¹⁹Ibid.; Iubileen sbornik..."Aprilovska" gimnazia, p. 16; Brakalov, Spomeni, pp. 30-31. For an incident at another school, see BIA, f. 68, ed. 6, l. 2-3.

Student societies, another form of collective activity, allowed young Bulgars to channel such nationalist sentiment into useful programs. Student organizations appeared in many "class" schools in the third quarter of the century. Their founders baptized these societies with inspirational names that captured their rationale and purpose: "Hope" (Vidin), "Learning" (Veles), "Dawn" (Koprivshitsa), "Brotherly Love" (Istanbul), "Progress" (Lom, Gabrovo, Sofia), "Awakening" (Bolgrad), and "Spark" (Kazanlık).¹²¹

"Spark," the society of the Kazanlık "class" school, was a typical student group. At the suggestion of one of the teachers, twenty-five students in 1873 organized a society to conduct formal discussions and other programs. The students drafted a charter modelled on the principles of the community statute--strict controls on expenditures and formal procedures. To remind themselves to preserve the unity of youth in the face of local factionalism, the students hung their charter in a prominent place in the room they had borrowed for their meetings.

"Spark" pooled the resources of its members and collected a small library. It also set up a series of student

¹²⁰Ivanov, "Bolgradskata gimnaziia," pp. 326-327.

¹²¹Nikolai Zhechev, "Niakoi dannii za bulgarskite uchenicheski druzhestva prez Vuzrazhdaneto," Izvestiia na Instituta Botev-Levski, III (1959), pp. 281-299.

lectures. The first speakers selected an interesting variety of topics: the relative benefit of the Greek cultural yoke, the work of Bishop Juraj Strossmayer, Raphael's "Madonna," and the moral for men in the social life of bees. More sophisticated than they might appear at first glance, these topics evidenced a challenging range of student interests. The question of the Hellenic impact has troubled Bulgarian historians for a long time; the talk on Strossmayer revealed the students' awareness of the South Slav cultural movement; the art lecture indicated their interest in Western culture; and the moral of the bees was to young Bulgarians what the self-help stories of Samuel Smiles were to English children.¹²²

Indeed, self-help typified one of the general goals of student societies. Members underwent what the statute of the Bolgrad society phrased as a "mental and moral development."¹²³ Their first task was summed up in the motto of the Liaskovets group—"Know thyself."¹²⁴ Out of class as well as in, young Bulgars were learning the rationalist-utilitarian message that by dint of self-knowledge and self-will, they could overcome all obstacles and become successful men. Then came

¹²²On the Kazanluk society, see S., *Kazanlŭshka družba "Rozova dolina"*, *Kazanluk*, II, pp. 200-203; Kaladzhev, "Chitalishta v Kazanluk," pp. 68-71. For the statutes of other student groups, see *Pravo*, VII, Br. 19, March 17, 1872; and *Rŭkovoditel na osnovnoto uchenie*, I, Br. 14, July 15, 1874. On student talks, see Damianov, *Lomskiat kraj*, pp. 248-251; and Brakalov, *Spomeni*, p. 29.

¹²³Diakovich, *Bŭlgarite v Besarabia*, p. 21.

¹²⁴Dorosiev, *Nashite klasni*, p. 180.

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training in citizenship, what the Sliven society's charter termed "schooling...for public life."¹²⁵ Members of student societies practiced citizenship in a number of ways. To bring popular culture to the community, they organized public lectures. They also collected money to buy school-books for poor children and for village schools.¹²⁶ Some members tutored children unable to attend school; for example, young Bulgars of the "Brotherly Love" Society at Istanbul taught reading and writing to the offspring of that city's Bulgarian craftsmen.¹²⁷

When combined with the nationalist awareness of students, this social conscience threatened to transform their organizations into centers of radical activity. Aware of that possibility, the Bolgrad elders forbade the society there even to discuss political topics;¹²⁸ and the groups within the Ottoman Empire had to endure much more stringent conditions. Some societies disregarded the rules in efforts to mobilize the students against elders and chorbadzhii.¹²⁹ As local hotbeds of nationalism, furthermore, student societies vexed parents and community councils worried about the

¹²⁵Tabakov, Opit...Sliven, II, p. 486.

¹²⁶Zhechev, "Niakoi dannii za...uchenicheski druzhestva," pp. 298-299.

¹²⁷Nachov, "Bulgarskoto uchilishte," p. 385.

¹²⁸Diakovich, Bulgarite v Besarabia, p. 192.

¹²⁹Zhechev, "Niakoi dannii za...uchenicheski druzhestva," p. 285.

reaction of suspicious Ottoman authorities.

Finally, student groups familiarized young Bulgarians with the techniques of organization. Unlike their South Slav cousins who formed the Omladina ("Youth"), however, Bulgarian students never managed to expand their organizations beyond the local level. Their sole attempt to do so came in 1875, when the Gabrovo student society invited other groups to send representatives to discuss the formation of a national body. Affirmative replies had come in from Plovdiv and Istanbul when, in the following spring, the April uprising intervened.

Student societies shared a not insignificant part in the socialization of the young educated generation. When, as at Shumen in 1871, students lectured one another on "Nationality, National Consciousness and National Pride," they redoubled the patriotism they had learned in class.¹³¹ Through their group activities, be it public speaking or the search for a sense of active contribution, young Bulgars served an apprenticeship for their future role as nationalist intellectuals.

12

Bulgarian girls never had the same opportunity to participate in public affairs, and only a handful of women took

¹³⁰Iubileen sbornik... "Aprilovska" gimnaziia, p. 23.

¹³¹Zhechev, "Niakoi dannii za...uchenicheski druzhestva," p. 289.

a place among the gallery of Bulgarian revivalists. In her own way, the simple Bulgarian mother was a good patriot; and so was the young woman who had the fortune to attend school. But society kept educated women few in numbers and confined to narrow social roles.

The overwhelming majority of Bulgarians believed it shameful to send girls to school; and where progressives could overcome this principled opposition, financially pressed communities had to give priority to schools for boys. Girls lagged far behind boys in the amount and in the quality of their education. Only twenty "cell" schools for girls are known to have operated, almost all run by nunneries to prepare girls for religious vocations. Rare was the parent in the first decades of the century who risked the guffaws of his neighbors to train his daughter to read and write.¹³²

A new age in feminine education began in 1840 when (interestingly enough) a Phanariot bishop hired the first Bulgarian female secular teacher to set up a formal school for girls in Pleven. The girls who attended this institution underwent a combination of "cell" and Lancaster training. "The Pleven school for girls," wrote the historian of Bulgarian women, "became a flaming hearth for the spread of education among women. Girls were trained there to become teachers, [and] after the three-year course they dispersed to various corners" of Bulgaria.¹³³ Lancaster-trained women set up sim-

¹³²Paskaleva, Bulgarkata, pp. 18-22, 189.

¹³³Ibid., p. 36.

ilar schools elsewhere; and as many as ninety primary institutions for girls opened before the liberation, though many of these schools did die an early death.¹³⁴

In the meantime, the first "class" school for girls was founded in 1856 in Shumen. Male and female teachers set up other "class" schools in Gabrovo, Sofia, Stara Zagora and elsewhere, a total of nineteen before 1878.¹³⁵ Girl students in the "class" school studied for a lesser number of years than their male counterparts, and they took fewer subjects. Their middle schooling had to struggle against all the odds. Local authorities, as in Pleven, refused to fund boarding schools on the grounds of their danger to public morality.¹³⁶ In the same vein, social mores demanded that girls be educated in an all-embracing religious orientation. According to the historian of the subject, however, Bulgarian girls picked up more secular knowledge than did female middle-school students in Russia and in some parts of Western Europe.¹³⁷

But there was little that Bulgar girls could do with their learning. Beyond roles as nuns and as teachers of other women, few Bulgarian females could go; and in testimony of that fact, the "class" school marked the end of the line in their education. Only an occasional girl joined the

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 35-36, 65, 70-71, 80-82 and passim.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 85-86.

¹³⁶Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, pp. 277-279.

¹³⁷Paskaleva, Bulgarkata, p. 93.

large number of Bulgarian boys who went to foreign schools in search of higher education.

13

Relative to the overall number of "class"-school students, of course, only a small percentage of boys continued their education beyond that level. Local schooling sufficed to prepare them for a variety of occupations, both in business and in cultural fields. Of those who pursued cultural careers, most were to find jobs as teachers.

As they fanned out to provincial towns and villages to take up their teaching posts, these young men were to manifest the shared concerns and values that had shaped them as a body of specially prepared cultural workers. Their education and training, they believed, empowered them to arbitrate the destiny of the people they had chosen to serve. Driven by the ideas in which they had been steeped--nationalism and progress--they were a new modernizing elite whose goal it was to storm the ramparts of ignorance, obscurantism and apathy. They did not know it yet, but these young men had entered a second phase in their formation as an intelligentsia, one whose outcome would depend on how well they reconciled their ideals to the harsh realities of Balkan life.

An intervening phase came to those Bulgars who carried on with their learning; but they, too, had completed the initial phase in their emergence as an intelligentsia. Their search for education showed as much, although it did so para-

doxically. What their parents had considered as a pragmatic training and a social amenity had transformed itself into a self-generating syndrome: education, once implanted in the mind of young Bulgars, captured them with its own allure and pushed them onward. The more educated they became, the more they became an educated elite, the more they separated themselves from their roots. On the other hand, to the extent that their desire for higher learning was motivated by a success ethic, it could be traced back to a bourgeois outlook they picked up from their parents, from their home life, from their socialization in the towns, and from the philosophy of their local schooling.

Here--in the operation of a motive to succeed in life through education--there already appeared a telling difference between the growth of a Bulgarian educated elite and the formation of the Russian intelligentsia. That the original component of the latter group came from the morally and economically dying class of the nobility helped "de-class" the Russian intelligentsia as a whole. The Bulgarian intellectual elite, however, drew much of its membership from what was, until 1878 at least, a vigorous middle class--and middle-class values remained very strong. Educated Bulgars broke away from their origins in their intellectual awareness and in the nature of the careers they pursued. But in their materialist values--of which the success ethic is the example so far--they mirrored their origins more than they supposed.

More genuine in terms of the idealists these young people thought themselves to be was the nationalism which also led them to seek advanced education. Not parents especially, but teachers inspired them toward this goal, citing both their own example and the exhortations of revivalist leaders. These spokesmen had encouraged young Bulgars to attain the highest possible level of education as a necessary task of the cultural revival. They assumed that the more educated the Bulgarian intellectual elite, the better served the Bulgarian people. Time would tell.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOREIGN EDUCATION OF THE NATIONALIST BULGARIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

The boy mounted his horse and prepared to leave. Well-wishers crowded about as the priest gave his blessing. Though proud of their son's opportunity, the parents were troubled, their farewells sad. The mother grieved:

Goodby my son, godspeed,
My only offspring;
Thus it is that Fate
Separates a mother and her son.

.....

To foreign countries you are going,
Where your conscience takes you,
The world and its people to see
And to seek your honor there.

And then, after warning her son that his return would find her dead, she sent him off reproachfully:

Your soul will not forget
That which I have said to thee.
Go, godspeed,
But remember us.

Thus in 1849 did Dobri Chintulov, then a student in Odessa, recapture the anguish of separation of young Bulgars who had left their homes in search of higher education.¹

¹"Stara maika sia proshtava sūs, sinat si," reprinted in Penev, Bulgarska literatura, pp. 408-408.

That longing for home, however, came later, after the young man had taken up his new life abroad. For him, the moment of departure was filled with anticipation. Dressed in his best clothes, and with some silver sewn into his pocket, he could hardly restrain his eagerness as he rode down the dusty road leading out of the village. He was beginning a journey from the old world to the new, an odyssey of education which was to train him to help lead his people toward a modern life. To be sure, uncertainty and problems lay ahead, and the parents did not entirely share their son's optimism. They saw a boy breaking away from parental control and going alone into a world where language, customs and climate would be different.

For the youngster, the promise of the future outweighed the immediate uncertainty of his parents. His early learning had tantalized him with the glimmer of civilization and higher culture; his teacher had inspired him to go on with his education in order to serve the needs of his people. The exhortations of Bulgarian leaders had helped persuade his reluctant parents; and local authorities, mindful of the need for teachers and professional people to serve the community, seconded the boy's desire to take advantage of an opportunity to study in some foreign school. Opportunities of this kind were on the rise in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, thanks to a combination of Bulgarian prosperity, to the intercession of émigrés, and to the

philanthropic and politically motivated assistance of foreign governments and organizations. As a result of these opportunities--and Bulgarian incentive--the Bulgarian educated elite of the third quarter of the nineteenth century was to possess a truly remarkable amount of foreign learning.

2

Greek institutions were the first to furnish higher schooling to the Bulgarians. Hellenization and the presence of Greek lower schools led Bulgars to continue their education in the same Hellenic system. Furthermore, Greek institutions preserved an Orthodox outlook, an important consideration for parents.

Many early Bulgarian revivalists thus obtained their secondary schooling in Hellenic gymnasiums in Bucharest, Iași, Thessalonike, Plovdiv and elsewhere.² All of these schools resembled one another in their classical emphasis and their glorification of Hellenic destiny. A gymnasium with a unique role in the Bulgarian revival was located on the island of Andros, founded there in 1836 by Theophilis Kairis (1784-1853), a prominent Greek educator. Kairis' fame drew a large number of students to his school, Bulgars as well as Greeks. Several of these young Slavs, however, reacted negatively to the director's intensive Greek nationalism; and they formed a society for the cultivation of

²BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vŭzrazhdaneto, p. 93.

their own Slavic spirit, the "Slavo-Bulgarian Society for Studiosness." Members of this student society included Ivan Dobrovski, Stoian Chomakov, Zakhari Strumski, Stoian and Nikola Mikhailovski, and Georgi Atanasovich--all to become noted Bulgarian nationalists.³

Bulgars also attended the Greek "Great National School of Constantinople." Popularly called Kuruçesme ("dry spring") after its location on the European side of the Bosphorus, this gymnasium enjoyed the support of the Patriarchate and of Greek merchants. A number of Kuruçesme's several hundred students lived in its spacious pen-sion. They enjoyed a magnificent view toward the sea; and the soft lilt of stringed instruments wafted over the grounds from a nearby palace of the sultan. "In one word," wrote a Bulgar student in 1838, here "everything is good and beautiful."⁴

The Kuruçesme school earned a reputation as the best secular school serving the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire. It trained the children of leading families for careers as businessmen, officials, teachers and writers. Its classical curriculum took in Greek, Latin, French, history, geography, philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, several theological courses, and some natural sciences. As with most classical gymnasiums of the time,

³Shismanov, "Ivan Dobrovski," pp. 156-170.

⁴Marko D. Balabanov, Gavril Krüstovich: Narodn deets, knizhovnik, sudia, upravitel (S.: Sv. Sinod na Bŭlgarskata tsŭrkva, 1914), p. 135.

strict discipline and a routine of daily prayers accompanied the school's scholasticism.⁵

One historian has counted about thirty-five Bulgar students in the Kuruçesme gymnasium, most of whom passed through it before the Crimean War. Among its graduates were many prominent activists--Georgi Rakovski, Sava Dobroplodni, Gavril Krüstevich, Stoian Mikhailovski, Vasil Beron, Ivan Bogorov, Krüst'o Pishurka, and Ivan Naidenov.⁶ At the same time as Kuruçesme trained these eminent Bulgarian educators and writers, it paradoxically converted them to Bulgarian nationalism, in large part as a form of reaction to the claims of Hellenic nationalists.⁷ The mid-century spread of an anti-Greek sentiment among the Bulgars terminated Kuruçesme's once important place in the education of that people's elite. In 1866 there were but two Bulgars among the school's four hundred students.⁸

Nationalistic antagonism presented less of a problem for the Slavs studying at the Greek commercial school on the island of Chalki in the Sea of Marmora. Founded in 1831 by

⁵On the Kuruçesme school, see Chassiotis, L'Instruction publique, pp. 418-425; Balabanov, Gavril Krüstovich, pp. 129-130; and Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 42-44.

⁶Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 133-135.

⁷AGSR, I, pp. 8-9; Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, p. 155; Georgi Konstantinov, Revoliutsionna romantika v bülgarskoto Vüzrazhdane: G. S. Rakovski, Liuben Karavelov, Vasil Levski, Khristo Botev (S.: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosvetshenie, 1944), p. 28.

⁸Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 133-134.

wealthy merchants, this academy had an eight-year program which joined a classical secondary education with language training and commercial subjects.⁹ Twenty-one Bulgars are known to have studied here, mostly the children of wealthy merchant families who could afford the school's high tuition.¹⁰

Fees themselves did not prevent Bulgarian entry into another Greek school on Chalki, the theological academy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. An 1853 reorganization of the academy set up a seven-year course. The first five classes followed the pattern of a classical gymnasium, and the last two years taught church history, theology, scriptural exegesis, patrology, canon law, church rhetoric and liturgy. The students, already monks or young men who had promised to take the vows, lived under rigid seminary discipline.¹¹

Perhaps twenty Bulgars finished the theological school before 1878 (out of a total of about 350 graduates). Among the graduates who became hierarchs were Anthimus of Vidin, Gregory of Dorystolum-Cherven, Dositheus of Samokov, and Simeon of Varna-Preslav.¹² During the church struggle, the

⁹Chassiotis, L'Instruction publique, pp. 433-435; Balabanov, "Bŭlgarska koloniia," pp. 317-325.

¹⁰Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 124-125.

¹¹Chassiotis, L'Instruction publique, pp. 437-439; Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 49-55.

¹²Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 125-130.

Bulgarian press charged that the Patriarchate imposed a prejudicial quota on non-Greek applicants; and of the school's 120 graduates in 1863, there were only eight Bulgars. On the other hand, the academy did offer a course in Church Slavonic; and for a time in the 1860s the Synod appointed a Bulgarian, Anthimus of Vidin, as director of the school.¹³ Nevertheless, the arrogance of the academy's Greek staff stirred the ethnic consciousness of Bulgarian students who, among other things, challenged their professors to recognize the abilities and historic rights of the Bulgarian people.¹⁴

Marko Balabanov, one of the disgruntled students, left Chalki in the early 1860s for the University of Athens, becoming one of the few Bulgars to study in that institution after mid-century. Official records listed four Bulgarian students among the twenty-five foreigners who attended Athens University from its founding in 1837 to 1878.¹⁵ Given the existing vagueness in the self-determination of ethnic identity, the number was undoubtedly higher; but, after a first small group of students in the late 1830s, only an isolated Bulgarian studied at Athens. Just as the university there was getting underway, Bulgars were finding better opportunities in Russia.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Cf. Dunavskii lebed, I, Br. 15, December 20, 1860.

¹⁵Chassiotis, L'Instruction publique, pp. 302-309.

Up to the 1840s most educated Bulgarians received Greek schooling. The relative ideological solidarity of the revivalists among these Bulgars in part reflected the homogeneity of their training. A spirit of Orthodoxy, classicism and nationalism uniformly prevailed in the curriculums of Greek schools, whatever their particular type. But if the content of Hellenic education was circumscribed, it did offer students a glimpse of the new secular and liberal ideas of the age. Most of all, these schools acquainted Bulgars with the emotions and tools of modern nationalism.

3

Ottoman schools followed Greek institutions in terms of Bulgarian accessibility, a delay caused by the religious obstacle and by the lateness of the government's concern for secular education. After the Crimean War, however, Bulgars joined other non-Moslem subjects in entering several of the new schools founded as part of the Tanzimat reform era. They attended in particular the Ottoman military medical school and several state gymnasiums in Istanbul.

The military medical school dated effectively from 1845, when the government summoned a new director from France to reorganize existing medical training on the model of the Paris medical school. Foreigners did the teaching, and French was the language of instruction. The medical school had a ten-year course, with the first five years devoted to preparatory instruction in French, the languages of the

Empire, arithmetic, history, geography and the natural sciences. Graduates of the final five medical classes received the title of doctor and the rank of major in the military, a service which they were obligated to enter.¹⁶

The military medical school failed to earn much of a reputation. Its shortcomings originated in its preparatory classes, where the diverse backgrounds of students from the four corners of the Empire thwarted a systematic program.¹⁷ Some good instructors taught in the medical classes proper, but the caliber of professional training was spotty. Religious sensitivities were a factor here; cadavers, for example, had to be procured in nightly forays by the students.¹⁸ Finally, the attempt to produce a fused Ottoman citizenry through equality of opportunity failed insofar as the medical school was concerned. Actually, religious and ethnic differences grew more intense among students forced to live closely together; and these antagonisms also hurt the school's academic program.¹⁹

Few Bulgarians entered the medical school before the

¹⁶I. P. Liubenov, "Tsarigradskoto voenno meditsinsko uchilishte," Khristo G. Danov, ed. Barutchiiski, p. 124; Nachov, "Tsarigrad," p. 137.

¹⁷Liubenov, "Tsarigradskoto," pp. 124-125.

¹⁸The memoirs of the Bulgarian student Khristo Stambolski are filled with details about life in the medical school; for the points made, see his Avtobiografiia, I, pp. 204-205, 258-259.

¹⁹Ibid., I, p. 148; cf. S. S. Bobchev, "Predi dvai set i pet godini: (Obnarodvaneto na puvrata mi publitsisticheska rabota)," B. sb., III, Kn. 3 (March 1, 1896), pp. 215.

Crimean War. In 1858, however, the powerful Bulgarian business community of the capital persuaded the Porte to accept Bulgars into the school on the same proportional basis as it accepted students from the recognized millets. The government agreed, and fifteen Bulgarians entered at that time.²⁰ Between twenty and thirty Bulgars attended the medical school, including its preparatory classes, in any one year during the 1860s and 1870s, out of a total yearly enrollment of more than seven hundred students.²¹ The chance for a professional career attracted them, as did the school's free tuition. Students wore cadet uniforms and swords, and when they returned home on holidays they enjoyed the impact these symbols of authority had on their impressionable fellow countrymen.²² On the other hand, the stifled school life, language difficulties, the Moslem atmosphere and the length of study resulted in many dropouts. According to one Bulgar, not one of his 1868 entering class of twenty students ever finished.²³

Bulgarian graduates of the medical school (about thirty before 1878²⁴) served in the Ottoman army in Asia Minor, in Yemen, in Hercegovina and elsewhere. Being so far away

²⁰Nachov, "Tsarigrad," p. 137.

²¹Ibid., pp. 137-145; Liubenov, "Tsarigradskoto," pp. 124-132.

²²V. K., "Dvama zasluhili uchiteli--Efr. i Iv. Karanovi," Uchil. pr., XXVIII, Kn. 7 (September, 1929), p. 1019.

²³Bobchev, "Predi dvailet i pet godini," pp. 215-216.

²⁴Liubenov, "Tsarigradskoto," pp. 124-138.

from their own people, most of these doctors hardly contributed to the Bulgarian movement. Rather, it was as students that they played a role, taking part in street demonstrations and other actions of the Istanbul Bulgarian colony against the Patriarchate. They also formed their own student society, Bratstvo ("Brotherhood"), a group which sponsored lectures, put out a manuscript newspaper, and cooperated with other Istanbul Bulgarian student societies in staging theatricals.²⁵

One of the other student groups was organized by the Bulgarians studying at the "Imperial Lyceum of Galatasaray." The 1868 opening of this modern secondary school marked a high point of France's post-Crimean influence in the Ottoman Empire. French advisors at the Porte pressed hard for an institution meant to train, in an osmanlılık framework, young men for the civil service. A "conscientious copy of western schools,"²⁶ the lyceum offered an eight-year course of instruction in French, Greek, Latin, Turkish, history, geography, rhetoric, law, ethics, literature, mathematics, natural science, practical mechanics and physical education. The lyceum's classes were conducted in French, and the students lived either at home or in the school's pension.²⁷

²⁵D. Marinov, "Iz spomenite mi: Tsarigrad (1868-1871)," B. sb., III, Kn. 3 (March 1, 1896), p. 261.

²⁶Davison, Reform, pp. 247-248.

²⁷Ibid.; M. De Salve, "L'Enseignement en Turquie: Le Lycée impérial de Galata-Sérai," Revue des deux mondes, XLIV, No. 5 (October 15, 1874), pp. 836-853; Andreas Kazamias,

Thirty-four Bulgars entered the school in the 1868 inaugural class of 341; and perhaps more than 150 Bulgars received all or part of their secondary education in Galatasaray before the liberation,²⁸ distinguishing themselves academically and in deportment.²⁹ The Galatasaray Bulgars coordinated their many patriotic activities through an active student society, Istina ("Truth").³⁰

Some of the Bulgarians at Galatasaray sensed the dichotomy between their own nationalism and the institution's forced cosmopolitanism. They specifically rejected the notion of a Bulgarian-Turkish cultural equality; and they regarded Galatasaray, despite its Western curriculum, as an inferior Moslem-tainted school. In Galatasaray things are "good and bad," wrote one Bulgar student in 1873. "Nothing else can result from the union of two elements, of two different civilizations, as are the French and the Turkish. When a simpleton involves himself in the affairs of an educated person, everyone knows that nothing very perfect can result."³¹

Despite their scorn of osmanlılık, young Bulgars took advantage of the medical school, of Galatasaray, and of the

Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 63-67.

²⁸De Salve, "L'Enseignement," p. 848; Nachov, "Tsarigrad," p. 149.

²⁹De Salve, "L'Enseignement," p. 852.

³⁰Nachov, "Tsarigrad," p. 149. ³¹ASCh, p. 107.

several other educational opportunities provided by the government.³² Convenience, career opportunities, and the access they provided to Western culture all drew Bulgars to these Ottoman schools. Although it was shallow, and "Westernized" rather than Western learning,³³ Ottoman schooling gave Bulgars a practical introduction to some of the West's advanced ideas and skills. It thus satisfied the expectations of those Bulgars unable to study abroad.

4

A third educational alternative open to Bulgarians within the Ottoman Empire was fully Western--the schools of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries. These missionary schools were both well taught and well equipped, considerations which helped Orthodox parents overcome their religious scruples against schools run by other faiths.

Protestants, mostly Americans, started work among the Bulgars a few years after the Crimean War. Although these missionaries won few converts, their educational work

³²In the mid-1860s, Midhat Paşa set up a combination orphanage and vocational school in Ruse. Bulgarians stood out in the school, and they learned several practical trades, especially printing. See Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 30; Aleksandur Burmov (ed.), Khristo Botev prez pogleda na süvremennitsite si: Spomeni, vpechatleniia i izkazvan-ia na Botevi drugari i süvremennitsi (S.: Khr. Cholchev, 1945), p. 108; and Kazamias, Education, pp. 92-93.

³³Roderic H. Davison, "Westernized Education in Ottoman Turkey," Middle East Journal, XV, No. 3 (Summer, 1961), p. 295.

"broadened the horizons of many young Bulgarians."³⁴ The missionaries, for example, handed out thousands of school books and brochures. Bulgars welcomed this literature for its secular content and its bourgeois ethic.³⁵ Even Protestant religious tracts had an appeal. A contemporary remembered that pamphlets with a "Go to Jesus" message made a stronger impression his young mind than did the "fear and trembling" content of Orthodox tracts.³⁶

Largess in handing out literature and other school aids served the missionaries well when they started their own schools. In 1860, for example, the Protestants working in Plovdiv set up a day school offering instruction in English, mathematics, chemistry and physics, as well as in Bible studies. But not long thereafter, the missionaries forfeited the good will of the populace by harboring a runaway monk and by proselytizing. Only seven students attended the school in 1863, and a mere thirty registered during the whole decade of the 1860s.³⁷ (Some of these Bulgars became missionaries; others went on to higher education, at least one to the United States.) In a new beginning in the early 1870s, the missionaries moved the Plovdiv

³⁴Black, The Establishment, p. 24.

³⁵Man'ov Stoianov, "Nachalo na protestantskata propaganda v Bulgariia," Iz. Inst. ist., XIV-XV (1964), pp. 45-67.

³⁶Iliev, Spomeni, p. 42.

³⁷Stoianov, "Nachalo," pp. 47-50.

operation and their Stara Zagora girls' school to Samokov. Here they did a little better, especially after 1878.

In the meantime, the missionaries stationed in Istanbul had in 1868 founded Robert College, the most lasting Protestant legacy in the Balkans. Funded by an American benefactor and supported by British and American diplomats, Robert College resembled a preparatory school rather than a college in the American sense. Aside from its one or more preparatory years, it taught a four-year course of studies arranged in six academic divisions: mathematics; natural sciences; law and philosophy; geography and history; English and rhetoric; and classical and modern languages. Courses in the senior year included "Mathematics of Astronomy," "Analytical Chemistry," "Quantitative Analysis," "History of Philosophy," "International Law," "Philosophy of History," and "Elements of Criticism."³⁸

The founders of Robert College structured its academic and dormitory life in a manner meant to develop in the students a rationalistic and positive attitude toward learning. Classics were taught, but more attention was directed toward the physical sciences. Trying to avoid the problems of

³⁸On Robert College generally, see the memoirs of the school's founder and early directors: Cyrus Hamlin, Among the Turks (New York: American Tract Society, 1877); idem, My Life and Times (5th ed.; Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912); and George Washburn, Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College (2d ed.; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911). A copy of the school's 1870 program can be found in James Baker, Turkey in Europe (2d ed.; London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1877), pp. 497-500.

closed pension life, the staff refrained from harsh discipline, it followed the maxim of a sound mind in a sound body through a program of physical education, and it encouraged frank discussions with the students. Religious instruction took place, particularly at Sunday chapel, but preachers kept to general Christian and moral principles and avoided sectarian beliefs.³⁹ The absence of proselytism bolstered the popularity that Robert College earned on account of its good staff, its modern facilities, and its training in local languages (Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek and Turkish) as well as in English. By the early 1870s the school's enrollment surpassed two hundred students.

Bulgarian attendance grew from nine students in 1865 to a yearly enrollment of about forty in the next decade. Close to forty Bulgars graduated from Robert College from among the hundred or so who entered before 1878.⁴⁰ These graduates took up teaching careers (Ivan Slaveikov, Stefan Panaretov, Petko Gorbanov, Petūr Chernev); became journalists (Petūr Dimitrov, Dobri Minkov); went on to higher education abroad (Konstantin Stoilov, Ivan Stefanov Geshov, Todor Ivanchov, Aleksandūr Liudskanov); or entered business.

These Robert College graduates carried a powerful yeast into Bulgarian intellectual life. Indicative of the sophisticated level of their learning were the topics they

³⁹Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 386.

⁴⁰Washburn, Fifty Years, p. 18; Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 153-157.

chose for their term papers, their valedictories or their presentations at meetings of their student society. These themes covered burning intellectual issues of the day ("Civilization and Modern Science"); contemporary social problems ("Education and the Female Sex," "The Position of the Bulgarian Clergy"); and modern political concepts ("On the Mutual Obligations of the State and Citizens"). Some students published their papers in Bulgarian periodicals and thereby acquainted their countrymen with subjects ranging from the history of the United States to Darwinism.⁴¹

The students organized an active student society, one that held close to a hundred meetings in its first year.⁴² The school's staff restrained chauvinism among the students, but it encouraged their patriotism. In the Bulgarian case it helped the students observe their national holiday, SS. Cyril and Methodius day, May 11. For both staff and students, the result was a celebration combining Fourth-of-July aspects to the traditional folk festivities of a Bulgarian outing.⁴³

Though by no means a normal school day, May 11's camaraderie epitomized the joie de vivre and the positive approach toward schooling that set Robert College apart from

⁴¹Nachov, "Tsarigrad," p. 154; Tabakov, Opit...Sliven, II, p. 534.

⁴²Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 155-157.

⁴³Obretenov, Spomeni, pp. 114-115; Madzharov, Spomeni, pp. 281-283, 290-291, 386; BIA, f. 12, ed. 4, l. 945.

monastic-like institutions of scholasticism and classicism. Bulgars fortunate enough to attend the school and to receive its solid contemporary education refrained from the criticisms voiced by Bulgarian students in other schools. Strong testimony of the acceptance won by this Protestant school was the absence of vocal disapproval on the part of Bulgarian leaders otherwise concerned about the dangers to nationhood in an education under the aegis of another faith.

Roman Catholic education, on the other hand, encountered a great deal of hostility. At the time this enmity sprang chiefly from the greater threat posed to national unity by the Uniate movement among the Bulgars. During the post-Crimean effacement of Russia, various Roman Catholic missionary orders moved confidently onto the Bulgarian terrain.⁴⁴ They took advantage of the rising antagonism between the Slavs and the Greek-controlled Patriarchate to encourage the Bulgars to seek ecclesiastical separatism in the form of a Uniate church. For five or six years following the Crimean War, the Uniate movement achieved a number of victories. In 1861 and 1862, however, the Russian embassy in Istanbul joined forces with the pro-Russian and pro-Orthodox majority among the Bulgarian leadership in an in-

⁴⁴Another pillar of the Roman Catholic presence in the Ottoman Empire was a sizable Polish émigré community (and a smaller Hungarian one). Possessing skills needed by the government, these political refugees were offered administrative positions. They were thus in a position to impress some Bulgars with an ability to deliver on promises of support. In return, the émigrés hoped to curtail Russian influence among the Balkan Slavs.

tensive and successful counterattack. Thereafter, the Catholic threat reappeared only during the doldrums of the church struggle; and after the Bulgarian victory over the Patriarchate in 1870, it faded away.

The major educational initiative of the Catholic missionaries was their classical lyceum at the St. Benedict Monastery in the Bebek district of Istanbul. Taught by Lazarists and Jesuits, this school catered to a cosmopolitan student body, most of which came to learn the French language and French culture. Bulgars entered for the same reasons, although the ups and downs of the Uniate effort affected their enrollment as well. Twenty-two Bulgarians attended the school in 1860; but by 1866 the number had dropped to four.⁴⁵

Antagonism toward Catholicism curtailed Bebek's popularity for the Bulgars. Both progressive and traditionalist Bulgarian intellectuals found the school's environment difficult to accept. One publicist who was normally a champion of French influence urged his countrymen to send their children to Robert College rather than to a school where, as he wrote in 1857, "the poison of Jesuitism contaminates the hearts of the young people."⁴⁶ A defender of Bulgaria's Russian and Orthodox orientation expressed similar disquiet. Bulgar students in Bebek "are taught well," he wrote, "but

⁴⁵Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 135-136.

⁴⁶Slaveikov (comp.), "Pisma ot P. R. Slaveikov," p. 64.

not in the things necessary to them," including the Orthodox catechism.⁴⁷

Such ideological misgivings proved unfounded. The Bebek graduates hardly reflected a uniform outlook, let alone one corrupted by "Jesuitism." The scholastic and religious atmosphere of the school no doubt sowed the mysticism and spiritualism of Lazar Iovchev (the future Exarch Joseph) and Georgi Mirkovich.⁴⁸ But its graduates included incurable romantics (Svetoslav Milarov) and skeptical rationalists (Todor Ikonomov), as well as progressive publicists (Dobri Voinikov), Turcophile bureaucrats (Nikola Genovich) and conservative businessmen (Grigor Nachovich).

5

In seeking advanced schooling beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire, many Bulgars travelled to neighboring countries--Romania, Serbia, and, as already noted, Greece. These Balkan countries could offer little; they possessed few good secondary schools, let alone higher institutions; and their first concern had to be the training of their own youth. Nevertheless, in the post-Crimean years Romania and Serbia opened up varied educational opportunities to aspiring Bulgarians.

The magnet among the several Romanian schools Bulgars

⁴⁷IaNG, I, pp. 92-95.

⁴⁸Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 27; BIA, f. 95, ed. IIA8544a.

entered was the Bucharest medical school. The director of this institution lent a sympathetic ear to petitions from influential Bulgar émigrés,⁴⁹ and by the end of the 1860s some sixty Bulgars had taken up the study of medicine, pharmacy and veterinary sciences.⁵⁰ These students had the unique opportunity of hearing lectures delivered by their fellow countrymen, Bulgarian doctors who taught in the medical school. But the relationship stayed in the classroom, for these professors associated with the snobbish "Benevolent Society," the Bucharest organization of leading Bulgarian businessmen and professionals. The students were put off by the domineering conservatism of the "Benevolent Society" and often came into conflict with its members. Khristo Georgiev, one of the "Society's" stalwarts, viewed their education as one of the many things wrong with the Bulgarian youth in Bucharest. "In the Medical school here," he wrote in 1869, "there is nothing for a person to learn except politics, and it is...Western [politics] against Slavism. In my opinion I expect nothing good from the students in the medical school."⁵¹

Georgiev was right about the Westernism of Romanian schools. Before modern Romanian nationalism got underway,

⁴⁹BIA, f. 116, ed. 6, l. 1.

⁵⁰P. Konstantinesku-Iashi, "Bulgari ucheni v Rumūniia ot vremeto na natsionalno-revoliutsionnitate dvizheniia," Izvestiia na Instituta Khristo Botev, I (1954), pp. 90-96.

⁵¹IaNG, I, p. 300.

education in the Principalities was Greek-dominated; and afterwards, from the 1830s on, Romanian nationalists incorporated French forms and content into the educational system. Bulgar students in Romania encountered little of a distinct native influence.

The Serbian role in the education of the Bulgars stood out in sharper relief. As part of a general pattern of assistance which lasted until the debut of the Macedonian dispute in the 1870s, the Serbian government provided administrative and financial help for Bulgars to study in the secondary and higher schools of Belgrade.

Serbian authorities tried to channel these students into the capital's theological seminary; but some young Bulgarians managed to get into Belgrade's classical gymnasium, where they had a better chance to prepare themselves for university training elsewhere or perhaps in the "Great School" (Velika Škola) of Belgrade itself. In the mid-nineteenth century, the "Great School" had faculties of philosophy, law and engineering; and was a semi-university in terms of its overall program. Almost all of its Bulgarian students studied in the philosophy faculty. As well as the humanities, they learned mathematics, physics, zoology and botany. The curriculum of the "Great School" was demanding, and in general a high percentage of its students did not finish the course.

⁵²Tatomir Anđelić et al. (eds.), Sto godina filozofs-

Like the Serbian students, visiting Bulgars similarly failed to show up for examinations; and at any rate many of them enrolled as auditors. No reliable figures have survived on the size of the Bulgarian student community in Belgrade. Following the suggestions of contemporaries, in any one year of the 1860s it may have numbered about twenty-five students.⁵³ Some of these students obtained positions in the Serbian bureaucracy, some drifted off for further schooling elsewhere, and others returned to Bulgaria as teachers and priests.

The outlook of the Bulgarian students in Serbia was shaped both by their Western-oriented schooling and by the South Slav movement (Yugoslavism). Together with an indigenous romantic nationalism, Serbian education offered access to Western liberal thought, and, as the third quarter of the century progressed, to positivism as well. It was an education that inspired the progressive awareness of Bulgarian as well as Serbian students. Successive groups of Bulgars formed student societies through which they tried to give practical expression to their new consciousness. Dobra nadezhda ("Good Hope"), as the Bulgarian student society was called in the early 1870s, invited Bulgarian migrant workers to its discussions, it projected original publications, and

kog fakulteta (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1963), pp. 9-29.

⁵³Petür Ivanov Berkovski, Iz vüspominaniata mi (Lom: N. p., 1894), pp. 1-8.

it promised to review Serbian literature about Bulgaria.⁵⁴
The Bulgarian students in Belgrade joined in the para-military Bulgarian legions formed in that city in 1862 and 1867. They had relations with members of the Omladina ("Youth"), the liberal and sometimes radical union of South Slav youth founded in Novi Sad in 1866 on the model of "Young Italy" and "Young Germany."

6

The Omladina and its ideas also affected Bulgars studying in Croatia,⁵⁵ one of the several areas of the Hapsburg realm where they acquired secondary and higher education. The Uniate movement produced the first wave of Bulgarians to Croatian schools in 1862, when Uniate leaders in Istanbul sent eight boys to Zagreb.⁵⁶ Afterwards, Bulgars continued to show up in the Croat capital to study in its gymnasium, its pedagogical school, and, after its 1874 founding, in the university. In 1873 the students in Zagreb set up the society Razvitie ("Progress").⁵⁷

Outside Zagreb, at least eight Bulgars attended a Croatian agricultural and forestry school in Križevac. This institution opened in 1860 with a three-year course in

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 3; Pravo, VI, Br. 43, January 3, 1872; Zhechev, "Nikoi dannii za...uchenicheski druzhestva," p. 297.

⁵⁵Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 259.

⁵⁶BIA, f. 87, ed. IIA8556.

⁵⁷Pravo, VIII, Br. 8, May 4, 1873.

geodesy, animal husbandry, farm machinery, estate management, forest preservation and related subjects. It provided both theoretical learning and practical experience. Among its graduates was Dimităr Khranov (1846-1915), the editor of Stupan (1874-1876), Bulgaria's first periodical devoted to agriculture.⁵⁸

Bulgarians found similar vocational training in the Czech lands of the Austrian Empire. Actually, Czech schools surpassed what Croatian education had to offer, and in the third quarter of the century a substantial number of Bulgars passed through the schools of their West Slav cousins. They studied in Real and classical middle schools, in several agricultural and industrial schools, in commercial academies, and at the University of Prague. The Czech capital drew many Bulgars not only because it housed the better schools, but also in its role as a center of the Slavic revival. Between ten and twenty Bulgarians attended Prague schools yearly in the 1860s and 1870s, preparing themselves for careers in teaching, journalism, law, pharmacy, medicine, industry and commerce.⁵⁹

Another sizable group of Bulgars studied in Tabor, the

⁵⁸Ivan P. Topuzov, Zemedelskite uchilishta v Tabor i Krizhevats i razvitiето na bulgarskoto zemedelie: Materiali (S.: BAN, 1959), pp. 59-65.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 5-10; AGSR, II, pp. 594-596; III, p. 802; Virzhinia Paskaleva, "Prinos kum biografiiata na Marin Drinov," BAN, Inst. za ist., Izsledvania v chest na Marin S. Drinov (S.: BAN, 1960), p. 21; Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 104-111.

seat of a mixed Real and classical gymnasium and an agricultural school teaching a course similar to the one offered in Križevac.⁶⁰ The Bulgarian students in Tábor, who at times numbered more than fifty,⁶¹ formed the society Postoianstvo ("Perseverance"). Among other things, the group used pooled funds to subscribe to Bulgarian periodicals.⁶² But if anxious to keep abreast of their own national movement, these students adapted well in the picturesque Czech town. Their letters home lacked the expressions of homesickness found in the correspondence of other Bulgarian students abroad. The young Bulgars admired the Czechs, and they looked to them for ideas which their own society might follow.⁶³

For Bulgarians studying in the Czech and other minority regions of the Austrian Empire,⁶⁴ Vienna exerted a strong draw; and by the 1860s, more than twenty-five Bulgars were enrolled in various schools of the Hapsburg capital.⁶⁵ Some of these students obtained financial help from Napreduk

⁶⁰Topuzov, Zemedelskite uchilishta, pp. 11-27, 50-56.

⁶¹Iliev, Spomeni, p. 91.

⁶²Topuzov, Zemedelskite uchilishta, pp. 39-40.

⁶³BIA, f. 295, ed. 3, l. 3-4; Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 91-97.

⁶⁴Bulgars also studied in Karlovci Sremski, Hradec Králové, Timișoara and elsewhere; see St. Danev, "Dobrovolets v chetata na Filip Totiu: Iz 'Moite spomeni'," B. m., XVII, Kn. 8 (October, 1942), p. 409; Iv. D. Shishmanov, "Pŕvoto búlgarsko túrgovsko uchilishte na D. E. Shishmanov v Svishtov," Uchil. pr., VIII, Kn. 4 (April, 1903), p. 351.

⁶⁵Cf. AGSR, II, p. 703.

("Progress"), the benevolent organization of Vienna's Bulgarian merchant colony. The intercession of Napreduk produced an 1874 decision of the Austrian Oriental Museum to support twelve Bulgars in the capital's pedagogical school.⁶⁶

7

Vienna schools offered Bulgarians a Western European education as opposed to the Western schooling they received even in the Balkans. Although no organized movement took them further west than Vienna, a striking number of Bulgars managed to obtain training in France, Italy, Germany and elsewhere.

Many prominent Bulgarian activists, for example, were graduates of French higher schools. Aleksandŭr Stoilov Ekzarkh, Gavril Krŭstevich, Ivan Bogorov, Marko Balabanov and Lazar Iovchev--to name only a few notable individuals--received professional training at the Sorbonne and the medical school of the University of Paris, and at the Universities of Montpellier and Aix. Several Bulgarians studied in Rome, Pisa and Florence. Leipzig's reputation for Slavic studies drew Bulgars before and after mid-century, with at least four studying there in the 1870s alone. Other German schools attended by Bulgarians before 1878 included the Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg and Würzburg. A few Bul-

⁶⁶Iv. T. Brakalov, "Znachenie na Vienskata uchitel'ska shkola i pedagogium za pedagogicheskoto razvitie v Bŭlgariia," Uchil. pr., XXVII, Kn. 3 (March, 1928), p. 277.

gars graduated from universities in Switzerland, Belgium and England.⁶⁷

Those Bulgarians who returned to the Balkans with Western European diplomas would seem to be having a disproportionate impact on their people's cultural revival. Many of them congregated in Istanbul, where they took up journalism and disseminated a variety of Western ideas. Some officials of the Russian government, which claimed to have a special interest in things Balkan, expressed a fear that these Western-educated Bulgarians would try to sow a Western orientation among their people. But these men--with one or two exceptions--turned out to be moderates and pragmatists, leaders who recognized their people's need for help from its traditional protector.⁶⁸

8

Ironically, the Bulgarians themselves fed Russian fears of the consequences of Western education as a tactic in seeking greater Russian educational assistance--and they succeeded; for worry about purported dangers of Western inroads was to contribute greatly to St. Petersburg's decision to furnish extensive educational opportunities to the South Slavs. Other factors were at work too--the ethno-cultural af-

⁶⁷On Bulgars studying in Italy, cf. N. Nachov, Kalofer v minaloto, 1707-1877 (S.: Kaloferska družba v Sofia, 1927), p. 375; on Leipzig, see Iordanov, "Znachenieto na Laipstsig," pp. 299-301; information on Bulgars in other European schools is as according to standard biographies.

