

Abstracts

RAĪA ZAĪMOVA

“POUR” ET “CONTRE” L’HISTOIRE DE BYZANCE ET DE BULGARIE
DANS LE DIXHUITIÈME SIÈCLE EUROPÉEN

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

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

IOANNIS PAPADRIANOS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A G O P G A R A B E D Y A N

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

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

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

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

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

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

RUMIANA KOMSALOVA

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

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

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

YANNIS SKOURTIS

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

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

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

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

NADIA DANOVA

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ÉCOLE HELLÉNIQUE DE PLOVDIV

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

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

1768 par E. Voulgaris, l'étiq̄ue de Soave, l'œuv̄re de Montesquieu sur la grandeur et la d̄cadence des Romains, la logique et la philosophie de Heine- tius et la m̄taphysique de Genovese. Les titres et les auteurs ̄num̄r̄s pr̄- sentent d'une manīre tr̄s caract̄ristique les tendances dans la vie spirituelle des Balkans ō l'̄tablissement des id̄es nouvelles s'est r̄alis̄ apr̄s bien des efforts et des h̄sitations. En conclusion on revient au th̄me du r̄le de l'̄cole hell̄nique de Plovdiv dans la formation de personnalit̄s hautement instruites pour leur temps comme l'̄minent repr̄sentant des Lumīres bul- gares Konstantin Fotinov de Samokov, Joakim Grouev, Vassil Ćolakov et Da- masc̄nes de Veles, qui ont occup̄ une place importante dans la vie spirituelle du XIXe sīcle bulgare.

†GIORGOS TOUSIMIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NIKOLAY ARETOV

THE KIDNAPPED IDENTITY AND THE MYTH OF THE BOOK BURNING

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

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

The situation could be described like this:

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

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

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

SPYRIDON SFETAS

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

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

SANYA VELKOVA

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

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

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

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

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

XANTHIPPI KOTZAGEORGI-ZYMARI

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

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

EKATERINA NIKOVA

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

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

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

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

Abstracts

C. G. PATRINELIS

THE PHANARIOTS BEFORE 1821

This paper is not a historical survey of the world of the Phanariots; it rather aims to discuss and commend on some controversial points of the history of Phanariots, and on some generally accepted views about them but not sufficiently documented. The main conclusions of this discussion are the following:

1. The social origin of the Phanariots must be sought not in the class of merchants, as it is often said, but in the cycle of those Greeks of the 16th and 17th centuries, who served the Ottoman state or did business with it (secretaries, dragomans, tax farmers, suppliers of various goods to the sultanic court etc.).

2. There is no official text expounding the political, and social principles of the Phanariots. However, their practice in handling several political matters, their behavior, their correspondence etc. permit us to restore their ideological world:

i) The Phanariots (as well as the Church) believed in the absolute necessity of peaceful co-existence and submission to the Ottoman state. The theory that they served the Turks, but really aimed at undermining and substituting them one day is a pious myth. ii) The Phanariots often played the role of the protector of the orthodox church, and they had adopted some ritual forms of Byzantine origin, but they never declared that they were here to the Byzantine imperial tradition. Besides, none of the Phanariot families had a bond of blood with any Byzantine aristocratic family. Moreover, they did not aim at restoring the Byzantine Empire. The often referred "Idée imperial" of the Phanariots is a posterior invention. iii) The Phanariots did not try to Hellenize their Roumanian subjects; first, because they rejected nationalistic theories, and second, because Greek culture had begun entering the Roumanian lands much before the Phanariot era.

3. It is true that the Phanariots exploited ruthlessly their subjects but not more than their Roumanian predecessors of the native boyars.

4. The Phanariots favoured some forms of modern culture (schools, books, theater etc.), but only to the extent that all these were harmless to them, to the church and the Ottoman state. The nature of their position, as voluntary

servants of a theocratic and despotic state, was quite incompatible with the basic principles of the Enlightenment. It was the phanariotic entourage (teachers at the two Greek High Schools in Bucharest and Iassi, various scholars, generous merchants, polyglot officials at the two princeley courts etc.) that contributed considerably to the movement of the Greek Enlightenment.

5. Contrary to what is often said, neither the Phanariot princes nor their sons used to study abroad; the exceptions are not more than two or three.

