

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL HISTORY

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, Dragi Ćorgiev (eds.)

**THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN
ACADEMIC RESEARCH
AND INSTITUTION BUILDING
(19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY)**



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INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN ACADEMIC RESEARCH AND INSTITUTION BUILDING

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska

Speaking of the beginnings of Macedonian academic culture and the building of its national academic institutions in the modern sense means looking at the emergence of the first secular educational institutions in Macedonia (schools, libraries and reading centres), and the achievements of the first researchers of the past, language, culture, folklore and ethnography, including the zografts as the founders of modern Macedonian art. All these developments were an integral part of the process of cultural mobilization in Macedonia, known as the period of national revival, which involved raising awareness of the national character and organizing the creation of a national state. At the same time, literacy and creativity in all forms, which are the basic elements of cultural progress, developed in a long and complex process that continued in various forms from the 19th century until the constitution of the modern Macedonian state and its institutions in 1944.

This process can be traced through certain specific phenomena, such as *Slavism* as an ethnic marker to distinguish Macedonians from Greeks, *našizam* (derived from ‘naš’, meaning ‘ours’, as a way of distinguishing ethnically between *ourselves / our people* and *the others*, and *Macedonianism* as the highest form of national awareness. In this process of self-identification, legitimacy and verification of political demands were sought by means of passionate *national mythologizing* and celebration of national heroes. A specific phenomenon was *unijatstvo* (the term was derived from the word ‘unija’, meaning ‘union’), a movement for union with the Roman Catholic Church as a way of achieving recognition of a separate church, language and people (which also contributed to the opening of schools in the mother tongue), as well as the phenomenon of *povekedomnost* (*multiple belonging*), i.e. creative expression in non-native languages, depending on place of residence or education. Socio-political conditions in Macedonia further complicated the situation, in particular the millet-system that recognised religious denominations but not nationalities, allowing only for affiliations to officially recognized churches. The geostrategic position of

Macedonia and the activities of foreign nationalist propagandists exacerbated the situation, especially with the division after the Balkan Wars.

The leaders of the cultural movement in Macedonia were typically spiritual, educational and/or literary-cultural activists who were mobilized mainly in spiritual, educational, national-political and cultural associations and movements. Their activities aimed to achieve several interrelated goals: to restore the Ohrid Archbishopric as a separate Slavic Macedonian church; to expand literacy and standardize the Macedonian language; and to establish schools and other educational and academic institutions with standardized Macedonian as the language of instruction. A special domain of cultural mobilization was the development of publishing in various centres in Europe and the Balkans, including in Macedonia where several printing houses were active in the 19th century. This was simultaneous with the Enlightenment and Awakening Period (1802–1845), when secular education began, leading to the printing of the first books and textbooks by various authors, including Danail Moskopolski, Joakim Krčovski, Kiril Pejčinovič and Anatolij Zografski, and to the establishment of the first Macedonian printing houses, run by Teodosija Sinaitski and Daskal Kamče. In the mid-late 19th century (1845–1875), the first significant researchers and scholarly works appeared in various fields, including the Miladinov brothers, who were leading collectors and publishers of folklore, the founders of new secular Macedonian literature, such as Konstantin Miladinov, Konstantin and Andrea Petkovič, Rajko Žinzifov, Grigor Prličev and Jordan Hadžikonstantinov-Džinot, the first authors of textbooks in Macedonian vernacular, such as Partenija Zografski Dimitar Makedonski, Dimitar Uzunov, Kuzman Šapkarev, Veniamin Mačukovski, and Ćorgija Pulevski, who also made the first attempts at lexicography.

Further and more sophisticated scholarly efforts were undertaken at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century – the period of interest in the current research. This was a period of mobilization of the intelligentsia and witnessed the origins of Macedonian folkloristics and ethnography in the works of Marko Cepenkov, Kuzman Šapkarev, Petar Draganov, Vasil Ikonov, Anton Popstoilov, Ćorgija Pulevski and Panajot Ćinoski. This period also witnessed the emergence of the first researchers educated in centres outside Macedonia, who undertook essential studies of Macedonian history, identity, literature and made attempts to standardize literary language and grammar (Ćorgija Pulevski, Petar Poparsov, Kosta Šahov, Temko Popov, Krste Misirkov, etc.) and also wrote original poetic, prose and dramatic texts (Ćorgija Pulevski, Trajče Kitančev, Eftim Sprostranov, Vojdan Černodrinski, Marko Cepenkov, Dimo Hadži Dimov, etc.). Especially notable amongst these significant scholarly works was Pulevski's *Slavic-Macedonian General History*, one of the earliest attempts at Macedonian history, ethnography and grammar. All of these pioneering scholars who laid the foundations of Macedonian academic research and institutions through their

contributions to the national and cultural development are today considered the founders of Macedonian academic culture.

Owing to the geostrategic position of Macedonia at a crossroads between East and West, and to the lack of any local opportunities for higher education and academic development during this period, Macedonian scholars were compelled to seek education and personal betterment either in European centres or universities in the Russian Empire. For this reason there is a need to focus on the discourse of academic culture in terms of knowledge exchange. This is the approach taken in this book, which briefly discusses some of the most significant points in the beginnings of Macedonian academic culture. The publication arises from a workshop held in the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Skopje on 21 March 2018 on **The Beginnings of Macedonian Academic Research and Institution Building (19th – early 20th century)**. This workshop was part of a project on “Knowledge Exchange and Academic Cultures in the Humanities: Europe and the Black Sea Region, late 18th – 21st Centuries”. The project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under Grant Agreement No. 734645. The topics presented by Macedonian researchers at the workshop covered some of the most important stages in the beginnings of Macedonian academic culture. These topics included the establishment of the first cultural-educational institutions as a basis for developing future academic culture, the first Macedonian academic linguistic research undertaken in the European context, the Debar-Mijak Zograf school, and the transfer of knowledge in the regional context in the 19th century, the beginnings of folkloristic-ethnographic research, the beginnings of Macedonian musicology (through Atanas Badev), the attempts to open the Academy for Teachers in Skopje, the education of Muslims in Skopje in the second half of the 19th century, and the Macedonian cultural associations that formed the core of initial academic research, as well as the relations between guild organizations and the establishment of an intellectual elite in Macedonia.

The workshop was opened by Professor (Dr.) Dragi Ćorgiev, the Director of the Institute of National History and a participant in this project. It proceeded with a presentation by Professor (Dr.) Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, the head of the Macedonian team involved in the Knowledge Exchange project. This presentation provided an overview of the main goals and tasks of the Macedonian team and the activities undertaken in 2017 within the framework of the project, and was entitled **Travelogue of the Macedonian team (work in the framework of the project KEAC-BSR – 2017)**.

When speaking about the project, the main goal of the research was to study events, written works and personalities (scholars, writers, translators, etc.), related to knowledge exchange and academic cultures in the Black Sea Region and

Europe. In this context it was also important to pay attention to the educational and intellectual discourses of the population, to discover some contacts in the sphere of scholarship, science, education, poetry, etc. Another important focus of our research was on the exchange of knowledge through communication and economic activity, the distribution of craft products in international trade and the position of merchants and craftsmen in societies of the Black Sea Region.

In the framework of the project, the Macedonian team was seconded to the Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University in Russia. It was very interesting to research the history of the Caucasus Region of Mineral Waters. It was especially interesting to learn about aspects of knowledge transfers through the participation of European scholars (doctors, engineers, mineralogists, geologists, etc.) in the discovery and development of the mineral potentials of the Black Sea Region. For example, the life and work of Anton Nezlobinski, a famous engineer and mineralogist, was also of particular interest. This is because his son, Nikola Nezlobinski (a doctor), emigrated with his wife and settled in Macedonia, later becoming the founder of the first Museum of Natural Science and the first collection of Macedonian flora and fauna, as well as participating in the development of medical treatments for malaria and improving hygiene.