⁶⁸See Chapter VI.

finites; the efforts of Slavophile benevolent committees; and, especially where the Bulgars were concerned, the effective contacts enjoyed by that people's merchants in Russia. From the 1840s on, the combination of these factors produced a stream of young Bulgars into Russian schools.⁶⁹

The first formal Russian educational aid came in 1840 when Tsar Nicholas I approved four stipends or fellowships for Bulgarian students to enroll in the Kherson (later the Odessan) seminary. The Emperor's favorable response to a request prepared by Odessa merchants inaugurated a succession of similar petitions.⁷⁰ Not four, but seven students showed up in the Russian port in 1840 and 1841, with the additional three supported at first by private means.⁷¹

The placement of these students in a seminary was not accidental. Russian officials thought that what Bulgaria needed most was good Orthodox pastors and teachers to protect its religious inheritance from harmful foreign ideas. The Bulgarians knew better, and at the earliest opportunity some of them wandered off to enter secular schools. The long absence of government controls eased their freedom of movement; and they created their own opportunities by

⁶⁹Most of the information in the next few pages comes from a lengthy report prepared in 1865 by the Russian Ministry of Education on the education of foreign Slavs in Tsarist schools. The report is available in "Novi dokumenti," doc. 97.

⁷⁰Petrovich, "The Russian Image," p. 96.

⁷¹"Novi dokumenti," docs. 3-9.

playing on the ethnic, religious and political sympathies of Russian individuals and institutions. Bulgars began to show up at the doors of a variety of Russian schools, and they managed to win all sorts of exemptions from fees and formalities.⁷²

Starting in 1856, the Russian government, and in particular the Ministry of Education, tried to reassert control over the Bulgar students, whose influx had caused a bureaucratic nightmare. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, claimed this matter to be under its purview, and its interference plus more pressing post-Crimean concerns prevented the quick formulation of a systematic policy toward the schooling in Russia of foreign Slavs.⁷³ In the meantime, the education of these visitors went on as before, with requests for help coming from students themselves, from Russian intermediaries, and from organizations such as the Odessa Bulgarian "Board" (Nastoiatelstvo). In a typical 1858 appeal, the "Board" warned how in the absence of Russian help the Bulgars would go to the West and would bring back "Western ideas to the detriment of the people's devotion to Russia."⁷⁴ Similar petitions reached the eye of Tsar Alexander II. What particularly caught his attention--and led to renewed high-level government discussions--was a desperate appeal in 1859 from ten young Bulgarians stranded

⁷²Ibid., docs. 19-21, 27-28; and doc. 97, pp. 8-18.

⁷³Ibid., doc. 97, pp. 19-31. ⁷⁴Ibid., doc. 50.

in Odessa without the help they had been led to expect.⁷⁵²¹¹

Alexander, after an investigation by the Minister of Education,⁷⁶ decided an educational assistance program for the training of South Slav teachers to be worthwhile; and in 1860 the Russian government, besides the seventy-five vacancies it already offered in ecclesiastical schools, allowed the Odessa Bulgarian "Board" to administer fourteen stipends for Bulgars to study in a local gymnasium. But this program soon collapsed, due partly to the presence already in Russia of more Bulgar students than the new procedures could accommodate.⁷⁷ By the spring of 1862, recognizing "the necessity for a new direction,"⁷⁸ the government decided to concentrate Bulgars and other foreign Slavs in a gymnasium planned to replace a military detachment's school in Nikolaev in southern Russia. At the same time, the military boarding school there was to be converted into a pension for these South Slavs. The Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs incorporated the funding of the Nikolaev operation directly into their own budgets; and they released another five thousand rubles to the newly founded Novorossiisk University in Odessa to be used to defray the costs of higher education of designated South Slavs, most of whom were expected to be graduates of the Nikolaev gymnasium. Selection of fellowship re-

⁷⁵Ibid., docs. 54, 58. ⁷⁶Ibid., doc. 97, pp. 35-37.

⁷⁷Ibid.; ANG, I, pp. 187-188.

⁷⁸"Novi dokumenti," doc. 97, pp. 37-62.

cipients was henceforth to be controlled by Russian officials, not by the Odessa Bulgarian "Board."⁷⁹

The government retained these 1862 measures into the 1870s, warding off pressures to change them. What remained at issue in the mid-1860s was whether the Nikolaev pension should be a mandatory residence for foreign Slavs. The Bulgarian named as director of this institution, Todor Nikolaevich Minkov, argued that it should, using Slavophile susceptibilities to point out that the boarding-school allowed the inculcation of favorable attitudes toward Russia. In March, 1867, the government permitted Minkov to operate a "private" pension, but made residence in it required for all foreign Slavs studying in Nikolaev.⁸⁰

The majority of Bulgars who subsequently came to Russia for secular education passed through Nikolaev. Nevertheless, the concentration desired by the government fell short of being total. The stream of appeals for exceptions and for special opportunities never ceased. In 1871 and 1872, for example, both the Odessa "Board" and the consuls of Russia in the Balkans asked for Bulgarian fellowships for technical, industrial, mining, engineering, agricultural and

⁷⁹Ibid., doc. 97, pp. 43-62; P. Abrashev, Iuzhno-slavianskiiat pansion na F. N. Minkov v Nikolaev: Spomeni (S.: Pridvorna pechatnitsa, 1909), p. 5.

⁸⁰"Novi dokumenti," docs. 96, 101-102; ANG, I, pp. 398-399, 431-432; Abrashev, Iuzhnoslavianskiiat pansion, pp. 14-17, 23.

military schools.⁸¹ Bulgarian leaders also sought greater opportunities for the education of girls.

In this last area, the government had the help of the Moscow Slavonic Benevolent Committee. After several embarrassing episodes of the early 1860s when it proved unable to fulfill its promises to Slav university students,⁸² this Committee came to concentrate most of its efforts in assisting Slavic girls. It conducted its own program, working through Bulgarian functionaries at the Russian embassy in Istanbul.⁸³ The Committee placed girls in gymnasiums and in monastery schools (where they learned midwifery and domestic skills). The Bulgarian girls who received foreign schooling before the liberation, and they were not many, could thank the Russian Slavophiles. In 1874, a peak year, the Moscow Committee was supporting the study of eleven girls in that city.⁸⁴

The Odessa "Board" was the other major private organization involved in the education of Bulgars in Russia. According to its own records, which contemporaries disputed, the "Board" gave financial help to some two hundred students.⁸⁵ But students and others resented the "Board's"

⁸¹ ANG, II, pp. 48-49; "Novi dokumenti," docs. 155, 162.

⁸² "Novi dokumenti," doc. 97, pp. 46-48.

⁸³ BIA, f. 16, ed. 169, l. 3, p. 47.

⁸⁴ Paskaleva, Bŭlgarkata, pp. 83-85.

⁸⁵ Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 3.

attempts to dominate all facets of Bulgarian relations with the Tsarist government. When the "Board" tried to order the students about, they rose in protest, vowing to "endure Siberia itself" rather than to submit to its arbitrariness.⁸⁶ The "Board's" termination of several fellowships in the early 1860s worsened the relations between it and young Bulgars.⁸⁷

Disharmony also crept into the relations between the students and the government itself. It worked both ways. Students voiced dissatisfaction over the smallness and the irregularity of their fellowships, over their living arrangements, and over formalities. The government, for its part, criticized the deportment and the attitude of many of the students, and objected as well to the fact that many students, instead of returning to Bulgaria as teachers, were using their educational opportunities to pursue more lucrative occupations in Russia and elsewhere.⁸⁸ A greater shock for Tsarist officials came with the news that some of the graduates of Russian schools had joined the Uniate movement. One of them, so St. Petersburg was told by its Istanbul embassy, had even received a medal from the Pope "on account of his zeal in spreading Catholicism and for stimulating among

⁸⁶AGSR, III, pp. 757-759; cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 657-660; Vasil Drumev, Suchineniia (2 vols.; S.: Bulgarski pisatel, 1966), II, pp. 468-469.

⁸⁷Nikolai Zhechev, "Dokumenty za Khristo Botev i Botevoto semeistvo," Iz. Dur. arkh., IX (1965), p. 118.

⁸⁸ANG, I, p. 329; II, p. 34.

the Bulgars a hatred toward Russia."⁸⁹ The government, how-²¹⁵
ever, perhaps fearful that a cutback would hurt Russian
prestige, neither retrenched nor overreacted to the disturb-
ing information it received.

9

The ambivalence of the Bulgar recipients of Russian
favor was fed by their disgruntlement with the academic side
of their study. Bulgarian students rarely expressed satis-
faction with their schooling; on the contrary, they criti-
cized the curriculums, the staffs and the learning conditions
of the gamut of Tsarist schools, save the universities. They
disliked ecclesiastical schools in particular.

Bulgars came to Russia at a time when diocesan schools,
seminaries and theological academies were enduring the so-
called Prostasov yoke, named after N. A. Prostasov, the
Hussar appointed by Nicholas I to be Chief Procurator of the
Holy Synod. Under Prostasov, all levels of ecclesiastical
education suffered. Utilitarian training was fused into
curriculums retaining all the traditional classical and theo-
logical subjects; the result was an impossible course load.
Students in ecclesiastical schools also suffered from poor
teaching, from boring textbooks, from high staff turnover,
and from large classes. Most enrollees never finished.⁹⁰

⁸⁹"Novi dokumenti," doc. 131.

⁹⁰B. V. Titlinov, Dukhovnaia shkola v Rossii v XIX
stoletii (2 vols.; Westmead, England: Gregg International
Publishers, 1970), II, pp. 1-4, 47, 150, 179, 230 and

A sizable percentage of the Bulgarian students in Russia studied in seminaries (though not necessarily to become clerics. For many seminary students, Russians included, ecclesiastical training provided the only opportunity to receive an education.) Seminary students faced a six-year course divided into three two-year classes called, respectively, "Letters," "Philosophy," and "Theology." The seminary of the 1840s taught about thirty courses. Besides a number of theological subjects, the curriculum offered world history, Russian history, physical science, mathematics, the village economy, rural medicine, and two or three languages (usually Latin, Greek and French). The ancient language courses claimed a disproportionate number of hours, and the seminary thus resembled a classical gymnasium. Beyond the seminary stood the ecclesiastical academy with its two years of general education and two of theological study. The academy's thirty courses introduced the student to several new subjects, including four philosophy courses, literature, pedagogy, German, and Hebrew.⁹¹

Post-Crimean reforms eliminated some of the shortcomings of the Prostasov yoke. An 1867 decree did away with some of the monastic aspects of student life and expunged a number of subjects from the seminary's program. In 1869 there followed a companion decree on the academies which

passim. First published in Vilna, 1909.

⁹¹Ibid., II, pp. 17-35; Kiril, Natanail, pp. 94-95; Trifonov, V. Drumev, pp. 23-24.

halved the number of required courses to fifteen, nine of which were mandatory for everyone. On the basis of available electives, however, a comprehensive "major" was possible only in philosophy; and the reform cut mathematics and physics out of the program entirely, a serious mistake in this age of materialism and positivism. Depending on their advanced and independent written work, graduates of the academy received degrees of candidate, master and doctor of theological sciences.

Few Bulgars got as far as the academy. They attended mostly the seminaries of Kherson (Odessa), Kiev and Moscow. One count named thirty-three Bulgarians in the Odessan school.⁹² but other evidence suggests many more.⁹³ At least eighteen Bulgars studied in the Kiev seminary.⁹⁴ Among those who did complete the academies (in Moscow or Kiev) stood out Atanas Mikhailov Chalukov (the future Anthimus of Vidin), Vasil Drumev (Clement of Turnovo), Nesho Stoianov (Nathaniel of Ohrid), Sava Filaretov, Todor Burmov and Todor Ikonomov.

As students, these Bulgars recited a litany of complaints about their schooling. Vasil Drumev wrote from Odessa in 1859 to say that with "heartfelt grief" he had come to recognize how the "seminary in no way corresponds to our hopes, and in no way is it relevant to...Bulgarian...striv-

⁹²Nachov, "Bŭlgarskata kolonija v Odessa," pp. 618-620.

⁹³AGSR, II, pp. 468-469.

⁹⁴"Novi dokumenti," docs. 61, 131, 179.

ings!" He described the "very strange way" they were being taught: "'Study from here to here!'" the seminarians were told. "But no one asks you whether you...understand what is said in this 'from here to here!'"⁹⁵ Ten years later another student in the same seminary congratulated a friend on his admission into a Czech school, where he would "not be plagued...by the desolate classicism" of the Russian seminary. The seminary, he complained, "taught all the inventions [izmislii] about God and his holy church."⁹⁶ An academy student described Russian classmates who went about "as if they were dead" and "afraid of their own shadow."⁹⁷ Todor Ikonomov, later a publicist, recalled that when he left the Kievan academy in 1855 its "theological and philosophical subjects were...just as foreign...as they were before" he entered.⁹⁸ Ikonomov, like many other Bulgars, regarded ecclesiastical schooling as irrelevant to his own interests and needs. He had spent most of his time in independent work.

Russian students in the ecclesiastical schools shared the same criticisms, so the complaints of the Bulgarian visitors were not entirely gratuitous. But in their dissatis-

⁹⁵Drumev, Sūchinēniia, II, pp. 463-467.

⁹⁶Ivan Undzhiev, "V. Levski v pretsenkata na edin svoi sūvremennik: (Neizvestni pisma na Iliia p. Lūkanov)," Izvestiia na Instituta Botev-Levski, II (1956), pp. 261, 277-281.

⁹⁷BIA, f. 53, ed. IIA3105.

⁹⁸Ikonomov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 1, pp. 27-28.

faction they did overlook the fact that seminaries and academies furnished them with a comprehensive classical education. Those who went no further were, at least in terms of their own society, equipped to be competent teachers and writers. For others, seminaries acted as a ticket to the university (in spite of the formalities that theoretically closed higher secular institutions to graduates of ecclesiastical schools).

University education redeemed what other Bulgarians regarded as a largely wasted sojourn in the state's secondary schools. Legislation under Nicholas I had turned gymnasiums into mediocre institutions serving the upper class. By the end of his reign, rote learning of arithmetic and endless writing drills had usurped the bulk of class time. The accession of Alexander II brought a reform of the educational system. An 1864 decree on the secondary schools set up classical and Real gymnasiums, the latter modelled on the German Realschulen and with a stress on modern languages and natural history. But in 1866 the Tsar undid the liberalizing effect of the 1864 reform by appointing the reactionary D. A. Tolstoi as the Minister of Education. Tolstoi transformed the Real gymnasiums into terminal Realschulen, taking time away from the humanities, languages and natural sciences to the benefit of mathematics, drafting, handwriting and etching. As for the classical gymnasiums, Tolstoi lengthened the course from seven to nine years and redoubled the classical bias. Thus began the so-called "Greco-Roman" bondage of

Russian secondary education.

Throughout these alternating periods of reform and reaction, most of the Bulgarians who entered Russian secular schools chose the classical gymnasium as the surest path to the university. They studied chiefly in the secondary schools of Nikolaev, Odessa, Moscow and Kiev; but a few did turn up in Smolensk and Riazan.⁹⁹ These Bulgars joined their Russian classmates in grumbling about gymnasium life. Antiquated curriculums were not the only problem. Gymnasium teachers supplemented their meager incomes by private lessons, they came to class unprepared and tired, and their listless teaching often amounted to telling the students what to read and to memorize. Regimentation and harsh discipline dominated the gymnasiums and their pensions.¹⁰⁰ The Bulgarians, furthermore, were usually several years older than their Russian classmates; they forged few friendships; and on the whole they failed to socialize well in the Russian pensions.¹⁰¹

The presence of other South Slavs made the Nikolaev

⁹⁹Bulgarian graduates of Russian secondary schools are listed in Nachov, "Bŭlgarskata koloniia v Odessa," pp. 620-622; and in "Novi dokumenti," docs. 66, 68, 82, 131 and 179.

¹⁰⁰Sh. I. Ganelin, Ocherki po istorii srednei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka (2d ed. rev.; Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe uchebnopedagogicheskoe izdatel'stvo Ministerstva prosveshcheniia RSFSR, 1954), pp. 123-139, 154-156.

¹⁰¹I. Z. Strugatski, "Vtora mužhka gimnaziia v Odessa," BAN, Nauchen institut Khristo Botev, Khristo Botev: Sbornik po sluchai sto godini ot rozhdenieto mu, ed. Mikhail Dimitrov and Petŭr Dinekov (S.: BAN, 1949), pp. 61-73; Burmov (ed.), Khristo Botev prez pogleda, p. 8.

situation a little different, but here, too, students represented the regimentation and discipline that prevailed in the gymnasium and in Minkov's pension. A school within a school, the pension provided extra language training and instruction in dancing and music.¹⁰² Large numbers of Bulgars passed through its doors. From twenty-three students in 1867, the pension's enrollment rose by 1870 to seventy-five, of whom more than fifty were Bulgars.¹⁰³ A graduate of Nikolaev estimated that some seven or eight hundred Bulgarians attended the pension, a figure that may be exaggerated.¹⁰⁴

Minkov lobbied for all sorts of private and official help for the pension, but his efforts failed to earn him the love of his students. They fed their grievances to the radical Bulgarian newspapers published in Romania, which in turn attacked the rigid discipline of the pension, its regime of prayers, and its purportedly inadequate diet and facilities.¹⁰⁵ Other newspapers--and the Russian government--rushed to Minkov's defense, praising his "wise administration" and his contributions to the higher education of his people.¹⁰⁶ Without doubt, Minkov's pension opened a

¹⁰²Abrashev, Iuzhnoslavianskiat pansion, p. 24.

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 28, 45. ¹⁰⁴Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 19.

¹⁰⁵Cf. Nezavisimost, III, Br. 41, June 30, 1873.

¹⁰⁶Pravo, VI, Br. 38, November 30, 1871; on the attitude of the Russian government, see ANG, II, pp. 17-18; and "Novi dokumenti," doc. 150.

path to the university for quite a few young Bulgarians.

The Bulgars who received Russian higher education came at a time when, unlike secondary schools, the universities were beginning to flourish. Russian universities normally had faculties of history-philology, physics-mathematics, law, and medicine; and Bulgarians entered all of them.¹⁰⁷ Three Russian universities attracted a notable Bulgarian enrollment--the Novorossiisk University in Odessa, and the Universities of Kiev and Moscow.

One historian has counted close to fifty Bulgars who studied in Odessa's Richelieu Lyceum (including Naiden Gerov, Sava Filaretov and Dimitŭr Mutev); and after 1865 in the Novorossiisk University which replaced the Lyceum (Ivan Giuzelev, Khristo D. Pavlov, Petŭr Odzhakov). Ivan Kishelski and Teodosii Ikonov stood out among the smaller number who attended Kiev University "St. Vladimir." Student activism ran high at Kiev, and in the 1860s the government restricted its foreign enrollment. At that point, seven Bulgars were attending the University. Moscow University lured a larger number, thanks in great part to the Slavophile sympathies they found there. Some of Bulgaria's leading cultural activists--Konstantin Miladinov, Raiko Zhinzifov, Liuben Karavelov, Nesho Bonchev, and Marin Drinov--studied in Moscow University. At least sixty Bulgars were there from 1856-1878, a figure that may

¹⁰⁷"Novi dokumenti," docs. 66, 70.

be far from complete.¹⁰⁸

Only an infrequent Bulgar turned up at other Russian universities, and a surprising few graduated from special schools and institutions.¹⁰⁹ The result both of a limited number of openings and insufficient educational background, the smallness of Bulgarian technical study in Russia was perhaps the major shortcoming in that source of their foreign schooling.

10

The dearth of specialized training notwithstanding, Russia provided the lion's share of Bulgarian foreign education before the liberation. No definite figures have survived, but Russian-educated Bulgars easily surpassed five hundred. The Moscow Slavophiles left records indicating their support of 242 South Slavs (most of whom were Bulgars),¹¹⁰ and the Slavophiles had but a secondary role. Partial counts have indicated sizable groups of Bulgarians

¹⁰⁸On Bulgars in Odessan higher schools, see Nachov, "Bulgarskata koloniia v Odessa," pp. 621-624; on those in the University of Kiev, see "Novi dokumenti," docs. 61, 78, 80, 106 and 131; and for those in Moscow, see Nikola Bobchev, "Moskovskiiat universitet i bulgarskite mu pitomnitsi," Slavianski glas, XXIV, Kn. 1 (1930), pp. 29-33; BIA, f. 53, ed. IIA2240; "Novi dokumenti," doc. 66 and 70.

¹⁰⁹On Bulgars in the specialized schools of Moscow and St. Petersburg, see "Novi dokumenti," doc. 179; on those in Odessa, see Nachov, "Bulgarskata koloniia v Odessa," p. 621.

¹¹⁰S. A. Nikitin, Slavianskie komitety v Rossii v 1858-1876 godakh (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo moskovskogo universiteta, 1960), p. 94.

studying in various Russian schools in any one year. One incomplete tabulation taken in 1860, for example, showed thirty-nine in Odessa, eleven in Kiev and twenty in Moscow, a known total of sixty in that year alone.¹¹¹

The Ottoman government and certain Western circles interpreted this massive assistance as part and parcel of a Moscovite subversion of the Balkans. As a matter of fact, the Tsarist government's stated intentions were not aggressive. Few Bulgars received military training, "a glaring deficiency when it came to armed struggle."¹¹² Most of the initiative, furthermore, came from the Bulgars themselves. They solicited Russian help, and they did so with petitions which raised the spectre of a Western subversion of an Orthodox and pro-Russian Slavic people. An 1860 petition from Odessan students, for example, described the Bulgarian people as "encircled by the propagandists of various sects, who without stinting on means are striving to inspire in us a hatred and a scorn toward everything Slavic. They are building schools, they are printing books,...they are spending money to achieve their political goal."¹¹³

Such petitions masked the real motives of Bulgar students for Russian education--career opportunities and train-

¹¹¹"Novi dokumenti," doc. 64.

¹¹²Sumner, Russia and the Balkans, p. 112.

¹¹³"Novi dokumenti," doc. 59; for additional examples, see ibid., docs. 50, 76, 134.

ing to be workers for Bulgaria, not Russia. Self-interest and nationalism made the visiting student somewhat less than loyal to official Russia. Before or soon after his arrival for advanced schooling, the young Bulgarian had ceased to be a tabula rasa. His background, his temperament, his patriotism, and his personal goals in life affected his perception of what he was taught--and official Russia did not stand much of a chance. It was hardly strange that the aware Bulgarian student had the same repugnance for the secret police as did his Russian classmates.¹¹⁴

Actually, Russian education itself thwarted the inculcation of loyalties to the existing system. The academic milieu, seen as a whole, nurtured disdain toward anachronistic Tsarism. All three of the general intellectual currents then dominant in Russian thought--radicalism, progressivism and Slavophilism--turned the student against monarchical and bureaucratic standpattism.

Slavophilism appealed to young Bulgars as a form of romantic nationalism ethnically linked to their own patriotism; and it fostered their literary, linguistic, folklore and historical concerns. Political Slavophilism struck a chord as well, but not totally; for Bulgars rejected the Russian chauvinism implicit in the writings of the more reactionary Pan-slavs.¹¹⁵ In other words, so long as it was

¹¹⁴Undzhiev, "V. Levski v pretsenkata," pp. 265-266.

¹¹⁵Cf. Simeon Radev, La Macédoine et la renaissance

not itself a threat. Slavophiles reinforced the nationalism of Bulgarian students and stimulated their activism, individually or on an organized basis. The Moscow Slavonic Benevolent Committee, for example, subsidized the publications of Bulgarian students;¹¹⁶ and in the early 1860s it apparently helped them form a student society to assist new students, to collect a library, to conduct literary readings, and to publish a literary magazine, Bratski trud (Brotherly Labor, 1860-1862).¹¹⁷ Another center of Slavophile-oriented activity was Odessa, where successive groups of students collected a library described as holding more than five thousand volumes "exclusively Slavic, by Slavs and about Slavic affairs."¹¹⁸

The radicalism prevalent in Russian intellectual life was likewise harnessable to Bulgarian nationalism. Students temperamentally suited to ape the Russian "men of the sixties" picked up a number of radical ideas. From Alexander Herzen they learned of the revolutionary potential of Slav peoples and the example of a publicist always on the attack. Nicholas Chernyshevskii taught them the social purpose of literature and, with his What Is To Be Done?, joined Michael

bulgare au xix^e siècle (S.: Editions de l'Union des savants, gens de lettres et artistes bulgares, 1918), p. 78; and see below, Chapter VI.

¹¹⁶Dimitrov, Liuben Karavelov, pp. 67, 78-79.

¹¹⁷"Novi dokumenti," doc. 65; cf. IaNG, II, p. 498.

¹¹⁸IaNG, II, p. 138.

Bakunin and others as models of revolutionary commitment.¹¹⁹

Most of the Bulgarian students in Russia, however, turned aside from a revolutionary social and political ideology. They took different paths in search of a vague common goal which, in the absence of a better collective term, might be called the ideology of progress. Some fell under the sway of the newest ideas, including those of the positivism and materialism that were the rage of Russian academic life.¹²⁰ But others who were no less progressive in their goals emerged from their education with more conservative and traditional beliefs.¹²¹ All in all Russian education did not leave its recipients with a common intellectual outlook; rather, it piled further disparity on top of the already great variety of influences acquired by the mid-century generation of young Bulgarians in pursuit of foreign education.

¹¹⁹Discussion and examples of radical Russian influence on Bulgarian students can be found in Mikhail Dimitrov, Khristo Botev: Biografila (S.: Nauchen institut Khristo Botev, 1948), pp. 20-21; Burmov (ed.), Khristo Botev prez pogleda, p. 98; Aleksandŭr Burmov, "Revoliutsionnata deinost na St. Stambolova prez 1873-1875 g.," Rodina, II, Kn. 2 (December, 1939), pp. 82-87; Velcho Velchev, "Ideinoto vliianie na N. G. Chernishevski v Bulgariia," Ezik i literatura, VII, No. 4 (1953), pp. 203-210; and Stefan Karakostov, "V. G. Belinski i bulgarskata literaturna i obshtestvena misul," Ist. pr., V, Kn. 1 (1948), pp. 95-108.

¹²⁰Cf. Chakurov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, p. 200; and Ikonomov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 1, p. 19.

¹²¹Cf. Boris Iotsov, "Nesho Bonchev, 1839-1878," Uchil. pr., XXVII, Kn. 6 (June, 1928), p. 510.

The question of foreign influences was necessarily important--perhaps more than a thousand Bulgarians received foreign schooling before 1878,¹²² a fact that can be offered as a first conclusion about the role of foreign education in the formation of a Bulgarian intelligentsia. That a high percentage of the Bulgarian educated elite had foreign training is illustrated by a glance at the educational background of the study group made up from among these activists (see Tables 4 and 5). Excluding those for whom no information was available, more than three-fourths of the Bulgars in the study group who had secondary education received part of it in a non-Bulgarian school. Again leaving out the unknowns, more than half of the study group attended foreign higher schools.¹²³

Also impressive in this foreign schooling was its apparent diversity. Until the early 1840s, the Bulgars were limited to Greek higher schools; but from that point they discovered other sources; and that Russia took a dominant share did not preclude their study elsewhere. Slav schools

¹²²As will presently be discussed, it was in the nature of Bulgarian foreign schooling that only incomplete traces were left. Apart from the informality of this study, foreign training often led to assimilation--that is, to the disappearance of the traces. The figure of one thousand is based on adding the hundreds of Bulgars who studied in Greek and Russian schools to the large groups discovered to have attended foreign institutions in the Ottoman Empire and in Central and Western Europe.

¹²³See p. 122 above; and Appendix I.

TABLE 4

SECONDARY EDUCATION OF 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST
INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Source of Schooling ^b	Number	Percentage of Total with Source of Ed- ucation Known
Bulgarian	38	23.2
Greek	29	17.7
Ottoman	8	4.9
Missionary	11	6.7
Russian	39	23.8
Serbian	12	7.3
Romanian	6	3.7
Czech	13	8.0
Croatian	3	1.8
Austrian (German Language)	2	1.2
Other	3	1.8
None	17	
Unknown	10	
Total	191	100. ^c

^aSee Appendix I.

^bSecondary schooling includes Bulgarian and Greek "class" schools; various foreign middle schools (gymnasiums, Realschulen, seminaries, some lyceums); and some pedagogical, technical and agricultural schools.

^cTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding.

TABLE 5
 HIGHER EDUCATION OF 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST
 INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Source of Schooling ^b	Number	Percentage of Total with Source of Ed- ucation Known
Greek	4	4.3
Ottoman	4	4.3
Missionary	2	2.2
Russian	38	41.0
Serbian	4	4.3
Romanian	7	7.5
Croatian	1	1.1
Czech	4	4.3
Austrian (German Language)	6	6.5
German	4	4.3
French	17	18.3
Other	2	2.2
None	90	
Unknown	8	
Total	191	100. ^c

^aSee Appendix I.

^bAs well as some lyceums, higher schooling includes theological academies, colleges, universities, medical schools, and professional and technical institutes and academies.

^cTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding.

in Serbia and in the Austrian Empire accounted for much of their secondary education; and a significant number of Bulgars graduated from French and other Western European universities.

The varied sources of Bulgarian foreign training stand out more clearly when viewed from a local perspective. In 1867, for example, the Bulgarians of Plovdiv had five students in Paris, four in Vienna, seven in Russia, two in England, and forty in Istanbul.¹²⁴ Before 1878 the town of Sliven sent students to Istanbul, to Romania, to the Austrian Empire, to France, to Russia and to the United States.¹²⁵

Behind this diversity in the places of education, however--and for the moment leaving aside the question of the nature of intellectual influences--stood a general uniformity in the type of schooling Bulgars received (see Tables 6 and 7). Disregarding medical training due to the disproportionate number of doctors included in the study group, the great majority of the activists collectively analyzed for the purposes of this study underwent schooling in the classics and the humanities, often in the context of theological training. In part due to the pull of romantic nationalism, in part due to the expectations of teaching careers, and in

¹²⁴Albert Dumont, "Philippopolis: La Réveil bulgare," Revue des deux mondes, XCV (October, 1871), p. 551.

¹²⁵Tabakov, Opit...Sliven, II, pp. 516-517.

TABLE 6

TYPE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION OF 191 BULGARIAN
 NATIONALIST INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Type of Schooling	Number	Percentage of Total with Type of Ed- ucation Known
Bulgarian Full Middle School ^b	11	6.7
Bulgarian "Class" School	27	16.5
<u>Realschule</u>	12	7.3
Classical Gymnasium	80	48.8
Seminary	27	16.5
Technical, Agricultural, or Military School	5	3.0
Pedagogical School	2	1.2
None	17	
Unknown	10	
Total	191	100. ^c

^aSee Appendix I.

^bThe schools of Bolgrad, Gabrovo and Plovdiv.

^cTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding.

part due to the restricted type of schooling available, this educational conformity was to lead to future problems. (For example, not enough Bulgars obtained the technical

TABLE 7

TYPE OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST
INTELLECTUALS (ca. 1840-1878)^a

Type of Schooling	Number	Percentage of Total with Type of Ed- ucation Known
History-Philology	21	23.1
Philosophy (and Liberal Arts)	7	7.7
Theology	13	14.3
Law	8	8.8
Cameral Studies	2	2.2
Natural Sciences	6	6.6
Medicine	30	33.0
Technical and Specialized Training	4	4.4
None	90	
Unknown	10	
Total	191	100. ^b

^aSee Appendix I.

^bTotal of figures given may be slightly more or less due to rounding

training needed to help them ease their people's technological backwardness.)

Other consequences of the role of foreign schooling on the emergence of the Bulgar educated elite went beyond

bare numbers and the kinds of schools they attended. The way in which this education shaped both the intellectual outlook and the character of Bulgarian students was also related to the motivation they brought into their study and to the manner in which they pursued it.

12

Motivation operated on two different levels--nationalistic idealism and personal advancement. In terms of the first, Bulgar leaders and students themselves looked to outside training as a necessity for their people's cultural revival.¹²⁶ What the student often joined to these ideals, however, was an ambition to use his educational opportunities for his own personal ends. Such an attitude was not unnatural. The question, rather, was how such personal ambitions--which flowed from the success ethic instilled by the student's origins, upbringing and early schooling--would fit with the patriotic purpose of his education.

Some older students, especially former teachers, had an eye on personal advancement from the outset. They suffered a loss of status (and pay) when other Bulgars returned from foreign schools and took their jobs. To protect their social and economic status, the displaced teachers turned around and tried to obtain an advanced education for themselves.¹²⁷

¹²⁶Cf. Bonchev, "Za uchilishtata," pp. 36-37.

¹²⁷IaNG, I, p. 124; II, pp. 905-906, 912.

A similar self-centered concern came to affect those younger Bulgars who went directly from local schools to foreign institutions. Their self-interest was soon apparent in their selection of a field of study, as a number of them tried to break out of the mold that would have them return to their fatherland as teachers. The legal profession, in a portent of things to come, attracted many students who went abroad. Legal studies promised a respectable career oriented toward the bureaucracy, and yet kept open the chance for the cultural and political activism that appealed to the student's patriotism. A student thus wrote from Heidelberg in 1875 to explain that he had abandoned "dull mathematics" for law so that he could become a journalist as well as a lawyer. A legal background, he explained, would permit him "to teach the people what rights it has."¹²⁸

The whimsical element observable here appeared again and again in student academic decisions. Admittedly, young Bulgars who went abroad had little access to mature advice, and they were uncertain as to what opportunities were open to them in the Ottoman Empire. But for many of them, a change in the course of studies meant simply a prolongation of their foreign sojourn, something they came to prefer to the uncertainties and primitive conditions of life in the Balkans. To the chagrin of national leaders, the "eternal

¹²⁸BAN, Arkhiven institut, Iz arkhiva na Konstantin Irechek, ed. Petūr Miatev (3 vols.; S.: BAN, 1953-1963), II, pp. 113-115, 117-119.

student" cropped up frequently. When a young student from Koprivshtitsa who had already been in Vienna for eight years informed Naiden Gerov, the Russian consul in Plovdiv, of his intention to go on to legal studies once he passed his impending medical-school examination, the influential Bulgarian spokesman answered sharply that it was not at all acceptable that educated Bulgars should remain so long apart from their people.¹²⁹

The student in question, knowing that Gerov would have his support cut off, decided to return. Before doing so, however, he revealed another dimension of the egocentrism of Bulgar students abroad--high expectations of financial reward. Rather than go back as a doctor to his native Koprivshtitsa, this student hoped to set up a prosperous practice in a big city. Plovdiv would "not be bad," he told Gerov, but it had "a lot of doctors" already. Edirne seemed the best bet.¹³⁰ Students were sometimes quite specific on what they wanted. One announced on finishing Kiev University that as a teacher he would accept no less than eighteen thousand grosha a year, a salary at least fifty per cent more than what was usually paid to experienced teachers.¹³¹

Such hopes flowed from the naiveté and from the ebul-

¹²⁹IaNG, I, pp. 704-705. ¹³⁰Ibid., I, p. 706.

¹³¹Iliev, Spomeni, p. 62. For other examples, see IaNG, II, pp. 136-137; Vatslav Zhachek, "Vasil D. Stoianov v Chekhiia (1858-1868)," BAN, Inst. za ist., Chekoslovakia i Bulgaria prez vekovete (S.: BAN, 1963), pp. 90-91.

lience of young people for whom education seemed to make all things possible. Nonetheless, the precedence students gave to personal goals hindered the patriotic purpose of their foreign education. A case in point involved a young man who went to Russia and who from 1861-1874 took up four different fields of study in at least four different institutions and who wound up expecting to be awarded a Russian diplomatic post.¹³² The experiences of many other students paralleled that of the one in question. Like him they dallied abroad for years, moving from course to course and from school to school. Such young Bulgars steadily lost sight of their roots and their stated nationalistic goals. Since assimilation was often involved, many of the traces of this problem disappeared. Enough evidence has survived, however, to illustrate its dimensions. An 1869 survey prepared by the Russian embassy in Istanbul, for example, showed that of thirty-six graduates of Kievan schools, only six had returned to Bulgaria as teachers. A number of graduates had gone into business or into the service of other countries; and, as the report admitted, a number had just disappeared.¹³³

Numerous reports and editorials in the Bulgarian press also testified to the seriousness of this unforeseen result of foreign schooling. Especially radical publicists took their young compatriots to task for having foresaken their patriotic ideals. One attacked students who studied not to

¹³²IaNG, I, pp. 604-607. ¹³³"Novi dokumenti," doc. 131.

serve their people, "but to prepare themselves to be chorbadzhii and to acquire a name."¹³⁴ For such young people, the journalist charged, foreign learning "is only a means to be rich and to wear gloves."¹³⁵ Writers likewise exposed the failure of students to return at all. In the face of the people's needs, wrote a national leader, "our learned patriots draw a bead on the streets of Moscow and strive to imitate the Russian youth."¹³⁶ Another radical journalist sarcastically echoed this criticism when he hoped that students "would love their people as much as they have loved... learning."¹³⁷

13

In a related vein, a Bulgarian spokesman criticized graduates who returned "without knowledge, without...convictions, without...aims and without character."¹³⁸ Not only an effect of mixed and confused motives, this consequence might have been expected in view of the haphazard nature of the foreign schooling received by young Bulgarians.

The inability of Bulgarians to meet formal entrance requirements of the schools of more advanced societies forced both themselves and school administrators to cut cor-

¹³⁴Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 14, January 19, 1874.

¹³⁵Svoboda, II, Br. 25, December 14, 1871.

¹³⁶Nezavisimost, III, Br. 39, April 16, 1873.

¹³⁷Zname, I, Br. 6, January 19, 1875.

¹³⁸Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 27, April 19, 1874.

ners. When faced with a postponement of their admission into the University of Vienna, two students from Koprivshitsa asked their former teacher to submit fraudulent records on their behalf. He complied, but without outright falsehood (telling the students to explain the realities of education in the Ottoman Empire). In the end the University made an exception and admitted the students.¹³⁹ Russian institutions, too, permitted Bulgarians to avoid prerequisites, to skip classes, and to matriculate informally.¹⁴⁰ The students took advantage of this laxness, often to their own academic detriment.

Uncertain financial support similarly hurt the academic progress of the student. Foreign schooling cost a great deal of money, a year's expenses being roughly equal to the income of a lower middle-class urban family.¹⁴¹ A handful of students paid their own way with savings or by tutoring, but the great majority relied on help from others. And if the student lost this help or if it was not dependable, he found himself marooned in a foreign country and hardly in a state of mind to pursue diligent studies.

¹³⁹ IaNG, I, pp. 699-701. ¹⁴⁰ "Novi dokumenti," doc. 97

¹⁴¹ Some examples: the total cost of the Kurugesme school in 1841 was 2000 grosha; in the 1850s and 1860s, tuition and boarding costs in a Russian university totalled between 3000 and 4000 grosha; a Bulgarian visitor estimated in 1869 that it cost a student 3000 grosha to study in Tábor; in 1870 the full costs at Robert College was 4400 grosha. See the sources cited above in the discussions of these schools; and note the data contained in the discussion of prices and incomes in Appendix II.

Hitches occurred with every source of assistance, including parental support. Parents helped pay for the education of their sons, but some tended to curtail their help the longer their son's absence and the greater his mental estrangement from them.¹⁴² (Not a few prosperous parents, furthermore, assumed their children to have as much right to outside benevolence as anyone else.)

Not many parents, in any event, could afford the full costs of their son's foreign education, and young Bulgars had to look for assistance elsewhere. Of the several outside sources of help, the Bulgarians preferred foreign assistance--governmental, missionary and private. This support came closest to outright benevolence (at least from the recipient's point of view), demanded the fewest conditions in return, and had the added advantage that those who handed it out knew little about the Bulgars they helped. Because of that fact, more than one Bulgarian was able to take advantage of his benefactors;¹⁴³ and they made loose promises to pry open the purses of sympathetic but credulous foreigners.¹⁴⁴

Such behavior, which was often prompted by a student's desperation, helped breed a personal outlook which put ma-

¹⁴²IaNG, I, pp. 704-705; ASCh, p. 532; AGSR, II, pp. 165-166; BIA, f. 504, ed. IIA1994, IIA1995; Karavelov, Sūbrani sūchinēnīa, IX, pp. 485-488.

¹⁴³Cf. Nikola Tabakov, "Neizdadēni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," Inst. za bŭl. lit., P. R. Slaveikov, ed. Petur Dinekov et al. (S.: BAN, 1959), pp. 255-256.

¹⁴⁴Cf. Karavelov, Sūbrani sūchinēnīa, IX, pp. 491-492.

terial success on a high pedestal. The same attitude was bolstered by the student's need to beg for financial help. As was then the custom, young Bulgars based their fellowship requests on abject litanies of personal and family misfortunes. Some described a plight that, if true, would have put further education out of the question.¹⁴⁵ And the hyperbole was costly; for from their piteous requests for help there emerged in some aspiring intellectuals a sense of personal degradation--a degradation the student came to resent. He vowed to redress his damaged self-esteem by his own future success, by his own future as a "great man."¹⁴⁶

Resentment increased the more the student depended on Bulgarian sources of support--community councils, benevolent societies and individuals. Besides self-effacement, native help brought conditions and accountability. Community councils thus tied their assistance to the candidate's pledge to serve the community as a teacher at a reasonable salary, an obligation they could enforce by pressure on the recipient's family.¹⁴⁷ In Sofia, to cite a particular case, the student who received community help promised to return and to teach for four years.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ANG, I, p. 563; cf. AGSR, II, pp. 356-357.

¹⁴⁶Karavelov, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, IX, p. 484; cf. Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 52.

¹⁴⁷IaNG, I, pp. 591-593.

¹⁴⁸Tr. Dimitrov, "Ivan Nikolaevich Denkoglu," Sp. BAN, V (1914), pp. 134-135; "Novi dokumenti," doc. 119; BIA, f. 185, ed. IIB9280, "Delo 11."

The Bucharest "Benevolent Society" exacted similar conditions on the fellowships it awarded. By the 1870s members of the "Society" were supporting students in all parts of Europe, from Bucharest to Ghent. They received formal thanks for this help, but little in the way of sincere gratitude. Generational and political differences embittered relations between these rich merchants and many of the students. The latter resented the domineering stance of their elders, and what they said was their need to get on their knees to pry a few coins out of the businessman's pocket.¹⁴⁹ But the benefactors could cite grievances as well. A not untypical relationship involved the merchant Evlogi Georgiev and the student Bogdan Goranov.

Goranov, after study in a Prague middle school, taught from 1866 to 1872 in several Bulgarian towns. At that point, he decided to seek a university education in Prague, or, as he said, "in some other small German city." He asked Georgiev, a distant relative, for help. The merchant was hesitant, suspicious that Goranov would go to enjoy himself more than to study; but finally he agreed to furnish 150 Austrian gold coins a year for two or three years--and no more. Goranov accepted the offer and set out for Central

¹⁴⁹On the various ways the "Benevolent Society" assisted students, see S. Velev, "Dokumenti iz arkhivata na Bŭlgarskata dobrodetelna druzhina v Bukuresht," Uchil. pr., XII, Kn. 4 (April, 1907), pp. 350-352; BIA, f. 185, ed. IIB9280, IIB9283, IIB9284, IIB9285, IIB9286, IIB9300 and IIB9312; IaNG, I, pp. 136-137, 985.

Europe. Several months passed with no news, but then Georgiev received a letter with a Munich postmark. Goranov was writing to complain that his stipend was not big enough, as he put it, "for the serious studies of a man." He asked for three hundred Austrian gold coins, twice the original amount. After additional importunings, an exasperated Georgiev eventually raised the stipend to 190 gold coins; but it was the bother which irritated him most--and the suspicion that he was paying Goranov to have a good time in the West.¹⁵⁰

Such unpleasantness occurred many times in the financial aspects of Bulgarian foreign schooling. Students protested the smallness and the irregularity of their fellowships, and they were further infuriated with merchants who, instead of providing them with more money, told them to sell or pawn their personal possessions.¹⁵¹ A number of students lived constantly on the brink of disaster, and their frustration embittered them. One young Bulgar left in the lurch by a community council wrote to a national leader to complain how he was being played with "like a toy": "Poor is he, friend, who puts his fate in someone else's hands, and still poorer is he...who depends on the ...honorab^{le} word or promise" of a Bulgarian.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰IaNG, I, pp. 124-125, 130, 132-134, 469-472.

¹⁵¹AGSR, II, pp. 516-520.

¹⁵²The quotation is from AGSR, II, pp. 124-126; for student complaints about the insufficiency of their stipends and the difficult conditions in which they lived, see ibid., II, pp. 516-520; BIA, f. 116, ed. 6, l. 8-9; BIA, f. 154,

Students retaliated to their real and imagined grievances with a cavalier attitude of their own. Many tried to renege on their teaching commitment. When Lazar Iovchev returned from study in Paris supported by the Kalofer community, he remained at Istanbul despite a promise to teach in his native town. He vowed "to go to Wallachia" if the elders of Kalofer kept up their insistence that he return. He had no desire, he said, to go "as a servant to teach their children and for everyone to order about, and to give me just enough so that I do not die from hunger." Iovchev managed to ignore his obligation; but, even after he later became Exarch of the Bulgarian church, he never again stayed more than a day or two in his native town.¹⁵³

The kind of mutual rejection observable here stood as a striking example of how even the practical aspects of foreign schooling could alienate the young Bulgar from his society. Forced constantly to worry about their support, students abroad acquired an overriding concern for their eventual material success. The "idea is subordinated to money," wrote a Moscow Bulgar about his fellow students; all they do is "fret about money."¹⁵⁴ And as it was to turn out,

ed. 2, l. 37; BIA, f. 185, ed. IIB9284, l. 5, ed. IIB9286, l. 4; "Novi dokumenti," docs. 131, 144; Nezavisimost, III, Br. 45, July 28, 1873; Napreduk, X, Br. 85, March 13, 1876.

¹⁵³The quotation is cited from Iovchev's diary by Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 52-53.

¹⁵⁴AGSR, II, pp. 472-475.

the students were developing unreal hopes; for, in terms of their career expectations, few opportunities were to be open to them. In the meantime, though it was strongly influenced by their foreign education, the personal self-interest of many Bulgarian students never entirely displaced that other face of their personality--their nationalistic idealism. These Bulgars were thus caught on the horns of an emotional dilemma, trapped between their materialism and their idealism, that is, their stated desire to serve their people.