6. The view that the Phanariots represented in some way the so called "Enlightened despotism" is groundless. The phanariotic law codes and relative texts indicate a strong inclination to an autoritative, if not machiavellian, administration.

7. Their attitude to the common Greek desire for liberation, as well as to the Greek Revolution was negative (with the exception of the Ypsilanti brothers, Alex. Mavrocordatos, Th. Negris and a few others).

8. Only after the establishment of the Greek state, and the fashioning of the Great Idea, romantic Greek historiographers exalted the Phanariots as apostles of hellenism and forerunners of the Great Idea.

JOHN A. MAZIS

THE GREEK ASSOCIATION OF ODESSA:
NATIONALIST POLITICS ON TWO FRONTS

The Greek Benevolent Association of Odessa (GBAO) represents the crowning achievement of Greek civil society in Late Imperial Russia. Between 1871 and 1917 the GBAO supported a number of philanthropic organizations such as the School for Boys, the School for Girls, the Church of the Holy Trinity, and the Home for the Elderly. The activities of the GBAO were part of the greater phenomenon of private charity in Russia, which came into existence as the Great Reforms, instituted in the 1860s, were being implemented throughout the empire.

While the organization's stated goals were strictly charitable, many of its actions were political. At the time the Russian government was pursuing a policy of russification, which was in direct opposition to the goals of the Greek community. Through education of its members and behind the scenes lobbying, the GBAO was able to avoid the most onerous provisions of the russification laws. The purely political/national activities of the GBAO demonstrate that while the tsarist regime had a well-deserved reputation for political repres-

sion, an organization could pursue political goals provided it was protected by wealthy and or powerful individuals and did not openly antagonize the regime.

ARGYRIOS K. PISIOTIS

RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY AND THE POLITICS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the wake of the 1905 revolution some of the prelates and the lower clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church joined the politics of the newly-emerged Right and radical Right. Contrary to the assumptions of Soviet and Western historians, the Orthodox clergy did not do so primarily out of innate conservatism of loyalty to the autocracy. Church leaders sought to substitute empowerment through rightist support for what they felt the tsarist state had abandoned. That was the Church's traditional privileges in Russia, such as the exclusive right to missionary activity and the identification of the character of the tsarist state with Orthodoxy. Yet Orthodox hierarchs approached the Right as ideological teachers seeking to redefine nationalist beliefs about "Russianness" according to the Orthodox faith. Participation in rightist political activity also compensated rank-and-file Orthodox clergy for the contempt of Russia's educated élite and for the state's negligence towards clergymen's pressing material needs.

GEORGIOS KRITIKOS

INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES IN A RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

This paper seeks to investigate the religious context of the integration of the Asia Minor refugees, who fled to Greece after the Greek-Turkish compulsory exchange of populations of 1923. The traditional studies of this issue adopt the attitude that since religion was the exclusive criterion of the transfer of populations, there is no reason for discussing further the religious aspect of their settlement. The present research examines a number of issues: whether and why the refugees remained a religious flock after their establishment in the secular Greek state and which was the role of their Christian belief in the process of their settlement; which was the contribution of Church to their integration in material and spiritual terms; last but not least, refugees will be approached not only as products, but also as creators of the system created after 1923. Within this framework, this paper will explore to what extent the

Orthodox Church came up to the expectations of the new congregation, which was in real need of philanthropic work and will evaluate the effect, if any, of the refugee Christian flock upon the Church of the Greek state.

THEODORA KALAITZAKI

TURKEY AND BULGARIA IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: A SUCCESS STORY

This article attempts to analyze the Turkish-Bulgarian relations in the post-Cold War period. The first part summarizes the historical background of the bilateral relations between Turkey and Bulgaria. Then, the Bulgarian policy towards the Turkish minority and its impact to the Turkish-Bulgarian relations during the decade of the 1980s is discussed. The last part focuses in the shifts and the new challenges for the Turkish and the Bulgarian foreign policy since the end of the Cold War and analyzes the political and military cooperation in the 1990s. This study concludes that the changes in the international system have provided both Turkey and Bulgaria a conducive environment in their political and security orientations and thus created a necessary ground for the establishment of a more stable and long-lasting form of relationship.