Our team was also seconded to the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan (Armenia), known as the Matenadaran. The main focus of our research was on works and personalities from Armenia related to the transfer and exchange of knowledge in the Black Sea Region and Europe, as well as creating a database on culture and education in the Black Sea Region (especially Armenia). An important task for the team was to study literacy and publishing, which played the key role in Armenian identity-building and connections with Europe, and to research the lives and activities of intellectual elites in Armenia and the Armenian intelligentsia in Europe, including their personal histories and communications with European and Balkan (especially Macedonian) intellectuals, and finding a common ground for the historical memory.

A particularly important activity of the aforementioned international project was our participation in the first **International Conference on Knowledge Exchange. Europe and the Black Sea Region, c.1750–1850**, held from 29 to 30 September 2017, organized by the Principal Coordinator at the University of Graz. The three conference participants from Macedonia gave the following presentations: Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska, ‘The Macedonian Traditional Knowledge System at the Crossroads of the Imperial Influences (until mid-19th Century)’; Dragi Ćorgiev, ‘Knowledge Transfer in the Education of Muslims in Ottoman Balkan Society: Cultural and Social Aspects through the Study Case of a Dictionary from 1826/1827’; and Vladimir Janev, ‘The Role of Trade Exchange in Macedonian Towns until 1850 – Means and Methods of Knowledge

Distribution'. The work of the Conference took place within 10 panels on separate topics, with introductory presentations, as well as the exceptional scientific opinions and guidelines of Prof. Karl Kaser (University of Graz) in the lecture on 'Theoretical Orientations'.

The participation in the project included attending the **International Congress of Historians-Slavicists**, held in St. Petersburg (12–17 September 2017) on the theme of 'How to study the history of the Slavic world today'. The event was organized by the St. Petersburg State University on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Slavic Congress (1867–2017). The academic abstracts presented at this Congress provided insights into a wide range of issues in the field of Slavistics, above all the scientific achievements of historians-slavicists. In the context of the beginnings of Macedonian scientific research, it is important to note that this was the first Congress of historians-slavicists attended by a representative from Macedonia. Namely, Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska presented 'A Picture of the Slavic World through the Prism of a 19th Century Macedonian Manuscript (Transfer of Knowledge and Ideas)'.

As part of the workshop on "The Beginnings of Macedonian Academic Research and Institution-Building (19th – Early 20th Century)", we organized an exhibition of posters displaying selected photographs and documents under the title "**The Beginnings of Macedonian Institutions, Research and Associations through Photography**" to illustrate the topic of the event. One of the posters (fig. 31) was dedicated to institutions related to education in Macedonia, including state schools of different ethnic and religious background. Documents and photographs related to the early Macedonian cultural associations that paved the way to the development of modern university and scientific institutions were also displayed (fig. 32). Also, the exhibition focused on some of the leading figures (fig. 33) who played a role in the beginnings of our academic culture, including teachers, textbook-writers, collectors of folk art, historians, and linguists. One poster (fig. 34) provided an overview of some of the most important manuscripts and works published by Macedonians from this period, highlighting important stages in the development of Macedonian academic culture related to the study of history, language, folklore and tradition.

This current collection of articles, entitled *The Beginnings of Macedonian Academic Research and Institution Building (19th – early 20th century)*, edited by Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska and Dragi Gorgiev, consists of papers presented at the workshop, providing an overview of some of the most important historical phenomena and personalities whose initial research and ideas for institution-building formed the basis for contemporary Macedonian academic culture and science. While a collection of this length cannot exhaustively cover

all aspects of the beginnings and early development of Macedonian academic culture, we hope this book will contribute to extending the exchange of knowledge between Europe and the Black Sea region, as well as opening up areas for further research and comparative analysis.



Figure 1

Figure 1–8: Photos from the Workshop



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9:
The Church of the Holy Annunciation in Prilep



Figure 10:
Cover of a pack of “Filter
Prilep” cigarettes with King
Marko as a symbol, produced
by the Prilep Tobacco Company



Figure 11:
Museum of Kratovo (a center of mining in Macedonia in the Middle
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is the monastery of St. Gavril Lesnovski as an important church and
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Figure 12:
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Figure 13:
Old part of the city of Ohrid: church and administrative center of the Ohrid Archbishopric, among the main cultural and educational centers for the development of literacy, a mobilized Macedonian intelligentsia and creativity. In Ohrid the characteristic Ohrid pearls are made following the recipe of a Russian immigrant in the interwar period



Figure 14:
Part of the collection of the Natural Science Museum, named after its founder Nikola Nezlobinski (a Russian emigrant, born in Pyatigorsk). The Museum is situated in Struga (significant trade, craft and cultural center in Macedonia in the period of Ottoman rule, also known as the hometown of the revivalists Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov)



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Figure 23:
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Figure 25:
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Figure 26:
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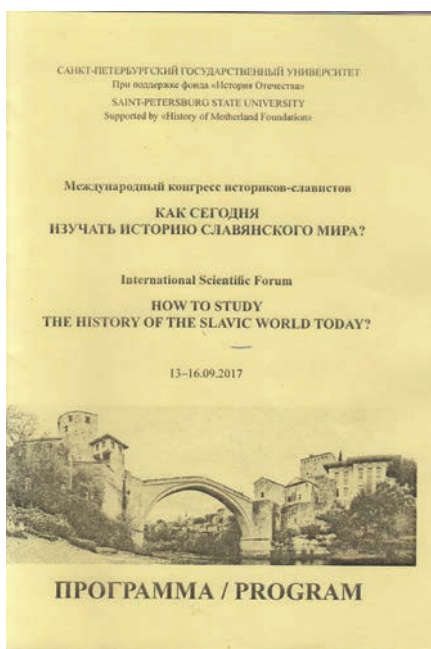


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THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS, RESEARCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY

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Educational institutions in Macedonia

THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS, RESEARCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY

(TAB.2)



Figure 32
Cultural associations and press

THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS, RESEARCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY

(TAB.3)

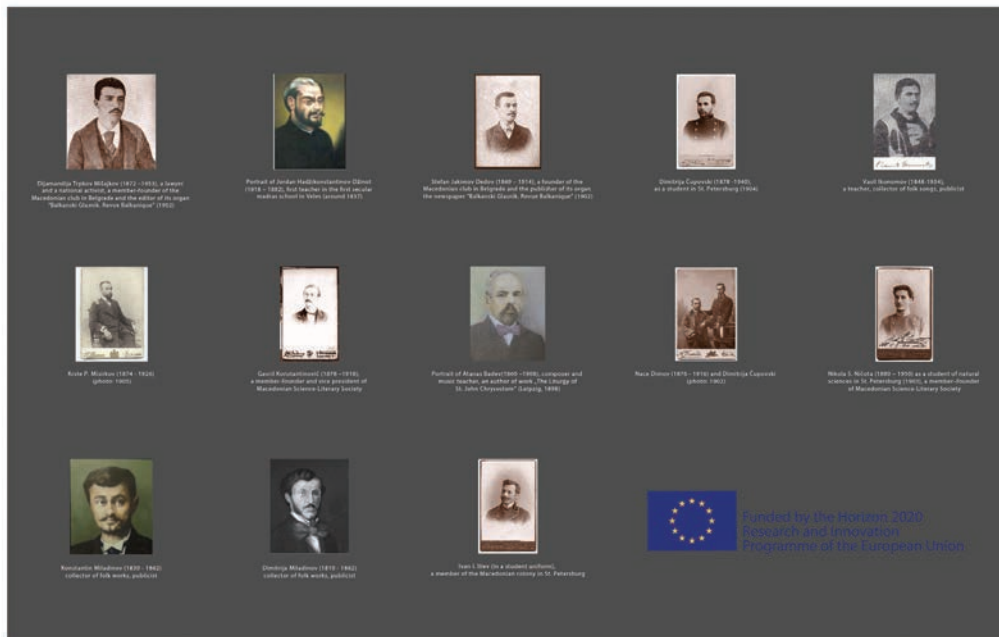


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THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN INSTITUTIONS, RESEARCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY