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This contradiction, which had already been implanted by the student's local schooling, was exacerbated by the general nature of his life abroad. His exposure to advanced culture bolstered the breach between himself and his society. It implanted a different, a looser morality; and the higher standard of living he saw encouraged his personal aspirations in this regard. Residence abroad thus assaulted the ideals with which the young Bulgar had begun his foreign study. When, consciously or not, the student saw how life abroad was disentangling the bonds linking him to his past--and to his projected future as a patriotic activist--he underwent a psychological trauma; he experienced the frustration and guilt of incipient rootlessness. Nationalism, paradoxically, helped him meet his inner turmoil.

Actually, young Bulgarians resorted to different emotional defenses. Some sundered the troublesome ties of the

past by assimilation. Others stopped short of that, but nonetheless accepted as their own the civilization of their host society. It was a compromise solution that produced nationalists from afar.¹⁵⁵ Still others adopted a personal philosophy to enable them to cope with their dislocation. One young man came across an answer to his emotional confusion in the imitation of the personal utilitarian creed of Benjamin Franklin.¹⁵⁶ But most of the students never came up with an ultimate solution. Though adrift in a new world, they tried to keep sight of the old. They sailed along the shore of nationalism.

That shore beckoned as an emotional reassurance. At first, it acted as a solace for homesickness, a common early symptom of the plight of separation. Students used patriotic themes to convey their lonesomeness and their longing for home. In his "Seeing Off a Bulgarian for Odessa," for example, the student poet Dobri Chintulov comforted himself with the thought that he was not forgotten, that his people longed for him to return to "sow education and to raise the heavy curtain of darkness."¹⁵⁷ Vasil Drumev's story "The Student and the Benefactors," which he wrote as an Odessan seminarian, told how young Bulgarians there gathered from time to time in night-long "soul" sessions. They told one

¹⁵⁵Dinekov, "Marin Drinov i Nesho Bonchev," p. 186.

¹⁵⁶Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 41-42.

¹⁵⁷Cited by Penev, Bulgarska literatura, pp. 408-413.

another what they remembered best about their nook of Bulgaria; and by the break of dawn they were singing such melancholy folksongs as "Far from My Fatherland."¹⁵⁸

Direct patriotic activities offered emotional release as well. Nearly every center of Bulgarian study abroad had at least the rudiments of a student organization. On a personal basis, too, students dreamed up ways to permit their own immediate participation in the cultural revival. Some had the chance to link advanced academic work to Bulgarian actuality;¹⁵⁹ others wrote or translated textbooks for use in Bulgaria;¹⁶⁰ and still others publicized the Bulgarian cause in the press of their host country.¹⁶¹

More typically, students were talkers rather than doers--and they spoke a radical language. With an outlook shaped by emotion and not by experience, they disapproved of anything short of their own scholastic maximalism. One Tabor student thus attacked his friends in Ruse for having set up a patriotic musical group. "The Bulgarian poor man," he wrote, "is bursting from hunger, but we will sing to him and will amuse him with talks."¹⁶² In their emotional na-

¹⁵⁸Trifonov, V. Drumev, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 51-52.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 35-36; Al. N. Zhekov, "Ned' o Zhekov pri uredbata na uchebnoto delo v Liaskovets i na Bogoslovskoto uchilishte v Petropavlovskia monastir," Uchil. pr., XXV, Kn. 5-6 (May-June, 1926), p. 768.

¹⁶¹AGSR, II, p. 386; Nikov, Vuzrazhdanie, p. 91.

¹⁶²Cited by Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 121.

tionalism, students abroad vicariously lived the ups and downs of the movement in the Balkans.¹⁶³

Student nationalism, furthermore, tended to be revolutionary nationalism, even for individuals who were not otherwise radical in their views.¹⁶⁴ The revolutionary pathos of the student led to some of the most eloquent expressions of Bulgarian patriotism. "O my Bulgaria!", wrote the Nikolaev student Atanas Uzunov,

there will come a time when the Turks will meet their Mohammed in Mecca....I see our flag trampled, but I also hear the roar of the Lion in the mountain. He calls his heroes to gather, to do battle and to drive out our enemies. Let all Bulgarians cry out: 'Liberty or Death'!¹⁶⁵

Some students--Uzunov was one--translated their emotions into action, usually when revolutionary ferment was running high. When the news of the 1876 Balkan turmoil reached the students in Hradec Králové, reported the director of the school, "no councils could...restrain them" from "running to the assistance of their fatherland."¹⁶⁶ At the same time the student Olimpii Panov wrote from Paris to tell his Bucharest friends: "When the flag is unfurled, when the pipes

¹⁶³Drumev, Sŭchineniia, II, pp. 465-467, 468-469; cf. AGSR, II, pp. 516-520.

¹⁶⁴Cf. AGSR, IV, p. 393; IaNG, I, pp. 446-447; and Undzhiev, "V. Levski v pretsenkata," pp. 263-276.

¹⁶⁵IaNG, I, pp. 446-447.

¹⁶⁶Trifon Vŭlov, "Dokumenti za natsionalnoosvoboditelnoto dvizhenie v Bŭlgariia: (Iz arkhivniia fond na bratia Evlogi i Khristo Georgievi)," Iz. Nauch. arkh. BAN, III (1966), pp. 164-165.

begin to play, when the guns begin to thunder, we shall...²⁴⁹
come closer."¹⁶⁷

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Finally, and in summation, although foreign education stimulated the nationalism of many future Bulgarian intellectuals, it failed to leave this educated elite with a common ideological outlook. Though in part academic, this particular consequence of foreign schooling did not necessarily imply that the students failed to take their studies seriously--or that advanced learning was beyond their reach. A number of young Bulgars cared deeply about the quality of their education. They hired private tutors to supplement their intramural work; and they wrote to friends all over Europe to find the most recent academic literature. Both collectively and individually, Bulgarian students impressed foreign academics.¹⁶⁸

Too many of the graduates, however, fell into the category of the "educated unlearned [uchen neuchen], who," one Bulgar wrote in 1873, "fill Bulgaria now." Many factors were responsible for the intellectual shortcomings of these men--haste, distractions and the nature of their academic

¹⁶⁷BIA, f. 5, ed. 6, l. 67-68.

¹⁶⁸For examples of Bulgarian concern for their education, see ANG, II, p. 15; IaNG, I, p. 32; Ikonov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 1, pp. 18, 26; Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 100-101; AGSR, II, p. 468; and Undzhiev, "V. Levski v pretsenkata," p. 275. For the attitude of foreign academics, see BAN, Arkhiven institut, Iz arkhiva...Irechek, II, pp. 104-105; and Damianov, Lomskiat kraj, p. 226, n. 1.

concerns. In their desire to take up nationalistic work and to succeed in life as quickly as possible, students avoided formal completion of degree programs. Their potential as intellectuals suffered as well from distractions ranging from hunger to love affairs.¹⁶⁹ Another source of the problem was the students' concern with the "big questions" rather than with the fundamentals. Few Bulgars underwent a systematic study of the bases, the concepts and the methods of advanced learning. They thus failed to acquire the training necessary to sustain independent intellectual excellence. The later cultural work of the educated elite--their dependence on translations, for example--was to testify to the superficiality of their schooling.

This veneer of learning, furthermore, produced an ideologically divided class. Had the future intellectuals drunk deeply, that result might not have happened, since the source of their learning was a current of Westernism that was common to schools from Istanbul to Moscow to Paris. But Bulgarian foreign students only tasted learning, and their understanding, linked as it was to specific contexts and models, mirrored the heterogeneity of the many founts to

¹⁶⁹The quotation is from IaNG, I, p. 134. Analysis of the study group has led to 159 occasions where it is possible, within limits, to determine whether or not an individual finished the highest and last level of education which he entered. Indications are that twenty-two per cent of the study group failed to finish. Reasons of health were most often cited as the cause (see, for example, BIA, f. 156, ed. IIB2350; IaNG, I, p. 429). See also IaNG, I, p. 704, for Gerov's advice to a student pondering marriage.

which they went. The absence of a common perception was to mean a lack of common solutions to national problems. The foreign education which had an inestimable role in the formation of a class of Bulgarian intellectuals also bred an ideological divisiveness which was to help paralyze the effectiveness of this intelligentsia.

The enthusiasm of youth masked, at first, this weakness of the educated elite. The new intellectual finished his schooling with the "naive belief," in the words of one of them, "that it would be enough for us to say something, for it to be accepted and carried out."¹⁷⁰ What they were to find instead was material and spiritual frustration.

¹⁷⁰Tronov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. I, p. 29.

CHAPTER V

THE QUEST FOR A NATIONALIST MISSION:

(I) THE CULTURAL PURSUITS OF THE BULGARIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

With their education completed, young Bulgarians passed from the future into the present. Their life up to this point had been based on the promise of what was to come. They were raised by parents who in their own way provided them with the best possible opportunities and incentives for a successful life. Their early teachers had instilled in them the same success ethic, and at the same time had steeped them in the notion of the moral satisfaction to be found in patriotic work. The foreign sojourn of young Bulgars laid bare the inherent contradictions between their patriotic idealism and their materialist-oriented goals in life, but paradoxically it reinforced both. As the new intellectuals finished their preparation, they saw a satisfying future marching backward toward them.

Training, opportunity and temperament would now determine their choice of a specific career. Young Bulgars could meet the educational qualifications of a variety of occupations--in the church, in education, in writing, in the pro-

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fessions and in administration. As much as opportunity permitted, they were to enter all these fields. Their upbringing in nationalism, however, led them to pursue not only occupations with specific skills and duties, but careers in service to their people, first and foremost as shapers of that people's cultural awareness.

As they began to appear in large numbers in the 1840s and 1850s to continue the work of the early revivalists, educated Bulgars who turned to patriotic work entered the final stage in their formation as a nationalist intelligentsia. Their actual experiences as they played their role would culminate the shaping of their self-perception and their outlook.

2

The majority of these intellectuals had necessarily to satisfy themselves with work at the local level. At this level, the clergy was the oldest field open to educated young men. It was also a field which would conceivably allow them to act as cultural nationalists. Priests and monks had for centuries ministered to the cultural needs of Balkan peoples; and until recently they had possessed and spread whatever literacy there was. In spite of some of its unpopular economic practices, the lower clergy, and monks in particular, had managed to carve out a reputation as protectors of Bulgarian culture.

But time was catching up with the lower clergy in the

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middle decades of the nineteenth century. The influx of secular teachers put monks and priests in an unfavorable light, as did the appearance of Protestant missionaries.¹ Some clerics took a hostile attitude toward the new teachers, but in doing so they only increased their own vulnerability to modernizing intellectuals among the laity. These lay critics called for Bulgarian clerics to adapt themselves to the times, and to be true teachers, leaders and fathers of the people. Monasteries drew the greatest anticlerical scorn, with the progressive Bulgarian press reiterating every single denunciation of the monastic system familiar to its writers from the literature of the Enlightenment.²

No noticeable decrease took place in the size of the lower clergy as a result of this disparagement. Bulgars continued to enter the priesthood and the monastery. A sense of religious vocation motivated them, and--in what was a reflection of the society and the times--so did the relative security of clerical life. The small village priest may have lived in poverty, but priests who served several villages or who had town parishes earned moderate incomes. They built comfortable homes, and they had the means to support the education of their children.³ In another indica-

¹IaNG, I, p. 20; Blūskov, "Avtobiografiia," p. 552; Iliev, Spomeni, p. 50.

²For restrained criticism of the clergy, see Khristo Danov, "Do svetite startsi v nashite narodni manastiri," Letostrui, III (1871), p. 151; a more bitter attack can be found in Svoboda, III, Br. 11, September 9, 1872.

³Blūskov, "Avtobiografiia," p. 565; Vasil'ov, Zhivot,

tion of the clergy's not insignificant status, a number of former teachers became priests after losing their jobs to foreign-trained educators.⁴

As to the patriotic work of the clergy, individual clerics earned a name for themselves as activists in the church struggle and in other activities of the late Renaissance. Andrei Rabovski (1801-1858) challenged both the bishop and the Grecophile notables of Elena; and he suffered for it. Khristo Karadzhov (1836-1911), a graduate of the Kazanlūk "class" school, was another priest who labored to free the local community council from the grasp of the Grecophiles. Matei Petrov Preobrazhenski (1825-1875) was a monk active in the revolutionary underground as well as in cultural patriotic work. Among other things, he authored a defense of Orthodoxy against Protestantism.⁵

But Matei Petrov Preobrazhenski was no Neophyte of Rila; and after the 1840s monasteries no longer seemed to produce the vital personalities shown by the clerics of the early revival. The better-educated young men, including

p. 12; Zvezdelin Tsonev, S krúst i mech: Pod Grúio i Aprilskoto vúzstanie, 1876 (S.: Panagiurskoto okoliisko sveshtenicheskó bratstvo, 1939), p. 30.

⁴Cf. Konstantinov, Zheravna, pp. 104-107; Gandev, Aprilskoto vúzstanie, p. 30.

⁵On Robovski, see Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik, pp. 243-252; on Karadzhov, see S., Kazanlúshka družhba "Rozova dolina", Kazanlúk, II, pp. 253-254; on Matei Petrov Preobrazhenski, see Iordan Nikolov, "Borbata na Matei Preobrazhenski protiv protestantskata propaganda," Iz. Inst. ist., XVIII (1967), pp. 213-230.

those trained in seminaries, were turning aside from religious vocations; and the history of the late Renaissance which has recorded the names of hundreds of local teachers has forgotten the names of most local priests.

3

The teachers who usurped the former cultural role of the clergy composed the largest element of the^l educated elite. Well over a thousand Bulgars taught school at some point in the middle decades of the century. Larger towns sometimes employed a dozen or more teachers in their various schools; and a number of villages now had some kind of primary teacher.

Considerable differentiation was taking place among these teachers. The Lancaster teachers, usually called daskali, who had pioneered modern primary schooling, had in fact dominated education only for a short time. Already in the 1840s the first foreign-trained Bulgars had returned to open "class" or middle schools, and to take over the leadership of local schooling.⁶ "Class"-school teachers disliked to be called daskal. They looked on themselves as modern educators, and they conducted themselves in the style of the teachers they had seen abroad.⁷ The best-qualified "class"-school teachers received the designation "chief

⁶Iurdan Nenov [Iurdanov], "Avtobiografija," Sb. nar. umot., XIII (1896), p. 361.

⁷Madzharov, Spomeni. pp. 105-106; Belovezhdov, "Spomeni," p. 100.

teachers." As well as the middle school, these men administered a town's primary institutions.

Tabulation of biographical information for 95 middle-school teachers included in the study group of 191 intellectuals⁸ has shown that the background of these teachers paralleled that of the elite as a whole.⁹ They were young men for the most part;¹⁰ and they boasted, for their time and place, impressive educational qualifications. Sixty-three of these teachers had obtained all or part of their secondary education in foreign schools. Forty-four members of the group had higher foreign education, more than half (24) in Russia. By the 1860s and 1870s, higher education was becoming a requirement for the "class"-school teacher.¹¹

Educational qualifications represented one of several ways in which "class"-school teachers eclipsed the daskali. Primary teachers came and went largely depending on how well elders liked their ability to sing in church. Raicho Bluskov (1819-1884), a prominent daskal, told how on a chance visit to a village he was asked to sing. Enraptured by his

⁸See above, pp. 122-127; and Appendix I.

⁹About 45 per cent of the teachers originated in the central mountain region, and about 20 per cent each in northern Bulgaria and the Thracian plain. More than 80 per cent had town origins (94 cases known). Out of the 43 cases determinable, 17 teachers had businessman fathers, 4 had artisan parents, 6 came from teaching families, 6 descended from the clergy, 8 had peasant origins. See Appendix I.

¹⁰Twenty-eight was the average age of these teachers in the posts which brought their inclusion in the study group.

¹¹Cf. IaNG, I, p. 124.

voice, the elders hired him on the spot as their teacher. By the same token, local notables frequently dismissed teachers because of dissatisfaction with their liturgical performance.¹² The elementary-school teachers, for this reason and others, were continually on the go. "The teachers changed often," wrote a Liaskovets contemporary, "almost every year. Various reasons. Either the priest did not like him, he could not keep order in the church, his voice was unpleasant, or the chorbadzhi found him wanting. More often they were not able to pay him, and he himself left."¹³

As it turned out, the middle-school teachers were also to move about frequently. The teachers in the study group had an average of almost 4 different posts in their pre-1878 teaching careers (80 cases determinable out of 95 individuals); and their length of stay per teaching post averaged out at less than four years, with 34 of the teachers staying less than an average of 3 years at each of their posts. These figures, as dry as they are, second the testimony of other sources on what was in effect the rampant job instability of even the best qualified Bulgarian teachers. This problem, which could only hinder the socialization of the largest part of the Bulgarian educated elite, originated in the strained relationship that existed between the educators and the school officials of the communities for which

¹²Blūskov, "Avtobiografīia," p. 551; cf. Kotsev, "Istoriia na uchebnoto delo v. gr. Ikhtiman," pp. 53-56.

¹³Ganchev, Spomeni, pp. 1-2.

they worked.

The teachers collided with the initial group to control school affairs, the traditionalistic chorbadzhii, whose ranks contained not only obscurantists, but also supporters of the Greek domination of the Orthodox millet and of Christian cultural life in general. Confrontation was inevitable between these notables and the teachers; for the latter's line of nationalistic attack rested precisely in the Greek control of the churches and schools. But beyond nationalism, a basic conflict of attitudes also antagonized relations between the elders and with what seemed to them to be querulous young agitators.¹⁴ The chorbadzhii who infuriated teachers with their refusals to allow educational innovations were in turn chagrined when defied by inexperienced intellectuals who ran roughshod over their sensibilities. A Khaskovo teacher, fresh out of Moscow University, was asking for trouble when, to prevent Greek ridicule of the Bulgars, he asked a national leader to stop a senile local elder from marrying a young girl.¹⁵

The teacher who so flouted a notable added another incentive to the latter's collusion with the local Phanariot bishop; and when bishops and elders combined against a teacher, the outcome was seldom in doubt. They could forbid teachers to sing in church, they could stop their pay,

¹⁴Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovsokoto uchilishte, pp. 130-131; cf. Bluskov, "Avtobiografii," p. 594.

¹⁵ASCh, pp. 196-197.

and they could have them arrested; for unlike the trust they showed toward merchants and artisans, Ottoman authorities treated teachers with suspicion.¹⁶ Todor Khrulev (1821-1865) was one of a number of teachers whose defiance of millet authorities led to the fortress prison of Diyarbekir in Asia Minor. "My life is in danger from many enemies, both mine and the school's," wrote Khristo Danov (1828-1911) in 1857 from his post in the Klisura primary school. Having provoked the displeasure of the local notables and the bishop, the Sofia "class"-school teacher Sava Filaretov (1825-1863) devised a code to summon the Russian consul should he be suddenly arrested.¹⁷

A conceivable solution to the plight of patriotic educators suffering the persecution of the notables and bishops lay in helping the progressive elements of town society to seize control of local affairs. Such alliances occurred in many localities, with teachers telescoping their cause and interests into already raging social and administrative disputes between the old and new forces in Bulgarian society.¹⁸

Though exceptionally protracted, the dispute at Gabrovo can serve as an otherwise typical example. A conflict

¹⁶Blūskov, "Avtobiografiia," pp. 564-565, 571; Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 165-166.

¹⁷Dimo Minev, "Teodor T. Khrulev: (Za sedemdesetgodishninata ot smūrt'ta mu--1865 g.)," Sp. BAN, XXXI, Kn. 53 (1942), pp. 145-148; for Danov and Filaretov, see, respectively, IaNG, I, p. 504; and II, p. 558.

¹⁸See Chapter I.

between that town's elders on the one hand (the "Old," as they were called), and guildsmen and merchants on the other (the "Young" party), had been going on for some time when, in 1857, there arrived from schooling in Russia a new "chief teacher," Todor Burmov (1834?-1906). An individualist like so many other Bulgar intellectuals, Burmov took steps to reorganize the Gabrovo schools according to his own ideas. The elders took Burmov's efforts as implicit criticism of their previous administration of the schools, and they quarrelled with him. The "Young" party saw the conflict as a way to attack the elders, and it rallied behind the teacher. The "Young" lost this particular skirmish, but Burmov lost the war. His individualism had alienated his fellow teachers, and his reforms had removed commercial languages from the curriculum. This action allowed the notables of this trade town to persuade parents to withdraw their children from school. Then, charging Burmov with negligence, the chorbadzhi-controlled school board withheld his salary. Within a year or two, Burmov threw up his arms in disgust and moved to Istanbul to find work as a publicist.

The trouble in Gabrovo persisted. The next group of teachers moved to the forefront of the attack against the notables, among other things by castigating them in newspapers. The notables countered with slander of their own, and after several years of factional strife and chaos in

school affairs, they succeeded in having the teachers briefly arrested. It was a short-lived victory for the notables, however; for the arrest of the teachers disgusted hitherto uncommitted elements of the population and enabled the "Young" party finally to win local elections and to gain control of local affairs. The "Young," in consultation with a new group of teachers, reorganized school administration from top to bottom. Statutes of 1867 and 1868 reconstructed the school board and assigned it, together with the teachers, full and exclusive authority.¹⁹

Teachers elsewhere participated in the struggle against the notables, and they usually had a role in the reforms which followed in the aftermath of these social battles.²⁰ Nevertheless, the changes in local educational administration seldom proved to be the panacea educators desired. Teachers still had to contend with community councils and school boards dominated by the business class, a social group whose outlook on these questions hardly coincided with that of idealistic intellectuals. Businessmen, though aware of the practical value of education, were willing to spend only so much on its behalf; and when the community's limited revenues failed to keep up with expenditures, they cut back.

¹⁹Karolev, Istoriyata na Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 85-87. See the same source and Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte, for detailed treatments of the subject.

²⁰Orlovski, "Iz istoriyata...Ruse," pp. 1071-1074; Nenov, "Avtobiografiia," pp. 372-373; Kalaidzhiev et al. (eds.), Narodno chitalishte...Kazanlık, pp. 59-60; Trifonov, Istoriya na...Pleven, p. 235.

A financial crisis in Gabrovo in the early 1870s brought one member of the school board to suggest the closure of the schools for four or five years.²¹ That kind of attitude upset the teachers, for it directly affected their own status in the community. Whereas in the struggles against the elders the teachers had been turned to for advice and inspiration, they now saw themselves as the target of retrenchment. Stara Zagora officials were overheard to remark that teachers could do with less pay--they had the summers free.²²

Threatened teachers rose in defense of their interests; and their dealings with school authorities continued to be an adversary relationship. They cast their case in patriotic and progressive terms, and they embarrassed local officials with accusations of backwardness and lack of national sensitivity. But their own personal and professional interests dictated their specific disputes with school boards, beginning with the question of salary.

The notables had been peerless hagglers, and the businessmen who succeeded them were good pupils. School boards used a variety of ruses to keep salaries low. For the primary-school teachers, both parties understood that gifts of food, wood and incidentals would supplement a basic wage.²³ Such gifts, help in the construction of a

²¹Golosmanov, "Iz uchenishkite mi spomeni," pp. 556-557; cf. DBkd, p. 496.

²²Iliev, Spomeni, p. 134. ²³Obretenov, Spomeni, p. 53.

house and his regular salary enabled the experienced primary-school teacher to live a comfortable life.²⁴

For teachers generally, salaries themselves ranged considerably. Depending on their experience and reputation, elementary teachers received as high as 7000 grosha a year. Forty-eight recorded salaries for daskali in the third quarter of the century averaged out at more than 3500 grosha. The "class"-school teachers earned much more. Sixty recorded salaries for this group resulted in an average of more than 6200 grosha. Best paid were the "chief teachers," often with a salary of 10,000 grosha, and with some paid as high as 15,000. Teachers fell into the middle-income bracket of the town population (see Appendix II).²⁵

What, then, was the source of salary disputes? To begin with, as a result of their higher education some teachers developed farfetched salary expectations; and when they returned to Bulgaria they simply felt that they were not paid enough.²⁶ The many teachers who had to work out

²⁴Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 119-122; Blūskov, "Avtobiografīia," p. 564.

²⁵Sources containing full figures for a given school year include BIA, f. 41, ed. IIA1974; Georgiev, "Materiali ...Vidin," p. 168; Orlovski, "Iz istoriata...Ruse," pp. 1075-1076, 1087; and "Iz arkhivata na Svishtovskoto uchilishtno nastoiatelstvo do osvobozhdenieto ni," Uchil. pr., IX, Kn. 10 [Supplement] (1904), p. 37. On the relative size of the teacher's pay, see Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 36; Baker, Turkey, p. 39; and, for a "chief teacher," Georgi Stefanov, "Iz uchilishtnīla i revoliutsionen zhivot na gr. Iambol," Uchil. pr., XXV, Kn. 5-6 (May-June, 1926), p. 899.

²⁶Cf. Iliev, Spomeni, p. 62; see Chapter IV.

an obligation for an earlier fellowship resented their position. "They think," observed a contemporary, "that they are not so free, but are still burdened with a debt" and unable to seek a higher-paying job elsewhere.²⁷ But by far the greatest source of salary problems was the casual attitude taken by school officials toward the timely payment of the teachers. When school boards ran out of money--which they often did with their limited powers of taxation--elders and businessmen shrugged, saying that there was nothing they could do. Bitter experience taught teachers to demand their salary in advance. Otherwise, when a crisis occurred, their sole alternative was to resign.²⁸

Sometimes, it is true, school authorities withheld salaries to compel teachers to do their bidding with respect to academic content and school procedures. This attitude of the boards in part bespoke a suspiciousness of what was new and different, but it also drew on past disappointments with the caliber of instruction and with the conduct of some teachers. Such a concern was clear in the formal controls which school boards enacted to assure the teacher's observance of his duties. Regulations stipulated the number of hours the teacher had to be at his post, and they forbade him to deviate from a program agreed to in advance.²⁹ The

²⁷Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 67-68.

²⁸Cf. Kirov, "Material," p. 56.

²⁹Georgiev, "Materiali...Vidin," p. 163; Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 47.

educator who ignored commercial subjects risked the ire of²⁶⁶ the board, as did the teacher who introduced training in gymnastics and other areas which the Ottoman authorities might regard as provocative.³⁰

Needless to say, the teachers took a totally opposed point of view on who should decide academic questions. They saw themselves as possessing the training, the knowledge and thus the right to guide the school's internal life. It was their responsibility, they claimed, not the board's, to point out errors and to introduce needed changes. Prominent teachers were able to impose their desires on school boards; and others tried to protect their classroom independence by making a point of it in their contracts.³¹ In the same vein, teachers expected officials to carry out their duties by visitations and by efforts to assure the school's regular support. Teachers wanted school boards to be composed of people with a "concept of a school,"³² and they blamed lack of success not on themselves, but on what one of them called the "bashi-bazaouks" with whom they had to deal.³³ If the school was to produce the desired results, the teachers argued, the board had to put pressure on the parents to keep

³⁰Berovski, Pŭrviiat rektor, pp. 49-51.

³¹Georgiev, "Materiali...Vidin," p. 165; cf. "Materiali...Ruse i Silistra," pp. 573-575.

³²Cited by Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 16.

³³Cited by Georgiev, Vŭzrazhdaneto na...Sofia, pp. 24-25. Bashi-bazaouks were Moslem irregulars with a reputation for brutality and plunder.

their children in school for a sufficient number of years;²⁶⁷
and, they added, the parents must accept discipline.³⁴

Discipline was another sore point. Abuses led school boards to regulate the teacher's freedom to punish students by prescribing specific punishments for specific offenses.³⁵ Problems over brutal punishments--which for some teachers served to reveal the many frustrations they faced in trying to educate a backward people--concerned mainly the primary school. But all teachers wanted the board to protect them from angry parents. They lobbied for provisions similar to the one contained in the Koprivshitsa school statute: "No one has the right to accuse and rebuke the teachers for anything, except the board, which shall be a mediator between villagers and teachers."³⁶ A Vidin teacher once discovered how good his protection was when he summoned to school the parents of two students caught fighting. One of the parents turned out to be a local bigwig--and the teacher immediately lost his position.³⁷

School officials desired as well to control the social behavior and the extracurricular activity of the teachers. Not only were teachers expected to conform to the community's moral standards,³⁸ contracts and school rules empow-

³⁴Kirov, "Material," p. 38.

³⁵Konstantinov, Zheravna, pp. 217-218.

³⁶Cited by Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 16-18.

³⁷Georgiev, "Materiali...Vidin," pp. 169-170.

³⁸Kirov, "Material," pp. 26-28.

ered the boards to compel them to do secretarial work, to compose sermons and to attend and participate at church services.³⁹ Teachers regarded these controls as insults to their maturity--and they tended to ignore them. They objected also to the heavy-handed and insensitive manner in which they were sometimes treated.⁴⁰

Finally, the teachers rejected efforts to curtail their public activities. One of the commonest provisions in school regulations prohibited teachers a public voice. "Except for school business," read the 1865 statute of the Koprivshitsa schools, "the teachers have no right to interfere in any other public affair."⁴¹ Such a control flew in the face of the teacher's belief in himself as the standard-bearer of nationalism and progress. "When they come back to Bulgaria," wrote an eyewitness, the teachers act "as if they are coming to a conquered land, where they wish to exercise supreme rule and to run everything according to some abstract ideas."⁴² In the opinion of the businessmen who controlled school boards, however, teachers brought an unwanted discordancy to community affairs. But their effort to channel the teachers served only to provoke them more; and educators led the way in the factionalism which racked the Bul-

³⁹"Materiali...Ruse i Silistra," pp. 575-577.

⁴⁰Georgiev, "Materiali...Vidin," p. 159.

⁴¹Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, p. 19; cf. Kirov, "Material," p. 18; Orlovski, "Iz istoriinata...Ruse," pp. 1076-1077.

⁴²Slaveikov, Gabrovskoto uchilishte, pp. 64-65.

garian community up to the liberation.

Reports of this turmoil filled the pages of the periodical press. The cleavage lines had shifted, with teachers and their supporters (clerks in trade offices, activist young merchants, aware guildsmen and older students) locked in battle with the business elite (whom, revealingly, teachers characterized as chorbadzhii). The terminology and the bitterness stayed the same. "We the Young," wrote a participant from Oltenitsa, "say that the Old, even if they are quite experienced, ...know only the past. They do not recognize what is necessary and useful for the present age, they do not understand either learning or school administration, ...yet they assign to themselves all the supreme qualities." "Disagreement reigns deeply," said an 1865 report from Shumen, where the schools had come to a standstill. Similar interruptions were a common result of factional strife in many other towns.⁴³

Another harmful result of the constant turmoil was the disillusionment it brought to the teacher himself--no matter what his own responsibility for it. The Sisyphean struggle of the intellectual to convince others of the rightness of his ideas bred feelings of despair and a sense of alienation. His hope for a stable and rewarding career thwarted at every

⁴³The first quotation is from Uchilishte, V, Br. 3, June 15, 1875; for the second, Turtsiia, I, Br. 32, February 27, 1865. For other disputes, see Napredok, X, Br. 66, November 1, 1875; Pravo, VII, Br. 12, May 29, 1872; Makedonia, IV, Br. 10, December 19, 1869; Otechestvo, II, Br. 95, June 26, 1871; Svoboda, II, Br. 52, June 10, 1872.

turn, and unable to win the deference he had expected, the sensitive young teacher turned against the very people he had chosen to serve. "How difficult it is," wrote a Koprivshtitsa teacher, "for the intelligent person [to see] how much insanity and senselessness rules in the simple peasant heads. Whoever wishes [to take up] public affairs... has to learn to lie, to be a hypocrite, to fawn...." "I too will ask you for a ticket to Russia," wrote the Kalofer teacher Bot' o Petkov to a Russian consul in deep despair over the apathy of his compatriots. Sava Filaretov, a "class"-school teacher, bewailed the "stupidity, the ignorance" against which he toiled: "How will I live in Sofia forever?"⁴⁴

Filaretov decided not to try, and he soon left Sofia for a position in the Russian diplomatic service. Disenchantment and the search for better opportunities took a number of teachers into different careers,⁴⁵ while those who stayed with the profession moved about frequently in the quest for better working conditions. Not uncommonly, pre-1878 Bulgarian teachers had five, six or more positions.⁴⁶

⁴⁴The quotations are cited, respectively, from Iubileen sbornik...Koprivshtitsa, I, p. 676; IaNC, I, pp. 32-33; and II, pp. 531-532.

⁴⁵Stefanov, "Iz uchilishtniiia...Iambol," pp. 897-898; Kasabov, Moite spomeni, pp. 42-43; and below, pp. 353, 359.

⁴⁶For examples, see Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik, p. 324; S., Kazanlŭshka družhba "Rozova dolina", Kazanlŭk, pp. 150-151; D. Mishev, "Petŭr Ivanov," Letopis na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite, X (1926-1927), pp. 65-68.

The more the teachers changed positions, the greater their instability--the greater their potential alienation. A further cause of job instability was the glut of educated Bulgars in search of work as a result of the lack of other professional opportunities. Turnover in the teaching profession was rampant, jobs were scarce, and by the 1870s a small army of underemployed or unemployed former teachers was taking shape in Bulgaria and in the émigré colonies.⁴⁷

4

Not all teachers were affected by career frustrations; nor for those who were was discontent a continuous thing. Individual educators basked in the respect of the community, and teachers generally deserved praise for the work they did to raise the cultural level of their society.

In spite of many obstacles, for example, educators brought comparatively modern primary and secondary education to almost all the towns and to many villages.⁴⁸ As time went on, teachers began to pay greater attention to pedagogy. In 1869 Iosif Kovachev (1839-1898), a Kievan graduate, opened a pedagogical school in Štip in order to teach the "voiced" method of literacy training, at the time a

⁴⁷Cf. Gandev, Aprilskoto vūstanie, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁸For examples of teachers who raised the level of primary schooling, see Georgiev, Široka Lūka, pp. 69-70; Nikolai Zhechev, "Obshtestveno-revoliutsionnata deinost na Toma A. Kūrdzhiev do Osvobozhdenieto," Izvestia na Instituta Botev-Levski, II (1956), pp. 189-234. Middle-school innovators are discussed in Dorosiev, Nashite klasni.

major innovation. Raicho Karolev (1846-1928), the "chief teacher" in Gabrovo in the 1870s, visited the primary schools in the area to introduce new teaching methods. As did Dimităr Blagoev (1845-1875) in Plovdiv, Karolev inaugurated summer courses for the training of teachers.⁴⁹ The decade preceding the liberation also saw the first teachers' assemblies, meetings which brought town and village teachers together to discuss ways to improve educational standards and to raise their own professional standing. An 1873 assembly in Shumen set up a kind of inspectorate by which outstanding educators were to tour the countryside to bring village teachers up to date and to convince peasants of the need to support schools.⁵⁰

Cultural work took the teacher outside the schoolhouse and into the community. Besides activities as local book-sellers and folklore enthusiasts,⁵¹ teachers carried out a more explicit nationalist mission. In many settlements the arrival of a modernizing teacher marked the start of the movement against the local Grecophiles. Teachers instigated the use of the Bulgarian language in the liturgy; and when the campaign for a separate church was underway, they composed newspaper reports to express their community's point

⁴⁹Dorosiev, Nashite klasni, pp. 206-208.

⁵⁰G. S. Pashev, "Uchitelski sūbor v gr. Shumen prez 1873 god.," Uchil. pr., XXI, Kn. 5-6 (May-June, 1922), pp. 400-408; Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 184-190.

⁵¹AGSR, I, pp. 67-68, 149-150.

of view.⁵² Teachers fanned the flames of nationalism with their oratory, particularly at the Cyril and Methodius day celebrations whose observance they introduced to raise the citizenry's pride as a Slavic people.⁵³ On one such occasion, a Shumen teacher told the people how Tsar Boris I (?-907), seeing the evil intentions of the Byzantines to "milk and pluck the Bulgarian people, expelled as many Greek priests as were found in the Bulgarian land, and separated entirely the Bulgarian Hierarchy from the Greek." "O how much we have forgotten," he perorated. "We have forgotten ...our tribe, and nationality, and glory, and honor!"⁵⁴

Teachers helped organize the cultural life of the community. They inspired the establishment of the majority of the chitalishta, or reading-rooms, of which over a hundred opened before 1878. In these combination clubs and libraries, teachers read aloud to the illiterate; and they gave public talks on patriotic themes, current events and popular science. Teachers used the reading-rooms as a permanent forum to raise the community's cultural self-awareness.⁵⁵

It was through the reading-rooms, for example, that

⁵²Cf. Karamanov, "Daskal Todor Peiov," p. 229.

⁵³Boniu St. Angelov, "Praznikŭ na slavianskite prosvetiteli Kiril i Metodii: (Proizkhod i razvitie)," Iz. Inst. bŭl. ist., V (1954), pp. 253-290.

⁵⁴Cited by Blŭskov (ed.), Materiali, pp. 180-184.

⁵⁵On the reading-rooms generally, see Stilian Chilingirov, Bŭlgarski chitalishta predi Osvobozhdenieto: Prinos kŭm istorilata na bulgarskoto vŭzzhdane (S.; 1930).

teachers brought the first theatrical presentations to the locality, usually sentimental or historical melodramas which had a patriotic intent. For an impressionable and unsophisticated audience, it was a stunning sight to see young Bulgars running about a stage firing pistols and waving swords. A daring teacher even took on the notables by producing skits which satirized their selfishness and their Grecomania.⁵⁶

Provocations of this sort came back to haunt the teachers who were politically active, perhaps in a local revolutionary committee. It was difficult to preserve secrets from notables who made it their business to know everything. Always suspect, teachers were immediately fingered by notables and by Ottoman authorities whenever a political incident occurred. As well as the guilty, many innocent teachers were sent to Ottoman prisons; and during and after the April uprising of 1876, many educators lost their lives.⁵⁷

Although they associated with other local activists in

⁵⁶Petūr Velikovski, "Kulturen zhivot v Ruse prez vreme na Vuzrazhdaneto," Izvestiia na Narodniiia muzei--Ruse, I (1964), p. 70; cf. Kalaidzhiev et al. (eds.), Narodno chitalishte...Kazanlık, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁷Prominent names among the young, well-educated teachers who took part in revolutionary work in the Bulgarian lands include Georgi Benev (1843-1909), Petūr Berkovski (1852-1891), Pavel Bobekov (1852-1877), Petūr Tonev (ca. 1837-1876), Petūr Enchev (1855-1922), Mikhail Grekov (1847-1922), Atanas Uzunov (1851-1907), and many others. For teachers as political prisoners, see BIA, f. 310, ed. 9, l. 1-2; and Stefan Karakostov, Diarbekirski zatochenitsi: Geroichni senki, biografichni skitsi, pisma i dnevnitsi (S.: Izdatelstvo Iv. Kolumdzhev, 1946).

their cultural and conspiratorial work,⁵⁸ a number of teach-²⁷⁵ers remained unhappy men who sensed themselves to be isolated toilers forced by fate to struggle against every kind of obstacle. They imagined much of their lonesomeness--and they caused much of it themselves with their mutual jealousies and the discordancy which they brought to the community--but they sensed it nonetheless. When Khristo Stoianov (1845-1895), a Plovdiv teacher, revealed his lonesomeness to a friend in Russia, the latter agreed that "most painful is work sine amicis et collegis."⁵⁹ If a teacher in the large and cosmopolitan city of Plovdiv could not find satisfying intellectual companionship, one can imagine the forlornness of the teacher who worked in a small Balkan town.

5

The presence of educated Bulgars in professional fields might have alleviated the teacher's isolation, but profes-

⁵⁸These other local activists represented a variety of occupations--workers in reading-rooms, petty officials, cultured businessmen and clerks in business offices. Bulgars with secondary education and with language skills often took jobs as secretaries and clerks for merchants. Some of them--men like Georgi Apostolov Minchev (1853-1876) of Stara Zagora--actively participated in cultural activities and in revolutionary conspiracies. A number of young merchants were likewise involved in patriotic activities. In spite of their formal occupations as businessmen, and except for the fact that they could rarely devote themselves full-time to patriotic work, it would be difficult to separate many of these men from the nationalist intelligentsia.

⁵⁹"Novi dokumenti," doc. 138; cf. Tabakov, "Neizdadeni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," p. 193; BIA, f. 52, ed. IIA3061; and IANG, I, pp. 29, 43, 462, 501.

sionals made but a token local appearance before 1878. The Bulgarians who studied law drifted into state service, not into professional practice. In the Ottoman system Western law was restricted to commercial courts in the larger cities; and foreigners and consular officials monopolized its practice.⁶⁰

Acceptance of Western medicine came sooner to the Balkans. The government itself set up a medical school; and it assigned doctors to provincial and local governments as health officials. Cultured local businessmen also saw the need for modern medicine, and they encouraged physicians to settle in their communities.⁶¹

The majority of Bulgars who studied medicine attended the Ottoman medical school; but most spent their subsequent careers in the Ottoman army in distant parts of the Empire. Only two Ottoman-trained doctors showed up in a group of 25 doctors included in the study group of Bulgarian activists used in this study. The remainder had degrees from schools in France (9), Russia (5), Romania (4), Austria (4), and Germany (1). Nearly every doctor in the study group had an official post to go along with his private practice. Ten of the doctors in the sample spent most of their careers in the

⁶⁰One Bulgar who did practice (in Sofia) was Iliia Tsanov (1835-1901), famous as the defense council for Bulgarian rebels. See I[liia] Tsanov, "Iz belezhkite mi po süden'eto na prezhielite voivodata Boteva," Bulgarski pregled, V, Kn. 6 (February, 1899), pp. 207-229.

⁶¹Cf. Nachov, Khristo P. Tüpchileshtov, p. 192.

Bulgarian lands; 5 worked in other parts of the Ottoman Empire; and 10 stayed abroad. Not untypical, in other words, was what happened in Kalofer, where none of that town's 6 medical-school graduates returned home to practice.⁶²

Greater personal opportunities kept doctors abroad or in Istanbul. Two of the Istanbul physicians--Georgi Vŭlkovich (1833-1892) and Khristo Stambolski (1843-1932)--held on to their officer status in the Ottoman army, drew salaries as professors in the medical school, and at the same time built up lucrative personal practices. Georgi Atanasovich (1822-1892) and Petŭr Protich (1822-1881) similarly prospered with combined professorial and private careers in Bucharest.⁶³

Doctors who worked locally in the Bulgarian lands had several sources of income. The government post of city doctor paid (in 1864) 12,000 grosnia a year, a good income base on which to build from private practice.⁶⁴ Bulgarian physicians had to compete with Greeks and foreigners for these government positions, and like the others they used bribery, favor and the intercession of powerful compatriots. A doctor in Koprivshitsa thus asked the Russian consul in Plov-

⁶²Nachov, Kalofer, p. 257. See Appendix I.

⁶³On the doctors in the Ottoman service, see BIA, f. 286, ed. 9, l. 1-2; Stambolski, Avtobiografii, I, p. 99; II, pp. 18-19, 21, 23-25, 319 and passim. On Atanasovich and Protich, see Konstantinesku-Iashi, "Bŭlgari ucheni v Rumŭniia," pp. 82-96.

⁶⁴IaNG, I, p. 710.

div to help him force out a local Albanian on the pretext that he was a spy for Bulgarian enemies.⁶⁵ Doctors hired directly by Bulgarian communities used the threat of leaving to assure themselves of hefty retainers.⁶⁶

Despite their acquisitiveness, many local doctors failed to find material satisfaction. Like many teachers, moreover, they came to perceive their life as a series of frustrating attempts to win security and deference. From Turnovo in 1857, where he was locked in battle for the post of city doctor, Vasil Beron (1824-1909) grumbled about the "kind of reward received by every learned person who comes to live among our still uneducated fellow countrymen."⁶⁷ Where, however, doctors did establish themselves, they possessed the respect of authorities and the community. Teachers and school boards sought their advice on educational affairs, and they had a hand in the kinds of patriotic cultural activities that brought them membership in the nationalist intelligentsia.⁶⁸

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 710-711; cf. Ibid., pp. 15-16; ASCh, pp. 479-480; AGSR, IV, pp. 320-329.

⁶⁶M. Iv. Madzharov, "Edna zdravna organizatsiia predi Osvobozhdenieto: Spomen ot Koprivshitsa," B. m., XII, Kn. 4 (April, 1937), pp. 242-246; Nachov, Kalofar, p. 259.

⁶⁷IaNG, I, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁸See ANG, I, p. 68; Iliev, Spomeni, pp. 61-62; Khristov, Svishtov, p. 201; Karolev, Istoriata na Gabrovs-koto uchilishte, p. 33; Liubomir Doichev (ed.), Levski v svetlina: Lichni spomeni i otzvütsi ot spomeni (S.: Toncho Tsonevski, 1943), p. 275.

A number of doctors, for example, joined other intellectuals in using their pens to bring their ideas to a national audience. It was this desire to rise above the local level and to reach for a wide influence that gave rise to a not always distinct group of Bulgars in pursuit of nationalist careers--the men of the pen.⁶⁹ Herein, in the actual creation of culture, lay potentially the most intellectual pursuit of all. Ironically enough, writing offered the least rewarding livelihood for those Bulgars who tried to make it their profession.

Most Bulgarian writers worked in related occupations (editing, publishing), or as teachers. A random selection of 60 post-Crimean authors of separate publications (books and pamphlets) showed that 46 of these individuals were included in other categories of the study group of nationalist intellectuals assembled for the purposes of the research here. Only a handful of Bulgarian authors came close to having full-time careers in writing, mostly journalists and authors of school literature. Otherwise, professional writing scarcely existed.

In terms of output, too, most literary work was unsophisticated and unprofessional. Pre-1878 writers, especially those working after mid-century, produced about 1500

⁶⁹One or two Bulgars sought to exercise an influence over Bulgarian nationalism through art. Most notable in this respect was Nikolai Pavlovich (1835-1894), a Western-trained painter of patriotic historical scenes.

separate titles and thousands of periodical articles. Of the several qualifications than can be raised about this body of writing (its redundancy, its amateurishness), the predominance of translations has to be noted in particular. As a contemporary observed, the practice of translating led to scant creativity and to many abuses:

Listen, listen! One of our writers translates a foreign work, fixes it up a little...and signs his own... name; another translates a book and writes on its cover that this book is Bulgarianized;...among us nothing else exists except translations, translations, and translations; and giftless translations, false translations and books needed by no one.⁷⁰

Most of Bulgarian belles-lettres and school books were translations, and a substantial part of the periodical articles also had a foreign source.⁷¹

Their lack of professionalism and their dependence on foreign sources did not stop nationalist writers from considering their work as holy. Bulgarian authors regarded their writing as a matter of great consequence, and they expected their efforts to be repaid both by their influence on the reader and, for serious contributions, by a financial return.