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THE FIRST CULTURAL-EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MACEDONIA AS THE BASIS FOR FUTURE ACADEMIC CULTURE (FROM THE 19th TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY)

Silvana Sidorovska-Čupovska

Abstract: The first schools in Macedonia took the form of classes held in the grounds of monasteries and churches, in their porticos, hospices, ‘candle workshops’ and baptisteries, as well as in private urban and rural buildings. In the early 19th century, the first secular schools were established in towns and larger settlements. The cities and towns of Skopje, Veles, Štip, Prilep, Kukuš, Salonika and others exerted significant educational and cultural influences on populations in their vicinity. As the educational needs developed, ‘class schools’ were established in which the pupils were divided into different classes according to age. The first such school was opened in Veles in 1857. In the mid-19th century the first schools for girls opened, as well as the first reading-rooms and private libraries. The Macedonian intelligentsia participated in the development of these cultural and educational institutions.

Апстракт: Првите училишта во Македонија биле училиштата во манастирските и црковните метоси, порти, конаци, во просториите на свекарниците, крстилниците во приватните градски и селски згради по градовите и селата. На почетокот на XIX век во градовите и поголемите селски населби се појавиле и првите световни училишта. Како просветно-културни центри градовите Скопје, Велес, Штип, Прилеп, Кукуш, Солун и други, имале силно влијание на својата околина. Во развојот на просветата како повисока фаза во стекнувањето на знаењата покрај световните биле класните училишта. Првото класно училиште било отворено во Велес во 1857 година. Од средината на XIX век почнале да се отвораат и првите женски училишта, читалишта и приватни библиотеки. Во градењето на културно–образовните институции учество имала македонската интелигенција.

In all societies in which the development of education was important even as early as the late Middle Ages, the acquisition of reading, writing and mathematical skills was considered crucial. These skills would have been obtained in educational institutions providing this system of acquiring knowledge. When comparing and analysing the emergence of cultural and educational institutions in Macedonia

with more developed European and neighbouring countries, it can be concluded that there were both major differences and similarities in terms of their stages of development. When speaking about modern education, differences relate only to the period in which it developed its first activities. The contemporary educational system in Western Europe was set up in the early 19th century and influenced the modernization of the education in other parts of Europe, including the newly liberated states that used to be under Ottoman rule. At this time Macedonian education also saw evident improvements, gradually abandoning the so-called 'cell schools' in favour of secular schools.

When speaking about medieval Macedonia, the first schools were established in monastic and church lands, with classes held in porticos, hospices, 'candle rooms', baptisteries and in private urban and rural buildings supported by monasteries and churches. The educational input in those schools was religious. In elementary schools, children studied reading and writing as well as congregational singing, learning prayers and scriptures by heart and familiarising themselves with the church rituals and the liturgy. Higher education was acquired in monastic schools, where the teachers were ecclesiastics, grammarians and writers and the focus of study was on Holy Scripture, Christian theory, hagiographies and Christian dogma. Higher monastic schools were attended by advanced students who had completed elementary church and monastic schooling and wanted to prepare for qualify for religious honorifics and titles – including, monks, priests, teachers, writers and clerks.

During the 11th and 12th centuries the development of the spiritual and educational and cultural life of the Macedonian people was under threat of hostile assimilation by the Byzantine clergy. Most of the schools in the monasteries and churches founded by the Ohrid Archbishopric were forcibly closed. However, even in such conditions the study of Church Slavonic language and literacy continued. In the 13th and 14th centuries, education in Greek was present in some monastic and church schools in Macedonia alongside the predominant Church Slavonic education. Some Macedonian monks who stayed in the monasteries on Mount Athos for a longer period managed to perfect their skills in Greek to the extent that they could preach from Greek worship books and other religious texts in Church Slavonic (Пахов 1999, 129).

During the period of Ottoman rule, there was only limited potential for educational and cultural life in Macedonia. In this period, invaders destroyed most of the Christian sanctuaries, though some remote monasteries, often hidden in mountains far from the towns and main roads used by the Ottoman army, continued the tradition of Church Slavonic literacy and literature. Some towns in Macedonia played important roles as educational and cultural centres in this period. In the 16th century, for example, the calligraphic school in the

town of Kratovo was engaged in highly productive educational and literary activity. During this period, the town not only supported sophisticated manuscript production but also organized education for the children. In the first half of the 16th century, a 'cell school' existed in Kratovo where children were taught in their mother tongue.

In the beginning of the 19th century **private secular 'cell schools'** also appeared in towns and larger settlements. These were attended only by children whose parents could pay for their education. This same period saw the establishment of the first municipal public schools with the support of churches and municipalities. One of the earliest attempts to found a municipal school was made in the municipality of Veles in 1810, when it is recorded that the municipality decided "to build some school rooms" (Кантарџиев 2002, 102). In c.1820, new radical steps were taken when citizens submitted the following request to the municipality: "It is high time to found a municipal school to foster free education of the poor; to create a positive school environment; to select good teachers and supply school books" (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2004, 67). This was a period when Macedonia began adopting initial ideas to release schools from the grip of the church and apply new methods in lecturing. One of these new methods was developed in England in the late 18th century by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster and was known as the 'Bell-Lancaster Method', involving peer tutoring and 'mutual instruction'. In 1840, a municipal school was also built on the west side of the town of Veles (Хаџи Васиљевић 1928, 85).

In the 1850s a network of secular schools spread in all cities, towns and large rural settlements in Macedonia. Secular schools had much better conditions than cell schools and the education they provided was of a different character, with different goals and tasks. They were social institutions created for the needs of craftsmen and traders and the wider public, and thus typically required larger buildings with more classroom space. Public interest in these schools led to the allocation of funds for the maintenance and building of new schools. Special buildings were constructed according to the requirements and needs of the new system of acquiring knowledge.

In Macedonia there are no primary-school buildings preserved from this period, and few details are known about their architecture, classroom dimensions and inventories. On the basis of data from schools in Prilep, Skopje and Veles, however, we can conclude that they were typically one-storey or two-storey buildings with spacious rectangular classrooms. The classrooms had different dimensions depending on the number of the students. The main inventory included a teacher's desk and students' desks.

The number of new schools increased significantly in the 1850s and 1860s as the general economic and social development of towns and cities led to a

focus on educational and cultural improvements. In 1843, for example, a spacious two-storey school (672 m²) was built in Prilep with four rooms on each floor. The premises on the first floor served as classrooms, while on the second floor one room was reserved for the municipal authorities and another room was used by the Bishop when visiting (Шалдевѝ 1943, 14). In 1848 another large school was built in Skopje in the grounds of the Church of the Holy Mother of God, where Jordan Hadžikonstantinov-Džinot was a teacher for ten years (Кънчов 1898, 117). The following two decades saw numerous other schools built in other towns, cities and villages, including in Gostivar in 1851 (Ивановѝ 1915, 137), in Struga in 1855 (Снѣгаровѝ 1927, 48), and in Bansko in 1857 (Юруков 1940, 37–38).

As educational and cultural centres, towns and cities exerted considerable influence over surrounding districts, especially on nearby rural settlements, which reflected the development of their educational life. This was especially so in the case of Skopje, Veles, Štip, Prilep, Kukuš and Salonika. The mid–19th century saw the establishment of secular schools in villages. According to available data, one of the first villages in Macedonia to establish a secular school was the village of Bašino in 1857 (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2004, 86–87). A village school was founded in Novo Selo (near Štip) in 1862 (Ивановѝ 1906, 362), and in 1866 schools were also opened in the following villages near Strumica: Novo Selo, Dabilja, Vasilevo and Vodoča (Кантарѝев 2002, 170). Between 1867 and 1870, secular schools were opened in numerous villages in the region of Skopje, Tetovo and Kumanovo. By the 1870s there were secular public schools in many other villages in Macedonia.

Up until the mid-19th century there were no **schools for girls** in Macedonia. Given the socially inferior status of women at that time, the practical benefits of educating girls were not recognized. Church-educational municipalities lacked sufficient resources to manage such schools, including skilled and qualified female teachers. Prior to the emergence of special schools for girls, they attended municipal cell schools located in private houses, and later on joined the secular boys' schools. However, the number of female students was low throughout the 19th century.

The first schools for girls opened in the most economically developed cities whose church-educational municipalities could afford to allocate resources for their maintenance. Some municipalities that were interested in improving education in their towns, such as Veles, Prilep and Štip, appealed for teachers from neighbouring countries. One of the first known schools for girls was opened in Veles in the 1850s (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2009, 56), and the 1860s saw the founding of many others: in Kukuš (1860), in Štip (1861–1862) (Ивановѝ 1906, 362), in Prilep (1865) (Трајановски 1978, 113), in Salonika (1866) (Снѣгаровѝ 1937, 46), in Debar (1866) (Хаѝи Васиљевић 1928, 78) and in Bitola (1869) (Думев 1924, 96–97).

On the initiative of young intelligentsia and citizens, the mid-19th century also witnessed the establishment of the first cultural institutions, **reading-rooms and private libraries**, which would serve as a foundation for future academic culture in Macedonia. The first reading-rooms were organized as cultural and educational institutions and usually operated in a room in a private house or a premise within an existing school building. These were places where books and newspapers were available for the public and they proved highly popular despite limited resources and difficult circumstances. Excerpts from books and newspapers delivered from Constantinople, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Moscow and other cities were often read aloud by more educated citizens to members of the public. The first reading room was opened in the city of Bitola. Ten years later, reading centers existed in all major cities, such as Salonika, Skopje, Veles, Prilep, and others.

With the development of an urban middle class and the growth of educational and cultural life in Macedonia, its prominent citizens who worked in education and culture were the first to have large collections of books, which they transformed into private libraries owned by well-known citizens and educational and cultural activists. The most famous of these was the private library established by the brothers Konstantin and Eftim Robev from Ohrid. The scholars Grigor Prličev, Kuzman Šapkarev and Janaki Strezov, also from Ohrid, accumulated large collections of books (full with foreign literature, as well as works of ancient Greek and Roman authors). Among the non-Christian population there were rich libraries in almost all madrasahs, containing the famous works of Islamic science and religion in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. These books were most often brought from Constantinople and were copied by learned people as well as by writers who mostly lived and worked in bigger cities such as Skopje, Bitola, Gostivar and Tetovo.

As the educational needs of society developed, so-called ‘**class schools**’ were established in which pupils were divided into classes according to age, mainly in larger Macedonian towns and cities. Greek-speaking ‘class schools’ had already been founded in the early 19th century in Salonika, Voden, Bitola, Ohrid, Struga, Serres, Kukuš, Prilep and Kruševo, focused on the teaching of Ancient Greek language and on Ancient Greek writers. This focus did not match the curricula of modern schools in Europe, however, and these schools were gradually replaced in the mid-19th century by class schools conducted in Macedonian.

The first Macedonian class school was opened in Veles. Construction commenced in 1856 on the east side of the River Vardar and was completed in 1857 (Шоптрајанов 1958, 460–467). Class schools were later opened in Prilep (1863) (Еничѣрѣвъ 1906, 352) and Štip (1869). Other class schools appeared for development of education in Macedonia, which were first professional educational institutions – pedagogical schools, established in Štip (1869) and

Prilep (1874) by Josif Kovačev, a prominent reformer of Macedonian education (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2009, 54).

In addition to administrative, economic, military and other reforms initiated by the Ottoman authorities in the second half of the 19th century, changes were also introduced in the education of the Muslim and Jewish populations in Macedonia. Although Muslims acquired their main religious education in *mosques*, *tekkes*, *maktabs* and *madrassas*, they also enrolled in the newly opened **state and private schools**. Two military schools were also opened in the *Bitola*¹ *Vilayet* (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2009, 182–186). The Jewish population in Macedonia acquired their education in synagogues (including *beth Talmud* and *beth midrash*), and in 1873 a modern Jewish school was founded in Salonika by the honorary Italian consul Solomon Fernandez. The Allatini family also opened a private school attended by 500 students (Мезанъ 1930, 76–77).

Influenced by these cultural and educational developments, citizens made efforts to open schools even in areas with only minimum conditions for their subsistence. These initiatives were superseded from the 1870s when new schools began to be erected in towns and villages **funded by the governments of neighbouring countries** as part of their nationalist propaganda efforts. The Bulgarian Exarchate exercised dominance over education, even though from its very beginnings in Macedonia, this education was non-religious. The Exarchate succeeded in imposing its influence in every aspect of religious, political, educational and cultural life in Macedonia, both in the parishes and in the civil and ecclesiastical educational associations organised by the Exarchate. The affiliation of the majority of the Macedonian people with the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Church had far-reaching consequences as a result of Sharia law in the Ottoman Empire. The Exarchate gained the legal right to administer religion and education in ecclesiastical and educational communities, opening a number of schools in Macedonia that gave primacy to the study of Bulgarian language and history. Primary, secondary and vocational schools were opened in which Macedonian children were educated in foreign languages. In such conditions, only a small number of pupils succeeded in continuing their academic education abroad.

In the course of the 19th century, the crumbling legal order of the Sharia system in the Ottoman Empire allowed for the penetration of Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian **educational propaganda in Macedonia**. Using the numerous weaknesses in the management of the Empire, this educational propaganda gradually availed itself to all legal paths in its takeover of the administration of the old church-school communities, churches, schools and of the local municipal administration. The earliest propaganda was Greek educational propaganda, supported primarily by the Patriarchate and its privileges within the Empire, in

¹ In Ottoman period named as Monastir.

spreading Greek national feeling to Hellenise the Slav population. The approach of Serbian educational propaganda was much more complicated than Greek and Bulgarian propaganda. This was mainly due to its much less efficient organizational, institutional, legal and other capacities in comparison to those of Greek and Bulgarian propaganda in Macedonia. Until the end of the Ottoman rule, there was a notable presence of the Romanian, Catholic and Protestant propaganda in addition to the activities of Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian educational propaganda. Unlike Romanian propaganda, which was aimed at attracting the Vlach population, the Catholics and Protestants were solely concerned with proselytising in mind, advocating conversion to Catholicism and Protestantism among the Orthodox Macedonian population.