The post-Crimean authors had access to several Bulgarian publishers, but neither these publishers nor foreign printers accepted manuscripts on risk. Most writers bore

⁷⁰Svoboda, I, Br. 30, January 8, 1872.

⁷¹BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vuzrazhdaneto, pp. 190-191, 213-214; on periodicals, cf. Barutchiiski (ed.), Khristo G. Danov, p. 143.

responsibility for at least partial prepayment of the costs of publication. Through letters to periodicals and with printed flyers, they announced their intentions to the public, defended the need of their projected book, and appealed to patriotic sentiments in asking for subscriptions.⁷² Similarly, writers sought subsidies from community councils and from other cultural organizations.⁷³ Businessmen remained a favorite target of appeals for help, but, having learned to be wary of the exaggerations of intellectuals, they grew more hesitant and even suspicious.⁷⁴

Writers were personally involved in the distribution and sale of their works. They sold them individually, and through such cultural institutions as reading-rooms. They often had to badger these distributors for payment, sometimes with unpleasant insinuations.⁷⁵ Competition for a small audience--in 1868 a contemporary reckoned literate Bulgars to number 20,000--bred plagiarism and other instances of questionable literary behavior. Writers and publishers

⁷²Cf. Slaveikov (comp.), "Pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 11-12, 32-33.

⁷³St. Chilingirov, "Iliia R. Blūskov: (Materiali na zhivota i deinnostāta mu)," Uchil. pr., XVIII, Kn. 1 (September, 1913), p. 70.

⁷⁴AGSR, II, p. 499.

⁷⁵Vicho Ivanov, "Marin Drinov do Georgi Gruev v Tsarigrad: Sedem neizvestni pisma na bŭlgarskiia istorik ot 1869-70 godina," B. m., XIII, Kn. 10 (December, 1938), pp. 629-640; Khristo Botev, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, ed. Mikhail Dimitrov (2 vols.; S.: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1958), I, pp. 505-508.

waged an especially fierce competition in textbooks. Not infrequently, writers fell into debt as a direct result of their literary initiatives.⁷⁶

Also exacting a personal price from the nationalist writer was the censorship which restrained free expression and forced him to hide behind a pseudonym.⁷⁷ Besides state censorship, problems arose when local Phanariot bishops slandered Bulgarian authors. One writer related how the authorities confiscated his translation of The Captain's Daughter after a Greek had pointed out the semblance between Pushkin and pushka, the word for gun.⁷⁸

If the practical obstacles were not enough, writers suffered the displeasure of their fellow intellectuals. The training and the personality of the nationalist intellectuals shared responsibility for the way Bulgar writers mistreated one another. The very ebullience of the writer got him into trouble: "Our writers," one Bulgar critic observed, "proclaim over the whole world that their names will be recorded in the tablets of history."⁷⁹ Another reason for the writ-

⁷⁶On the size of the literate public, see Makedonia, II, Br. 10 (1868); on plagiarism, see BIA, f. 63, ed. IIA4562; Svoboda, II, Br. 30, January 8, 1872; D. T. Strashimirov (ed.), Arkhiv na Vuzrazhdaneto (2 vols.; S.: Dürzhavna pechatnitsa, 1908), I, pp. 8-9; on textbooks, cf. IaNG, I, p. 33; on money problems, ibid., II, p. 111.

⁷⁷Kisimov, "Istoricheski raboti," III, Kn. 2, p. 110.

⁷⁸Penev, Bulgarska literatura, pp. 158-159.

⁷⁹Cited by Iotsov, "Nesho Bonchev," p. 520; cf. Svoboda, III, Br. 18, October 28, 1872.

er's susceptibility to criticism was the carelessness of his work, a fault due to the frantic believer's need to communicate his ideas immediately and with little concern for form. Furthermore, the superficiality of their intellectual formation tied writers and critics alike to the literary schools to which they had been variously exposed. Marko Balabanov (1837-1921), who had studied in Athens and Paris, copied classical writing, an affectation denounced by the Moscow-trained Liuben Karavelov. (1834-1879), a writer who in turn aped the phraseology of radical Russian literary critics. Different perspectives likewise came from the several literary trends which held writers in their grip--didacticism, sentimentalism and realism.

Adding to the fierceness of contemporary literary criticism was a utilitarian standard--the need for literature to advance the people's sense of civil responsibility.⁸⁰ Vague in any event, the utilitarian standard became more nebulous when intellectuals used it to measure literature's patriotic usefulness. Only Karavelov, to cite one example, could know what he meant when he called for "clearly Bulgarian books, with a Bulgarian national spirit, [and] with a Bulgarian direction"⁸¹

The combination of self-assurance, superficial know-

⁸⁰Vivian Pinto, "The Civic and Aesthetic Ideals of the Bulgarian Narodnik Writers," Slavonic and East European Review, XXXII, No. 79 (June, 1954), p. 351.

⁸¹Cited in BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vuz-razhdaneto, p. 444.

ledge and vague and conflicting standards engendered a negative literary criticism, at least among the best critics. Nesho Bonchev (1839-1878), the first true Bulgarian critic, applied Russian literary standards to the work of his compatriots, and the result was a foregone conclusion: "We write because we see others write. We do not know what we write, why we write, for whom we write: and from our writing there is no benefit, but there is harm."⁸² Bonchev's scorn, which other Bulgars called "literary aristocratism" and the practice of "chorbadzhi authority,"⁸³ snuffed out the creative desire of several aspiring writers.⁸⁴

Even more forceful--and negative⁸⁵--than the criticism of Bonchev was the stance taken by the best radical writers, Liuben Karavelov and Khristo Botev (1848-1876). Karavelov, too, denied the existence of a Bulgarian literature. "We still do not have five books," he wrote in 1869, "which can stand up critically."⁸⁶ Karavelov and Botev berated writers in general, and classicists and moralists in particular. As writers themselves, however, the two men met the disdain of

⁸²Cited by Iotsov, "Nesho Bonchev," p. 517.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 528-529; cf. Arnaudov, Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 228.

⁸⁴BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vŭzrazhdaneto, p. 444.

⁸⁵Cf. Ivan Vazov, "Sreshtite mi s Liubena Karavelov: Spomeni," B. sb., X, Kn. 10 (December 1, 1903), p. 607.

⁸⁶Svoboda, I, Br. 5, December 3, 1869.

their fellow intellectuals. Botev's excellent poems were ignored; and this was how Marin Drinov (1838-1906), Bulgaria's first professional historian, treated Karavelov's 1875 pamphlet on Cyril and Methodius: "But enough! This book is filled with big and inane phantasies, misconceptions and with so many historical lies that we are surprised how the author managed to fit them into 64 pages."⁸⁷

Criticism, the lack of reader response, the practical difficulties--all bred a frustration which the writer, like other cultural workers, blamed on the people itself. "Our Bulgars," grumbled Georgi Rakovski, perhaps the most prominent Bulgarian spokesman in the decade following the Crimean War, "do not love patriotic education, they are immovable."⁸⁸ Bulgarian writers, commented Petko Slaveikov (1824-1895), a major Istanbul publicist and poet, "remain without readers and...in order to publish...they are forced to beg for subscribers....[F]rom day to day their zeal turns to ice."⁸⁹ Slaveikov himself captured a classic expression of the despair of the writer in his 1870 elegy, "Ne pei mi sia" ("I Do Not Feel Like Singing"):

Why sing, since none have ever tasted my verse?
 What use have songs thus wasted?
 None care to listen, none aspire
 to understand my jingling lyre.
 If none reward a poet his trying,
 gone is the song, his music lies dying.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Marin Drinov, "'Kiril i Metodii, bŭlgarski prosve- titeli'," Per. sd. BKD, I, Kn. 11-12 (1876), p. 207.

⁸⁸AGSR, I, pp. 58-60. ⁸⁹Makedonia, II, Br. 10, 1868.

⁸⁹Cited here is the translation of Pinto, "The Civic

Writers asserted most of all the patriotic usefulness of their work; and it was in this connection that they produced a noteworthy body of literature. The post-Crimean writers, for example, advanced the expressions of romantic nationalism begun by their predecessors in the 1830s and 1840s.

They formulated no final solution to the question of a national language, but with their grammars and language studies, writers moved closer to a vernacular-based standard. As emotional as the language issue was, sharp arguments continued over the question of dialects.⁹¹ The presence of so many natives of the central mountain region in the educated elite was having an effect; and natives of Macedonia and other regions were finding their manuscripts rejected by editors and publishers.⁹² Keeping the question on a scholarly level were studies such as Marin Drinov's 1870 article, "For a New Bulgarian Alphabet."⁹³

The new generation of intellectuals compiled the first sweeping folklore publications, both analytical studies and massive collections such as Dimitŭr (1810-1862) and Konstan-

and Aesthetic Ideals," pp. 345-346.

⁹¹Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, pp. 247-249.

⁹²V. Kŭnchov, "Iordan Khadzhi Kostandinov Dzhinot: (Biograficheski belezhki)," Bŭlgarski pregled, III, Kn. 4 (1896), p. 101.

⁹³"Za novobŭlgarskoto azbuke," Per. sp. BKD, I, Kn. 2 (1870), pp. 9-15.

tin (ca. 1830-1862) Miladinov's 1861 Bŭlgarski narodni pesni (Bulgarian Folksongs), a publication whose Macedonian emphasis "did not diminish [its] importance for the development of Bulgarian national consciousness as a whole."⁹⁴ Folklore stood close to the heart of romantic nationalism. "I do not know how," sighed Karavelov, "but I love the national life with its songs and proverbs, with its tales and legends, with its rituals and customs."⁹⁵

With the post-Crimean writers, history reached its romantic zenith, and yet took its first steps toward scholarly responsibility. Though he equipped it with a scholarly apparatus, Rakovski composed his 1857 Gorskii pŭtnik (The Forest Traveller), a narrative poem dealing with the present and past actuality of the Bulgarian people, from imagination. As a literary historian has described Rakovski's purpose, on the basis of its past a people "is obligated to pose for itself a patriotic ideal and to fight for its fulfillment."⁹⁶ Gavril Krŭstevich tried to be more scientific in his 1869 Istoriia bŭlgarska (Bulgarian History), but so little was yet known about Bulgaria's past that Drinov was able to entitle his review of the book: "We're Huns, Are We?"⁹⁷ The

⁹⁴Moser, A History of Bulgarian Literature, p. 85.

⁹⁵Cited by Mikhail Arnaudov, Dela i zaveti na belezhiti bŭlgari (S.: Natsionalniat sŭvet na Otechestveniiia front, 1969), p. 195.

⁹⁶Penev, Bŭlgarska literatura, pp. 303-304.

⁹⁷"Khunni li sme?," Per. sp. BKD, I, Kn. 5-6 (1872), p. 210.

professionally trained Drinov authored four substantial studies on early Bulgarian history.

Nationalism colored the several genres of belles-lettres, including poetry. Even love and lyrical poetry had an indirect patriotic pathos, as in the émigré's longing for home. Such verses included Konstantin Miladinov's "Tūga za iug" ("Melancholy for the South") and Raiko Zhinzifov's (1839-1877) "Okhrid"--poems which also captured the Macedonian origins of their authors.⁹⁸ Patriotic verses were likewise written in response to the developments of the Bulgarian movement--for example, Vasil Popovich's (1832-1897) "Monolog ili misli na vladikata Ilariona napred da izgori bŭlgarskite knigi" ("A Monologue or Thoughts of Bishop Hilary Before He Burned the Bulgarian Books"); but the best nationalistic poetry was revolutionary verse, especially that written by Dobri Chintulov (1823-1886) and Khristo Botev. Many Bulgars knew by heart the flaming poems of Chintulov: "Stani, stani, iunak balkanski" ("Arise, Arise Young Balkan Hero"), "Viatŭr echi, Balkanŭt stene" ("The Wind Echoes, the Balkan Arises"), and "Kŭde si, viarna ti liubov narodna?". ("Where Art Thou, True Patriotic Love?":

For our fatherland and glory
For our state and liberty
Let us shed our blood so freely.⁹⁹

In revolutionary poetry, however, Botev had no peer. His

⁹⁸Moser, A History of Bulgarian Literature, p. 60.

⁹⁹Cited by Penev, Bŭlgarska literatura, pp. 418-419.

ringing verses, as in "Khadzhi Dimitur,"

He who falls in battle for liberty
 He dies not; earth and sky and
 Beast and man mourn him.
 And singers sing songs for him,¹⁰⁰

have retained all their beauty and forcefulness.

The first short stories, tales and fictionalized sketches dealt with patriotic themes woven into a patchwork quilt of didacticism, sentimentalism, romanticism and realism. Three writers turned out works of note--Vasil Drumev, (1840-1901), Iliia Bluskov (1839-1913) and Karavelov. The title of Drumev's 1860 story, "Neshtastnaia familiia" ("The Unhappy Family"), betokened the sentimentality of a tale of a family's sufferings at the hands of the Janissaries in the first decades of the century. Drumev touched on contemporary problems of society in his "Uchenik i blagodeteli" ("A Student and the Benefactors"), a story which was the first fictional effort to describe the confrontation between the emerging intelligentsia and the business class. Iliia Bluskov imitated Drumev, but had less artistic success in his several moralistic tales. Karavelov's stories and sketches were written as literature of social protest, and for the most part lacked aesthetic qualities.¹⁰¹

Original dramas were few, and they were devoid of other than patriotic value. Dobri Voinikov (1833-1878), the premier dramatist of the Renaissance, composed or Bulgarian-

¹⁰⁰Botev, Subrani suchineniia, I, p. 67.

¹⁰¹Pinto, "The Civic and Aesthetic Ideals," p. 347.

ized several historical plays--Raina kniaginia (Princess Raina), Pokrūshtenie na Preslavskii dvor (The Christianization of the Court at Preslav), and others. The historical scenario, Voinikov once wrote, "is a true mirror, where everyone can learn his duty to his fatherland."¹⁰² Written on a dare and modelled on Shakespeare, Drumev's Ivanko, ubietsūt na Asenia I (Ivanko, the Assassin of Asen I) nevertheless contained better psychological portraits than did the plays of Voinikov.¹⁰³

In non-fiction prose not directly linked to the problems of nationalism, mention can be made of few worthwhile original works. Notably absent, with one or two exceptions, was literature on economic, agricultural and commercial subjects.¹⁰⁴ The writing of the nationalist intellectuals reflected their overriding concern with literary, linguistic and historical topics; they had little training or inclination for technical subjects; and where they did have an interest in them, they translated a foreign work.

Translations, both fiction and non-fiction, served to carry numerous outside ideas to the reading public. But here, too, the intellectuals fell into sharp disagreements. Writers who came under the sway of positivism, such as Karavelov and

¹⁰²Cited in BAN, Inst. za lit., Literatura na Vūzrazhdaneto, p. 216.

¹⁰³Penev, Būlgarska literatura, p. 970.

¹⁰⁴Mintsēs, "Dūrzhavnopolitichnite," pp. 44, 55; Topuzov, Zemedelskite uchilishta, p. 42, n. 1.

Botev, ridiculed those who spent their time translating such dated works as Fenelon's Les Aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse.¹⁰⁵ They saluted, on the other hand, translations of works like John W. Draper's 1863 History of the Intellectual Development of Europe, one of the most significant Comtian studies.¹⁰⁶

The strong criticism of school literature by Drumev, Karavelov and Botev led in the 1860s and 1870s to the use of more up-to-date materials for translations. Copied or original, this educational literature composed the bulk of non-fiction books. The Plovdiv publishers Khristo Danov (1828-1911) and Dragan Manchev (1824-1908) produced the greatest number of titles. Manchev strove for real-life examples in his 1868 Kitka za malki detsa (A Bouquet for Small Children), and in his series Bashtin iazik za malki detsa (The Language of the Fatherland for Small Children), the latter patterned on the work of the progressive Russian pedagogue, Konstantin D. Ushinskii.¹⁰⁷

Other separate publications arose as the needs of the Bulgarian movement demanded. The struggle for a separate church gave rise to a number of books and pamphlets directed against the Greeks. More uniquely, Vasil Cholakov (?-1885) authored two books directed against the Protestant mission-

¹⁰⁵Cf. Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 19, February 23, 1874.

¹⁰⁶Zname, I, Br. 15, May 9, 1875.

¹⁰⁷Kovacheva-Vuleva, Detskoto chetivo, pp. 57, 75-78.

ary effort among the Bulgars.¹⁰⁸ Political issues were treated in works published abroad. The Tsarist attempt in 1861 to exchange Circassians from Central Asia for Bulgarian settlers provoked Rakovski to write the pamphlet, Preselenie v Rusia ili ruskata ubiistvena politika za bulgariti (Resettlement in Russia, or the Muderous Russian Policy Toward the Bulgars). But rather than separate publications, it was the periodical press which was the major forum for this kind of advocacy writing; and while a bit of the publicist surfaced in all writers, the best was authored by those intellectuals who devoted themselves to careers in journalism, most typically as editors.

8

The editors who worked on the more than ninety newspapers and journals published in the post-Crimean period possessed an intense dedication. They were "not only the soul, but also the body" of their publications--money-finders, subscription-takers, publishers and printers. This work came on top of their already heavy responsibilities of writing, translating and proofreading.¹⁰⁹

A study of 56 pre-1878 editors included in the study group has shown that these men had, in their posts, an average age of 34. More than half of these editors had worked

¹⁰⁸Jordan Nikolov, "Vasil Cholakov i protestantskata propaganda prez Vūzrazhdaneto," Ist. pr., XXV, Kn. 4 (1969), pp. 89-102.

¹⁰⁹Andreev, Vūzrozhdenski pechat, p. 181.

previously as teachers; and, a striking illustration of the patriotic enthusiasm of Bulgarian youth, 16 per cent took up editing as students or as recent graduates. In their other biographical particulars, editors paralleled the study group as a whole (see Appendix I).

Editors, like teachers, lacked job stability. Either they abandoned their work after a short time; or, just as often, the publication itself ceased. Only one newspaper (Tsarigradski vestnik) lasted more than ten years; and but three survived longer than five. The majority of periodicals came to an end within a year of their inception.¹¹⁰ Since publishing a periodical was such a highly personal venture, the fate of both editor and periodical was closely linked.

Editors blamed their failures on the deathlike apathy of the public they wanted to address. Echoing a refrain of many editors, Khristo Botev explained the collapse of one of his publications this way:

Budilnikūt [The Alarm Clock] has stopped...because its editor cannot sit hungry and because the printer wants money....In one word, Budilnikūt has stopped for the same reason for which have ceased...all Bulgarians newspapers....Our Bulgarian public does not need newspapers.¹¹¹

(Actually, there was more to it than the public's lethargy. The costs of publication ran high, and subscriptions had to bear the load. The dearness of subscriptions in turn kept

¹¹⁰Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 379.

¹¹¹The quotation is from Nezavisimost, III, Br. 42, July 7, 1873; cf. Pravo, VIII, Br. 26, September 7, 1873.

circulation low--usually to no more than several hundred.²⁰⁴¹¹²

Editors did not expect to become rich, but they did want their publications to survive. So they scrambled for subsidies and loans. Many periodicals had an "angel" among the commercial class. The Georgiev brothers in Romania and the Tŭpchileshtov merchant family in Istanbul sustained a number of periodicals, including those of progressive writers such as Rakovski and Slaveikov.¹¹³ With their money, however, businessmen delivered free advice as well as editorial interference. Nikola Tŭpchileshtov once advised the rebellious and Hellenophobic Rakovski to be "mindful of the government; to be strict toward the Greek clergy, but without insulting the Hellenes."¹¹⁴ The Odessan traders cut off their support of the Bucharest-based Narodnost (Nationality) when its editors adopted an anti-Russian stance. In a celebrated incident, Liuben Karavelov refused to accept editorial controls and at the last moment turned down an offer to edit the newspaper Otechestvo (Fatherland) for the Bucharest "Benevolent Society."¹¹⁵

Censorship was another crown of thorns for the editor. The Ottoman government shut down Bulgarian papers a number

¹¹²Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pečat, pp. 179-180; Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 379; Penev, Bŭlgarska literatura, p. 163.

¹¹³AGSR, I, pp. 114-116; Paskaleva, "Arkhivniiat fond ...Georgievi," p. 73; Nachov, Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov, pp. 50-51.

¹¹⁴AGSR, II, pp. 184-185. ¹¹⁵See below, Chapter VI.

of times and put some Istanbul editors in jail. The government forbade the émigré political newspapers to enter the Empire; and the publications of Rakovski, Karavelov and Botev had to be delivered clandestinely. Thanks to its constitutional guarantees, Romania offered a freer press climate, and the majority of Bulgarian periodicals were published north of the Danube.¹¹⁶

On top of their other difficulties, editors were burdened with a hundred different daily concerns. Contemporaries have described how editors toiled from dawn to dusk in primitive working conditions and pestered constantly with free advice or requests for favors. Among other things, many Bulgars wanted to conduct their personal and business quarrels in the pages of newspapers and magazines. Such irritations forced the early resignations of Gavril Krūstevich and Dimitur Mutev (1818-1864) from the editorship of what was intended to be Bulgaria's chief cultural organ, Bulgarski knizhitsi (Bulgarian Letters, 1858-1862).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶On censorship, see Borshukov, Istoriia.na...zhurnalistika, pp. 376-377, 537; and for examples, D. V., "Dve pisma na Petko Slaveikov za Gabrovskoto uchilishte," Izvestiia na Arkivniiia institut, II (1959), pp. 175-181; and IaNG, II, pp. 265-266. On how the émigré press entered the Bulgarian lands, see Andreev, Vuzrozhdenski pechat, p. 181; and Iurukov, Spomeni, p. 16.

¹¹⁷On Krūstevich, see Arnaudov, Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 38; on Mutev, IaNG, II, pp. 74-77, 699; the working conditions of Karavelov and Botev are noted in Burmov (ed.), Khristo Botev prez pogleda, pp. 105, 109; for the petty personal requests which plagued editors, see Sonia Baeva, "Dnevnikūt na vestnik 'Makedonia'," BAN, Inst. za lit., P. R. Slaveikov, pp. 79-146.

Editors were plagued as well by the contentiousness of the journalism in which they engaged. The feuds of the Istanbul papers deteriorated into personal lawsuits;¹¹⁸ and the Istanbul and émigré pressed waged a vituperous campaign of mutual invective. Unwilling to accept the limitations under which their colleagues in the Ottoman capital worked, radical editors gratuitously insulted them. "The Bulgarian people," wrote Karavelov, "has about as much use from our Tsarigrad papers as it would have from billy-goat's milk."¹¹⁹ Disdain of this sort ran roughshod over the sensitivities of the intellectual as editor, particularly over a man like Slaveikov, who thus suffered not only penury and censorship, but also the insults of his fellow nationalists.

Pathos overflowed in Slaveikov's twenty-year career in journalism. His major work began in June, 1863, when he began in Istanbul the publication of Gaida (Bagpipe), a satirical newspaper. But Slaveikov did not adjust well to life in Istanbul with its expenses and intrigues, and he kept Gaida going, he said, "only to have a vehicle in my hands."¹²⁰ In 1864 the Istanbul Bulgarian leadership offered Slaveikov the chance to edit the newspaper Turtsiia (Turkey), but he refused to assume the post without a government subsidy. A year later the same group held out to him the editorship of

¹¹⁸Cf. Stambolski, Avtobiografiia, I, p. 60.

¹¹⁹Svoboda, II, Br. 26, December 10, 1871.

¹²⁰Tabakov, "Neizdadeni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 220-221.

Suĵetnik (Councilor), its semi-official organ. Slaveikov turned it down, again for financial reasons.¹²¹

The government, meanwhile, had been putting pressure on Slaveikov to tone down the criticism in Gaida. Under the threat of closure, Slaveikov did so; but at the end of 1866 he went through a businessman intermediary to obtain permission to publish the newspaper Makedonia. With this paper, Slaveikov attained the pinnacle of his career as a nationalist activist. The paper's name indicated how it championed the Bulgarian cause; but more than that, Slaveikov utilized its pages to lead the progressive wing of the Bulgarian struggle for a separate church, a movement which in the late 1860s was reaching its climax. Slaveikov's outspokenness caused the paper to be stopped several times.

Trouble, moreover, came not only from the Porte and from the Greek millet authorities, but also from some of Slaveikov's own compatriots. A fighter by temperament, the editor immersed himself in all aspects of the church movement, and the refusal of the conservative Bulgarian business and ecclesiastical elite to countenance a democratic church profoundly disheartened him. In July, 1872, Slaveikov co-authored and published the article "Dvete kasti i vlasti" ("The Two Castes and Powers"), a stinging denunciation of his people's social hierarchy. The article ended with the promise that with "the expulsion of the Greeks...has not

¹²¹D. V., "Dve pisma na Petko Slaveikov," pp. 175-181.

finished the Bulgarian revolution....The time for a new struggle shall come. This battle will have a political and social character....Alas to those who are not ready for it!"¹²² Not another issue of Makedonia appeared.

Slaveikov's monetary problems had been accumulating all along; and in 1871 his creditors had him jailed for a time. Over the next several years, Slaveikov stayed away from politics while attempting, without success, to publish at least six cultural magazines. In 1875, when he was working as an assistant editor for Napreduk (Progress), Slaveikov's creditors caught up with him again, and he was jailed twice.¹²³ The once revered Bulgarian spokesman was now begging acquaintances for small amounts of money.¹²⁴

Slaveikov fell into a morbid despondency. It was at this time that he wrote his pessimistic poem "Ne sme narod" ("We Are Not a People"), and turned away from "his own people in disgust."¹²⁵ In an 1876 letter to his son, Slaveikov even toyed with the idea of suicide.¹²⁶ But then came the

¹²²Makedonia, VI, Br. 18, July 25, 1872.

¹²³Tabakov, "Neizdadeni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 255-256.

¹²⁴Slaveikov (comp.), "Pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 151-154.

¹²⁵Moser, A History of Bulgarian Literature, p. 57.

¹²⁶BIA, f. 141, ed. IIB774; f. 159, ed. IIB5410, IIB5411; Tabakov, "Neizdadeni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 257, 271-275; Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov," XLV, pp. 19, 41-42 and n.

swiftly moving events of the Eastern crisis and of the Russo-Turkish War. The excitement rejuvenated Slaveikov's spirit. His political career had not yet run its course.

The restlessness, rootlessness and aimlessness of life abroad brought to the dedicated émigré editor personal trauma similar to Slaveikov's. Their penury seemed even more oppressive, and the whole lifestyle of these intellectuals lent itself to exaggerated emotionalism. The moral laxness of Romanian cities further disoriented young Bulgars whose early upbringing was still largely patriarchal. In Romania, a contemporary asserted, "even the heavenly angel would become corrupt, would lose his character."¹²⁷

Circumstances collided with ideals, pessimism alternated with optimism, and the émigré intellectual was buffeted by his own personal turmoil. Like his colleagues south of the Danube, the émigré editor was a frantic heart who believed in the power of his ideas--and in the power he wielded as a publicist; indeed, he saw himself as a national messiah. Accordingly, obstacles and frustrations were defeats which could not but shatter him personally; for he had no solid base on which to steady himself. He rocked back wildly, taking out his disappointment in attacks on his colleagues or on the people as a whole. "If Alexander Humboldt would have appeared among us," exploded Karavelov, "the Bulgarians would have burned him at the stake. Thank God that

¹²⁷BAN, Arkhiven institut, Iz arkhiva...Irechek, I, p. 65.

we do not have great men!"¹²⁸

Similarly, though it was the style of contemporary journalism to resort to ad hominem arguments, the radical émigré editors exceeded all limits. Revolutionaries by temperament, they smashed left and right in attacks that went beyond objective criticism to subject opponents to insinuations of spying, promiscuity, murder and homosexuality.¹²⁹

This behavior took its toll. Beset by debts and by factionalism, Karavelov came to doubt his whole journalistic approach. In October, 1874, he ceased publication of his Nezavisimost (Independence) with an apology he was too ashamed to admit:

Brother Bulgarians! In the course of the last five years I have struggled for Bulgarian interests energetically, and I am leaving the field of journalism with a clean conscience and with a quiet heart. In one word, I have paid my debt to my fatherland. Whether I have worked in good conscience, whether my ideas have been right, and whether my program has been useful---... time and dispassionate criticism will decide. And so, good-by!....I beg my compatriots, whom I have attacked, ...to forgive me. Journalism is a difficult and thankless duty.¹³⁰

Khristo Botev, Karavelov's successor in revolutionary journalism, passed through the same stresses and came as well to question the personal vindictiveness of his approach.

¹²⁸Karavelov, Sūbrani sūchinēniia, IX, p. 528; cf. AGSR, I, pp. 53-54, 68-70, 78-79.

¹²⁹Such charges are made, respectively, in Svoboda, I, Br. 18, March 5, 1870; Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 40, August 20, 1874; ibid., IV, Br. 22, March 16, 1874; Svoboda, II, Br. 35, February 2, 1872.

¹³⁰Karavelov, Sūbrani sūchinēniia, IX, p. 478.

"Drasov," he wrote to a colleague in 1875, "I am prepared for the goal to use all terrible means, except baseness and the lie, because...we have to be persons, then Bulgarians and patriots."¹³¹

9

As well as in their journalistic style, Bulgar intellectuals revealed much about their own personality in the definitions they gave of Bulgarian actuality. These concerns produced perhaps the most original Bulgarian writing. The intellectuals used magazines and newspapers more to teach than to inform. Their advocacy journalism and social criticism cropped up in cultural magazines, in humoristic publications, and in many newspaper articles. A special genre used by Slaveikov and perfected by Karavelov and Botev in a series of writings entitled "Znaesh li ti koi sme?" ("Do You Know Who We Are?") was the feuilleton. The two émigré journalists fused fiction and fact to forge their feuilletons into a sharp weapon of social criticism.¹³²

In some questions of national development, intellectuals had little to say. Brought up as they were in towns and making them their center of activity, the educated elite had a scant knowledge of agriculture and the peasantry. Publicists generally ignored the problems of the

¹³¹Botev, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, I, p. 491.

¹³²See the introduction in Tsveta Undzhieva (ed.), Vŭzrozhdenski feiletoni (S.: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1968).

largest part of their people, content to voice vague physiocratic notions about the need for improvement. (A physiocratic ideal likewise motivated the major exception, Dimitŭr Khranov [1846-1915], editor of the agricultural magazine Stupan.¹³³) All journalists, radicals included, considered the peasant to be the owner of the land he tilled; and the progressive intelligentsia's agrarian program, to the extent they had one, went little beyond criticism of fiscal abuse.¹³⁴

Writers did call for agrarian improvement as a way to curtail foreign exploitation of the Bulgarian lands. Nearly every publicist espoused nationalistic economic protectionism. They painted darkly the effect of foreign competition on native craft industry, they prodded craftsmen to face up to this competition, and they criticized the public at large for its foreign tastes. "We grasp everything foreign," editorialized the Istanbul paper Pravo (Justice), "which... takes the last five-grosha piece from our pocket."¹³⁵ The intellectuals--not, interestingly enough, businessmen--advocated patriotic stock societies to protect their people's economy. The forty-odd schemes they so devised did not see

¹³³Stupan, I, Br. 1, January 1, 1874; cf. Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov," XLIII, pp. 115-116.

¹³⁴Khristov, "The Agrarian Problem," pp. 65-70; Vasili Konobeev, "Za agrarnata programa na bulgarskite revoliutsioneri prez 60-70-te godini na XIX v.," Ist. pr., XXVII, Kn. 3 (1971), pp. 19-47.

¹³⁵Pravo, VII, Br. 36, November 17, 1873; cf. Napreduk, IX, Br. 2, July 18, 1874; and Turtsia, VIII, Br. 40, November 18, 1872.

the light of day or soon collapsed.¹³⁶ Revolutionary writers, meanwhile, dismissed the possibility of economic progress in what they saw as an Ottoman atmosphere of exploitation, corruption and insecurity.¹³⁷

The intellectuals were almost unanimous in their general criticism of their own society. They shared a deep love for their people, and they held it to possess the potential for greatness--but, to realize its destiny the people had first to free itself from the defects engendered by its five-hundred years of slavery--apathy, egoism, materialism, divisiveness, and lack of a confident national self-awareness. The last shortcoming acted as the umbrella for all others. The absence of ethnic pride, remarked Karavelov, kept the Bulgars "behind all the other European nationalities." "As for now," wrote Slaveikov, "we with our European clothes and with our laughable pretensions à la Europe are nothing but an anachronism." "Do you know who we are?" asked Karavelov. "We are ourselves, we are for weeping over, we are for despising, we are for the cudgel, we are for laughter...."¹³⁸

Intellectuals held the people's servility partly to

¹³⁶Zhak Natan, "Kŭm vŭprosa za pŭrvonachalното natriupvane na kapitŭla v Bulgariia," Izvestiia na Ikonomicheski institut, I-II (1954), p. 30.

¹³⁷Cf. Svoboda, I, Br. 52, December 10, 1872.

¹³⁸The quotations are cited from, respectively, Svoboda, III, Br. 17, October 21, 1872; Penev, Bulgarska literatura, pp. 468-469; Svoboda, III, Br. 9, August 26, 1872.

blame for the power of the chorbadzhii, a class whom they despised. Periodicals published hundreds of reports on the abuses and the obstructionism of the notables. Rakovski set the tone when he excluded the chorbadzhii from his concept of the people (narod), and when he characterized them as descendants of the Janissaries and as an oligarchy of evil-doers. The economic malpractices and the Phanariot associations of the notables united against them practically the whole of the educated elite.¹³⁹

This unanimity ceased when intellectuals considered other social groups; for while conservative and moderate publicists discounted the presence of further social cleavage among the Bulgarian people, the progressive and revolutionary press singled out parts of the merchant class for bitter attack. Rakovski and Slaveikov, for example, both denied the big merchantry's claim to act as a plutocracy.¹⁴⁰ To this criticism, the radical press added a measure of socio-economic antagonism. It satirized the merchantry's pretensions of social superiority (calling them the "golden calves"), its exclusiveness (they "despise young intellectuals because we have no wealth"), and its economic practices (characterized

¹³⁹For Rakovski, see Bulgarska dnevnitsa, I, Br. 16, October 9, 1857; and for other newspaper comment on the chorbadzhii, see Tsarigradskii vestnik, VIII, Br. 371, March 22, 1858; Turtsiia, VII, Br. 43, December 11, 1871; Svoboda, II, Br. 50, May 27, 1872; Pravo, VIII, Br. 37, November 23, 1873; and Shutosh, I, Br. 19, March 9, 1874.

¹⁴⁰Makedoniia, II, Br. 10, 1868; Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 195.

as their "chorbadzhiluk"). Other targets included the Grecophilism of some businessmen ("I have made my money not with the Bulgarian, but with the Greek language"), their desire for praise in return for scant benevolence ("Can they not give me at least a small medal?"), and their actual miserliness in the face of the people's needs ("Can the true patriot walk the same road with the gang [taifa] that thinks only about its pocketbook?").¹⁴¹

The alienation of many intellectuals triggered no less querulous a stance toward the educated elite as a whole. While some publicists piously summoned educated Bulgars to the national arena, Karavelov, Botev and others raked the intelligentsia (and they used the term¹⁴²) over the coals. They mocked it for its concern with "how to wear which gloves, how to look through glasses, and how to play the gallant with women." Further: "Me! Take a Bulgarian girl! How can a learned and educated person take a block of wood who cannot say...bonjour or adieu?" An article ascribed to Botev lashed out at the "onanism" of the educated elite and concluded: "The poor people! It has no writers to lay bare its life of suffering; it has no newspapermen to blazon for it the trail of the new ideas of contemporary science; it has

¹⁴¹The quotations are from *Nezavisimost*, III, Br. 41, June 30, 1873; IV, Br. 26, April 13, 1874; IV, Br. 31, May 18, 1874; and III, Br. 50, September 1, 1873.

¹⁴²But not consistently. The author has come across about fifteen or twenty occasions when the term was used.

no teachers to teach it...how to free itself."¹⁴³

The radical writers also forced a cleavage in the formulation of a program for national cultural development. Early revivalists and the majority of the post-Crimean elite viewed education as the means by which the people had to mature as a viable nationality before it could hope to succeed as an independent nation-state.¹⁴⁴ Against this evolutionist program stood the revolutionaries who, though they did not deny the value of learning, argued that five hundred years was patience enough; and, in Karavelov's words, evolutionary "progress is doubtful, [since] in Turkey can develop neither humane thought, nor proper education."¹⁴⁵

This fundamental dichotomy affected the intelligentsia's perception of both cultural and political issues. Religion, for example, was accepted as a pillar of cultural nationalism,¹⁴⁶ but beyond that the intellectuals split into threes. A traditionalistic wing strove through religious magazines to strengthen the spiritual fiber of the people.¹⁴⁷ Progressive writers, on the other hand, saw the church as a social

¹⁴³The quotations are from, respectively, Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 13, January 12, 1874; Svoboda, II, Br. 33, January 29, 1872; Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 4, November 10, 1873.

¹⁴⁴Cf. Makedonia, II, Br. 10, 1868.

¹⁴⁵Nezavisimost, III, Br. 52, September 15, 1873.

¹⁴⁶Narodnost, II, Br. 4, December 15, 1868.

¹⁴⁷See the program article in Slava, II, Br. 1, August 1, 1872.

organization able to carry out humanitarian and patriotic³⁰⁷ goals. The culminating expression of this current of opinion came in 1872 when Todor Ikonomov (1835-1892)--a Bulgar trained in the Kiev theological academy--published an article entitled "One Step Forward," in which he called for the Bulgarians "to change in our church all of that...which is old and not in accord with the times and with our present position."¹⁴⁸

The article caused a sensation among the Bulgarian community of Istanbul, but Karavelov shrugged it off as nothing new. Whether to call Karavelov and the other revolutionaries deists, agnostics or atheists has remained a matter of conjecture. Simply put, like other European radical democrats and socialists, they considered Christ a charter member of the progressive camp, and they pointed out time and again the damage wrought on Christ's church by Christ's disciples.¹⁴⁹

The Bulgarian intelligentsia likewise divided over the philosophy of upbringing and education. Khristo Danov, a writer and publisher of children's literature, reiterated the rationalist-utilitarian principles of the previous half-century: the practice of religion, moral conduct, the domination of mind over matter, and the path to enrichment through education. To argue a theory of upbringing based on

¹⁴⁸"Edna stupka napred," Chitalishte, II, Br. 17, June 1, 1872; and II, Br. 18, June 15, 1872.

¹⁴⁹Cf. Svoboda, II, Br. 22, November 13, 1871.

self-improvement and self-help, Lazar Iovchev acquainted Bulgars with Benjamin Franklin, Horace Mann and others. Iovchev tied his ideas on upbringing to a classical education, but it was Nesho Bonchev who was Bulgaria's most prominent (though not most consistent) classicist. Bonchev also echoed the conservative educational reasoning he had heard in Russia when he called for schools to avoid or to limit the teaching of history, physical sciences and philosophy.¹⁵⁰

Bonchev proposed, as did other publicists, the establishment of special and higher schools. "I read, I read," objected Karavelov, "and I found nothing more than programs for gymnasiums, for universities; and we...do not yet even have...a simple school, in which our children [can] learn the alphabet." Karavelov wanted attention paid to village schools; and he warned parents and teachers not to interfere with the child's free and natural development if they desired to produce useful citizens and men with character. More specifically, Karavelov advocated a positivistic education. "Every single subject," he wrote, "which advises you to believe and not to think, is harmful; but every single subject which is based on mathematical fact and which is concerned with the positive and the necessary truths...is useful and

¹⁵⁰For Danov, see Letostrui, I, (1869), p. 183; for Iovchev, see his "Belezhki ot edin znamenit anglichanin vŭrkhu uchenieto i vŭzpitanieto," Chitalishte, II, Kn. 7, December 30, 1871. On Bonchev, see "Novi dokumenti," doc. 138; and idem, "Za uchilishtata," pp. 10-16.

necessary." "Long live the natural sciences!," Karavelov proclaimed. "Long live arithmetic!"¹⁵¹

Although the divided counsels of the Bulgarian intellectuals were to sharpen when they broached political questions,¹⁵² their journalism nevertheless contributed many benefits to their people's cultural development. For one thing, the pages of the periodical press allowed educated Bulgars from all over to meet one another and to exchange ideas and information. The journalists, furthermore, encouraged their readers to shoulder all sorts of cultural undertakings, and they acquainted them with European developments. Bulgarian publicists pushed a number of progressive ideas for their own sake, as when they espoused the education of Bulgarian women as an absolute necessity for the proper rearing of good citizens.¹⁵³

The greatest service of the journalists, however, was spreading the message of nationalism. Rather than by abstract discussions, they did so by concentrating on those branches of cultural expression which to them revealed their people's distinctiveness and strength. Beyond that, they by and large made their case for nationalism by appeals to emotion. They copied the tactic first used by Paisius of

¹⁵¹The first quotation is from Svoboda, II, Br. 41, March 25, 1872; the others are from Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 41, July 27, 1874.

¹⁵²See Chapter VI.

¹⁵³Cf. Bulgarski knizhitsi, I, Kn. 1, January, 1860; and Nezavisimost, III, Br. 40, June 23, 1873.

Hilendar--chastisement of the Bulgars for having foresaken their national identity and pride.¹⁵⁴ The publicists went on to point out that Bulgarians had been at one time a great and viable people. All the Slavs, wrote Karavelov, owed their earliest culture and their "Slavic learning to Bulgaria and its apostles. The most unconscionable liar cannot destroy that historical fact."¹⁵⁵ The "liars" were especially Greeks, and throughout the late Renaissance Bulgarian publicists used the Hellenic foil to stimulate the consciousness of their own people.¹⁵⁶ Writers who published abroad introduced an additional foil--what they called the Asiatic and barbaric Turks who were, like the Greeks, racial oppressors of the Bulgars.¹⁵⁷ Once nationality was recognized, however, enmity between peoples would cease--such was the nationalist intellectual's naive belief in the power and rightfulness of the cause for which he toiled.¹⁵⁸

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While journalists debated the big and small questions of the national movement, another group of cultural disseminators turned to the less vocal work of the printing and

¹⁵⁴Cf. Raiko Zhinzifov, "Dve dumi kŭm chitatelite," Bratski trud, Kn. 4 (1862), pp. 3-6.

¹⁵⁵Nezavisimost, III, Br. 35, May 19, 1873.

¹⁵⁶Cf. Sŭvetnik, I, Br. 27, September 23, 1863.

¹⁵⁷Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 9, December 15, 1873.

¹⁵⁸Makedonia, I, Br. 1, December 2, 1867.

distribution of literature. In the third quarter of the ³¹¹ century publishing and distribution were becoming differentiated fields. It helped to have a press, but ownership of one was not indispensable; indeed, foreign-owned presses turned out more than half of the books published during the Renaissance. Seventeen Bulgarian presses opened before 1878, most located in Istanbul or abroad, in Romania. That these seventeen presses passed through the hands of some thirty individuals testified to the riskiness of the profession.¹⁵⁹

Some revivalists resorted to cooperative publishing ventures. In 1870 Petūr P. Karapetrov (1845-1903), an Istanbul printer, persuaded his compatriots in the Ottoman capital to join him in "The Bulgarian Printing Society 'Industry'." Financed by subscriptions, the Society subsidized the publication of a number of translations of European belles-lettres. In 1873 Karapetrov purchased a press, and over the next two years he turned out about twenty books and four periodicals.¹⁶⁰ Ivan Momchilov (1819-1869), a former teacher turned full-time writer, was another revivalist who viewed a combined commercial and cultural association as the best guarantee for profitable publishing. On Cyril and Methodius day in 1868 in Turnovo, he gathered together a handful of prominent activists to form a book-publishing

¹⁵⁹Kutinchev, Pechatarstvo, pp. 218, 220-227, 230 and passim.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 73-81, 95-96, 219; and Nachov, "Tsarigrad," pp. 55, 76.

partnership. But the association lasted only one year; for³¹² Momchilov, its guiding spirit, died on an 1869 business trip to Vienna.¹⁶¹

Of the Bulgars who took up publishing as a business, two--Dragan Manchev (1824-1908) and Khristo Danov (1828-1911)--weathered initial obstacles and flourished. As a teacher in Perushtitsa and Klisura, Danov discovered the growing demand for school and religious literature. He saved his money, purchased books and religious objects in Belgrade, and did extremely well as an itinerant book-dealer. In 1857, deciding to form his own business, Danov got together with two partners in Plovdiv to set up a book-dealers association. One of the partners operated the bookstore and the bindery which the firm opened in that city; another distributed books in the provinces; and Danov, besides selling, solicited manuscripts and dealt with foreign printers. A reorganization of the firm took place in 1862 when the Plovdiv teacher Ioakim Gruev replaced one of the original partners. Gruev promised to furnish original and translated manuscripts. The firm was now publishing from five to ten textbooks a year. It reinvested its profits, opened outlets in Ruse and Velos, and captured the biggest part of the market in educational literature. In the decade of the 1860s the firm published or purchased for sale some hundreds of thousands of books. It also sold calendars, pictures and

¹⁶¹BIA, f. 60, ed. IIA4162-4179, IIA6165; Radivoev, Biografiia na...Momchilov, pp. 43-50.

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Danov's success in setting up a modern publishing business marked the advances gradually being made in the post-Crimean era by Bulgarian culture. It was another step forward in the institutionalization of that culture. Before the liberation of Bulgaria there was an even more important development along this line, a development that was to offer a select group of nationalist intellectuals the opportunity to exercise a kind of official cultural authority.