The earliest educational propaganda was conducted by the Greek Patriarchate. This ecclesiastical institution opened the first Greek schools in the towns that were metropolitan centres. The network of Greek schools was seriously extended in the period between the 1830s and 1850s and there were Greek schools in almost all the towns and larger villages in Macedonia. From the 1830s to the 1860s, according to incomplete statistics, there were 256 Greek schools in Macedonia attended by children of Macedonian Patriarchists (Битоски 1969, 28). When the new independent Greek state was established, the situation only changed in favour of even greater success of the Greek education on the territory of Macedonia. This new situation resulted in the reorganization of Greek schools in Salonika in 1835, as well as the opening of new schools in Strumica, Bitola (1830), Prilep and Kruševo (1847) and other places (Битоски 1979, 259). Until the beginning of the 1860s, the management of Greek education in Macedonia was in the hands the Patriarchate in Constantinople, who was now placed in a subordinate position to the new independent Greek government. This change in Greek foreign policy was also influenced by the development of a movement in Macedonia that advocated secession from the Patriarchate in Constantinople. Various associations (*Syllogoi*) were established on the territory of the Ottoman Empire to help improve the situation. The Philological Syllogos was established in Sofia in 1861 with the purpose of cultivating and disseminating Greek literacy in the Ottoman Empire. In 1863, at the insistence of the Greek Minister of Education, a letter was sent to the most famous Athenian scholars asking them to develop a strategy for improving and expanding Greek education. In Macedonia, underperforming propagandists were to be replaced by more capable persons and the metropolitans and educational societies were to be re-activated (Поплазаров 1970, 56–58).

As a result of these measures, Greek educational propaganda had successfully strengthened its position throughout the entire territory of Macedonia by 1878. This was made possible by the tolerant attitude of the Ottoman state towards the Patriarchate, which enjoyed privileges as a ‘spiritual patron’

of all Christians. After the Berlin Congress, the number of Greek schools and students in Macedonia was used by the Greek propaganda as the most important argument in its 'justification' of Greek nationalist aspirations in Macedonia. Regardless of the motivation behind their establishment, it was certain that the authorities took great care that the schools, especially in towns, were well organized and supplied with well-educated staff and school equipment to enable a more modern approach to teaching. Despite these efforts made by Greek educational propaganda to secure its dominant role, however, it began losing ground in the last decades of the 19th century. One of the chief reasons for this was the unsuccessful Greek war against the Ottomans of 1897, which undermined the former privileged positions of the Greeks in education throughout the Empire, including Macedonia.

In addition to Greek educational propaganda, from the very beginning of the 19th century the Principality of Serbia had pushed on with its propaganda activities, albeit less conspicuously, in the form of assisting schools and churches. The efforts of the Principality of Serbia to increase its influence in Macedonia by opening its own schools intensified after the Crimean War (1856), when ties were established with Macedonian church-schools communities to allow for the expansion and further penetration of Serbian educational propaganda. In the 1850s and 1860s, Serbian teachers worked in schools in the regions of Kumanovo, Skopje, Prilep, Tetovo, Kratovo, Kočani, Veles, Debar, Tikveš, Ohrid, Melnik and other larger church and school municipalities (Хаџи Васиљевић 1928, 319). Members of political circles also engaged in propaganda activities regarding education. In order to organize the sending of teachers to Macedonia and the recruitment of students from Macedonia to study in the Principality, a Board for Schools and Teachers in Old Serbia and Macedonia was established in the late 1860s. On 22 July 1873, a separate Theological Institute for the Schooling of Youths from Turkey was also established in Belgrade (Војдовић 1963, 43).

The plans were well worked out and implemented. After the Berlin Congress, Serbian educational propaganda worked on obtaining approval from the Patriarchate for the use of Serbian textbooks in some schools in Macedonia. This proposal was categorically rejected by the Patriarchate, which then prompted the Serbian government to seek permission from the Ottoman authorities. About 30 textbooks were prepared and sent to the censorship board in Constantinople. The approval was received on 23 March 1885, but only for 23 textbooks for elementary and secondary schools (Џамбазовски 1960, 149). Thus, the approval of the Ottoman government in Istanbul for the dissemination of Serbian textbooks was the first actual step towards the legalization of Serbian educational propaganda in Macedonia. By the end of the 19th century, however, Serbian educational propaganda had managed to secure its influence only in the northern and central parts of Macedonia.

Among the most intense educational propaganda efforts in Macedonian territory were undertaken as part of Bulgarian propaganda. Its chief conduit was the Bulgarian Exarchate, which began recruiting teaching staff for Macedonia immediately after its establishment in 1870. This Bulgarian institution managed to open a large number of schools in which the language of instruction was Bulgarian and where the teaching of Bulgarian language and history was the key priority. The activity of the Exarchate in Macedonia from the very beginning was not exclusively religious. It succeeded in penetrating all pores of religious, political, educational and cultural life in Macedonia, both in the dioceses and in the Macedonian church-school communities. The decision of the majority of Macedonian people to accept the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church had far-reaching consequences for the Sharia law of the Ottoman Empire. According to Sharia, these people were now considered of a Bulgarian national character, and the Exarchate gained predominance. The Exarchate acquired the legal right to manage church-educational activities in Macedonia, to manage church-school communities, as well as to impose new rituals, holidays and customs among the believers who recognized its jurisdiction.

Bulgarian educational propaganda, conducted by the Exarchate since 1878, was co-ordinated by the Bulgarian government throughout. The development of this mutual 'co-operation' between the state and the church became more evident in the 1880s. In 1882, the government of the Principality of Bulgaria for the first time approved a large sum (100,000 levs) for the Exarchate. This sum was needed to meet the needs of the schools established in Macedonia and East Thrace (Божинев 1982, 43). To facilitate these activities, a separate School Department was set up by the Exarchate with the task of managing school affairs. The first and most important task the Exarchate set for itself was to create teachers with Bulgarian education and to remove old and uneducated teachers. The efforts made by the Bulgarian government in Sofia and the Bulgarian Exarchate in Constantinople bore fruit. In the school year 1885–1886, there were 306 schools in Macedonia under the direct influence of the Exarchate, of which one was a gymnasium high school, 16 were male lower secondary schools (of which 4 had four classes, 4 had three classes, 5 had two classes and 3 had one class), then 6 female lower secondary schools (1 had 4 classes, 2 had three classes and 3 had two classes), while the rest were primary schools located in all larger settlements (Кантарчиев 1957, 293–303).

According to the annual sums needed for the support of schools in Macedonia, they were divided into three types. There were schools that the Exarchate financed in full, and these were usually in areas where the municipalities were poor or there was strong competition between Greek and Serbian propaganda. Most of them were in Southern Macedonia. Exarchate semi-gymnasiums existed in Skopje, Bitola, Ser, Kukuš, Nevrokop, Voden, Kostur, Kumanovo, Lerin,

Resen and Melnik. The second type of schools were municipal schools. These were established in well-off municipalities or where rival propaganda activities were insignificant or completely absent. Municipal semi-gymnasiums were established in Veles, Štip, Prilep, Ohrid and Kriva Palanka. The third type of schools were the so-called mixed schools, supported by the Exarchate together with the municipalities. These schools were the smallest and worked only in Tetovo and Kumanovo (Катарциев 1957, 300–302).

The main goal of the many schools under the jurisdiction of the Exarchate was to recruit as many teachers and priests as possible who regarded themselves to be Bulgarian. Every attempt was made to increase the network of Exarchate schools in Macedonia and to include even the smallest settlements. The Exarchate endeavoured to eliminate the old local Macedonian teachers and to create a Macedonian intelligentsia that would disseminate its propaganda. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Exarchate continued with its educational propaganda in Macedonia, despite the brief interruption caused by revolutionary events. Its monopoly over education in Macedonia was successfully maintained until the beginning of the First World War.