That even was the 1869 founding in Brăila of the Bulgarian Literary Society (Bulgarsko knizhovno druzhestvo), the precursor of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The idea of a society similar to the cultural organizations of other peoples had begun to appeal to Bulgar intellectuals before the Crimean War, but it was not until 1867 that Vasil Stoyanov (1839-1910), then a publicist in Prague, carried the

¹⁶²Danov, the dynamo of the operation, broke with his partners in 1873 over a bookkeeping dispute. After repeated attempts to obtain permission for his own press, he worked out an agreement in 1874 with a fellow countryman in Vienna, Ianko S. Kovachev (1852-?), who took it on his shoulders to open a printing press in the Austrian capital. The new partnership turned out about fifty Bulgarian books during the next two years. In 1878 the partners transferred the press to the liberated city of Plovdiv, where Danov went on in his remarkable career while Kovachev left to set up an independent business in Sofia. On Danov's career, see Kutinchev, Pechatarstvo, pp. 165-171; Barutchiiski (ed.), Khristo G. Danov; and Anna Likomanova, "Vesti za knizhninata ni predi osvobozhdenieto po edin tefter," Rodina, II, Kn. 4 (June, 1940), pp. 146-149.

idea to its realization. Rounding up support from several³¹⁴ fellow intellectuals, Stoianov proceeded to collect pledges of help from several hundred businessmen in the émigré colonies. Largely as a result of his initiative and work, an assembly of intellectuals and merchants met in Brăila in September, 1869, to draft a charter for a national literary and cultural society. (Brăila was chosen because it was located between Bulgaria and the émigré colonies, and also due to the uncertainties of the Porte's reaction to an organization founded within the Ottoman Empire.)¹⁶³

The first paragraph of the charter expressed the Society's goal: "to spread universal education among the Bulgarian people and to show it the way to its material enrichment." The charter called for the Society to publish several journals, to act as a publishing and translating agency, to be a library of deposit for Bulgarian literature, and to serve as a clearing-house for cultural programs. Operating funds were to come mostly from the interest of investment capital gathered in the form of pledges.¹⁶⁴

The charter specified three executive officers or "active members" (deistvitelnite chlenove): a "president," a "member," and a "record-keeper" or factotum (delovoditel). The founding assembly elected Marin Drinov (1838-1906) as

¹⁶³Arnaudov's history (Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo) treats the origins and founding of the Society in detail.

¹⁶⁴See the ustav of the Society in DBkd, pp. 539-548.

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president, Vasil Drumev (1840-1901) as the "member" and Vasil Stoianov as the factotum. Drinov chose to stay in Russia, where he was pursuing an academic career, and the responsibilities--including the editorship of Periodichesko spisanie (Periodical Magazine), the Society's journal--fell on Drumev and Stoianov. In 1872 Stoianov resigned and in the following year Drumev became a bishop. Todor Peev (1838-1904) took over as editor and factotum until the liberation.

The Society's founders modelled it on Western literary groups--and that was their first mistake; for the Bulgars did not yet have the diversity of intellectual talents nor the audience to justify the grandiose goals the Society set for itself. These aims, in the words of the historian of the subject, were a "utopia able only to bring the pioneers to despair."¹⁶⁵ The Literary Society achieved only a fraction of its stated goals. From 1870-1876 it published eight separate issues of a journal projected to come out monthly; and it curtailed rather than expanded its other activities. The Society enjoyed little prestige; and it lost ground in the number of its supporters. It quickly exhausted the pledges it had actually received.¹⁶⁶

Factionalism plagued the Society from the outset. The big merchants of Bucharest and Odessa fought over which group was to dominate the new institution. Thwarted, the

¹⁶⁵ Arnaudov, Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 118.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 208 and passim.

Bucharest businessmen pulled out; and the Odessa members, dissatisfied with the limited extent of their influence, obstructed the operation of the Society by withholding the pledges collected among the émigrés in Russia.¹⁶⁷

The Bucharest merchants, furthermore, viewed the Society in terms of their political and attitudinal differences with the "Young," that is, the radical émigré intellectuals whom they feared would take over the Society and push it in a radical direction. The "Old," as the businessmen around the "Benevolent Society" were called, envisaged the new institution as another way in which inexperienced intellectuals would try to "mount the high horse." "Our learned ones," summed up Khristo Georgiev, "are feather-brained and seek after big affairs, while we have only little things."¹⁶⁸ The "Young," for their part, wanted an institution free from the control of the "Old" Bulgarians; and they lent their support to Stoianov and to the other initiators of the Society.¹⁶⁹ Very soon, however, the "Young" Bulgars together with a large segment of the intelligentsia within the Ottoman Empire turned against the Society and its executive officers.

The inefficiency of the Society's leadership and the domineering literary stance of Periodichesko spisanie disap-

¹⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 91, 132-134, 252-255.

¹⁶⁸IaNG, I, pp. 296-297.

¹⁶⁹Arnaudov, Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 113.

pointed the moderate activists who had enthusiastically welcomed the Society's appearance. Many of the moderates took a constructive tone in their criticism. Gavril Krustevich, for example, who like many writers criticized in Periodichesko spisanie had cause to be antagonistic, sympathized with the plight of the Society's administrators. Nevertheless, the inability of the "active members" to fulfill the organization's charter turned many moderate intellectuals against it.¹⁷⁰

Karavelov, the leader of the "Young" Bulgarians, let his editorial silence on the 1870 appearance of the first issue of Periodichesko spisanie tell as nothing else could this faction's immediate and total rejection of the Society's leadership.¹⁷¹ What had happened? Mainly, the radicals were infuriated by the attempts of the executive officers of the Society to steer a middle road politically, that is, to deal with the Istanbul Turcophiles as well as with the revolutionary émigrés.¹⁷² To this ideological factor was joined the "Young's" criticism of the Society's failure to live up to its statute.

As was the pattern of the mutual relations of the Bulgarian intellectuals, furthermore, the "Young's" charges

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹For the points raised, see DBkd, pp. 221-222, 258-260, 476-479; Arnaudov, Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, pp. 170, 178-180.

¹⁷²Arnaudov, Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 157.

took a personal slant. An 1872 attack in Karavelov's Svoboda dealt this way with Drinov, then on a tour of Western Europe:

A third way [to be a hypocrite]. Publish in "Periodichesko spisanie" several letters...from Italy, that you, as president of this or that society, are searching about the streets of Naples for Bulgarian antiquities and that you have already found great things; announce likewise that everything which you are doing is for the use of the society. Of course, that the society be so benevolent [as to be sure] that you receive your regular monthly pay. Courage! When you have finished your work in Naples, then please come back to Brăila, beguile us a little with various postcards and build yourself up with having gathered up the whole of Bulgarian history in Naples; and when you are thinking of leaving Brăila, then gather together all your discoveries, put them in your pocket and go.¹⁷³

In the opinion of Karavelov and other radicals, the Society's executive officers were dishonest men who saw their posts as sinecures.¹⁷⁴

In an action unexplainable on any rational grounds, Karavelov, within a month of publishing the attack on Drinov, proposed a fusion of the Literary Society with a projected association of his own.¹⁷⁵ Answering for the Society, Drumev declined the offer and went on to say:

You ask me how you can be useful to us....Here is how: if you always write the naked truth about the Society, without distorting the true state of affairs...and without asking the impossible from the Society or its active members--then you will be useful to this national undertaking.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Svoboda, III, Br. 4, July 22, 1872.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., II, Br. 35, February 12, 1872.

¹⁷⁵Arnaudov, Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, p. 192.

¹⁷⁶DBkd, pp. 294-295.

The leadership of the Society had cause to be angry not only with Karavelov and other radicals, but with the intellectuals generally. Editors had not publicized their efforts; subscribers reneged; and problems occurred over the submission of money collected on the Society's behalf.¹⁷⁷

Drumev and Stoianov personalized their disappointments. The battles they waged, they wrote in 1871 to one of their old teachers, "very much kill the soul; for the opponents are intrigue, thick-headedness,...envy and other such petty nonsense. And note, teacher, that from nowhere is there a sympathetic word for us and for our work." The two men blamed their failures both on the ill-will of their opponents and on the Bulgarian people itself--it "still does not have enough people who sincerely appreciate the high significance of such institutions."¹⁷⁸

But most of the blame fell on the Bulgarian intellectuals themselves, and on their inability to work together effectively. To charges that he regarded the Society as "a cow which gives a lot of milk,"¹⁷⁹ and to threats against his person, Stoianov remarked sarcastically that the "revolution is not happening in Bulgaria, but here...in Brăila."¹⁸⁰ But it was not just a question of political

¹⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 242-246, 494-495.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 169-170, 300-303, 377.

¹⁷⁹Svoboda, III, Br. 7, August 12, 1872.

¹⁸⁰BAN, Arkhiven institut, Iz arkhiva na...Irechek, I, pp. 40-42.

outlook; for troubles cropped up within the leadership of ³²⁰
the Society itself. In 1875 Drumev commiserated with Peev
on the latter's difficulties in getting contributions from
Drinov and Bonchev. Do not be surprised, Drumev told him,
"they are the aristocrats of our learned world...and they
don't always feel like doing work which does not correspond
with their aristocratic worth."¹⁸¹ In a phrase, the Society
came aground on the shoals of the personalities of the very
people for whom it could have served as an instrument of
power and influence.

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Even in the best of circumstances, then, some of the
shapers of Bulgarian cultural awareness found neither the
spiritual nor the material satisfaction they had expected;
and their personal disappointments affected the nature of
their work. Not only were these men true believers--the
frantic hearts of nationalism; they were also individuals
who fused their pursuit of the idea with a quest for reward
and respect. For that reason, their frustration took a
heavier toll than that normally exacted when reality shat-
ters naive ideals. The acerbic and divisive behavior of the
intellectuals often paralyzed schools, claimed a dispropor-
tionate share of literary work, and aborted the only national
cultural organization Bulgaria had. Also damaging to the

¹⁸¹DBkd, p. 455.

movement was the fact that personal despair led many gifted nationalists to full or partial resignations from the work to which they had hoped to dedicate their lives.

The intellectuals blamed the people and its circumstances for their frustrations--and indeed they had to carry out their work in the face of countless obstacles. There was no state to help them in the tremendous labors needed to overcome the inertia of a people which had for centuries lived in backwardness. Almost all branches of cultural work had to start on the weakest kind of foundation. Schools, for example, had to be built literally and figuratively from the ground up, and by communities which lacked the power to obtain adequate financial support. Furthermore, until schools and general cultural advancement created a true reading public, literature in all of its forms would remain a risky career, one filled with many disappointments for the aspiring writer.

Against the background of these obstacles, the intellectuals of the late Renaissance accomplished remarkable successes. In less than three decades they brought a system of modern primary and middle education to tens of towns and to many villages. Thanks largely to the work of teachers and other local intellectuals, the Bulgarian citizenry had begun to benefit from a variety of cultural institutions and activities--libraries, clubs for public discussion, theatricals, bookstores, evening schools, exhibits. And whatever

its quality relative to other literatures, Bulgarian writing was by the 1870s making rapid strides and was educating thousands of readers--a far cry from three or four decades earlier, when the reading of a Bulgarian book was almost unknown. Finally, the cultural work of the intellectuals was helping to unify the people and to shape what was becoming perhaps the strongest national consciousness of any Balkan people. It was this awareness that was to be relied on by that part of the intelligentsia which actively sought to advance Bulgaria's administrative or political freedom.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUEST FOR A NATIONALIST MISSION: (II) THE POLITICAL PURSUITS OF THE BULGARIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

As well as their cultural work, Bulgarian intellectuals of the post-Crimean period sought ways to inspire and guide a movement for recognition of their 'people's' autonomy or independence. Many did so in the context of their culture-related occupations--the priest who led the local challenge to the Phanariot bishop, the teacher who formed a revolutionary committee, the émigré journalist who called the people to arms. Occupations offering more formal involvement in political or quasi-political affairs--or affairs which can be seen as political because of the eventual triumph of Bulgarian nationalism in the form of a nation-state--were not many, but they existed. The struggle for a separate church, for example, combined both occupations and nationalistic work for a part of the educated elite, lay and cleric. Other Bulgars could hope to carry forward the idea of Bulgarian autonomy by working within the Ottoman bureaucracy. A third way to have a political role was to work for a foreign government actively concerned with Balkan affairs. Finally, there was self-pro-

claimed leadership of a revolutionary movement.

The Bulgarian intellectuals who pursued such roles and occupations had neither a prior nor a total claim to the control of the movement. The big merchants, particularly those in Istanbul and the émigré colonies, assumed the right to make the important decisions--and they had already organized. In 1853 the businessmen of Bucharest and Odessa set up their own political committees to assist Bulgarian participation in the Crimean War, and both bodies continued to exist and to seek to direct the course of Bulgarian nationalism. At about the same time merchants in Istanbul stepped to the forefront of the struggle for an autocephalous church, a movement which --because of the millet principle's equation of ethnic identity with religious profession--had separatist implications far beyond the ecclesiastical dimension. The importance and the complexity of this question require a brief survey of its major post-Crimean developments.¹

2

The outbreak of the Crimean War found the church dispute raging in a number of localities whose Bulgarian populations were demanding Bulgarian bishops. In Istanbul, things were quiet, although the Bulgarian community of the capital had set up its own parish, one administered by a council of leading businessmen and Bulgar officials high in the Ottoman

¹See Chapter II for the earlier phases of the question.

service. It was this group which sprang into action following the 1856 Hatt-ı Hümayun. Pointing to the government's proposal to reform the millets, the Bulgars told the Porte of their grievances against the Greek-controlled Orthodox regime and, as a solution, they asked for an independent Bulgarian hierarchy.² At the same time the Istanbul leaders asked their compatriots in provincial towns to prepare similar petitions. The council further suggested that the petitions be brought to the capital by special community representatives. About twenty delegates arrived in late 1856, and they met with a group of twenty of the capital's Bulgars. This assembly in effect empowered the Istanbul body to act as a permanent council in the name of the Bulgarian people.³

The Porte, meanwhile, had answered the Bulgar petitions by noting that it was putting pressure on the Patriarchate of Constantinople to reform millet affairs. But when in late 1856 a Patriarchal assembly discussed millet reform, only four of its fifty members turned out to be Bulgars.⁴ The assembly rejected Bulgarian separatist demands, declaring them to be incompatible with the canons of the Orthodox Church.⁵ (But the Hellene-dominated assembly was also con-

²Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makarionovski, p. 155.

³Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, pp. 86, 112.

⁴Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, p. 98.

⁵Basing its arguments on the findings of the Seven Councils, the Patriarchate declared that a church could not be established simply on the basis of ethnicity. The Bulgarians refuted this interpretation of the canons.

cerned about the effect of Slav claims on the "Great Idea" [Megale Idea], the reunification of all lands once controlled by Greeks.) The assembly's action, plus the refusal of the Patriarchate to name more Bulgarian bishops, provoked the Istanbul leadership to a drastic measure.

That act, meant to force the issue, was the celebrated Easter incident of April, 1860. At the service at the Istanbul Bulgarian church on that day, the celebrant, the Bulgarian bishop Hilary of Macariopolis, omitted to mention the name of the Patriarch at the required place in the liturgy. Hilary's act, in which he was joined by two other bishops, was tantamount to a Bulgarian rejection of the Patriarch as their ecclesiastical leader. The Patriarchate immediately imposed an interdiction on Hilary and called for the Porte, as the upholder of millet authority, to exile him and his concelebrants. Nevertheless, the fait accompli excited the Bulgars and encouraged them to go forward. In the following June the Istanbul leaders elected a Provisional Mixed Council of five men to act as a "shadow" church-millet leadership for the Bulgarian people.⁶

In 1861 the Provisional Mixed Council summoned another assembly in Istanbul. About thirty delegates came from the provinces, and in the spring and summer of that year they and their Istanbul compatriots formulated an eight-point program of ecclesiastical demands. A delegation took the proposal to

⁶Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, pp. 151, 187.

the Porte. The government, unwilling at this point to im-³²⁷pose a decision of its own, set up a Greek-Bulgarian committee to seek a compromise settlement of the Bulgarian grievances.⁷ The Porte's temporizing and its earlier exile of the offending bishops convinced a number of Bulgars that a compromise was necessary.

The intense nationalism of other Bulgarian leaders, however, permitted no retreat. The government's delay and the Patriarchate's adamancy led them to join the faction seeking a separate church through union with Rome. This movement had begun when Roman Catholic missionaries showed up in force after the Crimean War. With the Russian government passive after its defeat, the French and Austrian-backed Catholic effort won some initial successes, though not especially for religious reasons. The missionaries promised that Catholic Bulgars would receive the backing of Western governments, and they offered a form of conversion not without its appeal--the retention of language, ritual and traditions in return for acceptance of papal authority and Roman dogmas. For some Bulgarian leaders, a Bulgarian Catholic Church seemed to be an acceptable way to win millet autonomy.⁸ Taking advantage of the 1861 impasse, a delegation of Bulgarians travelled to Rome, where the Pope consecrated one of their number, an aged monk, as the Archbishop of the Bulgarian Uniate

⁷Ibid., pp. 165-168.

⁸Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 170.

Church.⁹

That Church did not survive long as a viable institution. A frightened Russian embassy joined forces with the pro-Russian and pro-Orthodox majority among the Bulgarian leaders in an intensive counterattack. Pointing out that the Uniates were dividing the people at a crucial time in its history, Orthodox spokesmen succeeded in turning public opinion against the adherents of Rome.¹⁰ Through fair means and foul, furthermore, they persuaded the Uniate leaders, the bishop included, to leave Istanbul, thereby decapitating the movement.¹¹

But the Uniate threat remained so long as the Bulgars failed to obtain satisfaction from the Patriarchate. Over the next several years the parties themselves made little progress toward a settlement. Then in late 1864 there arrived in Istanbul a new Russian ambassador, Nikolai P. Ignat'ev. Reversing the hitherto timorous Russian policy on this dispute within the Orthodox world, Ignat'ev undertook an aggressive diplomacy to find a solution that would satisfy the Bulgarians without alienating the Greeks.¹²

⁹Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, p. 128.

¹⁰Kiril, Patriarkh Bŭlgarski, Avksentii Veleshki: Biografichen ocharok (S.: Sinodalno izdatelstvo, 1965), p. 18.

¹¹See below, p. 342.

¹²Thomas A. Meininger, N. P. Ignatiev and the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, 1864-1872: A Study in Personal Diplomacy (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 28-29.

By 1867 Ignat'ev convinced the Patriarch to propose an agreement that went a long way toward meeting the Bulgarian separatist demands. But extreme Bulgarian nationalists refused to accept the offer, claiming that it failed to recognize Slav claims to all of Macedonia and Thrace.¹³ The territorial issue moved to the forefront, where it was to stay and to paralyze all future negotiations.

The next move was up to the government. Worried by disturbances in the Bulgarian lands in 1867 and 1868, and feeling the pressure of the Russian ambassador and its own Bulgarian advisors, the Porte, in February, 1870, decided to allow the Bulgars to form a separate church.¹⁴ The government's decision took the form of an imperial decree or ferman which set up a Bulgarian Exarchate. Though a lesser ecclesiastical jurisdiction than a patriarchate, the Bulgarian Exarchate was to be completely free in its internal administration. The ferman did not grant the Bulgars all the dioceses they had claimed, but there was a saving clause which would permit the new church to add new diocese through plebiscites.¹⁵

The Bulgarian leadership began to organize the Exarchate. The first task was to draft a statute, which the Bulgarian Mixed Council proceeded to do. In the winter of

¹³Ibid., pp. 82-87. ¹⁴Ibid., pp. 130-131.

¹⁵For an English translation of the ferman, see Richard von Mach, The Bulgarian Exarchate (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), pp. 12-15.

1870, its draft prepared, the Council summoned delegates from the provinces to meet as a constituent assembly for the new church. This assembly sat far into the summer of 1871 before its members reached agreement on the final version of the Exarchate's statute. The Mixed Council then took the statute to the Porte for its formal approval.¹⁶

Ignat'ev, meanwhile, had been trying to avoid a break in the Orthodox world by negotiating a direct settlement between the Greeks and the Bulgars. His efforts, however, failed, and by early 1872 the Patriarchate was calling for a general council of the church to declare the Bulgars to be in schism. Unconcerned with the threat of schism, in February, 1872, the Bulgar Mixed Council chose Bishop Anthimus of Vidin (Antim Vidinski) as the Exarch of the new church. On the feast of SS. Cyril and Methodius, May 11, 1872, Anthimus celebrated the liturgy at the Bulgarian church in Istanbul. Afterwards, he read an act which proclaimed the independence of the Exarchate.¹⁷

Thus began, after a half century of struggle, the life of a separate Bulgarian church. Taking the "line of least resistance"¹⁸--that is, one against the Greeks rather than the Turks--the Bulgars had for the first time in centuries won official recognition as a distinct people. Apart from the substantial cultural autonomy they had won, the Bulgarians

¹⁶Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, pp. 278-281. ¹⁷Ibid., p. 314.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 27.

now had a point of departure for political autonomy or independence.

3

Playing a large role in these events was the Bulgarian high clergy, by education alone a prominent part of that people's elite. A world of difference separated the hierarchy from the lower clergy; and throughout the nineteenth century the hierarchy remained a desirable career goal for young men with good schooling and influential connections.

Until the victory of the church movement, however, the Hellenic domination of the church had favored Greeks for these posts. Others who did make it into the hierarchy immediately became Grecized Phanariots; that is, members of the Orthodox Christian leadership of the Ottoman Empire. Since Phanariot standing erased non-Greek ethnic origins, it has not been possible to determine how many Bulgars held hierarchical posts--(as bishops, usually called metropolitans; as abbots; and as archimandrites)--in the first half of the century. Six or seven Bulgarian bishops are known to have been in the service of the Patriarchate of Constantinople at the time of the Crimean War. The church dispute restricted further appointments, but after the establishment of the Exarchate about eighteen new bishops were named.¹⁹

Based on a biographical study of five bishops appointed

¹⁹Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 116, 460-462.

before and five appointed after 1872, the Bulgarian hierarchy tended, much more than the elite as a whole, to represent areas of heavy Greek influence.²⁰ The higher schooling of these bishops was equally divided between Greek and Russian ecclesiastical institutions. The bishops were much older than the study group as a whole, with 1821 as their average date of birth (as opposed to 1836).²¹

The Bulgars who reached the hierarchy before 1872 joined a select circle whose materialism was proverbial. Actually, contemporary society expected some lavishness and wealth in their bishops; and the Bulgars made heroes out of churchmen who identified themselves as Slavs, but who were otherwise faithful copies of the Phanariots.²² Like their Greek counterparts, Bulgarian bishops accumulated huge wealth,²³ money with which they speculated as businessmen.²⁴ Losses sometimes resulted, and the bishops affected joined those whose revenue had been cut off as a result of the church dispute in borrowing money from the merchants in Istanbul. Panaretus of Plovdiv (Panaret Plovdivski), for example, at one point owed Khristo Tŭpchileshtov more than

²⁰Four of the bishops in the sample came from either Macedonia (Panaretus of Plovdiv, Nathaniel of Chrid), Thrace (Anthimus of Vidin), or the Greek-populated Varna-Burgas district (Simeon of Varna-Preslav). On the bishops as part of the study group, see Appendix I.

²¹See above, p. 122. ²²Cf. ASCh, pp. 81-83.

²³Kiril, Avksentii Veleshki, pp. 8-9; Sirakov (ed.), Elenski sbornik, p. 256; BIA, f. 8, ed. 1, l. 20-27.

²⁴BIA, f. 8, ed. 1, l. 41-45; IaNG, I, pp. 523-551.

72,000 grosha. He paid it back by promoting the merchant's friends among the lower clergy.²⁵ Indebtedness also resulted from the consumptive lifestyle of the bishops, who resembled their chorbadzhi friends with their splendid dress.

The lordly and grasping behavior of the Panariot bishops had stirred the dissatisfaction which produced the church movement. Bulgar progressives expected their hierarchs to mend their ways, but tactical considerations--viz., a separatist religious movement's need for bishops--dictated tactful warnings rather than open criticism.²⁶

Nevertheless, the nationalism that fueled the church struggle put the Bulgarian bishops in an unenviable position. Publicists told wavcrers to reject the Patriarch or risk the rejection of their own people. When named by the Patriarchate to the diocese of Vidin in 1868, the future Exarch Anthimus had to slip in and out of his city at night. As soon as he sundered his ties with the Patriarchate later in the year, however, Anthimus was welcomed with open arms and a large salary.²⁷ For a bishop to renounce his superior was of course a serious and difficult decision. Whatever their attitude toward the Greek Patriarchate, Anthimus and other Bulgarian bishops cared about their repu-

²⁵Nachov, Khristo P. Tŭpchileshtov, pp. 162-163, 205.

²⁶IANG, I, pp. 524, 531-535.

²⁷Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 257-258-273.

tation among the other Orthodox churches. They sought to justify their violations of ecclesiastical discipline as actions forced on them by their compatriots.²⁸

With the establishment of the Exarchate, moreover, the hierarchy itself won only a Pyrrhic victory. The long years of the struggle had undermined ecclesiastical authority; and the people had fallen into the habit of being without the expense of a bishop. The hierarchs who in 1872 moved out to their dioceses encountered flocks who greeted them with disinterest and disrespect.²⁹ The bishops themselves contributed to their own bad welcome. As a group, they incensed progressive opinion with their attempts to impose hierarchical domination on the Exarchate.³⁰ Reports coming out of Istanbul, furthermore, told of churchmen fighting one another for the best dioceses, of their demands for "rewards" for their participation in the church struggle, of the high salaries they awarded themselves, and of the Byzantine intrigues in which new bishops were appointed.³¹

The leadership of the Exarchate, aware that the struggle for Macedonia had just begun, attempted to attract tal-

²⁸Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, pp. 359-366.

²⁹[Süvremennik], "Tsarigradski spomeni: Ot proglastavanieto na skhizmata (1872 god.) do Staro-Zagorskoto vüzstanie (1875 god.)," B. sb., I, Kn. 12 (December 1, 1894), pp. 915-916.

³⁰See below, p. 346.

³¹Cf. Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, pp. 62-64; ASCh, p. 59; Ikonov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 2, p. 188; and Stambolski, Avtobiografija, II, p. 208 and passim.

ented young laymen into the hierarchy. In 1872 Exarch Anthimus asked the Istanbul publicist Lazar Iovchev to heed the call of the church. When the legal-trained Iovchev pointed out his lack of theological preparation, the Exarch replied: "We do not wish from you church service. Your position...will be the position of a political person, who [will] represent...the Bulgars before the strong in the Turkish empire."³² Within a month of his acceptance of the call, Iovchev was an archimandrite with the name Joseph.

To the consternation of the Exarch, Joseph showed himself unwilling to remain as an administrator in Istanbul--he wanted his own diocese. After several years an opening appeared in Lovech, and the church assigned Joseph to the post. A diary entry recorded his attitude on the day he joined the Apostolic Succession:

This event, important [as it is] for me, neither enraptures me much nor disturbs me. Because I am an ecclesiastic, however, it should turn out to be more pleasant to me than unpleasant. It seems that this rank will limit my freedom, will impose on me a much more onerous obligation, for which in every respect I am not prepared. And I see that I have to get myself together, or [it will be my] death....I do not see that security...which the bishops of the...better-ordered states have. For all of that, I hope that... I will carry out my work successfully.³³

At least Iovchev brought to the hierarchy some of the sensitivity of a modern-minded intellectual.

Vasil Drumev, as an official of the Literary Society,

³²Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 141.

³³Ibid., p. 216; and cf. pp. 137-147, 156, 190-191.

went through the same soul-searching when in 1872 a metropolitan asked him, "out of your patriotism," to become "a comfort" and "an adornment" of the Exarchate.³⁴ Though trained in the Kiev ecclesiastical academy, Drumev was a thoroughly secular man. "The cassock frightens me," he wrote to a friend.³⁵ Nevertheless, in June, 1873, Drumev agreed to join the hierarchy as an archimandrite with the name of Clement.

Clement, who served the Metropolitan of Ruse, adjusted poorly. "In the dress of a monk," he complained in a letter, "even a stroll cannot be happy. Wherever a person goes always he has to bear in mind the seriousness of his dress and the importance of his calling. And this is good, but for me it is murderous."³⁶ Clement awaited his consecration with trepidation, but in March, 1874, he assented to accept the burden of the mitre. Two days after his assent, he mulled over his decision with a friend:

Are you interested in knowing when I shall become a bishop? It will be soon, but I don't really want to. Don't think...that I don't feel like becoming a bishop out of humility--no! It's just that I no longer feel like putting up with the very narrow conditions of monkish life.

Admitting that as a bishop he would bear heavy responsibilities, "at least...I can snarl back and meet arbitrariness with arbitrariness." Then again, Drumev pondered, his consecration would "not represent any special advantage in a

³⁴DBkd, pp. 315-316. ³⁵Ibid., p. 324.

³⁶Drumev, Sŭchineniia, II, pp. 512-515.

material sense, since I will be a titular bishop."³⁷

Other new appointments infuriated the enlightened Bulgarian laity;³⁸ and in general, new blood did not reinvigorate the Bulgarian hierarchy. At both the level of the Exarchate and the diocese, church affairs seemed a matter of déjà vu. The Exarch himself, like the Patriarch of Constantinople, was weak in the face of competing elements;³⁹ the Synod was divided and ineffectual; and at home the bishops were challenged by diocesan mixed councils. Averkius of Vratsa (Averki Vrachanski) fell into a dispute with his diocesan council when he asked for a yearly income of 75,000 grosha, but received only 45,000. The council, furthermore, curtailed his authority and imposed decisions upon him. Averkius fled to Istanbul in disgust.⁴⁰ In 1875, to cite another example, Hilary of Kiustendil (Ilarion Kiustendilski) asked for a transfer: "Not one day," he complained, "have I had in peace."⁴¹

The Bulgarian press turned against the bishops in criticism ranging from bitter resignation to the basest personal accusations. "Everyone already knows," said an 1874 newspa-

³⁷Ibid., pp. 524-525.

³⁸Cf. Makedonia, VI, Br. 15, July 11, 1872.

³⁹See below, p. 348.

⁴⁰Trifonov, Istoriia na...Pleven, pp. 327-328; Iotsov, Kulturno-politicheska istoriia na Vratsa, II, pp. 22-37.

⁴¹ASCh, pp. 232-233. Cf. ibid., pp. 234, 286-287; and Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 181.

per report from Turnovo, "that when the bishops left for their dioceses each of them took along several grooms, bodyguards, pages and even mistresses; and they each left behind in Istanbul a debt of three thousand grosha and several children."⁴² It was as if the publicists had dug up their old clippings on the Phanariots.

As to their nationalistic role after 1872, bishops did little, save in the contested regions, where they provided Bulgarianism with an important institutional base. A few other bishops distinguished themselves with their cultural work, particularly the newly appointed Clement and Simeon of Varna-Preslav. As Clement pointed out, however, being a bishop hindered secular literary expression.⁴³ And in political matters, even the new churchmen remained staunchly loyal to the state, with some of them betraying Bulgarian political conspiracies.⁴⁴ Centuries of the Phanariot example pushed the Bulgarian bishops into regressive attitudes and behavior. For that reason, it requires a loose definition to consider these churchmen as part of the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia.

⁴²Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 39, July 13, 1874. Cf. Makedonia, VI, Br. 15, July 11, 1872; Pravo, VIII, Br. 33, October 26, 1873; and Napredük, IX, Br. 10, October 5, 1874.

⁴³Drumev, Süchineniia, II, pp. 549-550.

⁴⁴Vera Florova, "Otnosheniето na Varnenskiia i Preslavski mitropolit Simeon kým Shumenskoto vüstanie ot 1875 g.," Iz. Dür. arkh., XVI (1968), pp. 167-171.

Another sign of the hierarchy's limited intellectual role was that lay Bulgars formulated the most original ideological aspects of the church struggle. The great majority of educated Bulgars who joined the church movement did so without benefit of formal church positions. The Istanbul intellectuals had full-time posts as state officials, doctors or publicists. From time to time and for the assemblies in particular, local community councils sent teachers, doctors and priests to the capital. The communities compensated these men during their stay; but due to Istanbul's high costs, they soon withdrew their delegates; and many simply granted proxy authority to native sons among the capital's businessmen.⁴⁵ Only one layman, Stoian Chomakov (1819-1893), made a career in the formal institutions of the breakaway church. In 1861 the Bulgarian council of Plovdiv sent this Paris-trained doctor as its representative to Istanbul. Paying Chomakov 3000 grosha a month, it retained his services there for the next ten years. After 1872, Chomakov joined the Mixed Council.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Blūskov (ed.), Materiali, p. 66; Tabakov, Opit... Sliven, II, p. 464. Local communities sometimes hired a lobbyist to handle specific tasks. In 1856, for example, the Triavna Bulgars paid Petko Slaveikov 5000 grosha to effect the removal of their Phanariot bishop (Tabakov, "Neizdadeni pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," p. 200). Always in debt from his literary pursuits, Slaveikov took on other unpleasant assignments which cost him a great deal in his self-esteem and his reputation. See below, p. 342.

⁴⁶ASCh, pp. 59, 394-395; Gruev, Moite spomeni, p. 22.

However few or short-term their formal positions, lay intellectuals figured prominently in the leadership of the church struggle and in the Exarchate which followed; and the part they played revealed much about their character as nationalist intellectuals. To begin with, as in other areas of activity, the intellectuals fought not only with the big businessmen of Istanbul, but also amongst themselves. The need to win victory at all delayed the full effect of their personal and ideological divisiveness, and the intellectuals remained generally united as they carried out their significant contribution of inspiring, unifying and guiding the campaign against the Greeks. Quite early in the movement, however, tactical differences of opinion sparked antagonisms that grew sharper as time went on.

The Uniate effort drove the first wedge into the Bulgarian leadership. Although all Bulgar nationalists pursued the same eventual goal in the church question, some of them saw a quicker and a more decisive victory in a Bulgarian Uniate church. At the forefront of the Uniates stood Dragan Tsankov (1828-1911). After study in Russia and Vienna, Tsankov came to Istanbul in 1857 to work as a teacher and publicist. He fell in with Polish émigrés and Catholic missionaries, talented propagandists who convinced him of the separatist possibilities of union with Rome. With the intercession and financial help of the missionaries, Tsankov founded the newspaper Bŭlgaria.⁴⁷

⁴⁷Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, p. 123.

Tsankov set the tone of his newspaper in an article in the first issue entitled "Militancy."⁴⁸ The article called for a total break with the Patriarchate and with everything Greek. Going further, Tsankov suggested that the Bulgars abandon their traditional reliance on Russia in favor of a Western orientation. Such a sentiment fed on the disenchantment of many Bulgarians with a Russian government that had just suffered a humiliating defeat and that was remaining neutral in the church dispute. Noting that the Pan Slavist movement in Russia made the Bulgars suspect in the eyes of the Ottoman government, Tsankov reminded his readers that the help of the Porte was essential if they were to gain millet autonomy.⁴⁹ Those who failed to see the logic of this thinking, Tsankov charged, were "chorbadzhii scoundrels."⁵⁰

One of Tsankov's chief targets was Todor Burmov, the former Gabrovo teacher who in 1860 moved to Istanbul to become the editor of Bulgarski knizhitsi (1858-1862). Burmov shared the concerns of the Russian embassy over the recent Uniate gains; and, while pointing out the disastrous consequences of Roman Catholicism for Bulgarian unity, he used the columns of Bulgarski knizhitsi to vilify the Uniate leaders and to stir Orthodox enmity toward Rome.⁵¹ Other

⁴⁸Bulgaria, I, Br. 1, March 28, 1859.

⁴⁹Bulgaria, I, Br. 48, February 20, 1860.

⁵⁰Cited by Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 122.

⁵¹Cf. "Vzimanieto na Tsarigrad ot latintsite v 1204 g.," Bulgarski knizhitsi, II, Br. 19 (October, 1859), p. 612.

pro-Orthodox activists among the Istanbul intelligentsia attacked the Uniates in the pages of Georgi Rakovski's émigré newspaper, Dunavskii lebed (1860-1861).⁵²

Meanwhile, the Plovdiv consul Naiden Gerov had arrived in Istanbul to wage a different kind of battle against the Uniates. Gerov got the publicist Petko Slaveikov to join him in a clandestine operation to buy off the Uniate leaders. Tsankov and others, seeing public opinion turn against them, demanded jobs and money in return for leaving the capital. Younger Uniates, the future publicist Todor Ikonov (1835-1892) for example, were provided with scholarships to study in Russia. Gerov and Slaveikov were successful; but, at least for Slaveikov, the personal costs ran high. This sensitive intellectual found himself in a position where he had to deny that he had suborned the Uniate leaders out of his own self-interest. He finally took money in the form of a loan from the Russian embassy.⁵³

The Uniate phase of the church struggle was but a harbinger of sharper conflicts which emerged in the mid-1860s during the doldrums of the movement. One source of cleavage had already shown up in the Uniate effort--Bulgar dissatisfaction with the Russian government. Stoian Chomakov, one of the top leaders of the cause, made this hostility

⁵²Cf. AGSR, III, pp. 264-272.

⁵³See IaNG, I, pp. 118-119; II, p. 257; and Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov," XLIII, pp. 69-70.

one of the foundations of his policy. Influenced by Polish émigrés and by his friends among Istanbul's English colony, Chomakov advocated a Russophobe and Turcophile approach to Bulgarian nationalism.⁵⁴ He and his followers expressed their views through the government-subsidized newspaper Turtsia (1864-1873), edited by Nikola Genovich (1835-1912).⁵⁵ But if the Chomakov group was vocal, its philosophy failed to command a majority following among the Bulgars, who, though they disagreed with Tsarist policies, did not come to hate Russia itself; indeed, the greater part of the Istanbul leadership held on to a hope that Russia would come to support Bulgaria's separatist strivings.⁵⁶

Chomakov found most of his support not as a Russophobe or a Turcophile, but as a spokesman of an extremist form of nationalism. With Chomakov in the lead, the bulk of the Istanbul intellectuals sought a full split with the Patriarchate, regardless of the consequences.⁵⁷ Todor Ikonov, who returned to Istanbul after his graduation from the Kiev ecclesiastical academy, preached that "the salvation of the Bulgarian people is in schism."⁵⁸ A schism,

⁵⁴ASCh, pp. 526-529; Radev, La Macédoine, pp. 211-215; cf. Sumner, Russia and the Balkans, p. 144.

⁵⁵Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika, p. 183.

⁵⁶Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 487-488 and passim; [Súvremennik], "Tsarigradski spomeni," pp. 817-818.

⁵⁷Arnaudov (ed.), Ilarion Makariopolski, p. 289.

⁵⁸Cited by Nikov, Vuzrazhdanie, p. 302.

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the ultra-nationalists believed, would sharpen their people's separatist consciousness.

The other half of the extremist position was "everything or nothing"--Bulgarian control of all of Macedonia and Thrace.⁵⁹ Slaveikov, though he did not share Chomakov's Turcophilism, propagandized the territorial aspirations in Makedonia, a publication whose very name expressed its program.⁶⁰ To get his message of Bulgarianism across to the peoples of Macedonia and Thrace, Slaveikov printed much of the paper in Greek. Another related activity of the Istanbul ultras was to establish in 1871 a Makedonska družina ("Macedonian Society"), an organization which sent books and teachers to the contested regions.⁶¹

Opposing the extremists stood a group of moderates, headed by the Ottoman official Gavril Krüstevich and the publicists Todor Burmov, Marko Balabanov and Ivan Naidenov. The moderates, though they desired a separate church, thought the integrity of Orthodoxy worth preserving.⁶² They heeded Tsarist councils of moderation and were willing to seek a compromise with the Patriarchate. Their belief in the Bulgarian character of Macedonia was as strong as that of the ultras, but, at the insistence of the Russian

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 301. ⁶⁰Radev, La Macédoine, p. 257.

⁶¹BIA, f. 116, ed. 6, l. 34-35; f. 62, ed. IIA4470-IIA4504; "Novi dokumenti," doc. 172.

⁶²Radev, La Macédoine, pp. 256-257.

ambassador, they agreed to territorial concessions.⁶³

Pravo (Justice, 1869-1873), edited by Naidenov and Balabanov, served as the mouthpiece of the moderates. But as tacticians, the moderates came out second best; for it was the extremists who forced the crucial turns in the church question.

Regardless of whose was the tactical victory, however, the end result turned out to be a disappointment for almost all concerned--and a victory of nationalism that was less significant than it might otherwise have been. The nationalistic importance of the church struggle lay in the battle itself and in the Porte's recognition of a Bulgarian ethnic church. Continuing divisions within the leadership of this church were to thwart its subsequent effectiveness as an institution of national unity and direction.

Factionalism plagued the 1871 assembly which debated the Exarchate's constitution. The moderates espoused a conservative church, one whose hierarchical organization remained consistent with centuries of Orthodox tradition.⁶⁴ Progressive intellectuals demanded lay-control, an elected hierarchy and an exarchate run something along the lines of a participatory democracy.⁶⁵ It was soon after the assembly

⁶³Cf. Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 106-107; Meininger, N. P. Ignatiev, p. 173.

⁶⁴Cf. Pravo, VIII, Br. 19, July 17, 1872.

⁶⁵Protokoli na bŭlgarskiiia naroden ūbor v Tsarigrad prez 1871 god. (S.: Sv. Sinod na Bŭlgarskata tsŭrkva,

that Todor Ikonomov published his bombshell article, "One Step Forward," in which he stated that the whole history of the Orthodox Church counted for nought in the modern age.⁶⁶ Moderates who referred to Ikonomov and other progressives as the "Bulgarian Voltaires" and "nihilists" were themselves castigated as "chorbadzhii."⁶⁷

Although the progressives obtained on paper the kind of church they wanted, powerful Istanbul businessmen joined with a clique of the bishops to try to dictate the policies of the Exarchate. Already weakened by the split between the moderates and the progressives, the new church was paralyzed by the intervention of these reactionary forces.⁶⁸ The Exarch himself sought to stay above the battle, but his vacillations, his mistakes and his Russophilism saw him attacked from several sides.⁶⁹ Moderates such as Krūstevich accused the Exarch of frustrating attempts to end the schism by sending bishops to Macedonia.⁷⁰ When a new Mixed Council

1911), p. 40 and *passim*; Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov," XLIII, pp. 152-153; Makedonia, IV, Br. 36, March 24, 1870.

⁶⁶See above, p. 307; and Ikonomov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 1, pp. 35-37.

⁶⁷The quotations are cited, respectively, from Iubileen sbornik...Koprivshitsa, I, p. 671; Pravo, VII, Br. 19, July 17, 1872; and Bobchev, "Iz Tsarigradskite mi spomeni," p. 87.

⁶⁸Nikov, Vuzrazhdanie, pp. 323-324; Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 199-209.

⁶⁹Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 515-516, 521, 729-730.

⁷⁰Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 160.

was being chosen in 1873, the Chomakov circle defamed Anthimus as a Russian agent.⁷¹ Throughout the mid-1870s the Turcophiles in particular kept up unceasing pressure on the Exarch. Matters reached a head during the Balkan crisis of 1876-1877 when Anthimus attempted to defend his people's interests. Finally, in April, 1877, a largely Turcophile group staged a coup which forced Anthimus out of office and into exile.⁷²

Meanwhile, thanks in no small part to intellectuals blinded by the rightness of their own ideas, the Exarchate's internal divisions prevented it from taking an activist role. The church leadership concerned itself with questions of principle and ignored the mundane but pressing needs of millet administration. Inactivity became the Exarchate's dominant characteristic. It did next to nothing, for example, to implement its statutory responsibility toward the improvement of education.⁷³ "It seems," noted the Plovdiv activist Ioakim Gruev, "that we Bulgars...are not good for anything except to split into threes."⁷⁴

Intellectuals shared as well in the personal antago-

⁷¹ASCh, pp. 619-620; Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 729-730.

⁷²V[arnensko]-P[reslavski] mitropolit S[imeon], "Svalianeto na pŭrviaa bŭlgarski ekzarkh Antima i zatochenieto mu v Angora," B. sb., XIV, Kn. 6 (June 1, 1907), pp. 359-366.

⁷³"Novi dokumenti," doc. 180; cf. [Sŭvremennik], "Tsarigradski spomeni," pp. 917-918; IaNG, I, p. 125.

⁷⁴ASCh, pp. 164-165.

nisms which combined with ideological differences to plague the church leadership. As the historian of the question has noted, the debates of the 1870s were "entangled with personal petty-minded ambitions,...and were expressed in sharp, venomous and unscrupulous attacks."⁷⁵ More than just the clash of abrasive personalities, this behavior was in part linked to competition for power and for material reward. Defeated candidates for high office, intellectuals included, stormed out of meetings vowing revenge. Sessions of the Mixed Council and the diocesan councils degenerated into quarrels about salaries.⁷⁶ Outsiders, meanwhile, grew angry and bitter. Already in 1872 Slaveikov voiced popular indignation: "You have put aside," he told the Exarch in an open letter, "the confirmation of the rights of a whole people and in the first place you have put...private persons and the health of their personal interests."⁷⁷

Slaveikov's attacks inaugurated the progressives' rejection of the bickering and inactive leadership of the Ex-

⁷⁵Nikov, Vŭzrazhdanie, p. 278.

⁷⁶For examples of personal animosity and the concern for reward, see IaNG, I, pp. 759-760; Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 164-165; ASCh, pp. 162-163; Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 729-730; and Stambolski, Avtobiografiia, III, p. 88 and passim (though this memoir is not a very credible source in this respect). Dragan Tsankov agreed to serve on the Mixed Council without pay--to the consternation of his colleagues. "Yes, for you it is all the same," one of them remarked, "because you have gotten used to deprivations; but not everyone can live so." (See Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 164-165; and cf. ABAN, f. 43, papka 1.)

⁷⁷Makedonia, VI, Br. 16, July 11, 1872.

archate. Indeed, despair at the outcome of what it had hoped to be a great national rallying-point snuffed out the vitality of the progressive Istanbul intelligentsia. Initiative now shifted to the intellectuals who worked in Romania.⁷⁸ These émigrés, moderates and radicals alike, had called for a free, open and forward-looking church.⁷⁹ Now, faced with the reality of a church leadership still tied to traditional habits and practices, the radical émigré press in particular abandoned the Exarchate to its own devices. "For us and for the Bulgarian people," wrote Khristo Botev in 1875, "the church question is already an anachronism."⁸⁰

Scant satisfaction came to the intellectuals who had tried to join patriotic activism with their search for temporary or permanent posts in church-millet administration. Their own factionalism deprived these men of a sense of accomplishment, and some abandoned the effort in despair. Dobri Chintulov and Nikola Pŭrvanov, talented intellectuals both, gave up on the 1871 assembly in sadness;⁸¹ and in 1873 Krŭstevich resigned from the Mixed Council, a stunning and costly loss to the young Bulgarian church.⁸²

⁷⁸Penev, Bŭlgarska literatura, pp. 225-231; Kosev, "Petko Rachev Slaveikov," XLIII, p. 154.

⁷⁹AGSR, I, pp. 258-259; BIA, f. 116, ed. 3, l. 5-14.

⁸⁰Zname, I, Br. 16, May 17, 1875.

⁸¹Tabakov, Opit...Sliven, II, p. 464; Ralchev, "Nikola Pŭrvanov," pp. 598-599.

⁸²Kiril, Ekzarkh Antim, pp. 515-524.

Chomakov's fate epitomized the failure of the nationalist intellectual to win personal glory in what was the most significant accomplishment of Bulgarian nationalism before 1878. At first an effective and popular leader, Chomakov gradually forfeited the respect of his colleagues with his Turcophile posture and with what they considered to be his supreme vainglory. To the growing antagonism against him, Chomakov not only reacted in kind; but he also came to portray himself as a toiler whose labor was unappreciated and whose contribution was unrewarded. With his sizable retainer from the Plovdiv Bulgars, Chomakov enjoyed a comfortable standard of living. He talked, however, in terms of his expenses and sacrifices; and he compared his position unfavorably to the affluent Bulgarian doctors who practiced in Istanbul. After 1872, Chomakov resented what he thought to be a small salary as a member of the Mixed Council. Chomakov's attitude reflected the outlook of the social circle in which he lived and worked. Only an outsider could appreciate the irony of an 1874 letter in which he bitterly alluded to his small salary in turning down an offer to buy a fertile estate.⁸³

⁸³For the attitude of contemporaries toward Chomakov and his Turcophilism, see below, p. 357; and IaNG, II, p. 600; AGSR, IV, pp. 284-285; and Batakliiev, Grad Tatar Pazardzhik, pp. 396-398. Chomakov associated with the wealthy Levantine and diplomatic community; and he had a sufficient income to hire an English governess for his motherless children. His expenses, however, were indeed heavy due to the nature of his work. For the question of his "reward" following 1872, there are letters in ASCh,

Besides varied roles in the church movement, some educated Bulgars sought to combine patriotic work with service in the Ottoman bureaucracy. It was not strange for them to try to do so. The Ottoman government was their government after all; and the greater part of the Bulgarian elite within the Empire accepted the immediate legitimacy of the Ottoman political order. A number of Bulgars saw state service as a way in which they could earn a secure livelihood while fulfilling a patriotic mission. They could bring a Bulgarian voice to the bureaucracy; they could help implement the reforms which promised their people greater rights; and by their loyalty they might gain a special place in the Empire for the Bulgars.

As it turned out, many educated Bulgarians who looked forward to jobs in the Ottoman state service had doors closed in their faces. Despite recent pronouncements, the officer corps remained a Moslem institution. Although Bulgars wanted no part of a Moslem army anyway, the civil service was another matter. Yet here, too, the government welcomed few Balkan Slavs into its responsible positions. Even in the Danubian vilayet, a largely Bulgarian province, almost all major posts were held by Moslems or by foreigners.⁸⁴ It was a typical irony of the declining Ottoman

pp. 164-165. Chomakov expressed his dissatisfaction in many letters (see ibid., pp. 407-408, 534-536 and passim).

⁸⁴Cf. Davison, Reform, p. 154.

that natives were passed over in favor of the foreigners who had pushed the idea of equality in the first place. Of the 191 Bulgars on the study group, only nine are known to have had state positions at some point in their pre-1878 careers. In view of the educational qualifications of this group as a whole, and the Empire's obvious need for trained people, this percentage was quite small.

Several Bulgarians, it is true, advanced far in the Ottoman hierarchy. One of the last prominent Bulgarian lay Phanariots, the Samos governor Stefan Bogoridi (1775-1859), took on a young compatriot, Gavril Krūstevich, as his secretary and protégé; and he subsequently launched Krūstevich on a career that was to lead to the Ottoman Supreme Court.⁸⁵ Aleksandūr Ekzarkh's checkered career took him in and out of state service; but by the 1860s he had found himself a haven in the Porte's embassy at Paris. Unlike earlier,⁸⁶ however, Ekzarkh was now remaining apart from the Bulgarian movement. Stoian Chomakov served in a variety of informal capacities in Istanbul; and in 1876 the government rewarded his loyalty by appointing him to the State Council, the Empire's highest advisory body.⁸⁷

Another group of Bulgars obtained lesser bureaucratic posts. Ioakim Gruev (1828-1912) resigned in 1869 as director

⁸⁵For a biography, see Balabanov, Gavril Krūstevich.

⁸⁶BIA, f. 66; Paskaleva, Būlgarkata, pp. 41-42.

⁸⁷See ASCh, pp. 5-71, for a biography of Chomakov.

of the Plovdiv Bulgarian school to become an assistant to the administrator of the Plovdiv district. Showing that he adapted well to the provincial bureaucracy, Gruev used his contacts in Istanbul to win promotions over Greeks and other competitors.⁸⁸ Dragan Tsankov, erstwhile teacher, editor and leader of the Uniates, obtained similar provincial posts in Ruse and Niš.⁸⁹ Other comparable Bulgar officials included the former teacher Nikola Mikhailovski (1818-1892) and the editor Nikola Genovich. As employees of the Ministry of Education, both men censored Bulgarian publications.⁹⁰

Joining these older Bulgars in the quest for government service were some of Bulgaria's best-trained young men, individuals who saw many inducements in an Ottoman bureaucracy that was then undergoing a revitalization in which Western-educated modernizers were replacing the old ruling elite. The new effendis saw themselves as contemporary statesmen; and they took satisfaction in their cosmopolitan and Western outlook. Bulgars trained in universities, and particularly in French universities, wanted very much to be part of this new elite. On his return to Istanbul from law study in Paris, for example, Lazar Iovchev

⁸⁸Gruev, Moite spomeni, pp. 25-28; ASCh, pp. 166-167.

⁸⁹BIA, f. 12, ed. 58.

⁹⁰On Mikhailovski, see Ivan Bogdanov, Stoian Mikhailovski (1856-1927): Poet, tribun i mislitel (S.: Khemus, 1947), pp. 20-24; on Genovich, see Iurdan Ivanov, Bulgarskii periodicheski pechat ot Vŭzrazhdanieto mu do dnes (S.: Dŭrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1893), pp. 51-52.

had envisaged himself as another Krūstevich.⁹¹ The simi-
larly trained Marko Balabanov pursued the same goal.

Balabanov never got very far, but he did achieve a notoriety of sorts when the radical publicist Liuben Karavelov picked him as the perfect foil for caricature of aspiring Bulgarian effendis. Hitting two birds with one stone, an 1874 feuilleton of Karavelov imagined the following dialogue between Balabanov and several Ottoman Turks:

- Who are you and why have you come to Istanbul?
- I am from Klisura. I have studied in Paris, I have learned law and have come to ask you to give me a position.
- What kind of position? If you wish to be a groom, then go to Murad bey.
-
- I have studied law, so you have to give me government service.
- You are mad. Only the Ottoman is born to rule the realm and serve the Sultan.
- But I am a learned person.
- We don't need learned people.⁹²

In general, the émigré press heaped torrents of scorn on compatriots in the Ottoman bureaucracy.

Why did these men endure such abuse? Certainly, not all of the criticism was justified. Bulgars in the Ottoman service influenced the Porte's favorable decision on the church question; they obtained permission for the publication of newspapers; and they gained the acceptance of young Bulgarians into state schools.⁹³ Nor was the criticism always

⁹¹Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, p. 51.

⁹²Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 14, January 19, 1874.

⁹³Cf. ASCh, pp. 156, 464.

harsh. Naiden Gerov spoke for the majority of moderates when he described his compatriots in the Ottoman bureaucracy as token appointees without the power to change basic wrongs. At the same time--and here was the rub--government service cramped the patriotic roles of these otherwise gifted individuals.⁹⁴

For moderates and radicals alike, furthermore, Ottoman officials damaged their reputation by their Turcophile outlook. The Bulgars who served the state thus had a belief in Ottoman reforms not shared by the intelligentsia as a whole. "The Turks will always be Turks," wrote Gerov, and "there is no hope that [things] will get better."⁹⁵ The otherwise judicious Bulgarian journalists of Istanbul came in the 1870s to criticize sharply the Porte's failure to live up to its reform promises; and even conservative Bulgars mocked the 1876 Ottoman constitution.⁹⁶ The radicals, needless to say, saw the Tanzimat as a facade meant to conceal the rottenness of the Ottoman system.⁹⁷

An emotional issue which brought Bulgars of all persuasions together against the government and its Bulgarian officials was Midhat Paşa's 1865 plan to fuse Moslem and Christian schools in the Danubian vilayet. The proposals--

⁹⁴IaNG, I, p. 96; ANG, I, pp. 464, 490.

⁹⁵IaNG, I, p. 513.

⁹⁶Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pečat, p. 87; Stara planina, I, Br. 38-39, January 1, 1877.

⁹⁷Cf. Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 6, November 24, 1873.

which, it should be noted, were also intended to improve local education--provoked the opposition of local, Istanbul and émigré intellectuals, nationalists who considered Turkish culture to be barbarous in comparison with Bulgaria's Slavic heritage and potential. These activists used local institutions to organize a popular outcry, the best possible way to frustrate Midhat's intentions.⁹⁸ Later attempts by the government to broach the same idea met a similar reaction and brought criticism to Bulgar officials associated with them, men such as Mikhailovski and Genovich.⁹⁹

Other developments of the third quarter of the century worsened the relations between the Turcophiles and the rest of the intelligentsia. When the Cretans rebelled in 1866 and part of the Bulgarian leadership was actually negotiating a pact with Athens, the Chomakov-led Turcophiles composed a declaration of Bulgar loyalty to the sultan, a petition which characterized Ottoman rule as one of equal justice and full rights for all.¹⁰⁰ This "horrible calumny," in the words of one émigré,¹⁰¹ cost Turcophile offi-

⁹⁸P[etür] P. K[arapetrov], "Midkhat pasha i opitvani-eto mu da poturchi bŭlgarskite uchilishta," B. sb., V, Kn. 1 (January 1, 1898), pp. 56-63; Ikonov, "Memoarite," VI, Kn. 1, pp. 38-39; Cbretenov, Spomeni, pp. 81-82; Chakŭrov, Istoriia na...obrazovanie, pp. 230-233.

⁹⁹Nezavisimost, IV, Br. 9, December 15, 1873; S. Chilingirov, Dobrudzha i nasheto vŭzrazhdane: (Kulturno-istoricheski izdirvanii) (S.: Narodospomagatelniia fond "Dobrudzha", 1917), pp. 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ASCh, pp. 432-433.

¹⁰¹Dimitŭr Veliksin, Les Plaies de la Bulgarie (Ga-

cials the acclaim they might otherwise have won as activists on behalf of their own people.¹⁰² Likewise detrimental to their stature were their efforts to compel the Exarchate to follow the Porte's line. In the crisis years of 1876-1877, when almost the whole of the Bulgarian elite had turned against the government, the Turcophiles drove the Exarch from office and they presented another declaration of allegiance to the Sultan.¹⁰³ "And so," wrote a conservative publicist, "Dr. Chomakov is today the most... despised person in all of Bulgaria. The vechins hound him in [the streets of Plovdiv]--there where two years before he had been adored--to hoot him, to spit upon him and to shout at him: 'Down with the traitor!'"¹⁰⁴

As in the church movement, the criticism of Ottoman bureaucrats was accompanied by mutual personal antagonism and petty jealousy. In 1873 a rumor went around the émigré circles that Vasil Stoianov, the former factotum of the Literary Society, was seeking work as an Ottoman functionary. He understood, Stoianov wrote a friend, how enemies could

lați: Typographie Fr. Theil, 1867), p. 12.

¹⁰²On the hostile reaction to the loyalty declaration, see also IaNG, I, p. 269; ANG, I, pp. 426-427; Stambolski, Avtobiografiia, I, pp. 296-297; and P[etur] P. K[arapetrov], "Dve istoricheski obiasneniia," B. sb., II, Kn. 6 (June 1, 1896), pp. 587-588.

¹⁰³ANG, II, p. 266; Arnaudov, Ekzarkh Iosif, pp. 226-227.

¹⁰⁴Stara planina, I, Br. 47, January 29, 1877; cf. Bulgarski glas, I, Br. 29, November 6, 1876.

use these accusations against him. What bothered him was that his former colleagues, Marin Drinov and Nesho Bonchev, both of whom worked in Russia, could repeat them. Even if he wanted to be an Ottoman bureaucrat, Stoianov asked, "does it follow...that I would become a bad Bulgarian? Or they, who are Russian [bureaucrats], are they better Bulgars on account of that?"¹⁰⁵

6

Stoianov had a point. Naiden Gerov, for example, was throwing stones in a glass house when he characterized his colleagues in the Ottoman service as second-class patriots. As an official representative of the Russian government, Gerov had equally chosen to limit his freedom of action as a Bulgarian activist. Likewise hobbled were all of the Bulgars who worked for foreign states (mostly Russia, Serbia and Romania) while at the same time seeking to contribute to their people's cultural and political independence.

True, the Bulgars who served the Tsarist government in the Balkans formed a partial exception to this rule. Thanks to a Panslav favoritism in the Asiatic Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, a number of educated Bulgars secured positions as consular agents, functionaries and translators. These men were paid well;¹⁰⁶ and their work brought

¹⁰⁵Cited by Nikola Traikov, "Botev i Bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo: Pürvite stüпки na Knizhovnoto druzhestvo i revoliutsionnata emigratsiia," Khristo Botev: Sbornik po sluchai sto godini ot rozhdenieto mu, pp. 320-321.

¹⁰⁶ANG, I, p. 208; IANG, II, pp. 618-619, 782.

the lure of residence in the big city. Thus when Sava Filaretov finished his obligatory four-year stint as a teacher in Sofia, he asked his Russian contacts to procure him a diplomatic position, preferably in Istanbul.¹⁰⁷ The Russian embassy in the Ottoman capital drew other excellent teachers (Todor Burmov) as well as doctors (Vasil Karakonovski). Bulgars also worked in the Tsarist foreign service in Varna (Nikolai Daskalov), Belgrade (Doctor Khristo Daskalov) and elsewhere. Provincial Bulgaria was losing its skilled sons long before the liberation.

Though Filaretov worried how the people of Sofia would react to his departure, he and his colleagues easily rationalized their abandonment of direct work among their own people; indeed, they saw their new occupations as enabling them to be more efficacious activists than they were as local teachers or doctors.¹⁰⁸ And these men did accomplish much--they funnelled help from Russian Slavophiles, they procured fellowships for young Bulgars, they influenced the reports of their superiors, and they fed a stream of Bulgarian propaganda to Russian opinion-makers.¹⁰⁹

Gerov (1823-1900) stood head and shoulders above the rest of these men. This selfless patriot toiled for two dec-

¹⁰⁷IaNG, II, pp. 584-585.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., II, pp. 572-573. Cf. Makedonia, IV, Br. 54, May 30, 1870.

¹⁰⁹IaNG, I, p. 751; BIA, f. 16, ed. 32, l. 1-4; and ed. 169, l. 8.

ades to win from Russia the greatest possible gain for his people. He drafted hundreds of official and private letters to plead for moral and material assistance;¹¹⁰ and in his own non-vociferous way he converted many prominent Russians to the Bulgarian point of view in the church dispute. Closer to home, Gerov never abused his wide authority among his own people. The Bulgars respected Gerov, they spread his suggestions by word of mouth, and they asked him to arbitrate their disputes.¹¹¹

But the coin had another side, and Gerov and his compatriots in the Russian service encountered numerous personal disappointments. They were caught in a three-way crossfire. First, Ottoman authorities, Western spokesmen and Greeks accused them of subversion and espionage; secondly, some of their fellow Bulgars called them lackeys of Tsarism; and, finally, their Russian superiors complained that their patriotic activities compromised the Tsarist government. On more than one occasion the Slavic cousins who worked under the same roof in Istanbul quarrelled over the correctness of Bulgar actions against the Patriarchate. Vasil Karakanovski, the embassy's doctor, once informed Gerov that his Russian co-workers were "saying angrily that we should resign if we wish to be nationalist activists."¹¹²

¹¹⁰Cf. ANG, II, pp. 21-23.

¹¹¹IaNG, I, pp. 568-569; II, pp. 505-507, 535-536; Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 264; Iurukov, Spomeni, p. 7.

¹¹²IaNG, I, p. 749.

Gerov personified the unhappy fate of the man caught between his official duties and his patriotism. His position was both compromised and made more difficult by the underhanded diplomacy waged by Ignat'ev, his immediate superior. As a result of an 1867 ploy of Ignat'ev to stage a fake rebellion to force the Porte into concessions to the Bulgars, Gerov's name was blazoned in hostile Greek and Western newspapers--and he received a reprimand from the Asiatic Department. The crisis of 1876 was again to catch Gerov in the middle of accusations and recriminations; and not long afterwards he resigned from public life.¹¹³

Gerov's career also illustrated how official responsibilities emasculated the intellectual's cultural mission. "The consulate is a good thing," he wrote to a friend in 1858, "but I should be in [another] place. Here...both the townspeople and the villagers know me, and from dawn to dusk they come,...some just to meet and talk, others to ask for something."¹¹⁴ Among other things, the Bulgars pestered Gerov for a Russian passport, a piece of paper that meant extraterritoriality and could be used as a club to collect debts. Gerov lashed out at abuses of this practice. Where, however, he could not or would not do such a favor, he himself was vilified.¹¹⁵

¹¹³For a discussion of Gerov's problems with Ignat'ev, see S. Radev, "General Ignatiev i bulgarskite cheti v 1867 g.," Godishnik na Bulgarskii bibliografski institut, I (1948), pp. 39-44.

¹¹⁴IaNG, II, pp. 164-165. ¹¹⁵Ibid., I, pp. 17-18, 80.

Tribulations of this sort disturbed Gerov. He never fulfilled the promise he had shown in the 1840s as a writer and poet. He admitted his grief when in 1870 he turned down a chance to move to the more independent (from Ignat'ev) consular post at Ruse. "Here where I am," he said, "I do not find the time to contribute to our literature, and I sadly see...that my thirty years of labor...to collect materials for a dictionary...will be in vain."¹¹⁶ The dictionary had to wait until after Bulgaria's liberation.

7

The one advantage enjoyed by Gerov and other Bulgarian intellectuals in the Russian foreign service in the Balkans was their direct contact with the Bulgarian movement. Not so fortunate were compatriots whose choice of careers kept them in their host country. That fact did not preclude patriotic work, but it did make it much more difficult.

Most Bulgarian émigré intellectuals who kept a hand in Bulgarian affairs worked in Russia. They found jobs as teachers, as army officers and as bureaucrats per se. The bureaucrats among them differed little from their Russian counterparts. They complained about pay, they fought for promotions, and they peddled influence.¹¹⁷ As Bulgars, furthermore, they competed with one another for a say in

¹¹⁶Ibid., I, pp. 310-311.

¹¹⁷"Novi dokumenti," docs. 102, 176; IaNG, II, pp. 584-585; Ganchev, Spomeni, pp. 17-19, 44.

Tsarist decisions affecting Balkan matters. Nikolai Palauzov (1819-1899), a port official in Odessa, sought, in the words of one opponent, "to make a monopoly out of Bulgarianism."¹¹⁸ Backed by the Odessa "Board," of which he was a prime mover, Palauzov attempted to eliminate all challengers to his self-proclaimed role as the leading Bulgarian spokesman in Russia. He feuded, for example, with Todor Minkov (1833-1906), the Bulgar who was the director of the Nikolaev pension. Unhappy with Minkov's power in controlling the education of South Slavs in Russia, Palauzov and his Odessa friends played on sentiment against closed pension life to persuade the government to close Minkov's establishment. Minkov fought back, accusing the Odessa "Board" of using Russian money to pretend its own benevolence.¹¹⁹ Though Minkov emerged victorious in this case, Palauzov enjoyed considerable influence. In 1858 he instigated the transfer of the Bulgarian army officer Ivan Kishelski to the Caucasus, far away from Balkan affairs.¹²⁰ Of course, Palauzov saw his actions in the best light--as steps to assure that Russian leaders listened to the policy he espoused. But he, too, was able to write that his "sacrifices were not appreciated."¹²¹

Their infighting aside, the Bulgars who worked in Rus-

¹¹⁸IaNG, I, pp. 303-304; cf. Drumev, Sŭchineniia, II, pp. 469-471.

¹¹⁹"Novi dokumenti," doc. 151; see also Abrashev, Iuznoslavianskiiat pansion, pp. 7-9 and passim.

¹²⁰IaNG, I, pp. 815-827. ¹²¹Ibid., II, pp. 167-168.

sia carried out a number of patriotic activities. Palauzov and Kishelski both submitted numerous petitions on behalf of their people; and both carried out sensitive missions for the Tsarist government--Palauzov in an 1861 operation against the Bulgarian Uniates,¹²² and Kishelski in at least two reconaissance missions to the Balkans. Both men drafted political programs,¹²³ and both collected Bulgarian folklore.¹²⁴ Other Bulgars who worked in cultural professions in Russia used their talented pens and their oratory to lobby the Bulgarian cause. Raiko Zhinzifov, a teacher, delivered a notable speech at the 1867 Slav Congress in Moscow; Marin Drinov, a university professor, portrayed the Bulgarian "horrors" to Russian audiences; and they and other intellectuals propagated the Bulgarian cause in the Russian press.¹²⁵ The work of these men went a long way in stimulating Russian sympathy for the Bulgarian people.

But something was lacking, and it took a sensitive intellectual like Nesho Bonchev, a Moscow teacher, to per-

¹²²BIA, f. 113, ed. 2, l. 48.

¹²³R. M. Karolev, "Nikolai Khristoforovich Palauzov: Chŭrti ot politicheskata mu deiatelnost," Per. so. BKD, LXI (January, 1900), pp. 166-198; Philip Shashko, "Proekt za 'Obrazovanieto i napredvanieto bŭlgarsko' na Ivan Kishelski ot 1856 g.," Iz. Dŭr. arkh., XXII (1972), pp. 131-151; idem, "Ivan Kishelski i negoviat 'Proekt na bezsmertno obshtestvo'," Ist. pr., XXVIII, Kn. 3 (1972), pp. 98-111.

¹²⁴BIA, f. 3, ed. 2, l. 94-97; Slaveikov (comp.), "Pisma na P. R. Slaveikov," pp. 31-32.

¹²⁵BAN, Inst. za lit., Raiko Zhinzifov: Publitsistika (2 vols.; S.: BAN, 1964), II, pp. 202-203 and passim.

ceive it--the dichotomy between patriotic ideals and émigré life. In a letter to his friend Drinov, Bonchev pointed out how his work left him little time for Bulgarian cultural pursuits. When he had a few hours free, he lost his desire in Moscow's climate of "indifferentism and delightful idleness." "Bulgarian affairs recede from sight," Bonchev said, "I wish to say that we are very far from our fatherland and this is not the place to remind us of it."¹²⁶

Bonchev could have been speaking for most of the educated Bulgars who worked in other countries, chiefly Serbia and Romania.¹²⁷ Although in one way or another many of these men participated in the Bulgarian Renaissance, their involvement was susceptible to conflicting pressures and distractions. Karavelov, a commentator who never let his compatriots forget the implications of their actions, liked to cite the example of Ivan Kasabov (1837-1911), a law graduate of the University of Vienna and in the 1860s a political activist and editor. About 1870 Kasabov entered the Romanian bar and Romanianized his name. "Has Bulgaria lost Mr. Kasabov," wondered Karavelov, "or has Mr. Kasabiani lost

¹²⁶Cited by Dinekov, "Marin Drinov i Nesho Bonchev," pp. 213-214.

¹²⁷For a time the teacher Ned'o Zhekov worked as a translator in the Serbian Foreign Ministry (Zhekov, "Ned'o Zhekov," p. 769); the Galatasaray graduate Anton Frangia worked for the Danubian Commission (BIA, f. 187, ed. 4, 1.1-5); the poet Dimitŭr Veliksin worked for various Romanian government departments (K. A. Ts[ankov], "Niakolko dumi za D. Veliksina," B. sb., V, Kn. 3 [March 1, 1898], pp. 530-537); and there are many other examples.

Bulgaria?"¹²⁸ As a matter of fact, Karavelov was treading ³⁶⁶ dangerous waters here; for in 1868 he himself had asked the Serbian cultural society, Matitsa srpska, for a position in Novi Sad.¹²⁹

The émigré intellectuals, in other words, fully shared the divisive behavior of the nationalist intelligentsia generally; and in many cases their mutual antagonism and invective was even sharper than that of their counterparts within the Ottoman Empire. To the extent that he retained it, the émigré's intensive nationalism was warped by the actual rootlessness of his life; and he fell into attitudes which, among other things, reduced the complex personal decisions of others to simple matters of right and wrong. The intellectuals in question, both the accused and the accusers, had grown up as enthusiastic believers in themselves as potential leaders of their people. They had hoped to match, even as émigrés, their self-confidence with an authoritative role in the Bulgarian movement. Failing that, these men had to consider their own life. When forced to make a decision, they decided as people do--variously, and as temperament and fate directed. Some chose security; some lived in permanent indecision; and some, though it meant the impossibility of a stable career, went the way of their ideals.

¹²⁸Svoboda, III, Br. 21, November 18, 1872.

¹²⁹Karavelov, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, IX, pp. 503-504.

Among the last group was a handful of men whose work spanned several patriotic fields, but whose careers were rooted in the quest for leadership of the movement for Bulgarian political liberation. Four men--Georgi Rakovski, Vasil Levski, Liuben Karavelov and Khristo Botev--achieved lasting fame as revolutionary leaders. There were many other Bulgars who engaged in similar activities, but the four individuals named can serve as examples; for in one way or another they contained within themselves all the facets of the lifestyle of the Bulgarian political émigré; or, in the case of Levski, of the underground conspirator within the Ottoman Empire. None of the four had a truly national backing to serve as the source of the authority they claimed. They were carried along by their own initial velocity, and their leadership suffered the consequences of their revolutionary romanticism.

To begin with, the fervor of these leaders was not matched by a revolutionary mood of the people as a whole. Periodic economic crises did raise tensions in Balkan societies, but generally the peasant mass of the Bulgarian people refrained from rebellion.¹³⁰ Furthermore, no true Bulgarian revolutionary tradition existed. The sole indigenous model available to post-1856 leaders were the khaiduti ("bandits," from the Turkish). The khaiduti, who had counterparts

¹³⁰Cf. the discussion of the April uprising below.

among other Balkan peoples, combined plunder with sporadic vengeance on the people's oppressors. To be useful as instruments of modern political nationalism, they and their leaders (voevodi) had to be greatly idealized.

In the first half of the century, it is true, a part of the Bulgarian business class had taken part in the nationalist revolutions of other Balkan peoples. But subsequent government repression, plus the Porte's promises of reform, cooled much of the political ardor of the internal merchantry. What it retained it channelled into the church movement. Meanwhile, by the third quarter of the century the business class within the Empire had come to have too much of a vested economic interest and a social position to risk in political action against the state.¹³¹ Some craft producers and young educated businessmen composed a partial exception.

Another exception involved the émigré merchants. Less dependent on the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and with their life abroad able to compare the Ottoman system unfavorably with other states, these businessmen came to share the outsider's disdain for the "Sick Man of Europe." Most of these merchants, however, were too cautious to become revolutionaries; and they did not believe the Bulgars to be

¹³¹Khristo Khristov, "Ideinye techenia i programmy bolgarskogo natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizhenie," Etudes historiques, IV, p. 17; cf. Marko D. Balabanov, Stranitsa ot politicheskoto ni vuzrazhdane (S.: Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, 1904), pp. 43-44.

ready for independence. But if their people could rely on a major power, the businessmen concluded, they should take advantage of any circumstance to press forward their desire for autonomy and political rights.

Precisely that kind of thinking led the big Bulgarian merchants of Bucharest, Odessa and Vienna to organize their respective committees--the "Benevolent Society," the "Bulgarian Board," and the society "Progress." Though outwardly concerned with cultural matters, all of these groups kept their hand in political questions, both in dealing with foreign governments and in otherwise attempting to coordinate the Bulgarian movement as a whole.¹³² This claim to leadership, plus the cautious approach of the merchants, served as a source of conflict between themselves and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

9

Georgi Rakovski (1821-1867) was the first revolutionary leader to challenge the political domination of the emigré commercial aristocracy. The son of a Kotel chorbadahia, Rakovski received his education at the Kuruçesme gymnasium in Istanbul. His subsequent career to 1856 saw him involved in conspiracies, in commerce and at one point in tax-farming.¹³³ After the Crimean War, Rakovski moved out-

¹³²On the "Benevolent Society," see Mikhail Dimitrov, "Komitetūt na 'Starite'--Dobrodetelnata družhina," Bulgaria: 1000 godini, 927-1927, pp. 737-779; on the Odessa group, see Karolev, "Nikolai Khristoforov Palauzov," p. 181.

¹³³Penev, Bulgarska literatura, p. 273.

side the Ottoman Empire to work as a publicist and revolutionary organizer. In his several newspapers, and particularly in Dunavskii lebed (Danubian Swan, 1860-1861), Rakovski raised the political consciousness of his readers and propagandized the Bulgarian cause to the outside world.¹³⁴

Rakovski's political program counted on some outside help for the Bulgars, but he himself distrusted the intentions of other states. "[E]ach of the European powers," he wrote in 1860, "works for its own selfish good."¹³⁵ Rakovski had a perfect example to cite--the 1860-1861 Tsarist attempt to send Crimean Tatars and Circassians to the Ottoman Empire in return for Bulgarian colonists. As Rakovski wrote,

Instead of purging the barbarian scum from the face of Europe, the opposite is taking place! An industrious, hospitable and peaceful agricultural people is being moved away and handed over to the oppressive arm of Russia, to be reduced to the condition of slaves, while on the other hand Europe is being filled with loathesome Tatars!¹³⁶

This outspokenness turned out to be too frank for the big merchants of Odessa and Bucharest. Although these men did not like the Tsarist scheme,¹³⁷ they could not risk alienating the one power in which they had placed their political hopes. In 1861 Khristo Georgiev in Bucharest had his agents

¹³⁴Andreev, Vŭzrozhdenski pechat, pp. 99-102.

¹³⁵Dunavskii lebed, I, Br. 1, September 1, 1860.

¹³⁶Cited by Petrovich, "The Russian Image," p. 101.

¹³⁷IaNG, I, p. 246; AGSR, III, pp. 475-476.

attempt to seize a pamphlet of Rakovski attacking Russia.¹³⁸

Rakovski's independence toward St. Petersburg bespoke his belief that the Bulgars in the end had to carry out their own revolution. He envisaged khaidut bands or cheti (guerrilla squads) as the instruments of this revolution. These bands, which Rakovski portrayed as having for centuries been the people's protectors, were to be organized in Serbia and Romania. Crossing the frontiers, they were to inspire the people in the Balkans to rise.¹³⁹

Rakovski's major political effort came in 1861 and 1862, at a time when hostilities threatened between the Porte and the Serbian government, and when Rakovski thought the people to be ready for rebellion. He had by that time built up a wide conspiratorial network of affiliates called "true friends" (verni priiateli),¹⁴⁰ and he drew on these supporters to form in Belgrade a legion composed of khaiduti and volunteers. Over this force Rakovski superimposed a "Provisional Bulgarian Leadership" (Privremenko bulgarsko nachalstvo), with himself as the leader.¹⁴¹ The legion participated in an 1862 Serbian attack on an Ottoman

¹³⁸AGSR, III, pp. 491-492.

¹³⁹Khristo Khristov, "Georgi Rakovski i bulgarskata natsionalna revolutsiia," Ist. pr., XXIV, Kn. 1 (1968), pp. 55-56.

¹⁴⁰Aleksandŭr Burmov, Bulgarski revoliutsionen tsentralen komitet, 1868-1877 (2d ed.; S.: Narodna kultura, 1950), p. 11; Stambolski, Avtobiografiia, I, pp. 131-132.

¹⁴¹AGSR, I, pp. 391-392.

fortress in Belgrade, but the quick diplomatic resolution of the dispute between Serbia and the Porte soon forced the Bulgars to disband. Many went away disillusioned and angry with the Serbian government--and with Rakovski. Rakovski himself spent the next several years mostly as a journalist; he had passed the high point of his national leadership.

The life and personality of Rakovski were the stuff of novels. Everything he did seemed to spring out of a tremendous sense of self.¹⁴² Rakovski brooked no contradictions--whether they be on language questions or matters of discipline involving amateurish intellectuals playing the serious game of war.¹⁴³ Playing to the hilt the part of the romantic chieftain, Rakovski dressed himself in a brilliant uniform, equipped himself with adjutants, and drove through the streets of Belgrade, Athens and Bucharest in an aristocrat's carriage.¹⁴⁴ Prince-like in his dealings with others, Rakovski at one point petitioned for a Moldavian title.¹⁴⁵

His personality weakened what had once been Rakovski's unquestioned leadership. From 1856 to 1862 the "Garibaldi" and the "Washington" of politically conscious Bulgars,¹⁴⁶

¹⁴²Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, p. 260; Penev, Bulgarska literatura, p. 386.

¹⁴³D. T. Strashimirov, "Komitetskoto desetiletie (epokha na komitite), 1866-1876," Bulgaria: 1000 godini, 927-1927, pp. 825-827.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 815-817; Arnaudov, G. S. Rakovski, pp. 71-74; cf. AGSR, III, pp. 112, 651-652, 887-888.

¹⁴⁵AGSR, I, pp. 139-142.

¹⁴⁶Ivan Ormandzhiev, "Novi dannii za G. S. Rakovski po

Rakovski after the failure of the Belgrade legion was challenged from three sides. Some of the old voevodi, men who were themselves arrogant, bristled at Rakovski's haughtiness.¹⁴⁷ For their part, émigré merchants disliked Rakovski's ideological independence and his refusal to account for his actions and for the money they sent to support his efforts.¹⁴⁸ Finally, Rakovski's dictatorial ways led to conflicts with the many young educated Bulgars who joined his legion. One of these young men refused to obey an order and was about to be shot before cooler heads prevailed.¹⁴⁹ In the aftermath of the 1862 fiasco a whispering campaign began against Rakovski, and a strange quiet marked his 1867 death. It was not until several years later that his revolutionary successors, Liuben Karavelov and Khristo Botev, resurrected Rakovski as the hero who had posed the idea of Bulgaria's political freedom, who had first organized the émigré and internal activists toward this end, and who had shaped the khaidut bands into a force for revolution.

10

The long illness that preceded his death also prevented

vreme na pŭrvata bŭlgarska legiia i sled neinoto razturlane," Ist. pr., XVIII, Kn. 6 (1962), p. 80.

¹⁴⁷Panaiot Khitov, Moeto pŭtuvane po Stara planina, ed. Al. Burmov (S.: Khemus, 1940), p. 109.

¹⁴⁸Kasabov, Moite spomeni, p. 25; cf. AGSR, IV, pp. 72-74, 177-178.

¹⁴⁹AGSR, IV, pp. 113-114; Kasabov, Moite spomeni, p. 45.

Rakovski from having much of an impact in the political events of the mid-1860s, events which took place in a transition period between his activity and the work of his important successors. The general European unrest of 1865-1866 overflowed into the Balkans where, in May, 1866, the Romanian Principalities took advantage of the European crisis to declare their union to be final and indivisible. Reopening the Eastern Question as it did, the Romanian action provided a new opportunity for other Balkan peoples to demand a voice in their future. Within a short time revolt flared up on Crete. With civil war apparently ready to break out throughout the Balkans, Panslav circles in and out of the Russian government began to press for action to regain ground lost as a result of the Crimean War. Russian agents began secret dealings with Prince Michael Obrenović of Serbia, who was then trying to form an alliance of the Balkan peoples against the Turks.¹⁵¹

In their clandestine work, Russian agents turned to their willing Bulgarian allies, the Odessan "Board" and the Bucharest "Benevolent Society." The Bucharest group carried out negotiations with Belgrade for a Serbo-Bulgarian pact. As part of the agreement, the "Benevolent Society" funded the formation of a second para-military legion in 1867 in the Serb capital. The "Society" also supported two guerilla bands which in April and May of that year crossed the

¹⁵¹Meininger, N. P. Ignatiev, pp. 64-68.

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Danube into Bulgaria.¹⁵² Neither the legion nor the guer-
rilla bands had a significant impact on the Bulgarian ques-
tion. The European crisis, meanwhile, was quickly passing,
and by late 1867 Balkan tensions had also lessened consid-
erably. The "Benevolent Society" and the Odessa "Board"
received word from Russian agents again to adopt a cau-
tious wait-and-see approach.¹⁵³

But these groups no longer represented the sole or-
ganized element in the Bulgarian political movement. The
crisis had led other Bulgars--men who remembered their
bitter experiences with Serbian officials in the first
legion--to ignore Tsarist suggestions and to avoid a pact
with Belgrade. Instead, these conspirators, a combination
of intellectuals and businessmen, sought a Western-oriented
alliance with the Romanian government. Although the negoti-
ations with Romanian politicians fell through, there emerged
out of the talks in April, 1866, a so-called "Bulgarian Secret
Central Committee" (Taen tsentralen bŭlgarski komitet).¹⁵⁴

The "Secret Committee's" main claim to notoriety was
its 1867 memorandum calling for a dualistic Turkish-Bulgar-
ian state on the Austro-Hungarian model. The memorandum

¹⁵²Dimitrov, "Komitetŭt na 'Starite'," pp. 761-770.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 775; cf. Dimitrije Đorđević, Révolutions nationales des peuples balkaniques, 1804-1914 (Belgrade: Institut d'histoire, 1965), p. 103.

¹⁵⁴Aleksandŭr Burmov, "Taen tsentralen bŭlgarski komitet: Obrazuvane i pŭrvi period ot razvitiето mu," Ist. pr., XVI, Kn. 2 (1960), pp. 41-65.

raised a storm of comment, but it had no other consequence. Meanwhile, the "Secret Committee" was also publishing in Bucharest the newspaper Narodnost (Nationality, 1867-1869). Until its editors revealed their anti-Russian views, the paper was funded by the Odessa "Board."¹⁵⁵ The administration of the publication joined with a variety of ideological and personal issues to cause the leaders of the "Secret Committee" to fall out with one another. It never won a large following.

In its wake, however, the "Secret Committee" gave rise to two amorphous radical groups in Bucharest, the "Bulgarian Society" (Bŭlgarsko obshtestvo) and "Young Bulgaria" (Mlada Bŭlgariia). In the summer of 1868 these small conspiratorial groups sent guerrilla bands into Bulgaria, an action which brought them into conflict with the "Benevolent Society," which by now was heeding Russian instructions of restraint.¹⁵⁶ This conflict in turn led to a total break between the adherents of the "Benevolent Society" and most of the Bulgarian intellectuals in Romania. Henceforth the two groups were known as the "Young" (Mladite) and the "Old" (Starite). Besides their general political, attitudinal and generational differences, the "Young" and the "Old" Bulgar-

¹⁵⁵Dimitŭr Kosev, Kŭm istoriata na revoliutsionnoto dvizhenie v Bŭlgariia prez 1867-1871 (S.: BAN, 1958), pp. 14-14, 22-23.

¹⁵⁶Aleksandŭr K. Burmov, "Bŭlgarskoto natsionalno-revoliutsionno dvizhenie i bŭlgarskata emigratsionna burzhoazii," Ist. pr., XVII, Kn. 5 (1961), pp. 33-58.

ians quarrelled over such specific issues as the control of a Bulgarian reading-room in Bucharest and over the direction of the Literary Society.¹⁵⁷ It was in connection with these developments that major new political leaders appeared on the scene, Vasil Levski and Liuben Karavelov.

11

Vasil Levski (1837-1873) was to stand in marked contrast to his fellow revolutionaries. He began his political career in 1862 when, as a deacon in the Orthodox church, he joined the legion in Belgrade and fell under the influence of Rakovski. Levski passed the next several years as a chetnik, an apprentice and a teacher. After participating in the second legion in 1867, he came to the conclusion of the need for a self-sufficient revolutionary movement organized and led within Bulgaria itself.¹⁵⁸ Levski proceeded to tour the countryside to set up a network of local revolutionary committees. With his eventual goal to accomplish for his people "a holy and pure republic," Levski was guided by the motto: "If I succeed, I win for the people; if I lose, I lose only for myself."¹⁵⁹ And indeed, there was to be nothing of the opportunist in Levski.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 40-45; Kosev, Kŭm istoriata na revoliutsionното dvizhenie, p. 34.

¹⁵⁸Ivan N. Undzhiev, Vasil Levski: Biografiia (S.: BAN, 1967), p. 105.

¹⁵⁹Dimitur T. Strashimirov (ed.), Vasil Levski: Zhivot, dela, izvori (S.: Narodniat komitet "Vasil Levski", 1929), pp. 6-7.

Levski travelled to Romania in the summer of 1868 to seek the cooperation of his compatriots. From Mlada Bŭlgaria he obtained a little money and many promises, and he went back to Bulgaria to carry on with the building of an underground revolutionary conspiracy.¹⁶⁰ In August, 1869, Levski again showed up in Bucharest, where he stayed until the following spring. The longer he remained, the angrier he grew with the bickering of the émigrés. Eventually, however, Levski reached understanding with Karavelov, who had in the meantime arrived in the Romanian capital.¹⁶¹

The dilatoriness of the émigrés continued to irritate Levski after his return to Bulgaria. Despite what the Bucharest spokesmen believed, Levski held the political center of the revolutionary movement to be inside the country, not in Romania.¹⁶² On the other hand, Levski sorely needed the assistance of his compatriots abroad, and he agreed to a general assembly of internal and émigré activists to settle the whole question of organization. This assembly, which took place in Bucharest in the spring of 1872, established a "Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee" (Bŭlgarski revoliutsionen tsentralen komitet). Karavelov was chosen as head of the "Central Committee," but Levski maintained

¹⁶⁰Burmov, Bŭlgarski revoliutsionen, pp. 28-29.

¹⁶¹Ibid., pp. 33-35; on Karavelov, see below.

¹⁶²Kosev, Kŭm istoriata na revoliutsionното dvizhenie, p. 75.

an independent stance when he once again crossed the Danube.³⁷⁹¹⁶³

But Levski's time was running out. Unable to find suitable assistants to help him maintain discipline over wavering local committees, Levski decentralized the organization into revolutionary circles.¹⁶⁴ His action came too late; for in the fall of 1872 the Ottoman authorities captured records and, more importantly, members of the conspiracy who talked. Disclosures and betrayals led to wholesale arrests, including that of Levski. In 1873 the government hanged him near Sofia.¹⁶⁵

Though his organization proved to be less than strong when the test came, Levski enjoyed the greatest success of any pre-1878 Bulgarian revolutionary leader. In spite of his mediocre education, Levski contributed enough of an ideological element to earn him membership in the revolutionary intelligentsia.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, and unlike so many other intellectuals, Levski remained a man close to the people.¹⁶⁷ Where it was necessary, he resorted to threats (particularly against the chorbadzhii), but on the whole it was his integrity and his charisma that enabled him to es-

¹⁶³Burmov, Bulgarski revoliutsionen, pp. 52-55; Strashimirov (ed.), Vasil Levski, pp. 123-124.

¹⁶⁴Burmov, Bulgarski revoliutsionen, pp. 60-61.

¹⁶⁵Undzhiev, Vasil Levski, p. 355.

¹⁶⁶Cf. Emil Niederhauser, "Les Intellectuels et la société balkanique au XIX siècle," AIEBSEE, Actes, IV, p. 411.

¹⁶⁷Cf. N. Atanasov, "Dushata na edin velik bulgarin," B. m., IV, Kn. 7-8 (September-October, 1929), pp. 558-575.

establish anywhere from fifty to a hundred local revolutionary committees.¹⁶⁸

One reason why Levski's organization turned out to be so weak was that these committees were composed of amateurs rather than disciplined revolutionaries. The committees, it might be noted, appeared in the most economically prosperous parts of the Bulgarian lands;¹⁶⁹ and much of their membership as well as their leadership was made up of intellectuals (teachers and clerics) and young artisans and merchants,¹⁷⁰ men driven to conspiracy by the power of an idea rather than the reality of despair. Had the committees not been so dependent on idealists and individualists, they might have formed a more effective conspiratorial force. As it was, Levski's capture drove many of the committees into panic, mutual recriminations and even mutual betrayals.¹⁷¹ The same weakness was to befall the émigré organizations.

12

Upon the death of Levski, Karavelov became Bulgaria's

¹⁶⁸S. I. Sidel'nikov, "O chislennom i sotsial'nom sostave bolgarskikh revoliutsionnykh organizatsii v 1869-1873 gg.," Akademiia nauk SSSR, Institut slavianovedeniia i balkanistiki, Istoriko-sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia (na materialakh slavianskikh stran (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1970), pp. 259-262.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.; cf. Doichev (ed.), Levski v svetlina, pp. 203-204; Iotsov, Kulturno-politicheska istoriia na Vratsa, II, pp. 76-78.

¹⁷¹BAN, Inst. za ist., Istoriiia na Bŭlgariia, I, pp. 434-437.

leading revolutionary, carrying on as head of the "Central Revolutionary Committee." The offspring of a chorbadzhi family of Koprivshitsa, Karavelov (ca. 1834-1879) ran off to Russia in 1857 to obtain a higher education. He studied in Moscow University, where his outlook was influenced by the Slavophiles. Throughout the 1860s, Karavelov worked as a journalist for a number of Russian and Serbian newspapers, his excellent reportage acquainting readers in those countries with the strivings of the Bulgarian people.¹⁷²

Karavelov's political program advocated a free and independent Bulgaria structured on the republican model of the United States or Switzerland. He was undoubtedly a revolutionary, though his attitude on the self-reliance of the Bulgarian political movement was ambivalent. What chiefly distinguished his outlook was his linkage of Bulgars and Serbs, first to win full independence for both and then as a future political federation.¹⁷³

Like many of the radical intellectuals, Karavelov espoused the tactic of the offensive. It was almost inevitable that his 1869 arrival in Bucharest from Serbia should provoke an immediate storm. In the spring of that year, Khristo Georgiev and other members of the "Benevolent So-

¹⁷²S. I. Sidel'nikov, "Uchastiето na Liuben Karavelov v ruskiia periodichen pechat," Ist. pr., XVIII, Kn. 5 (1962), p. 80 and passim.