The partition of the national territory of Macedonia in 1913 led to severe consequences for the socio-economic, political, educational and cultural survival of the Macedonian people. Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece began implementing their own military-police systems and issued special governance decrees in the areas they had occupied, as well as imposing educational systems to be taught in Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek. The first higher educational institution to be founded in Macedonia in the part of the territory that entered the Kingdom of Serbia was the Faculty of Philosophy, which opened in Skopje in 1920 and was an autonomous branch of the University of Belgrade. Scientific disciplines such as history, philosophy, pedagogy and philology were taught at the Faculty, which later became fully independent as a separate higher educational institution covering all disciplines, including the natural sciences and mathematics. By 1927, seminars had been established in almost all subject areas in the Faculty, as well as a University Library. Lecturing at the Faculty of Philosophy was conducted in Serbian in line with the policy of the Serbianisation of the Macedonian people.

After establishment of Macedonian state in 1944, the education system was rigorously centralized. Schools were administered by state institutions and were run by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia as scientific and cultural institutions. The Ministry of Education was responsible for opening schools, employing teachers, allocating and controlling the budget, adopting curricula and approving textbooks. Great attention was paid to increasing rates of literacy among the population. The expansion of primary education was prompted by the adoption of a Law on Mandatory Primary Education and a

Law on School Administration, together with a new curriculum and programme for primary schools from grades 1 to 8. The foundation of the first Macedonian university contributed greatly to the development of education, science and culture in Macedonia. The first national higher educational institution to conduct lectures in Macedonian was the Faculty of Philosophy, opened on 29 November 1946. Expanding this network of higher education institutions and developing personnel with capacities for higher education were the prerequisite steps for the future social and cultural development of the Republic of Macedonia.

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SECULAR VERSUS RELIGIOUS: THE EDUCATION OF MUSLIMS IN SKOPJE IN THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: This text outlines the structure of several modern educational institutions in Skopje and aims to depict the modernization of the Ottoman educational system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The school subjects and the manner of organization of these institutions reflected the efforts of the central government in Istanbul to implement modern educational methods in the education of the local population in the provinces, and through this reformed education to achieve its new social and political agenda. The instructions and guidelines for the local authorities at the lowest level, show that the central government cooperated with the local population in order to make the new educational programme as easily and as widely accepted as possible, especially by the Muslim population. These instructions and guidelines also show that the central government often responded positively to the demands of the local population, especially with regard to primary education, and this goes to prove that the Ottoman education policy was not static, but rather flexible and pragmatic.

Апстракт: Овој текст ја прикажува структурата на неколку современи образовни институции во Скопје и има за цел да ја отслика модернизацијата на образовниот османлиски систем во касниот XIX и раниот XX век. Преку предметите и начинот на организација на овие институции може да се видат напорите на централната власт во Истанбул за имплементација на современите образовни методи меѓу локалното население во провинциите, а со тоа имплементација и на социјалната и политичката агенда на државата преку реформата на образовнието. Преку упатствата упатувани до локалните власти на најниско ниво се покажува и соработката на централната власт со локалното население со цел новата образовна програма да биде што побезболно и што помасовно прифатена, особено од муслиманското население. Исто така, од упатствата може да се види дека централната власт многу често одговарала позитивно на барањата на локалното население, особено кога станувало збор за основното образование што покажува дека османлиската образовна политика не била статична, туку повеќе флексибилна и прагматична.

In November 1839 the Edict of Gulhane (*Gulhane Hatt-ı Şerif*) was officially announced before European diplomats and leading political and religious figures of the Ottoman elite. The provisions of this reformatory regulation encompassed all the key components of the Ottoman state, including the military, judiciary, financial, administrative and educational structures. Further, the edict announced that all state subjects would in future be equal on legal grounds, regardless of religion or nationality. The public presentation of this document signalled that the Ottoman state would undertake all necessary tasks to overhaul its outdated modes of governance in order to keep pace with modernized Western European countries.

Education was an integral part of all these complex state reforms. Education in the Ottoman Empire had long been dominated by religious institutions, with the only secular exceptions found in military training. The secularization of education was intended to expand the pool for the recruitment of educated people and officers beyond the limits of graduates of conservative religious schools (*madrassas*). This measure met with strong resistance from Islamic scholars (*ulema*), however, and after 1839 only a small number of schools were opened in which the process of education continued after the *madrassas*. Most often these were schools in which the students gained military education or legal and literary education.

The reformation of elementary schools began in earnest in 1857 when a Ministry of Education was established, though it was not until 1863 that the implementation of reforms began, initially in Istanbul. In this period there emerged ideas in favour of free elementary education and state salaries for teachers. In 1864 a Commission for Muslim Elementary Schools was formed, which in 1868 issued a regulation with ten items related to elementary schools. In this regulation, new school subjects were introduced, such as orthography, ‘useful knowledge’, geography and arithmetic. However, this regulation was never implemented (Kodoman 1988, 59–60).

A new regulation for national education was adopted in 1869. This consisted of general reforms, including the decision that at least one elementary school should be opened in every neighbourhood and village. It further stipulated that children must attend classes for four years: for boys aged 6 to 10 and girls aged 7 to 11. Girls and boys were to be taught in separate schools wherever such resources existed. The provisions related to the curriculum listed the subjects to be taught and emphasised that changes to the curriculum could only be made with the approval of the ministry. Another stipulation was that all teachers must be Ottoman subjects who had graduated from a school for teachers. Efforts to implement these elementary schools reforms started in 1870 with the opening of new schools under the name *iptidai* (elementary, starter). These reforms were

intended to be implemented not only in Istanbul but also in the interior of the Empire. New and revised textbooks were written, with significant changes in content. These reforms did not come into practice until the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909).

During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, elementary education was regulated by a law of 1876 that made elementary education compulsory and divided schools into two groups: schools that provided traditional elementary education (*mekatib - i sıbyaniye*) and schools that provided modern elementary education (*mekatib - i iptidaiye*). In 1882, the Ministry of Education abolished this division and the *iptidai* schools became more important. Over time, all elementary schools became *iptidai*, and by 1909 the majority of traditional elementary schools had changed their curricula to match that of the new elementary school system. Corporal punishment in schools was also banned.

A financial crisis meant that the extension of these reforms to the whole of the Empire was delayed. However, many elementary schools were established in the Balkans at this time. For example, in Kosovo and in Bitola there were over 500 schools, in Edirne around 200, in Shkoder and Ioannina more than 100 schools, and on the islands in the Aegean Sea there were 68 elementary schools in total (Kodoman 1988, 65–90).

Rushdies were schools providing secondary education. When these schools first opened they provided education for enrolment in higher educational institutions after completion of elementary education. From 1869, the *rushdies* merged with schools called *idadias* and became high schools at the same level as today's high schools, intended to provide education after finishing elementary school.

In 1869 a regulation was adopted stipulating that a *rushdie* should be opened in every *kasaba* with over more than 500 households. One or two teachers were to be appointed according to the number of students, together with a supervisor and an attendant. The duration of secondary education was to be four years. Those who completed education in *rushdies* undertook an exam to enrol in the high schools (*idadias*). According to Article 23 of the Legal Act on the curriculum issued by the Temporary Council, the *rushdies* were to teach the following subjects: basic religious education, Turkish grammar, orthography and composition, Arabic and Persian grammar, calligraphy, arithmetic, bookkeeping, basic geometry, general history, Ottoman history, geography, gymnastics and, finally, a local language. In larger urban trade centres, students could choose to study French in their fourth year. By 1909, at the time of the second Proclamation of the Constitution on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, 619 *rushdies* were functioning, of which 462 were for boys and 74 were for girls, 1 was mixed, 57 were private and 25 were military. The total number of students was 40,000 (Kodoman 1988, 91–105).