¹⁷³Karavelov's political thinking has proved difficult for Marxist historians to classify. There is a vast amount of writing on the subject by such historians as Mikhail Dimitrov, Dimitŭr Kosev, Nikola Kondarev and others.

ciety" hired Karavelov to edit their projected newspaper Otechestvo (Fatherland). After signing a contract and accepting an initial payment, Karavelov suddenly resigned from the position with a public denunciation of the editorial controls which the "Old" Bulgarians wanted to impose on him.¹⁷⁴ For Georgiev, Karavelov's action typified the many faults of educated young Bulgarians. "Our half-educated ones," the merchant wrote, "have taken it into their heads to become great men, but they don't even have money to live, and so they do the most despicable things to get money."¹⁷⁵ "Let Mr. Khristo know," replied Karavelov, "that in the world there are people for whom ideals are a million times more worthy than money...and even than life itself."¹⁷⁶

Karavelov proceeded to turn the full force of his radical journalism against the "Old" Bulgarians. In the pages of his two newspapers, Svoboda (Liberty, 1869-1873) and Nezavisimost (Independence, 1873-1874), he not only criticized the political timidity of the "Old," he also exposed the "Benevolent Society" as a clique of wealthy and selfish men who used money entrusted to them for their own personal profit.¹⁷⁷ Opposing Karavelov and defending the patriotism of the "Old" Bulgarians was Pandeli Kisimov (1832-1905), a

¹⁷⁴Narodnost, II, Br. 31, July 8, 1869.

¹⁷⁵IaNG, I, p. 298.

¹⁷⁶Dunavska zora, II, Br. 39, August 31, 1869.

¹⁷⁷Cf. Nezavisimost, III, Br. 41, June 30. 1873.

former merchant who became editor of Otechestvo. Among other things, Kisimov charged that Karavelov and the "Young" Bulgars were causing greater harm to the people by their fraudulent revolutionary proclamations.¹⁷⁸ In its worst extremes, the cleavage of the Romanian émigré colony saw businessmen threatened with physical harm unless they forked out their money.¹⁷⁹

Meanwhile, Karavelov had come into conflict with some of his colleagues among the "Young" Bulgarians as well. The political issue which led to this split was Karavelov's Serbophilism. Some of the original leaders of the "Young" faction, men such as Ivan Kasabov and Ivan Münzov (1848-1918), distrusted Serbia, and they accused Karavelov of being a paid agent of Belgrade.¹⁸⁰ Quarrels of a more personal nature broke out between Karavelov and activists who shared his political outlook.¹⁸¹ It was in this already faction-plagued atmosphere that Levski's execution took place. The loss of Levski stunned the émigré political activists and threw the "Central Committee" itself into

¹⁷⁸Cf. Otechestvo, I, Br. 47, July 5, 1870.

¹⁷⁹Vūlov, "Dokumenti za natsionalnoosvoboditelno dvizhenie," pp. 145-146.

¹⁸⁰Aleksandŭr K. Burmov, "Borba za ideino-revoliutsionna chistota na Bŭlgarskiia revoliutsionen tsentralen komitet v Bukuresht (1869-1871)," Iz. Inst. ist., XVI-XVII (1966), pp. 373-374.

¹⁸¹Strashimirov (ed.), Arkhiv na Vŭzrazhdaneto, I, p. 181.

disarray. Blame began to fall on Karavelov, and both émigrés and the remnants of the internal organization turned away from him to place their hopes on the old khaïdut leader, Panaiot Khitov.¹⁸²

As accusations against him mounted throughout 1873 and into 1874, Karavelov fell into despair.¹⁸³ Matters came to a head in the summer of 1874 at a dissension-filled meeting of the "Central Committee." No longer able to command allegiance, and in serious personal debt from his journalism, Karavelov joined the growing ranks of those Bulgarian nationalist intellectuals who at the full peak of their creative powers deprived the people of their talents. Specifically, Karavelov stopped Nezavisimost and withdrew from politics. By the end of 1874 he could announce that henceforth he would be an educationalist, not a revolutionary.¹⁸⁴ For Khisto Botev, his assistant and protégé, Karavelov had transformed himself into a political enemy.

A bitter personal enmity now broke out between the two men. Though due in part to their new political differences, the motive force of their hatred for one another was the not-so paradoxical clash of two similar idealist personalities who were at different emotional phases, one in an unconquer-

¹⁸²Burmov, Bŭlgarski revoliutsionen, pp. 104-105.

¹⁸³Karavelov, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, IX, pp. 521-529.

¹⁸⁴See St. Chilingirov, "Liuben Karavelov: (Prinos kŭm krizata v negovata dusha)," Uchil. pr., XXVIII, Kn. 1 (January, 1929), pp. 2-17.

able trough, the other still at an optimistic peak. The unreal emotionalism which burned in these frantic hearts was best typified in their correspondence with others.

"In Bucharest," wrote Karavelov in 1875,

has gathered a gang [taifa]...which will compromise many people....Botev is the chief of these skirt-chasers, and Mūnzov is their "vezir." Here you have the kind of people who now will lead the nation--until yesterday one of them was a spy in the Wallachian police,...and the day before yesterday the other went directly from a gunshop to commit robbery. If you wish to support these vagabonds, that is your business.¹⁸⁵

Botev, not to be outdone, told a supporter that Karavelov

has documents which can harm many of our people....The many accusations...which fall on him, his foolish and lying words and deeds,...and his charlatanistic withdrawal from our national affairs--all of this leads us to distrust him....The documents have to be taken from his hands, the claws of the wild beast have to be cut, otherwise...? But let us leave him aside; let the dead bury the dead, for we have to see what to do with the living.¹⁸⁶

And while Karavelov turned to educationalist pursuits, Botev kept alive the flames of revolutionary romanticism.

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Khristo Botev (1848-1876), better than any contemporary, epitomized the alienated and radicalized émigré intellectual. Expelled from an Odessan gymnasium in 1865 with a reputation as a nihilist,¹⁸⁷ Botev lived for several years on society's outer fringes in the Russian port before

¹⁸⁵Karavelov, Sūbrani sūchinenia, IX, p. 530.

¹⁸⁶Botev, Sūbrani sūchinenia, I, pp. 496-497.

¹⁸⁷Burmov (ed.), Khristo Botev prez pogleda, pp. 16-21.

moving on to teach in a Bessarabian village. In 1867 he returned to his native Kalofer, where he antagonized the population with his nihilism. He drifted back to Romania, threw himself on the "Old" Bulgarians for assistance, entered but immediately left the Bucharest medical school, and worked in various teaching posts.¹⁸⁸ Many of the details of Botev's life during these years have not survived, including facts on the sordid side of his activities.¹⁸⁹ Be that as it may, Botev was one of a number of young, semi-educated Bulgars whose life cycles were interrupted and who lived a squalid and unhappy life as penniless émigrés.¹⁹⁰ By 1873, Botev was in Bucharest, where he worked with Karavelov and as a teacher in a local Bulgarian school.

The political philosophy of Botev combined the goal of an independent and democratic Bulgaria with a Utopian Socialism of the Proudhon variety. The ideas of various Russian radicals affected him as well, though not in any systematic way. Following Karavelov's abandonment of the revolutionary cause, Botev propagated his views in his own newspaper, Zname (Banner, 1874-1875). Like his predecessor, Botev contributed with his pen some of the best cultural and political expression of the Bulgarian Renaissance.

¹⁸⁸Botev, Subrani sūchineniia, I, pp. 472-476.

¹⁸⁹Dimitrov, Khristo Botev, pp. 34-35, 82-84.

¹⁹⁰Cf. ABAN, f. 17, ed. 1, l. 31-34; Ivan Vazov, Subrani sūchineniia, ed. Petūr Dinekov et al. (2 vols.; S.: Būlgarski pisatel, 1955-1957), XX, pp. 7-8.

In August, 1875, Botev joined with other émigrés in reorganizing the "Revolutionary Central Committee." In view of the outbreak of disturbances in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the "Central Committee" began planning a Bulgarian rising for the following month. As head of the "Central Committee," Botev travelled to Russia to round up material support. In his absence, an ill-timed uprising occurred in Stara Zagora. The Ottoman government swiftly repressed the disturbance, which brought only harm to the "Committee's" reputation. The spirits of the revolutionaries again plummeted, and the recriminations over the episode drove Botev to resign in disgust.¹⁹¹ His fate, however, had one more corner to turn.

In spite of his resignation, Botev maintained contact with the revolutionaries who at the end of 1875 set up a new revolutionary organization in Giurgiu. The general Balkan crisis was continuing, and the new committee began preparations for an uprising to take place the following May. Figuring prominently in the work of the Giurgiu organization was Stefan Stambolov, (1854-1895), like Botev an expellee from a Russian secondary school and an unemployed émigré intellectual. The Giurgiu conspirators divided up the Bulgarian lands into revolutionary districts and assigned to each one an organizer called an "apostle." A more fantastic element of the preparations included plans to set fire to Plov-

¹⁹¹ Botev, Sūbrani sūchinenia, I, p. 504; Obretenov, Spomeni, pp. 241-242.

div, Edirne and even Istanbul.¹⁹²

Botev himself yearned for action as the sole way to give meaning to his life. "It is a question of deeds, not words," he wrote in February, 1876, thereby expressing the frustration of many radicalized intellectuals.¹⁹³ Having been brought up to believe that the future was theirs, these young men had found nothing but disappointment. It had come down to something Botev had written earlier. "In truth," he had asked, "what kind of career can an educated and cultured person" find among the Bulgarian people in its present state?¹⁹⁴ Finding no other solution, Botev committed himself to action to destroy a system which had no place for him and others like him: "I shall shape my hands into hammers, my hide into a drum and my head into a bomb, and shall enter into battle with the elements; if I fail, then let my judges say that the present letter was my last empty letter."¹⁹⁵

In April, 1876, the uprising in Bulgaria broke out prematurely. Had it not led the next year to a Russo-Ottoman war, this rebellion would have remained an unmitigated disaster. Not a revolution, the April uprising was a series of

¹⁹²Aleksandŭr Burmov, "Krizata v Bŭlgarskiiia revoliutsionen tsentralen komitet prez esenta na 1875 g. i sŭzdavaneto na Giurgevskiiia tsentralen komitet," Ist. pr., XIII, Kn. 2 (1957), pp. 40-64.

¹⁹³Botev, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, I, pp. 509-511.

¹⁹⁴Zname, I, Br. 10, March 2, 1875.

¹⁹⁵Botev, Sŭbrani sŭchineniia, I, pp. 509-511.

poorly coordinated disturbances in several of Bulgaria's most prosperous towns--Koprivshtitsa, Batak, Panagjurishte, Perushtitsa and several others. Elsewhere in the Bulgarian lands, no rising took place.¹⁹⁶ In the repression of the disturbances, however, Ottoman irregular forces committed outrages--known to history as the Bulgarian "horrors"--which inflamed foreign opinion and led to Great Power intervention.

The first news of the rising to arrive in Romania told of stunning successes. The émigrés began feverish preparations to dispatch armed bands to join the rebels, and there was even the glimmer of cooperation between the "Young" and "Old" Bulgarians.¹⁹⁷ A band being formed in one of the Danubian towns found itself in need of a leader, and an appeal was made to Botev, who agreed to lead the freedom-fighters across the river. On May 17, 1876, Botev and his men seized a river steamer and set out for their fatherland. Three days later Botev fell dead in battle.

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The climactic point of the Bulgarian Renaissance found the Bulgarian people without an overall leader--and without a united leadership. In the aftermath of the April uprising, the internal activists were either dead, in jail, in hiding, in desperate flight, or in disrepute among the people who

¹⁹⁶Kosev, Novaia istoria, p. 404.

¹⁹⁷Ivan Undzhiev, "Chetata na Khristo Botev--Formirane i boen put," BAN, Inst. za ist., Aprilskoto vustanie, pp. 55-56.

paid the terrible retribution for their ill-starred conspiracy.¹⁹⁸ In Istanbul, the Bulgarian Turcophiles blocked the efforts of the Exarchate and moderate leaders to stand up in defense of the people. As the internal crisis worsened, a number of the Istanbul elite fled to Romania, which became the focal point of Bulgarian activity.

But events were now running their own course, and initiative was passing from the Bulgarian leadership to the Great Powers. Although the émigré intellectuals were involved in several areas (for example, in channelling volunteers to fight for Serbia in that country's 1876 war with the Ottoman Empire), their attention was shifting from the present to the future. They began, in other words, to think about the politics of a liberated country and the place they would have in running that country.

On this level, the Liberation War of 1877-1878 was not a particularly pleasant chapter in the history of Bulgarian nationalist intellectuals. With the outbreak of the War in April, 1877, a memoirist wrote, "the thirst for speculation and enrichment" grew "immeasurable" among many Bulgars, intellectuals included.¹⁹⁹ Few were the members of even the revolutionary intelligentsia who joined volunteer units to fight for the freedom of their country.²⁰⁰ Rather, many of

¹⁹⁸Madzharov, Spomeni, p. 324.

¹⁹⁹Ganchev, Spomeni, p. 73; cf. Il. Blūskov, "Iz vūspominaniata mi za pūrvite nashi sluzhbashi v pūrvite dni sled osvobozhdenieto," B. sb., VI, Kn. 4 (February 15, 1899), pp. 160-169.

²⁰⁰Dimo Minev, Olimpii Parov: Za petdesetgodishninata

the Bulgarian intellectuals became part of a phenomenon that, in the words of one contemporary, turned the Bulgarian people "into a greedy herd of speculators and lovers of silver."²⁰¹ Todor Peev, factotum of the Literary Society and a revolutionary activist in 1876, opened a hotel in Lovech as soon as that town was freed.²⁰² Stefan Stambolov, after Botev the most radical Bulgarian intellectual, went from poverty to wealth as a big food supplier for the Russian army.²⁰³ But especially attractive to intellectuals were the many administrative and judicial posts that had to be filled in the Russian Provisional Administration. Not only did these offices offer a high salary, they gave their holders the right to wear a sword.²⁰⁴ The success ethic, it seemed, was alive and well among the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia.

It was of course natural for the Russian high command to turn to educated Bulgars to help it maintain order in a war-torn countryside. What it got, however, was not cooperative public servants but a contentious new bureaucracy clam-

ot smürtüta mu (1857-1887) (S.: Pechatnitsa "Khudozhnik", 1938), p. 20.

²⁰¹Vazov, Sübrani süchineniia, XX, pp. 13-14.

²⁰²BIA, f. 244, ed. IID1550.

²⁰³Veselin Khadzhinikolov, "Ikonomicheskata pomosht okazana ot bülgarskoto naselenie na ruskite voiski prez rusko-turskata voina ot 1877-1878 g.," BAN, Inst. za bül. ist., Osvobozhdenieto na Bülgariia, pp. 294-295.

²⁰⁴IaNG, I, pp. 45-46.

oring for reward. The onset of hostilities saw Russian officials deluged with petitions in which educated Bulgarians sought administrative posts.²⁰⁵ In this quest for spoils, the Bulgars competed with one another by slandering others, by exaggerating their past deeds, and by using their professed political beliefs to win favor with the Russians. Throughout the Liberation War, in other words, politics and personalities continued to keep the Bulgarian educated elite a divided class. Charges and countercharges flew back and forth; and the Bulgars involved the Russians in their internal disputes, conduct which was soon alienating the liberators.²⁰⁶ Even as Bulgaria received its independence, one of its future ministers saw in the behavior of his compatriots "great dangers for the future of our fatherland."²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵"Novi dokumenti," doc. 192; BIA, f. 18, ed. 1, l. 249-250; f. 244, ed. I1D1544; Akademia nauk SSSR, Institut slavianovedeniia, Osvobozhdenie Bolgarii ot turetskogo iga: Dokumenty v trekh tomakh (3 vols.; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1961-1967), II, pp. 106-107.

²⁰⁶BIA, f. 19, ed. 49, l. 1; Vazov, Sŭbrani sŭchin- enia, XX, pp. 13-14.

²⁰⁷IaNG, I, pp. 719-720.

CONCLUSION

The Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia, to purloin a phrase, was "present at its own making."¹ As its eventual members passed through their childhood and their schooling, they acquired not only the education which made them an elite in their society, but also a sense of mission, a desire to lead their people toward a modern and independent national life. And the formation of the intelligentsia continued once these men took up their patriotic careers. Their actual experiences led to attitudes and patterns of behavior which marked their collective response to their place and role in society--which, in other words, revealed their shared outlook and character as a class.

That they became an intelligentsia marked a major difference between the post-1840 intellectuals and the revivalists who had preceded them. The early revivalists were more often than not dilettants, or men in traditional cultural roles whose turn to a message of progress and nationalism served to make them extraordinary for their time and place. The intellectuals of the late Renaissance, on the other hand, had been prepared from childhood to play a

¹From the British historian E. P. Thompson, whose approach to class this author has found quite useful.

leading role in the advancement of their people. Furthermore, whereas the first revivalists worked as isolated toilers, the later activists came on the scene as a sizable body of educated nationalists joined together by a sense of mission, able to pursue that mission by means of shared responsibilities, and with at least the potential of acting as a powerful and unified modernizing force in their society.

As to why Bulgarian intellectuals never reached their full potential, part of the blame has to go back to the local schooling which made their appearance possible in the first place. Mirroring the middle-class society which built them, Bulgarian schools taught a materialist notion that prosperity and social status marked the truly successful man. At the same time, the philosophy of contemporary education instilled in young people a patriotic ideal which equated life's satisfaction with selfless service to the people. For a number of susceptible adolescents, this ethic was not simply instruction in civics or patriotism. It became a moral summons which called on them to join actively in helping their people restore its place in the sun while at the same time taking steps into the modern age. The tragedy of the young Bulgars who chose to heed that call was that neither the time nor the place offered the career opportunities with the alternatives, the flexibility or the sophistication necessary for a practical

resolution of the values which shaped their outlook and expectations. Simply put, the historical milieu was one factor which made their internalized values conflicting ones, and thus a source of spiritual frustration and alienation.

Another cause of the same problem was that young Bulgarians translated their ideals into imperatives and their personal goals in life into naive expectations. For many of them, foreign education and life abroad was the nexus in which this transformation occurred, and in which the split in their personality came out into the open. A number of young Bulgars proved receptive to the lure of the better life they could live abroad; they assimilated and were thus lost to Bulgarian history. Others, unable to reconcile their now conflicting values, fell prey to a constant emotional turmoil. Together with other factors, this inner confusion shortchanged the quality of their education. In spite of their higher schooling, Bulgarian intellectuals remained somewhat less than effective as agents of modernization in terms of both the quality and the variety of their talents. A further consequence of the shallowness of their schooling was their subsequent failure to see the forest because of the trees, to go beyond images and models to formulate a common ideology. At the same time as they were learning and not learning, furthermore, nascent Bulgarian intellectuals tried to ease their per-

sonal dislocation by retreating further into an imaginary world of idealism and future expectations. They did not know it, but they were building themselves up for the many disappointments that lay ahead.

Herein lay the plight of the intellectuals who tried to take up patriotic careers--How to accommodate high personal goals and elusive idealism to the realities of Balkan life? These men earnestly wanted to believe in the rightness of their own images, wanted to believe that the world they invented was the world of reality. It was not. Years of patient work were necessary to bring a people so long in slumber to a readiness for progress along Western lines. Moreover, it required more than a wish to transform an ethnic consciousness into the kind of disciplined nationalist movement the intellectuals had expected to create overnight. The activists who had foreseen themselves as modernizers of a society and as saviors of a nation encountered a people which often turned a deaf ear to their exhortations and which failed to give unqualified status and support to them or to their work. Actually, in what was not a paradox, the progressive elements of society valued the activists and heeded their appeals. What happened was that Bulgarian intellectuals, like idealist intellectuals of other societies, fell into the delusion that they were neglected and scorned.

Their self-delusion--the fact that their plight was

as much imagined as it was real--betokened how the intellectuals in general failed to come to terms with their environment. In place of retrenchment in both their goals and their assumptions, most of these men continued to react as idealists, and in doing so they coalesced as an intelligentsia. Whatever their specific roles, the intellectuals shared the same disappointing experiences, the same disillusionments which accompanied those experiences, and the same patterns of personal behavior which fed on their frustration and despair. From this point on, the intelligentsia's character and behavior as a class had several material consequences on the development of Bulgarian society.

It is difficult to measure these consequences in terms of what was not done (and in view of the previous situation any work of the intellectuals could only represent positive and important contributions). Instead, the shortcomings of the Bulgarian intelligentsia should be seen primarily in its failure to relate to its society as effectively as it might have done.

In a word, the Bulgarian intelligentsia turned into a class of alienated men who fell far short of developing close and lasting ties with their people as a whole. As nationalists, these activists loved their people--but they loved it as an abstraction. When the people failed to measure up to their image of it, the intellectuals turned

on it with disdain. Although such an attitude might serve as a legitimate way to cure societal defects, the social criticism of the Bulgarian intelligentsia had a negativism about it that bespoke something else--the rejection by a cultured elite of what it in its frustration came to regard as the uncouth masses. Already before 1878 this cleavage was being shown in the attempts of the intellectuals to get as far away as possible from provincial life.

In a related way, the intelligentsia established hardly any relationship at all with that part of the population which by and large was the people--the peasantry. The nationalists idealized the peasantry as the simple but sturdy backbone of the nation. In practical terms, however, they overlooked the problems of the peasant and they did not train themselves in the things he needed to know.

If it largely ignored the peasantry, the intelligentsia came into sharp conflict with the business class, the part of society which gave it birth and with which it most closely lived and worked. In the early phases of the revival businessmen and intellectuals had cooperated in the pursuit of patriotic and progressive goals. What helped erode that cooperation was the crystallization of the intellectuals as a distinct and presumptuous force in society. On the basis of their education and their possession of the patriotic ideal, the intelligentsia challenged the businessmen's prior claim to leadership of local and national

affairs. Once joined, this conflict led to disputes over issues ranging from the support of local schooling to the organization of the Exarchate. The victories won by Bulgarian nationalism in the third quarter of the nineteenth century were all the more remarkable for having been achieved despite a seriously divided leadership.

Had they themselves been united, the intellectuals might have displaced the power of the commercial elite and might have gone on to earn the popular authority for which they yearned. But the intelligentsia was a class divided against itself. To begin with, as idealists the intellectuals transformed their differing images of reality into absolutes, the validity of which were not open to question. Adding to this black-and-white approach was an internalized civic ideal, an uncompromising patriotic standard by which the intellectuals measured their own lives and judged one another. In a situation where the pursuit of ideals was linked to one's social status--that is, where possibilities existed for opportunism--the civic ideal lent itself to quick and unthinking use by Bulgars to scorn one another for the compromises life forced on them generally.

To be sure, the shortcomings of the intelligentsia sprang in part from a situation that was not of its own making. Their divisiveness, for example, fed on the unfortunate fact that they had to compete with one another for positions and for influence. In certain respects (for

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instance, teachers trained in the humanities), the intellectuals were too numerous and perhaps even too educated in terms of the potentials and needs of their own society. Certainly many of them came to see themselves in that light, more than one remarking on how little appreciated their talents were in the usual cultural professions of a provincial and agricultural country. The same situation would hold true in post-liberation Bulgaria, when the intellectuals would overflow into the new bureaucracy in trying to find there the authority and the deference they had failed to find as cultural activists among the people. But that is another story.

There is, however, one final point to be made, perhaps the most important point a study of this kind should make before finishing. Whatever the negative aspects of its character, whatever its shortcomings as a modernizing elite, the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia was for the most part composed of good and decent men who toiled to push their people into the modern age. Other histories have recorded their accomplishments as such. To characterize briefly their major roles, the intellectuals taught thousands of children how to read and to write; they expanded the horizons of vital segments of their society; and, while giving a people back its tongue, they helped convince it to be proud of its identity and heritage. Hundreds of these men, furthermore, rotted in dank prisons or died on

lonely mountainsides in their efforts to sweep the hand of tyranny away from their people.

The intellectuals themselves did not win the final Bulgarian victory. Indeed, they were fortunate to be part of a movement which rested on a strong grass-roots ethnic consciousness, which developed in a decaying imperial order, and which was able to rely on a powerful Russian benefactor. For all of that, the final judgement of the role of the nationalist intelligentsia was made by the Bulgarian people itself--and it judged them to be its national heroes.

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON METHOD

This work has attempted in a limited way to bring a quantified biographical approach to the study of nineteenth-century Balkan history. It has not been a sophisticated or a full-scale effort: the well-known shortcomings of the sources of Balkan history have precluded that kind of total approach. Rather, the author has limited himself to accumulating and to analyzing in simple tabulations some background biographical information (social origins, education, etc.) of a sizable group of Bulgarian intellectuals active in the middle decades of the nineteenth century to 1878. How these intellectuals have been selected and how the information on them has been gathered will be discussed presently; but first, a word about the major challenge--the availability of data.

The experience here has shown the difficulties to be not in the amount of information, as in its dispersion, its gaps, and especially its reliability. Archives, published documents, local histories, memoirs, biographies and obituaries have recorded a substantial body of biographical data for hundreds of nineteenth-century Bulgarian activists. But

no one has yet assembled, collated and standardized this information. Of necessity, therefore, the first task here had to be the preliminary accumulation of data from a wide range of sources. Close to 140 archival collections and 600 published sources had sufficient biographical information to warrant attention; and if most of this information turned out to be repetitive, that result could not have been known in advance. The gathering of information has been a tedious and time-consuming task, one not to be lightly recommended.

The seeming abundance of information early in the research acted as an encouragement, but when it came time to look over what had been accumulated, many gaps were discovered. It was then time for a similarly tedious process of detective work with a historical literature that is almost never indexed.

Most serious of all has been the question of the reliability of the data actually collected. To cite one example, contemporaries often portrayed their social origins as lowly, when in fact they were not. Relatedly, occasions have arisen where contemporaries or sympathetic biographers have concealed origins in the detested class of the notables (chorbadzhii). (Other problems concerning the reliability of the evidence are discussed below in connection with the specific kind of information collected.)

No easy formulas appeared to ease these problems, but three general principles have been followed. First, infor-

mation has been taken from the most dependable sources. Second, in cases of doubt, items and sometimes whole categories of collected information have been excluded. (On the other hand, where good indirect evidence has been present, inferences have been drawn.) The third principle has been to compromise with the inevitability of missing data. Research and testing have convinced the author that even where tabulations have shown a large number of "unknowns," that fact does not destroy the worth of the "knowns"; for only direct tabulations have been used here, not statistical inferences.

Finally, although the intellectuals considered are listed below, the author has decided not to accompany each name with a recitation of the items of information gathered for them. Nor have the sources of this information been cited here on an individual-by-individual, item-by-item basis. To have done either of these things would have required an enormous amount of space and the endless repetition of a large number of archival and printed sources.

2

As to the individuals for whom the data has been gathered and studied, it has to be remembered at the outset that the nineteenth-century Bulgarian intellectual elite was an amorphous group. It was not possible, in other words, to start with a "sample" and work backwards. What was done instead was to record the name and then to gather information

on every Bulgar whom the historical sources showed to have been engaged in the kind of activity that might have qualified him as an intellectual. (See the working definition of intellectual in the preface of this study.) Once the bulk of sources had been covered and data-gathering sheets put together for a number of individuals, an attempt was made to determine a representative sample of the intellectual activists as a whole. Unfortunately, coming up with a sample in the strict sense of the word proved just as impossible at this point as it had been earlier; and for the same reasons--insufficient information and the vague professional infrastructure of the pre-1878 Bulgarian intelligentsia.

It was time, in other words, to compromise again. A decision was made to form a "study group" composed of individuals for whom the greatest amount of information had surfaced. (This decision has meant an immediate skew: the study group has been made up of intellectuals who either by chance but more often by fame left the greatest historical traces.) Furthermore, although no sophisticated sampling was workable, a concurrent decision was made to group the intellectuals under consideration into what might be regarded as sensible subsections of a contemporary Balkan intelligentsia. The result has been a study group made up of 10 bishops, 95 teachers, 60 writers, 56 editors and 25 doctors. Due to overlapping, the net number of individuals in the study group is 191.

Neither a true sample nor a complete list, the study group represents as full and as varied as possible a collection of Bulgars who fit the designation of intellectual in the nineteenth-century Balkan context and who were also nationalist activists in the late Bulgarian Renaissance.

3

In the analysis of the study group as a whole--whose membership will be discussed below--attention has focussed on the following core biographical details.

Name

The Bulgarian name has three parts--the given name, the patronymic and the family name. But in the nineteenth century the use of the surname was just coming into practice. Some Bulgars possessed only the patronymic; and others, though they had a family name, did not always use it as their identifying name (thus Khristo Botev Petkov, but Stefan Nikolov Stambolov). Bulgarian historiography has established a standard practice for most of the individuals involved in this study, and that usage has been adopted here. For consistency in spelling, that used by the Kratka bŭlgarska entsiklopediia or the Bŭlgarska vŭzrozhdenska knizhnina has been followed. (These two works are the most recent and most complete Bulgarian reference books.)

Date of Birth

Given the primitiveness of record-keeping, this basic

piece of information has caused its share of headaches. Bulgars, moreover, had reason to conceal their correct birthdate. Some did so to postpone the date at which they were obligated to pay a tax in lieu of military service; some did so in order to enter a foreign school.

As much as possible, the reference works listed above have been used as standard sources for birthdates, with the encyclopedia given preference. For individuals not listed in those works, the date of birth has been taken from the most reliable sources available.

Place of Birth

The categories used for place of birth are listed below. Information has also been collected on whether the individual was born in a town or village. Towns have been defined for this purpose as centers of three thousand or more people for most of whom agriculture was not the principal source of income.

A potential pitfall in the sources was that on occasion Bulgars who came from smaller settlements cited the name of the nearest big city when asked by others about their place of origin. Bulgars likewise had the habit of identifying themselves as "natives" of a given locality, that is, of citing their family's place of origin. For these reasons, an error or two may have cropped up in the collection of this item of information.

Using present frontiers, birthplaces have been cate-

gorized as follows (see the accompanying map):

I. "Northern Bulgaria"

Towns in this region included Vidin, Lom, Liaskovets, Pleven, Svishtov, Ruse, Shumen, Lovech and Razgrad.

II. "Central Mountain Region"

Towns here were Kotel, Elena, Koprivshtitsa, Karlovo, Turnovo, Gabrovo, Klisura, Panagiurishte, Kalofer, Zheravna, Etropole, Triavna and Kazanlık.

III. "Thracian Plain"

Towns included Pazardzhik, Stara Zagora, Plovdiv, Sliven, Khaskovo and Chirpan.

IV. "Rhodope Region"

Towns here included Peshtera and Perushtitsa.

V. "Western Bulgaria"

Towns in this region included Samokov, Pirdop and Sofia.

VI. "Turkey-in-Europe"

Towns that showed up as places of birth included Edirne and Istanbul.

VII. "Greek Macedonia and Thrace"

Veles appeared as a place of birth.

VIII. "Yugoslav Macedonia"

Stip, Prilep and Ohrid appeared as places of birth.

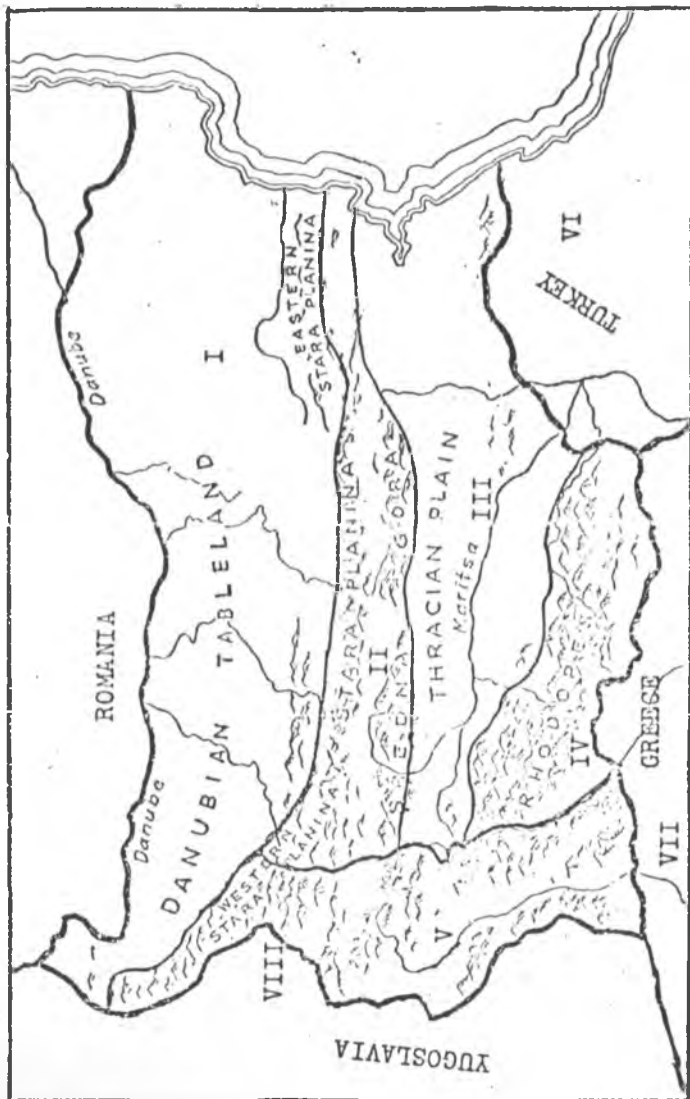
IX. "Elsewhere"

Braila, Bolgrad and Vienna showed up as birthplaces.

Place of Death

This question has been raised to test the notion that in an underdeveloped country the elite concentrates in the major urban centers. The categories which have been used

MAP OF BULGARIA (1974 FRONTIERS) SHOWING REGIONS USED
 TO GROUP 191 BULGARIAN NATIONALIST INTELLECTUALS
 BY PLACE OF BIRTH (ca. 1840-1878)



were as follows:

- I. "Same as Place of Birth"
- II. "Sofia"
- III. "Plovdiv"
- IV. "Elsewhere in Bulgaria"
- V. "Abroad"
- VI. "Unknown"

Occupation of Father

Two general difficulties have arisen in the determination of this information--first, the often vague references in the sources to parental activities. One solution has been to dig up in the archives or in local histories as many details about the family as possible, including for the previous generation. Related problems have occurred with parents who changed occupations or who passed away at an early age. Since the aim here has been to determine the father's occupation at the time of the individual's birth, it has been necessary to know something of the (possibly) changing fortunes of the family. Many gaps have remained, and the incidence of "unknowns" is high here.

The second general problem has involved the categorization of occupations. Sophistication has not been possible. The biggest single difficulty has arisen for fathers who fell into the artisan-merchant group (see Chapter I). In some cases it has been possible to make a determination based on the level of income (cf. Appendix II for information on in-

come distribution).

The occupational categories which have been used here-- and for the answers to questions about "other occupations" raised for members of the study group itself--are as follows:

I. Commercial Occupations

A. "Large-Scale Businessman"

Into this category fell merchants and contractors doing business internationally or over a large part of the Ottoman Empire. Apart from the big merchants in Istanbul or in the émigré centers, this group includes the local businessmen who exported Bulgarian goods to other parts of the Empire or abroad; and who imported foreign goods for wholesale or retail distribution. Although it is difficult to establish firm boundaries, a capital of 75,000 grosha would be a minimum requirement for membership in this group.

B. "Middle Businessman"

Merchants included here were those who served a district or Empire-wide market on a lesser scale than the big traders; and who possessed a capital of more than 20,000 grosha. This category also takes in former craft producers who concentrated on the commercial end of the business.

C. "Petty Businessman"

Shopkeepers, innkeepers and travelling salesmen.

II. "Craftsman"

No other differentiation has been possible due to the general lack of specific information on income levels in the sources.

III. Agricultural Occupations

A. "Large Landowner"

B. "Middle Peasant"

Included are peasant landholders who are de-

scribed in the sources as middling and who were able to provide for the livelihood of their families mainly through their farming.

C. "Small Peasant"

A peasant with a limited amount of land and usually forced to supplement his income with other kinds of hired work or domestic crafts.

IV. "Undefined Hired Manual Worker"

Includes farmhands and such urban workers as porters, servants and factory employees.

V. Officialdom

A. "Ottoman Official"

B. "Russian Official"

C. "Official in the Employ of Another Government"

D. "Lay Official of the Bulgarian Exarchate"

VI. Ecclesiastics

A. "Hierarch"

Bishops, abbots and archimandrites.

B. "Monk"

C. "Secular Priest"

Usually a parish priest, one without vows and permitted to marry.

VII. Professionals

A. "Doctor"

B. "Lawyer"

VIII. Occupations in Cultural Fields

A. "Publisher"

B. "Printer"

C. "Book-dealer"

D. "Editor"

E. "Teacher"

F. "Student"

IX. "Other"

X. "Unstable"

That is, no definite occupational history.

Economic Status of Family

Here, as with their fathers' occupations, contemporaries had the habit of portraying their origins as poor. Another difficulty has had to do with shifting economic fortunes of a people very much engaged in commerce. As above, the search for information here has centered on the family's status at the time of the individual's birth and early years.

The categories used for this item of information have been the ones most often cited in the sources themselves: "rich" or "wealthy"; "middle"; and "poor." Where primary and direct evidence has been lacking, the identification of a father's occupation has served as indirect testimony. Where, for example, a big businessman was involved, the assumption has seemed to be a fairly safe one. Based on the research for this study itself, the offspring of town priests and teachers have been assumed, in the absence of countervailing information, to have been born into "middle" income families (see Appendix II). The "middle" category has provided the greatest difficulties. The data gathered

here has furnished an indication of social origins and no more.

Educational History: Extent and Source

Much attention has been paid in this study to the educational background of the Bulgarian intellectuals. Not that the effort has been an easy one. As discussed in the text, young Bulgars studied on an informal basis, they moved from school to school, and some of them claimed educational attainments they had not in fact achieved. The most reliable sources have been drawn on to determine if members of the study group received more than a primary education, where they received it, and how far they got in their schooling. Official Russian records have been helpful; scholarly studies exist for the Bulgars who studied in Romania and in the Austro-Hungarian schools; and a Bulgarian historian (N. Nachov) has done detailed work on the Bulgars who attended the various schools of Istanbul. For those who studied in Western Europe, on the other hand, information has come largely from individual sources, particularly biographies.

To simplify tabulations and to get around the problem of the practice of Bulgars of jumping from school to school, only the last institution they attended (with or without graduating) at the secondary and at the higher level has been made part of the tabulations.

Another troublesome matter has involved the categoriza-

tion of institutions of various types and in societies at different levels of development. National groupings have been used, with the schools of missionaries forming a separate category. For the level of schooling, apart from obvious considerations, the test has been how contemporaries regarded it. Two categories have been employed: "secondary" (or middle) and "higher." A few arbitrary decisions have been made for schools that could have been placed in either category. The following list shows the grouping of the schools which have turned up in the backgrounds of the intellectuals composing the study group.

"Secondary"

I. Bulgarian

- A. Full Middle Schools (Gabrovo, Plovdiv, Bolgrad)
- B. "Class" Schools

II. Greek

- A. The Great School of Constantinople (Kurucesme)
- B. The Gymnasiums of Andros and Athens
- C. Other Greek Middle Schools or Gymnasiums

III. Ottoman

- A. The Galatasaray Lyceum
- B. The State Lyceum at the Military Medical School

IV. Missionary

- A. The Bebek Lyceum
- B. The Protestant Missionary School at Plovdiv

V. Russian

- A. The Seminaries of Odessa (Kherson), Moscow, Kiev and Kishinev
- B. Gymnasiums in Odessa, Kiev, Moscow and Nikolaev
- C. The Junker School in Odessa

VI. Serbian

- A. The Seminary of Belgrade
- B. The Belgrade Classical Gymnasium

VII. Romanian

- A. The Gymnasium "St. Sava" of Bucharest
- B. The Seminary of Iași

VIII. Czech

- A. The Prague Middle Real Gymnasium
- B. The Prague Classical Gymnasium
- C. The Tabor Classical Gymnasium
- D. The Tabor Agricultural School
- E. The Hradec Králové Real School

IX. Croatian

- A. The Zagreb Real Gymnasium
- B. The Zagreb Pedagogical School
- C. The Križevac District Agricultural School

X. Other Slav Schools in the Austro-Hungarian Empire

XI. Austro-Hungarian German Language Schools

- A. Gymnasiums in Vienna
- B. Gymnasiums in Budapest

XII. French

- A. The Versailles Normal School

XIII. Other

"Higher"

I. Greek

- A. The Theological Academy on Chalki
- B. The University of Athens

II. The Ottoman Military Medical School

III. Robert College

IV. Russian

- A. The Richelieu Lyceum

- B. The Universities of Novorossiisk, Moscow, Kiev and St. Petersburg
 - C. The Theological Academies of Kiev, Moscow and St. Petersburg
 - D. The St. Petersburg Technological Institute
- V. The Velika Škola of Belgrade
- VI. Romanian
- A. The Medical School of Bucharest
 - B. The Agricultural and Forestry School of Bucharest
 - C. The University of Iași
- VII. Czech
- A. The University of Prague
 - B. The Politechnical Institute of Prague
- VIII. The University of Zagreb
- IX. The University of Vienna
- X. The Universities of Berlin, Würzburg and Leipzig
- XI. French
- A. The University of Paris and Its Faculties
 - B. The Medical School of Montpellier
- XII. Other
- A. Geneva University
 - B. Rome University
 - C. Hamilton College (United States)

Type of Schooling

Most of the time the determination has presented no difficulty. But for several mixed gymnasiums or middle schools (that is, combination Real and classical), and for university students where the major was not known, an attempt has been made to draw inferences from other evidence; for example, the kind of writing the individual might have been doing at the time; or the kinds of subjects he might

have taught later as a teacher. Where a defensible inference has remained impossible, the instance has been treated as an "unknown."

The categories which have been used for "type of schooling" are listed in Tables 6 and 7 (see Chapter IV).

Completion of Education

The informality of the foreign schooling of the Bulgarians (see Chapter IV) has prevented a reliable count of this information. Apart from irregular matriculation and the failure of students to show up for examinations, some young Bulgars knew that a few phrases in French had the weight of a diploma for the patriarchal elders who hired them as teachers. A determination could have been made for many of the individuals in the study group, but the "unknowns" and the "unsures" would have deprived this tabulation of any significance.

Sources of Educational Support

This category, too, has proved itself unworkable. Students drew on a variety of sources of help; and, for too many individuals, not enough information has survived to allow the researcher to know which sources provided the bulk of the assistance. The categories to have been used were as follows:

- I. "Earned Money" (Savings; Tutoring)
- II. "Parents and Other Relatives"

III. "Bulgarian Institutions"

- A. Community Councils (Obshtini)
- B. Reading-Rooms (Chitalishta)
- C. Benevolent Societies
- D. Monasteries

IV. "Foreign Governments, Institutions and Organizations"

- A. Russian
 - 1. Government
 - 2. Slavophile Committees
- B. Ottoman Government
- C. Serbian Government
- D. Romanian Government
- E. Patriarchate of Constantinople
- F. Missionaries (Protestant and Roman Catholic)

V. "Private Individuals"

- A. Living Benefactors
- B. Estates

Western-Language Abilities

For the most part, the available evidence has been indirect; and it has not been possible to establish with assurance an individual's working knowledge of foreign languages. The data collected has thus been ignored.

Time Spent Abroad

A percentage of time abroad has been calculated by dividing the number of years from the individual's date of birth to 1876 into the number of years he might have lived outside the Ottoman Empire (with Greece, Serbia and Romania considered to be outside). Bulgars born and raised abroad (for example in Bessarabia) have been treated in the same way.

Arrests

Participation in Political Conspiracies

Participation in Armed Action

Data has been collected on these matters, but it has proved to be too unreliable to use, at least for a number of individuals included in the study group. In general, primary collaborating evidence is in short supply for underground activities. As to arrests, the arbitrariness of authority at that time led to detentions for personal reasons and often as a result of baseless slander. It has not been possible to devise a way to determine positively when arrests were made for nationalistic political activities.

4

The biographical details discussed above have been collected and analyzed for a study group of activists composed of hierarchs, teachers, writers, editors and doctors.

Hierarchs

Ecclesiastics have been included in the study group by virtue of their education, and, given the nature of Balkan society, their theoretical role as preservers and protectors of culture.

How many Bulgarian hierarchs--archimandrites, abbots and bishops (usually designated as metropolitans)--there were in the third quarter of the century cannot be determined. Apart from the absence of information, the Phanariot mold

meant that Bulgars in these posts implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) renounced their ethnic origins. In such situations the researcher never knows where the Bulgarian stops and the Greek begins.

Between twenty and twenty-five bishops were affiliated with the movement for a national church before 1872, and with the Bulgarian Exarchate after that date. From these bishops a list of ten has been drawn, based on the availability of biographical information and also with an attempt to include bishops consecrated before and after the establishment of the Exarchate.

Besides the core biographical information collected for all members of the study group, specific data recorded for bishops included the age at which they took up religious life and at which they reached ecclesiastical rank.

The following bishops were included in the study group:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| * (1) 1. Drumev, Vasil (Clement of Turnovo) | (7) 7. Nemtsov, Grigori (Gregory of Dorystolum-Cherven) |
| (2) 2. Iovchev, Lazar (Joseph of Lovech) | (8) 8. Nikolov, Odisei (Simeon of Varna and Preslav) |
| (3) 3. Ivanov, Ivan (Hilary of Lovech) | (9) 9. Rashev, Panaiot (Panaretus of Pogoniansk) |
| (4) 4. Ivanov, Petūr Mishaiikov (Panaretus of Plovdiv) | (10) 10. Stoianov Stankov, Nesho (Nathaniel of Ohrid) |
| (5) 5. Mikhailov, Atanas (Anthimus of Vidin) | |
| (6) 6. Mikhailovski, Stoian (Hilary of Macariopolis) | |

*Numbers in parentheses indicate the 191 separate individuals who make up the study group as a whole. In the following subsections, the extent of overlapping will become noticeable with the absence of a number in parentheses for individuals already listed.

Teachers

The first aim here was to compile as large as possible a list of Bulgars who taught in the "class" or middle schools. Apart from information collected on an individual basis, the search has gone to sources containing fairly full accounts of the school life of a given community, so that lists of teachers might be prepared by locality. From the lists so gathered, the most complete have been chosen, with an attempt as well to cover different parts of the Bulgarian lands (and Bessarabia). The teachers included in the study group taught at some point in their careers in the "class" schools of Sliven, Stara Zagora, Ruse, Kalofer, Liaskovets (at both the town's "class" school and at the middle school located in the nearby "SS. Peter and Paul" Monastery), Koprivshitsa, Pleven, Gabrovo, Plovdiv, Sofia, Pazardzhik, Lom, Razgrad, Turnovo and Bolgrad. But not all the teachers who taught in those schools have been included; for the sample has covered only those educators for whom relatively complete biographical information has been available. The net result has been a list of ninety-five selected "class"-school teachers.