With the Tanzimat reforms¹, additional preparatory levels were introduced in higher education institutions that provided military and civil education. These preparatory classes were called *idadias* and lasted from one to two years. With the Legal Act on National Education of 1869, this preparatory level was introduced in the Ottoman educational system as a comprehensive institution providing secondary education under the name *idadia*. The Legal Act provided for an *idadia* in every settlement in the Ottoman Empire with more than 1,000 households. The education provided by the *idadia* followed after completion of *rushdie school* and was at a higher level. Students graduated from the *idadias* with education deemed sufficient for them to apply for a place in a higher educational institution. The *idadias* permitted the enrolment of both Muslims and non-Muslims. In each *idadia* there were six teachers, including assistants and a clerk. Education in the *idadias* lasted for three years and the following subjects were taught: Turkish language and literature, French language, Ottoman laws, logic, economy, geography, general history, algebra, math, bookkeeping, geometry and geodesy, natural sciences, chemistry and drawing (Kodoman 1988, 115).

From 1895, the government granted *idadia* students from poor families the right to free accommodation in boarding schools. Attention was also paid to issues of discipline. Successful students were to enjoy certain privileges, while disobedient students were punished and sometimes expelled from the school. In 1892, further significant reforms were implemented in the *idadias*, and in 1896 the subjects of dogma and Islamic law were included in the curriculum. In 1902 the duration of education in *idadia* boarding schools was extended to eight years, and in the *idadias* that were not boarding schools to six years. This extension of the course duration was in line with the extension of the curriculum (Unat 1964, 46).

According to data from the Ministry of National Education there were 57 *idadias* in the Ottoman Empire in the school year 1893–1894, of which 54 were located in the provinces and three in Istanbul, with a total of 6,984 students. By 1906, the number of *idadias* in the provinces was 93, while the overall number of *idadias* in the entire empire, including private and military *idadias*, was 190. The number of *idadias* thus doubled from 1894 to 1906, as well as the number of students in these schools (Kodoman 1988, 122–132).

Several secular secondary schools were founded between 1850 and 1860, of which the most significant were the institutions *Daru'l - muallimin* and *Daru'l - muallimat*. These were pedagogical schools for teachers founded to provide training for the staff needed for the newly founded primary and secondary schools. The first school for teachers was opened in Istanbul on 16 March 1848 and was

¹ The Tanzimat-i Hayriye were a series of governmental reforms in Ottoman state between 1839 and 1876.

the first educational institution in the Ottoman state to provide training outside the *madrassas* according to the new system. The school's *Rulebook* stipulated that the graduates of this school would have to work as interns for a certain period of time and that only those who had completed an internship could be employed by a *rushdie*. This regulation shows that the old and the new educational systems were balanced at the time, with schools and *madrassas* still operating in parallel. Education in the school for teachers lasted three years, and classes were held five days a week. The school admitted 20 'regular' students and its first students graduated in 1845-1855 (Özcan 1992, 441-474).

With rising demand for girls' education, the first *rushdies* for girls were opened in 1858. Although the teachers in these schools were supposed to be women, most teachers were initially men in the absence of enough trained female teachers. Thus there appeared the need for a school for training female teachers. The first such school was opened in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul on 26 April 1870, with 45 students. The teaching staff consisted of a director, three men and three women, two of whom were from abroad (in manual work and art education) (Ergin 1977, 673).

By the last decade of the 19th century these developments were felt throughout the Empire, strengthening the new secular structure of Ottoman education. The new schools, especially the *rushdies* and *idadias*, became available to all Ottoman subjects regardless of ethnic origin or religion. The goal of the reformers was to achieve a fusion of the many different religious and ethnic communities within the Empire in order to maintain its integrity. Since non-Muslim subjects were strongly attached to their linguistic and cultural heritage, however, and now had their own schools that were often better than state schools, only a small number of non-Muslims enrolled in state educational institutions. A genuine educational revolution had taken place, with many schools now offering modern education in line with modern European methods and standards.

In the last decades of the 19th century, secular state education overtook religious education, and this was particularly evident in larger cities and towns that served as administrative and military centres. The importance that secular education had gained by this period is indicated by the fact that in the official annuals (*salname*) of the Ottoman Empire, in which statistical data from each *vilayet* were collected and published, greater attention was paid to information about secular rather than the religious education in any given town or village. This priority can be illustrated by data for the city of Skopje from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, when Skopje was the centre of the *Kosovo Vilayet*. By observing the structure of education in this city, one can discern the structure of secular state education of any urban centre of a *vilayet* at the time, as well as the efforts made by central authorities towards the secularization of

education. In this paper the educational institutions in Skopje are discussed in accordance to their division in official annuals for the 1890s, which served as the main source for this paper.

According to the annual statistics for the *Kosovo Vilayet* in 1896/97, there were six public primary schools in Skopje, with a total of 455 students. The following subjects were taught: French, arithmetic, Turkish, study and interpretation of the Quran, calligraphy, Arabic, theology, geography, and drawing. All teachers and students were Muslims. There were six other schools for young children, which operated following the old system. In these schools there were 420 children, and the school subjects are not listed in the source (Салнаме на вилаетот Косово 2012, 150–151).

With regards to elementary education in Skopje, a special guide was attached to the official annual for 1896/1897 in which were listed the rules for the running of primary schools in Muslim villages around Skopje. According to this guide, a special commission for primary education was established by the *Vilayet*. This commission visited the villages and offered advice regarding the organization of education in accordance with new methods, and also recommended what kind of behaviour would be desirable among the notables regarding this issue. The commission attempted to provide independent teachers for 50 or more Muslim village schools located in the Skopje *kaza*. Instructions were sent to the village councils stating that when selecting places for the schools, special attention should be paid to the state that the considered place was in. The first article of this instruction emphasized that in Muslim villages there would be one main school for boys and a separate school for girls. In addition, girls between the ages of five and ten were to attend the same school as boys between the ages of five and fifteen and will have the lessons set out in the instruction manual for the teachers. Since separate schools could not be opened at once, boys and girls would initially have to study in the same school, and in order not to mix together the school would be divided into sections. Teachers were instructed to keep school registers of all the students from each village.

According to Article 3, schools should not work during the winter or at harvesting times. After completing the exams, children were supposed to go on vacation for a certain period of time in summer. Except for this summer holiday, as well as on Fridays and on religious or state holidays, on all other days the schools were supposed to work and the villagers were supposed to send their children to school. If a child was very ill or disabled, or was an only child and so needed to help with housework, he/she was not to be forced to attend school, and this decision was left to the governor of the *vilayet*. But since it would be unacceptable for such children to be totally deprived of education, every effort

was to be made for them to be involved in the schooling process as much as possible. People living in small villages where there were no schools were supposed to send their children to schools in larger villages nearby. The village *imam*, the elder of the village (*muhtar*) and the members of the village council were charged with overseeing the schools and the people who failed to send their children to school without providing reasonable justification, as well as any teachers who were not committed to their work. They were to warn and advise these people first, but if they continued with their irresponsible behaviour they were to inform the education authorities so that they could act in accordance with the Decree on Education. If not, they would themselves be held responsible for disobeying the Decree. The funds needed to build new schools or to repair or expand older ones, as well as to pay the teachers' salaries, were to be collected and distributed depending on the financial capacities of the population in the village. No charges were to be imposed on the very poor (Салнаме на вилаетот Косово 2012, 250–255).

Secular state secondary education organized in Skopje included the following educational institutions:

- Military *Rushdie*
- *Rushdie* for girls
- Teacher-Training Schools (pedagogical school)
- School for arts and crafts (*Islahane*)
- Secondary school for civil servants (*idadie*).