Besides the resultant bias toward the more prominent educators, the study group's criterion of "class"-school teachers has not been entirely perfect--these schools varied greatly in the extent and quality of the education they offered. On the other hand, the procedure used has seemed

generally successful in its more simple goal of concerning itself with the modern, usually foreign-trained uchitel rather than with the old-style daskal (see Chapter V).

Information has been recorded on the occupations of these men before they took up teaching; and on any other profession they might have pursued before 1878. The question has been asked whether their first teaching post (regardless of level) was in their home town. The age at which they first taught (again regardless of level) has been noted, as has been their age in the post which led to their inclusion in the study group (a "class"-school post, but not necessarily their first one). As much as the data has allowed, an attempt has been made to determine their total number of teaching posts from the outset of their careers until 1878. How long they stayed at each post has been recorded; as has been their average length of stay per post. To be sure, the last two categories of information have been hindered in many cases by incomplete data.

- (11) 1. Agura, Dimitŭr
- (12) 2. Atanasov Ivanov, Mircho
- (13) 3. Balarev, Khristo
- (14) 4. Beliaev, Atanas
- (15) 5. Benev, Georgi
- (16) 6. Beron, Vasil Stoianov
- (17) 7. Blagoev, Dimitŭr N.
- (18) 8. Bonev, Petŭr
- (19) 9. Bradinski, Konstantin Nikolov
- (20) 10. Braikov, Nesho
- (21) 11. Bubotinov, Mikhail
- (22) 12. Burmov, Todor
- (23) 13. Chintulov, Dobri
- (24) 14. Chunchev, Ivan G.
- (25) 15. Damianov Boiadzhiev, Paraskeva
- (26) 16. Danev, Ivan
- (27) 17. Daskalov, Khristo Nikiforov
- (28) 18. Dobrinov, Mosko Poptonev
- (29) 19. Dobroplodni, Sava Iliev
- (30) 20. Dushanov, Dimitŭr Tachev
- (31) 21. Dzhansŭzov, Stoian
- (32) 22. Enchev, Dimitŭr
- (33) 23. Filaretov, Sava
- (34) 24. Fingov, Dimitŭr
- (35) 25. Genchev, Petur

- (36) 26. Gerov, Konstantin
 (37) 27. Gerov, Naiden
 (38) 28. Ginchev Shkipurnev,
 Tsani
 (39) 29. Giuzelev, Ivan Nedev
 (40) 30. Goranov, Bogdan
 (41) 31. Gorbanov, Petko
 (42) 32. Grekov, Mikhail
 Georgiev
 (43) 33. Gruev Proichev,
 Ioakim
 (44) 34. Gruev, Veselin
 Khariton
 (45) 35. Ikonov, Mikhail P.
 (46) 36. Ikonov, Teodosii
 (47) 37. Iliev, Atanas
 (48) 38. Iliev, Stefan
 (49) 39. Ivanov, Petur
 (50) 40. Karolev, Raicho
 (51) 41. Kasapski, Nikola
 (52) 42. Katrafilov, Sava
 Georgiev
 (53) 43. Kavaldzhiev, Dimitur
 (54) 44. Khranov, Dimitur
 (55) 45. Khrstovich, Iliia
 (56) 46. Koev, Kosta
 (57) 47. Konstantinov, Nikifor
 Popov
 (58) 48. Kovachev, Iosif
 (59) 49. Kovachev, Nikola
 (60) 50. Krusha, Zakhari
 (61) 51. Lazarov, Manol
 (62) 52. Makedonski, Dimitur
 Dimov
 (63) 53. Marinov Bonev,
 Dimitur
 (64) 54. Markov, Nestor
 (65) 55. Mikhailovski, Nikola
 (66) 56. Mirkovich, Georgi
 (67) 57. Mutev, Dimitur
 (68) 58. Nabotkov, Pandeli
 (69) 59. Neichov, Vulko Vulkov
 (70) 60. Nenov Iordanov,
 Iordan
 (71) 61. Nenov, Todor
 (72) 62. Odzhakov, Petur
 (73) 63. Pavlov, Dimitur
 (74) 64. Pavlov, Khristo
 Dimitrov
 (75) 65. Petkov, Bot'0
 (76) 66. Pomianov, Konstantin
 (77) 67. Popov, Nikola
 (78) 68. Popov, Stoil
 Dimitrov
 (79) 69. Popovich, Vasil
 (80) 70. Pulekov, Khristo
 Vulkov
 (81) 71. Purvanov, Nikola
 (82) 72. Radoslavov, Mikhail
 (83) 73. Radulov, Sava
 (84) 74. Salabashev, Ivan
 Petrov
 (85) 75. Shishkov, Todor
 (86) 76. Simidov, Filip
 (87) 77. Sirmanov, Sava Iliev
 (88) 78. Stanchev, Todor
 (89) 79. Stefanov, Stefan P.
 (90) 80. Stoianov, Khristo
 Todorov
 (91) 81. Stoianov, Naiden
 Popov
 (92) 82. Stoianov, Vasil
 Dimitrov
 (93) 83. Sukhmarov, Nikola
 (94) 84. Todorov, Pavel
 (95) 85. Tsankov, Kiriak
 (96) 86. Tsanov, Andrei
 (97) 87. Uzunov, Atanas
 (98) 88. Vasilev, Vasil
 Kirilov
 (99) 89. Velichkov, Konstantin
 (100) 90. Vezhenov, Stoian
 (101) 91. Vitanov, Dimitur
 (102) 92. Vulnarov, Petko
 (103) 93. Zafirov, Spas
 (104) 94. Zhekov, Ned'0
 (105) 95. Zhivkov, Georgi

Writers

Writers, as noted in the text, did not form a formal occupational group among the pre-1878 Bulgarian intelligent-

sia. But for the purposes of this study it was thought desirable to include men of the pen as a subgroup of the intellectual elite. The inclusion of writers has allowed for a fuller study group and it has permitted the consideration of individuals otherwise missed in the selection of teachers or editors.

The procedure used to determine which writers to include started with the decision to take sixty individuals as a sufficiently large representation; and to concentrate on authors of separate publications--books, pamphlets and tracts (but not calendars, flyers, etc.). It has proved impossible to limit selection to writers of original works. The researcher is never sure when the pre-1878 Bulgarian publication relied on a foreign source (see Chapters II and V).

Using the chronological listing of separate publications provided in Bulgarska vūzrozhdenska knizhnina (Bulgarian Renaissance Literature), a catalogue-like compilation of publications to 1878, the number of titles were counted for each of the following periods: 1856-1860, 1861-1870, 1871-1877. Then the number sixty was broken up proportionately. For 1856-1860, for example, the selection of eight titles was warranted, since the total number of separate publications in those years represented about thirteen per cent of the total number of titles published from 1856-1877 (and thirteen per cent of sixty is roughly eight). Eight

was then divided into the number of titles published from 1856-1860, and, in this case, every twenty-fourth title was selected. The title in turn led to the name of the author, who thereby became a member of the sample. Where there was repetition, joint-authorship, non-acceptable publications (calendars, for example), or a totally obscure individual, the search proceeded to the next consecutive listing. This complicated procedure has at least ensured a random yet proportional selection of writers over the whole post-Crimean period. As it turned out, only twenty-one members of this sample had not already turned up in other categories of the study group.

Biographical information has been collected on the occupation of the author at the time he wrote the book which led to his inclusion; and on his chief other income-producing occupation. The author's age at the time he wrote the book in question has also been recorded.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (106) 1. Balabanov, Marko | (113) 10. Danov, Khristo Guev |
| *2. Beron, Vasil | (114) 11. Draganov, Dimitŭr |
| Stoianov | (115) 12. Drinov, Marin |
| (107) 3. Bobekov, Pavel | 13. Drumev, Vasil |
| Stan'ov | 14. Dushanov, Dimitŭr |
| (108) 4. Bogorov, Ivan | 15. Enchev, Dimitŭr |
| (109) 5. Botev, Khristo | 16. Gerov, Naiden |
| (110) 6. Blŭskov, Dimitŭr | 17. Ginchev Shkipŭrnev, |
| Rashkov | Tsani |
| (111) 7. Blŭskov, Iliia | 18. Gluzelev, Ivan Nedev |
| Rashkov | 19. Guev Proichev, |
| 8. Burmov, Todor | Ioakim |
| (112) 9. Chorapchiev, Ivan | (116) 20. Guev Kinov, Zlatan |

*As noted above, the absence of a number in parentheses indicates that the individual named has already appeared in a previous subsection of the study group.

- (117) 21. Ikonomov, Teodosii
- (118) 22. Ikonomov, Todor Petrov
- (119) 23. Karavelov, Liuben
- (120) 24. Khristovich, Iliia
- (121) 25. Khrulev, Todor Todorov
- (122) 26. Kisimov, Pandeli
- (123) 27. Kovachev, Iosif
- (124) 28. Kozlev, Nikola Dimov
- (125) 29. Krustevich, Gavril
- (126) 30. Lazarov, Manol
- (127) 31. Makedonski, Dimitur Vasilev
- (128) 32. Manchev, Dragan Vasilev
- (129) 33. Markov, Nestor
- (130) 34. Mikhailovski, Nikola
- (131) 35. Momchilov, Ivan
- (132) 36. Mirkovich, Georgi
- (133) 37. Münzov, Ivan Nikolov
- (134) 38. Mutev, Dimitur
- (135) 39. Nachov, Nacho
- (136) 40. Odzhakov, Petur
- (137) 41. Panichkov, Dimitur Nikolov
- (138) 42. Petrov, Kiro [Bacho Kiro]
- (139) 43. Petrov Preobrazhenski, Matel
- (140) 44. Petrov, Nikola Popov [Neophyte of Rila]
- (141) 45. Popov, Stefan Iliev
- (142) 46. Radulov, Sava
- (143) 47. Rakovski, Georgi
- (144) 48. Shapkarev, Kuzman
- (145) 49. Shishkov, Todor
- (146) 50. Slaveikov, Petko Rachev
- (147) 51. Srebrov, Petur
- (148) 52. Stanchev, Todor
- (149) 53. Uzunov, Atanas
- (150) 54. Vaklidov, Khristo
- (151) 55. Velichkov, Konstantin
- (152) 56. Vezhenov, Stoian
- (153) 57. Voinikov, Dobri
- (154) 58. Zafirov, Spas
- (155) 59. Zakhariiev, Stefan
- (156) 60. Zhekov, Ned'o

Editors

As discussed in the text, the editors of pre-1878 Bulgarian newspapers and journals wore several hats. What has been looked for here were the men who, together with administrative and technical responsibilities, took charge of a periodical's editorial direction by their own writing and by their decisions on what other materials to include or exclude; who, in other words, made the final decisions in the editorial offices of periodicals. Unless a joint-editorship was at work, the search has focussed on the one individual who carried out that role for a full or partial period of a periodical's life. Using four standard sources

of information,* and to the extent possible covering all Bulgarian periodicals published before 1878, fifty-six Bulgars have been determined as editors.

In the absence of information--or where the sources disagree--some questionable cases have been excluded. Usually these were men who worked closely with the editorship of a periodical, but whose formal position cannot be definitely established. Excluded, too, have been a number of periodicals themselves (and thus their editors) due either to the paucity of information about them (for example, the Khitūr Petūr series and other short-run satirical sheets--Kūrlezh, Osa, etc.); to their questionable nature as periodicals (Letostrui ili domashen kalendar); or to their control and editorship by foreigners (Zornitsa, Dunav, Edirne and others). All in all, about thirty of the ninety-six periodicals cited in Būlgarska vūzrozhdenska knizhnina have been excluded.

Information collected for editors has covered their previous occupation (if any), and their chief other income-producing occupation before 1878 (if any). The age at which they first edited a periodical has been calculated, as have been the ages at which they might have subsequently edited

*Stoianov (comp.), Būlgarska vūzrozhdenska knizhnina; S., Būlgarski bibliografski institut "Elin Pelin", Būlgarski periodichen pechat, 1844-1944: Anotiran bibliografski ukazatel (3 vols.; S.: Nauka i izkustvo, 1962-1969); Ivanov, Būlgarskii periodicheski pechat; and Borshukov, Istoriia na...zhurnalistika.

other periodicals. A count has been taken of the number of positions they held.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| | 1. Balabanov, Marko | | 31. Munzov, Ivan |
| (140) | 2. Blüskov, Rashko | | Nikolov |
| | Iliev | | 32. Mutev, Dimitŕ |
| (141) | 3. Bobchev, Stefan | (155) | 33. Naidenov, Ivan |
| | 4. Bobekov, Pavel Stan'ov | (156) | 34. Peev, Todor |
| | 5. Bogorov, Ivan. | (157) | 35. Popov, Dimitŕ |
| | 6. Botev, Khristo | | Krustev |
| (142) | 7. Bŕchevarov, Khristo | | 36. Popovich, Vasil |
| | 8. Burmov, Todor | (158) | 37. Pŕgov, Petŕ |
| (143) | 9. Daskalov, Stamat | | 38. Rakovski, Georgi |
| | Ivanov | (159) | 39. Sapnov, Konstantin |
| (144) | 10. Dobrovski, Ivan | | Petrov |
| (145) | 11. Drasov, Ivan | (160) | 40. Savich, Angelaki |
| (146) | 12. Ekzarkh, Aleksandŕ | | 41. Slaveikov, Petko |
| | 13. Filaretov, Sava | | Rachev |
| (147) | 14. Fotinov, Konstantin | (161) | 42. Stambolov, Stefan |
| (148) | 15. Genovich, Nikola | | 43. Stanchev, Todor |
| (149) | 16. Golchev, Genko | | 44. Stoianov, Khristo |
| (150) | 17. Grudov, Ivan | | Todorov |
| | 18. Ikonomov, Teodosii | | 45. Stoianov, Vasil |
| | 19. Ikonomov, Todor | (162) | Dimitrov |
| | Petrov | | 46. Tenev Kolev, |
| | 20. Iovchev, Lazar | | Mikhail |
| | 21. Karavelov, Liuben | (163) | 47. Tsankov, Dragan |
| (151) | 22. Kasabov, Ivan | | 48. Tsankov, Kiriak |
| | 23. Khranov, Dimitŕ | (164) | 49. Tuleshkov, Kiro |
| | 24. Khristovich, Iliia | | Petrovich |
| | 25. Kisimov, Pandeli | | 50. Vaklidov, Khristo |
| | 26. Krŕstevich, Gavril | | 51. Voilnikov, Dobri |
| (152) | 27. Kŕshovski, Ivan | (165) | 52. Zaimov, Stoian |
| (153) | 28. Machukovski, Veneamin | (166) | 53. Zaprianov, Todor |
| | 29. Mikhailovski, Nikola | (167) | 54. Zhinzifov, Raiko |
| (154) | 30. Milarov, Svetoslav | (168) | 55. Zhivkov, Georgi |
| | | | 56. Zrinov, Ivan |

Doctors

Twenty-five doctors have been included in the study group, a figure that is overrepresentative for the educated elite as a whole. The aim here, however, was to get as full as possible a coverage of the most important professional group in the pre-1878 period. Selection has been based on

the availability of information. As noted in the text, most Bulgarian doctors worked in the Ottoman army and failed to earn a reputation in the national movement. In other words, the following list of doctors is biased toward nationalist activists.

Specific questions which have been raised for doctors cover their type and place of practice. The categories used in the first case were "private," "private and official," and "official." "Official" practice has been taken to mean military duty or civil employment by any level of government. A determination has been made based on the major source of the physician's income for the greatest part of his pre-1878 career. That same set of criteria has been used to answer the question of the place of practice: "mostly in the Bulgarian lands," "mostly elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire," and "mostly abroad."

- (169) 1. Atanasovich, Georgi
- (170) 2. Chomakov, Stoian
- (171) 3. Beron Vasil Stoianov
- (172) 4. Dagorov, Lazar
- (173) 5. Iankolov, Georgi
- (174) 6. Dimitrov
- (175) 7. Iordanov, Stoiko
- (176) 8. Ivanov, Spas
- (177) 9. Karakanovski, Vasil
- (178) 10. Khakanov, Georgi
- (179) 11. Mirkov, Sava Milkov
- (180) 12. Mirkovich, Georgi
- (181) 13. Mollov, Dimitur
- (182) 14. Panov, Ivan
- (183) 15. Mikhailov
- (184) 16. Panov, Vicho
- (185) 17. Pavlovich, Dimitur
- (186) 18. Petrov Chorapchiev, Rashko
- (187) 19. Planinski, Nacho N.
- (188) 20. Popov, Kiro Dimitrov
- (189) 21. Protich, Petur
- (190) 22. Radoslavov, Stoian
- (191) 23. Stambolski, Khristo Tanev
- (192) 24. Stoianovich, Todor Ivanov
- (193) 25. Stranski, Georgi Ivanov
- (194) 26. Vezenkov, Konstantin Ivanov
- (195) 27. Vulkovich, Georgi

APPENDIX II

CURRENCIES AND INCOMES

To find one's way through the currencies of the nineteenth-century Balkans is to try to pass through an impenetrable forest. A number of Ottoman coins were in circulation, and they differed widely in their type and designation. Exacerbating the difficulties for the contemporary businessman (not to speak of the later historian) was the widespread use of foreign monies. One Bulgarian writer counted seventy-two different Ottoman and foreign coins in use in Gabrovo in this period.¹

The Bulgarians dealt chiefly with a silver-based coin they called the grosh (groshove in the plural or grosha after most numbers). They and other Balkan peoples borrowed this name from a European currency which the Venetians had brought to the Balkans, and they applied it to what was officially known as the kurus, a silver coin that the government devised in the late seventeenth century to equal 120 akce, the first standard Ottoman coin. Europeans called the kurus the piaster.

¹Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo, pp. 482-485.

In the course of time, several types of kurus or piaster appeared. They varied according to the designation of the base metal (silver, gold or copper). The main resultant problem for students of Bulgarian history was that piaster and grosh did not necessarily refer to the same unit of value. That congruence happened only when the piaster in question meant a silver-based coin (and even then not in every circumstance; it depended on the amount of silver).

In 1844 the state minted a new medium of commercial exchange, the lira or the Ottoman pound. A bimetallic coin (gold and silver), the lira had a theoretical value of one hundred kurus. This rate held when the kurus or piasters in question meant gold-based coins. On the other hand, silver-designated piasters like the groshove could not match the gold value of the new lira, and it required more than one hundred of these coins to equal a lira.²

What was a discrepancy in metallic value became a serious deflation due to Ottoman trade unbalances and, in the early 1860s, to a worldwide collapse in silver prices. After a few bad years for the grosh or silver piaster (see below), the government manipulated the equivalency rate downward toward face values, and a semblance of stability

²This discussion is based on Issawi (ed.), The Economic History of the Middle East, pp. 520-522; James Baker, Turkey in Europe (2d ed.; London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1877), pp. 433-434; the entries for grosh, piaster and lira in Kratka bulgarska entsiklopediia (5 vols.; S.: BAN, 1963-1969); cf. Tsonchev, Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo, pp. 476-477; and Kosev, Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitie, p. 176, n. 8.

was achieved. The value of the grosh in terms of lira, how⁴³³ever, continued to fluctuate from place to place and from time to time. In Gabrovo, the rate of exchange rose and fell as follows:

Year	Value of One <u>Lira</u> in <u>Groshove</u>
1856	129
1860	165
1861	177
1864	101
1867	103
1870	104
1874	1043

Without detailed tables covering the whole period, it is impossible to equate lira and groshove exactly; and this study has used and cited amounts of money only in the latter designation.

To provide some general idea of what various amounts of groshove were worth in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the accompanying table of prices and incomes has been put together from a number of sources (see Table 8).

2

The determination of income distribution has presented difficulties beyond that of the exchange rate of monies. The cost of living varied substantially from village to provincial town to large urban center. Besides that, Bulgarian society was such that formal income did not tell the whole story. With his arbor and animals, a craftsman often had a

TABLE 8

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRICES AND INCOMES, 1856-1878^a

Amount in Groshove	Year	Prices	Incomes
2	1868	Daily cost for food for a young man in Ruse	
4	1864	One issue of the magazine <u>Gaida</u>	
6	1874	Communal tax per household, Vratsa	
7-18	1875		Daily wage of workers in a wool factory
12	1865	One <u>fez</u>	
48	1864	One ewe	
50-200	post-1856		Annual wage of a young journeyman
55	1868	One sheepskin coat	
400-500	post-1856		Annual wage of an experienced journeyman
412	1866	One cow	
450	1866	One buffalo	
600-800	1860s		Yearly income from sale of pro-

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TABLE 8--Continued

Amount in Groshove	Year	Prices	Incomes
			duction, middle peasant
1200-1500	1860s		Annual wage, railroad worker
1200-9000	1875		Salary range, 6 female teachers in Gabrovo
2000	1875		Annual wage, school clerk in Gabrovo
2000	post-1856	Cost of a poor man's house	
3000	1875		Doctor's retainer for care of school children, Gabrovo
4000-5000	post-1856		Annual income, young master furrier in Gabrovo
5000	1874		Yearly salary of clerk in Russian consulate in Plovdiv
6214	1872		Average yearly income for 14 Pomorie merchants
6600	1876		Salary (each) of 2 "class"-school teachers in Razgrad
7000-9500	1867		Range of salaries, 6 "class"-school teachers in Ruse

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TABLE 8--Continued

Amount in Groshove	Year	Prices	Incomes
10,000-11,440	1875		Salary range, 7 "class"-school teachers in Gabrovo
10,200	1873		Annual salary of railroad station master
30,000-40,000	post-1856		Annual income of largest master furrier in Gabrovo
75,000	1868		Yearly guaranteed income, Metropolitan of Vidin
100,000-2,000,000	post-1856		Accumulated capital, richest Bulgarian merchants

ABIA, f. 41, IIA1974; IaNG, I, p. 959; Tsonchev, *Iz stopanskoto minalo na Gabrovo*, pp. 100-107; 126, 157-158, 365; N. Todorov, "Iz demografiata na grad Ankhialo (Pomorie): (Vtorata polovina na XIX v.)", *Iz. BID*, XXV (1967), pp. 161-162; idem, "Sotsialno-ikonicheskiat oblik na Varna prez 60-te i 70-te godini na XIX v.", *Izvestiia na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo*, XIV (1963), p. 126; Ganchev, *Aprilskoto vustanie*, pp. 10, 16; Natan et al. (eds.), *Ikonomikata*, p. 249; Pavlov, "Ikonichesko-to razvitiie...na gr. Kazanluk", p. 302; Iotsov, *Kulturno-politicheska istoriia na Vratsa*, II, pp. 52-55; Kosev, *Za kapitalisticheskoto razvitiie*, pp. 66-67; Perov, "Ikonichesките posleditsi", p. 443; Zhechka Siromakhova and Simeon Parmakov, "Ikonicheskoto razvitiie na Ruse prez epokhata na turskoto robostvo", *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei--Ruse*, I (1964), p. 48; Lubileen sbornik...Koprivshitsa, I, p. 122; Orlovski, "Iz istoriata...Ruse", pp. 1075-1076; and Stoikov, *Prosvetnoto delo v Razgrad*, p. 88.

better standard of living than the teacher whose salary was several thousand grosha higher.

In these questions, contemporary sources must be handled with care. When a Koprivshitsa memoirist suggested that an income of 1000-1500 grosha provided an "affluent" (okholen) livelihood for a family of "middling means," he had in mind people who by and large consumed only what they themselves produced. Similarly, while most Bulgars considered 10,000-15,000 grosha as a lot of money, a teacher with an annual income of that amount might regard it as merely satisfactory; and a functionary in Istanbul might have hoped for twice as much.⁴

Research in tax and census records has begun to throw light on these hitherto unexplored corners of Balkan socio-economic history. Based on a study of the fiscal records of the Danubian vilayet, for example, the Bulgarian historian Nikolai Todorov has devised the following annual income distribution for townspeople of that province:

Piasters	Income Level
0-500	Low
501-1000	Middle
1001-2000	Relatively Well-paid
2001 and over	High ⁵

As Todorov notes, this distribution is based on recorded in-

⁴Gruev, Moite spomeni, p. 11; Berov, "Ikonomicheskite posleditsi," p. 443; cf. Popov, Grad Klisura, p. 9.

⁵Todorov does not mention groshove in his study, but he has assured the author that in this connection he considers piasters and groshove the same.

come only, and is offered "as a working hypothesis in the hope that with the aid of data from other sources we shall gradually find the exact limits of every income group."⁶ Unfortunately, most of the work remains to be done.

And at any rate, the above distribution turned out to be much too low for the purposes of this study. There are reasons for the disparity. Rather than on the urban population as a whole, the research here has concentrated on the cultural and professional elite, social groups whose higher incomes and lifestyles have tended to skew the distribution upward. What was necessary was a frame of reference to relate the subjects of this study against one another in terms of salaried income; and that at the same time had some general applicability for Bulgarian society. Based on the data collected in the research (and discussed in the text), the following distribution has been employed (cf. Table 8):

<u>Groshove</u>	Income Level
0-2000	Low
2001-5000	Low-middle
5001-10,000	Middle
10,001-16,000	High-middle
16,001 and over	High

Given regional variations and fluctuations in currency, these levels are arbitrary; but they have stood up when tested with individual cases.

⁶Todorov, "The Balkan Town," p. 47.

SOURCES

I. A General Note on Sources

This study has drawn on a wide range of sources. Especially contributing to the quantity and the variety of the materials used were both the search for biographical information and the attempt to establish the roles and views of numerous representatives of the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia. In the first instance, the search meant going to sources as diverse as are archives and obituaries; and the second aim required the use of a number of small articles spread over many periodicals.

The bibliography that follows attempts to present a comprehensive list of the most important and reliable sources of information on the Bulgarian nationalist intelligentsia and, to a lesser extent, on the late Bulgarian Renaissance. Where there is an absence of scholarly study, the bibliography cites some semi-popular works. For ease of reference, the following format has been used:

I. A General Note on Sources

II. Archival Sources

A. Bŭlgarski istoricheski arkhiv. Narodna biblioteka "Kiril i Metodii"

1. Collections for individuals
2. Collections for organizations

B. Arkhiv pri Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite

C. Other Unpublished Sources

III. Published Sources

A. Research Aids

1. Bibliographies
2. Reference works
3. Historiography

B. Published Primary Sources

1. Published documents
2. Newspapers and magazines
 - a. Newspapers
 - b. Magazines
3. Other contemporary literature and collected works
4. Memoirs and travel accounts

C. Secondary Works

1. Books
2. Articles

As with any such attempt at classification, there is some overlapping (but sources are listed only once).

To avoid endless repetition of lengthy journal titles, institutional names and places, abbreviations have been used in the bibliography (see the note on "Abbreviations" in the frontpapers).

II. Archival Sources

Almost all of the archival research for this study was done at the Bulgarian Historical Archive of the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia. Several individual collections held by the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences were also consulted. An attempt to obtain access to selected personal collections in the Central State Historical

Archive in Sofia was not successful.

The collections listed below have been examined in whole or in part in the research for this study.

A. Bulgarski istoricheski arkhiv, Narodna biblioteka "Kiril i Metodii"

1. Collections for individuals

<u>Fond</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Brief characterization</u>
522	Angelov Marinov, Ianko	Student abroad; teacher; revolutionary
174	Bashulkov, Konstantin Petkov	Teacher; bookdealer
262	Benderev, Anastas Todorov	Teacher; revolutionary
10	Blůskov, Iliia Rashkov	Teacher; editor
255	Bobchev, Stefan Savov	Student; editor
47	Bonchev, Nesho	Student abroad; critic
86	Botev Petkov, Khristo	Publicist; poet; revolutionary
159	Bradinov, Stancho Nikolov	Merchant; activist in national movement
202	Bůchevarov, Gospodin Dimov	Teacher
16	Burmov, Todor Stoianov	Teacher; publicist
84	Chintulov, Dobri	Teacher; poet
140	Dainelov, Iosif Genov	Merchant; activist in national movement
15	Danev, Stoian Petrov	Student abroad
129	Daskalov, Khristo Nikiforov	Teacher
58	Dimitrov Todorov, Khristo	Teacher
233	Dobrovski, Ivan	Teacher; editor
53	Doichinov, Khristo [Archimandrite Christian of Samokov]	Ecclesiastic
119	Drandar, Anton Georgiev	Student abroad

89	Drasov, Ivan Todorov	Student abroad; revolutionary
111	Drinov, Marin Stoianov	Student abroad; writer; historian
146	Drumev, Vasil [Clement of Turnovo]	Student abroad; writer; ecclesiastic
66	Ekzarkh, Aleksandūr Stoilov	Publicist; Ottoman official
232	Enchev Dimitrov, Petūr	Teacher; revolutionary
249	Filaretovi, Sava and Iurdanka	Teachers
187	Frangia, Anton	Clerk
151	Frangov, Petko Todorov	Teacher; revolutionary
275	Georgiev, Mikhalaki	Student abroad; teacher
173	Ginchev Shkipūrnev, Tsani	Teacher
64	Corov, Dimitūr Ivanov	Merchant; revolutionary activist
290	Grekov, Dimitūr Panaiotov	Student abroad
162	Grekov, Mikhail Georgiev	Teacher; revolutionary
116	Grudov, Ivan Popvelchev	Merchant; editor
139	Ikonomov, Teodosi	Student abroad; teacher; publicist
19	Ikonomov, Todor	Teacher; publicist
502	Ivanov, Angel	Teacher
45	Ivanov, Ivan [Hilary of Lovech]	Ecclesiastic
101	Ivanov, Khristo	Revolutionary
97	Ivanov, Nedel'ov	Teacher; priest; revolutionary
96	Ivanov, Oton	Revolutionary
18	Kaliandzhiev, Pavel Tsanev	Russian official; writer
154	Kasabov, Ivan Khristov	Publicist

102	Khitrov, Toma	Revolutionary
126	Khristov, Ivan	Student abroad; Russian officer
31	Khristov, Velichko Todorov	Merchant activist
182	Khrulev, Todor	Teacher
156	Kirkov, Georgi Iakoblev	Student abroad; teacher in Russia
3	Kishelski, Ivan Popkirov	Officer in Russia
179	Kisimov, Pandeli Georgiev	Merchant; publicist
42	Konstantinov, Nikofof Popov	Teacher
225	Kozlev, Nikola Dimov	Teacher
145	Krūstevich, Gavril	Ottoman official; writer
117	Kūrdzhiev, Toma Antonov	Printer; teacher; revolutionary
298	Lasarov, Nikola	Teacher; clerk; student abroad
85	Levski, Vasil	Revolutionary
12	Liudskanov, Aleksandŭr	Student abroad
90	Makedonski, Khristo Nikolov	Revolutionary
107	Mateev, Andrei	Revolutionary
74	Mikhailovski, Nikola Stoianov	Teacher; publicist; Ottoman official
134	Mikhailovski, Stoian Stoianov [Hilary of Macariopolis]	Ecclesiastic
112	Milarov, Svetoslav	Publicist
29	Minkov, Todor Nikolaev	Russian official; school director
95	Mirkovich, Georgi Vŭlkov	Doctor; activist
295	Mirski, Krŭst'ŭo Ivanov	Student abroad; teacher
160	Mollov, Dimitŭr Petrov	Teacher; student abroad; doctor

61	Mollov, Simeon Petrov	Priest
60	Momchilov, Ivan Nikolov	Teacher; writer
504	Nedev Semerdzhiev, Tsviatko	Teacher
196	Nikolov, Odisei [Simeon of Varna-Preslav]	Ecclesiastic
122	Obretenov, Nikola Tikhov	Revolutionary
67	Oreshkov, Nedelcho Pavlov	Teacher
113	Palauzov, Nikolai	Russian official
120	Panov, Dimitŭr Ginchev	Russian official; revolutionary
110	Peev Stoianov, Todor	Teacher; publicist
79	Petkov, Stoian Stankov	Student abroad
310	Popov, Mircho Petkov	Teacher; political prisoner
550	Popov, Petŭr	Student abroad
142	Pupeshkov, Vasil Tsvetkov	Teacher; revolutionary
194	Pŭrvanov, Nikola	Teacher
259	Radoslavov, Mikhail Khristov	Teacher
335	Rainov, Teofan	Merchant; political activist
8	Rashev, Panaiot [Panaretus of Pogoniansk]	Ecclesiastic
234	Salabashev, Ivan	Student abroad
62	Salgandzhiev, Stefan Kalchev	Teacher
82	Sapunov, Ivan Georgiev	Revolutionary
21	Sarafov, Ivan Konstantinov	Student abroad
55	Shishkov, Todor Nikolov	Teacher
123	Simidov, Filip Stoianov	Teacher; revolutionary
141	Slaveikov, Ivan Petkov	Teacher

63	Stambolov, Stefan Nikolov	Student abroad; revolutionary
148	Stoianov, Averki	Priest; teacher
100	Stoianov, Zakhari Dzhedov	Revolutionary
99	Stoichev, Georgi	Teacher; revolutionary
11	Tsankov, Dragan Kiriakov	Teacher; publicist; Ottoman official
5	Tsankov, Kiriak Antonov	Merchant; teacher; publicist
80	Tsenovich Minkov, Dimitŭr	Merchant; revolutionary
52	Tsikalov, Khristo Petrov	Revolutionary
4	Tuleshkov, Kiro Petrovich	Student abroad; editor; revolutionary
177	Vasil'ov Ionchev, Toma	Student
227	Vatsov Kirov, Spas	Student abroad
250	Vazov, Ivan Minchev	Poet; publicist
153	Velichkov, Konstantin	Student; teacher; revolutionary
57	Velkov, Todor Todorov	Russian official
81	Voinikov, Dobri Popov	Teacher; writer
286	Vŭlkovich Chalŭkov, Georgi	Student abroad; doctor
104	Zafirov, Georgi Atanasov	Teacher
93	Zaimov, Stoian Stoianov	Teacher; revolutionary
244	Zaprianov, Todor [Bozhidar]	Student abroad; teacher; publicist
68	Zhekov, Ned'ŏ Nikolov	Teacher; writer
320	Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov	Teacher; revolutionary
294	Zhivkov, Nikola Atanasov	Teacher; revolutionary
59	Zlatev, Khristo Mikhallov	Teacher

2. Collections for organizations

Fond Name

- 185 "Bulgarian Benevolent Society" (Bucharest)
 56 "Bulgarian Central Benevolent Society" (Bucharest)
 132 "Bulgarian Reading-Room" (Istanbul)
 78 "Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee" (Bucharest)
 69 Gabrovo School

B. Arkhiv pri Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite

<u>Fond Name</u>	Brief characterization
34 Georgievi, Evlogi and Khristo	Merchants; activists
5 Mollov, Dimitŭr Petrov	Teacher; student abroad; doctor
22 Peev Stoianov, Todor	Teacher; publicist
17 Sarafov, Mikhail	Student abroad; teacher; revolutionary
43 Tsankov, Dragan Kiriakov	Teacher; publicist; Ottoman official

C. Other Unpublished Sources

"Novi dokumenti za bŭlgarskoto kulturno Vŭzrazhdane"

The above title refers to a typescript containing about two hundred documents which for the most part concern the education of Bulgars in Russia. Most of the documents are Bulgarian translations of materials held in Soviet archives and microfilmed there by the Bulgarian Central State Historical Archive. The Bulgarian historians Nikolai Genchev and Iordanka Kalŭdova are presently preparing these and related documents for publication in a volume under the above title. They have kindly allowed the author to make a copy of an early typescript. The author was not able to check the translations against the Russian originals.

III. Published Sources

A. Research Aids

1. Bibliographies

Full bibliographic coverage of Bulgarian-language works is available for publications before 1878, and comprehensive compilations exist both for works issued from 1878 to the end of the century and for the period after 1944. The most recent bibliography of the literature of the Bulgarian Renaissance is Bŭlgarska vŭzrozhdenska knizhnina, compiled by Man'ò Stoianov. Teodorov-Balan's bibliography, though poorly organized, is exhaustive for publications to 1900 (when supplemented by the bibliographic articles of N. Nachov and the compilations of St. M. Mŭrzev). Bulgarian titles published after 1944 are surveyed in bibliographies prepared by both the Bulgarian and the Soviet Academies of Sciences. This coverage continues in serial or otherwise regular publications issued by institutes of both Academies (especially the Bulgarian Institute for History and the Soviet Institute for Slavic Studies). The major shortcoming of the post-1944 bibliographies is their lack of selectivity.

No single bibliography covers the first four decades of the twentieth century. Useful in finding relevant literature published during this period are the bibliographic surveys included regularly in Izvestiia na Bŭlgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo. Philip Mosely's excellent bibliographic article is a helpful source of titles published between the two world wars.

Some of the more important Bulgarian journals have published good indexes. Particularly useful for this study have

been the indexes of Uchilishten pregled, Bŭlgarska misŭl, Izvestiia na Bŭlgarskoto istorichesko druzhestvo, and Istoricheski pregled.

Bibliographies of non-Bulgarian works are of mixed value in terms of their comprehensiveness. Russian and Soviet bibliographies are the best. The retrospective accounts prepared by Veselin Traikov and others are useful for Western-language works. Also helpful is the series of bibliographies put out by the Institute for Balkan Studies in Sofia.

Akademiia nauk SSSR. Biblioteka. Bibliografiia bolgarskikh bibliografii o Bolgarii: Literatura, opublikovannaia v 1945-1960 gg. Moscow, 1962.

_____. Fundamental'naia biblioteka obshchestvennykh nauk. Istoriia Bolgarii do 9 sentiabria 1944: Ukazatel' literatury, 1954-1958. 2 vols. Moscow, 1962-1963.

_____. Sovetskoe slavianovedenie: Literatura o zaru-bezhnykh slavianskikh stranakh na russkom iazyke, 1918-1960. Moscow, 1963.

The American Bibliography of Russian and East European Studies for 1965. Bloomington, 1968.

Published under varying titles from 1957.

Ankov, Ketj and Dimitrova, Elena (comps.) "Bibliografiia na suchneniata po slavianska filologiiia v bŭlgarskiia pechat ot 1931-1942 god.," Izvestiia na Seminara po slavianska filologiiia pri Universiteta v Sofiia, VIII-IX (1941-1943), 607-780.

Bernard, Roger. "Bulgare," Revue des études slaves, XLVII (1968), 454-473.

A bibliographic rubric of this journal since 1921.

"Bibliografiia," Izvestiia na Istoricheskoto druzhestvo v Sofiia, VI (1924), 218-226.

A regular rubric of this journal, though under different titles. Also consulted were the bibliographies in vols. V, VII-VIII, X, XIV-XV.

BAN. Opis za izdaniata na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite i na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo, 1870-1915. S., 1917.

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B. Published Primary Sources

1. Published documents

A wealth of published documentary materials could adequately sustain research on many topics of the Bulgarian Renaissance; and for this study in particular the use of published versions of documents rather than the originals has had numerous benefits: considerable time was saved; access to information was quicker and easier; and, by a selective approach to the use of the originals, a concern was shown for the preservation of fragile records.

For all the practical benefits of published documents, their use was the source of many problems. The more recent Bulgarian publications of documents have followed scholarly

canons. Some earlier collections--the "Documents of Bulgarian History" series of the 1930s, for example--were adequate in this respect. Unfortunately, rigid editorial controls were largely ignored in the preparation of materials published before that time; and in a number of smaller publications, the same failure has held true until recently. Such indispensable sources as the Gerov personal correspondence, the Slaveikov letters, the Chomakov papers and the documents on the church movement were put together text by (sometimes) selected text, with little consistency in orthography or in the methods and rationale of indicating additions, deletions and changes in the original.

The works noted above at least had the quality of being extensive collections. A vast part of the published documents on Renaissance history were issued in the form of brief periodical articles. Although such publications have more recently been in the hands of scholars, the bulk of this material has suffered from an absence of care in exact renditions and from a total lack of context.

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2. Newspapers and magazines

Bulgarian bibliographers have been unable to establish a complete and consistent list of pre-1878 Bulgarian periodicals. In part, this failure has resulted from debatable classification of some publications; in part, it has been due to the absence of extant copies of periodicals whose existence was suggested by contemporary evidence. The best recent count in Bŭlgarska vŭzrozhdenska knizhnina listed ninety-six periodicals. There are a number of discrepancies between this tabulation and that of the other major reference source for Bulgarian periodicals--the three-volumed Bŭlgarski periodichen pechat issued by the Bibliographic Institute in Sofia.

Listed below are only those newspapers and magazines which have been systematically studied. The listing has followed both the classification and the orthography of Bŭlgarska vŭzrozhdenska knizhnina.

a. Newspapers

Budilnik. Bucharest, 1873.

Bŭdushtnost. Bucharest, 1864.

- Bŭlgariia. Istanbul, 1859-1863.
- Bŭlgarska dnevnitsa. Novi Sad, 1857.
- Bŭlgarska pchela. Brăila, 1863-1864.
- Bŭlgarski glas. Bolgrad, 1876-1877.
- Duma na bŭlgarskiti emigranti. Brăila, 1871.
- Dunavska zora. Brăila, 1867-1870.
- Dunavskii lebed. Belgrade, 1860-1861.
- Gaida. Istanbul, 1863-1867.
- Istochno vreme. Istanbul, 1874-1877.
- Makedonia. Istanbul, 1866-1872.
- Napredŭk. Istanbul, 1874-1877.
- Narodnost. Bucharest, 1867-1869.
- Nezavisimost. Bucharest, 1873-1874. [Continuation of Svoboda]
- Nova Bŭlgariia. Giurgiu, 1876-1877.
- Otechestvo. Bucharest, 1869-1871.
- Pravo. Istanbul, 1870-1873.
- Stara planina. Bucharest, 1876-1877.
- Sŭvetnik. Istanbul, 1863-1865.
- Svoboda. Bucharest, 1869-1873.
- Tsarigradski vestnik. Istanbul, 1848-1862.
- Tŭpan. Bucharest, 1869-1870; 1875.
- Turtsiia. Istanbul, 1864-1873.
- Vek. Istanbul, 1874-1876.
- Vremia. Istanbul, 1865-1866.
- Vŭzrazhdan'e. Brăila, 1876.
- Zname. Bucharest, 1874-1875.

b. Magazines

Bŭlgarski knizhitsi. Istanbul, 1858-1862.

Chitalishte. Istanbul, 1870-1875.

Periodichesko spisanie na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo. Brăila, 1870-1876.

Rŭkovoditel na osnovното uchenie. Istanbul, 1874.

Slava. Ruse, 1871-1875.

Stupan. Bucharest, 1874-1876.

Uchilishte. Bucharest-Ruse, 1870-1876.

Znanie. Bucharest, 1875-1876, 1878.

3. Other contemporary literature and collected works

This bibliography has refrained from listing the individual writings (books, pamphlets, articles) published during the Renaissance. Such a listing would only duplicate the information that is available in Bŭlgarska vŭzrozhdenska knizhnina. The preceding section of the bibliography has indicated the chief periodicals used; and footnote citations in the text have shown the range of articles and books that have been consulted.

This section of the bibliography has been limited to listing the subsequently issued collected or selected writings of contemporaries. Beginning a few years after the liberation, a number of such publications have appeared. Some have been intended for scholarly use, but most of them have involved some greater or lesser amount of popularization, including a selective approach and the modernization

of the language. Adding to the resultant variety of collected works have been differences in the quality of editorial commentaries. (It might also be noted that editors have sometimes been arbitrary in assigning--often to more than one person--the largely anonymous works of the pre-1878 period.)

In general, this study has used the most scholarly and the most recently published collected works. The absence of accepted standard collections and the presence of different but valuable commentaries has in some cases led to the use of more than one version.

Aprilov, Vasil. Sūbrani sūchinēnīa. Edited by M. Arnaudov. S., 1940.

Blūskov, Ilīia Rashkov. Izbrani proizvedēnīa. 2 vols. S., 1940.

Bogorov, Ivan. Izbrani proizvedēnīa. S., 1963.

Botev, Khrīsto. Sūbrani sūchinēnīa. 2 vols. Edited by Mikhail Dimitrov. S., 1958.

The same editor has issued a Sūchinēnīa in three volumes (3d ed. revised; S., 1949-1950). The one-volume version of Aleksandūr Burmov (Sūchinēnīa [S., 1948]) has an important commentary and should be consulted by students of the period. Together with St. Bozhkov, Burmov also edited Sūchinēnīa: Avtēntichno izdanie (2 vols.; S., 1960), a collection which preserves the original orthography and numbers the lines of the text for specialized reference.

Bulgaria. Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosvēshenie. Biblioteka D-r Iv. Seliminski. 11 vols. S., 1904-1930.

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Drinov, Marin Stoianov. Sūchinēnīa. 3 vols. Edited by V. N. Zlatarski. S., 1909-1915.

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4. Memoirs and travel accounts

The memoir literature springing from the Bulgarian Renaissance has required careful use. Most such accounts were written long after the events they record. The memoirists often exaggerated their own importance and they made frequent factual errors.

Nevertheless, personal recollections have been helpful. A few memoirists (Zakhari Stoianov for one) combined good writing with a good overall depiction of both general and specific developments. Other writers (Mikhail Madzharov, Panteli Kisimov and Petur P. Karapetrov) wrote with uncommon

insight. Still other first-person accounts recorded information of the kind not usually preserved in other sources.

The memoir literature cited here has been used for the following purposes: 1), to obtain biographical information; 2), to observe the personal reaction (albeit expressed later) of some members of the intelligentsia to their experiences (for instance, their view of their own primary education, a matter for which there are no other sources); 3), to seek a greater understanding of the character of the interrelationships of the intelligentsia; and 4), to find examples for the themes discussed in the text.

Otherwise important for a study of the nineteenth-century Balkans, the travel accounts of foreigners have not been used extensively in this study. Travellers rarely had the opportunity to probe deeply into the role of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. On the other hand, the general and introductory parts of this study have been helped by the impressionistic observations of some travellers.

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- _____. "Pŭrvoto mi zapoznavane s P. R. Slaveikov: (Iz moite spomeni)," B. sb., II, Kn. 1 (January 1, 1897), 9-16.
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- BAN. Ivan Evstratiev Geshov: Vŭzgleđi i deinost. S., 1926.
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