Figure 1:
Teachers and students at the military school (*rushdie*) in Skopje from the beginning of the 20th century

In the military *rushdie* in 1900/01 there was a total of 183 students: 39 beginners; 60 in the first class; 43 in the second class; and 41 in the third class. In addition to army officers, there were also civilian teachers who taught the following subjects: mathematics, linguistics, geography, drawing, Arabic, Farsi, Ottoman Turkish, drawing, and Turkish calligraphy. The education lasted for four years (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 280).

In the *Rushdie* for girls, the number of students was 109. These girls were taught by three female teachers, one of which was a sewing teacher, but there is no data on the other school subjects (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 281).

There was also a pedagogical school for training teachers, in which the following subjects were taught: French, accounting, Arabic, history, theology, Persian, geography, Turkish, reading and learning of the Quran, useful knowledge and calligraphy. The number of students was 209, and education lasted for four years. There was also one pre-class for beginners and one special class for apprentices (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 282).

The two most important secular educational institutions in Skopje were the School for arts and crafts (*islahana*) and the Civil High School (*idadia*).

The School for Arts and Crafts in Skopje was opened in 1895/96 and was maintained with the profits of the *Vilayet* printing house, as well as from the revenues of the gas and spirits depot in Skopje. Education lasted for five years, and the following subjects were taught: learning and reading the Quran, orthography of Ottoman Turkish, the grammar of Ottoman Turkish, calligraphy, arithmetic, religious instruction, the history of Islam, drawing, geography, accounting and construction. In addition, several crafts were studied in this school: lithography, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry and type setting. Certain crafts were taught by Christian masters: thus, tailoring was taught by Master Gošo who had 23 students, and the carpentry department, which also had 23 students, was led by Master Kosta. The school also had a music department with 45 students who were part of the school orchestra (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 296).

There were special guidelines for the admission of students to the Arts and Crafts school, and special support was given to orphans, as well as to problematic children, who learned some of the aforementioned crafts. The school provided them with food and the guidelines stated the exact amounts of bread, rice, beans, fresh vegetables, chickpeas, potatoes, sugar and fruit that should be given to each student. This was all free for students who did not have parents or guardians and who were extremely poor. Their family and financial status had to be confirmed by the local and municipal authorities from the places where they lived, and a special school commission was in charge of the final decision on their admission. These students lived in the boarding-school and there were

special rules regulating their behaviour. Each evening their presence was checked. They received special clothes to wear in class, as well as special work clothes for the craft workshops. Also, once a year they received clothes that they wore only during the holidays and outside the school. The clothes with which they came to school were returned to their guardians or parents, and the clothes of those without any relatives were sold by the school administration. The money was given to the students. At admittance, every student went through a process of disinfection.

In this school the tuition fee for the paying students was 900 liras per year, to be paid in four instalments in the course of the year. The age of the student at enrolment had to be between 12 years and 14 (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 286–293).

The education in the craft school lasted for five years and there were five craft and general education classes. The subjects studied during the five years of education were the following:

- In the first year: spelling, the basic rules of the Ottoman Turkish, reading Turkish and calligraphy.
- In the second year: the Quran, interpretation of the Quran, religious rules, short course of arithmetic, Ottoman Turkish grammar, Turkish reading, orthography and calligraphy.
- In the third year: the Quran, religious instruction, arithmetic, the grammatical rules of the Ottoman Turkish, calligraphy, short Ottoman history, Turkish reading and spelling.
- In the fourth year: the Quran, interpretation of the Quran, religious instruction, history of Islam, geography, arithmetic, Ottoman Turkish grammar, Turkish reading, orthography, drawing and calligraphy.
- In the fifth year: the Quran, religious instruction, history of Islam, geography, arithmetic, Ottoman Turkish grammar, reading Turkish, accounting and drawing (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 285).

Students had two hours of instruction and two hours of learning in their selected craft per day. Students enrolled in music classes, for example, practised for two hours a day on instruments owned by the school. If a student did not achieve at least 50% in all literary and craft subjects, he/she failed the year. If a student failed to pass the year two times in a row, he/she had to pay for their clothes and would be expelled from the school (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 288).

The most important secular institution in Skopje was the high school for clerks, i.e. the *idadie*. Following the Sultan's order, the Skopje *idadie* was opened as a day school on 26 February 1891, and on 28 November 1895 it was transformed into a boarding school. The number of students in 1900/01 was: 11 paying Muslim students and 29 non-paying Muslim students; 17 non-paying



Figure 2:

The Ottoman School for Arts and Crafts in Skopje (*Islahana*)

non-Muslim boarding students; 88 Muslim day students and five non-Muslim day students. The total number of students was 129 Muslims and 22 non-Muslims.

22 subjects were taught at the school:

1. Rules for reading the Quran and religious instruction
2. Turkish
3. Literature and ethics
4. Office work
5. Arabic
6. Persian
7. French
8. Law
9. Arithmetic
10. Accounting
11. Algebra
12. Geometry
13. Trigonometry
14. Engineering
15. Physics and chemistry
16. Nature
17. Geography
18. History
19. Economy
20. Public works and hygiene
21. Calligraphy
22. Drawing

اسکوب اعدادی مکتبی

A sepia-toned photograph of a large, multi-story brick building, likely a school or government office, with many windows and a central entrance. The building is situated on a hillside, and there is a fence in the foreground.

اساسی کتب		اساسی مؤلفین		ملاحظات	
اساسی کتب	ملاحظات	اساسی مؤلفین	ملاحظات	اساسی کتب	ملاحظات
علوم دینیہ	خلاصۃ علی کلام و شرح عقائد	طہاسر بک	مطبعة عامہ	علوم دینیہ	مطبعة عامہ
انسان شناسی	جموعۃ زعمیہ	عبد الرحمن بک	عقائے	انسان شناسی	عقائے
اخلاقی	عقائد ادبیاتی		مطبعة عامہ	اخلاقی	مطبعة عامہ
عرفی	مغنی الطالب		مطبعة عامہ	عرفی	مطبعة عامہ
فرانسہ	Grammaire	Larivout Fleury	قصر کتب خانہ	فرانسہ	قصر کتب خانہ
	Livre d'or	ترزیان افندی	آراکل		آراکل
علم تروت	مختصر علی تروت	نائل بک	مطبعة عامہ	علم تروت	مطبعة عامہ
قوانین	تلمیسی حقوق موضوعہ	کاظم افندی	قررت کتب خانہ	قوانین	قررت کتب خانہ
جبر	علم جبر	عزت بک		جبر	
حندسہ	کتاب حندسہ	بیدی بک	قصر	حندسہ	قصر
حکمت طبیعیہ	مختصر حکمت طبیعیہ	سایح ذکی بک	قررت کتب خانہ	حکمت طبیعیہ	قررت کتب خانہ
کیمیا	کیمیای علی عضوی	راول افندی	آراکل	کیمیا	آراکل
سفر اسیا	سفر ادبیاتی	علی یونس بک	قصر	سفر اسیا	قصر
تاریخ	تاریخ دولت علیہ عثمانیہ	عبد الرحمن افندی	قررت	تاریخ	قررت
مشکلات	مشکلات طبیعیہ	رفعت بک		مشکلات	
حکمت طبیعیہ	مختصر حکمت طبیعیہ	سایح ذکی بک	قررت کتب خانہ	حکمت طبیعیہ	قررت کتب خانہ
کیمیا	کیمیای علی عضوی	راول افندی	آراکل	کیمیا	آراکل
فرانسہ	Grammaire	Larivout Fleury	قصر کتب خانہ	فرانسہ	قصر کتب خانہ
	Livre d'or	ترزیان افندی	آراکل		آراکل
علم تروت	مختصر علی تروت	نائل بک	مطبعة عامہ	علم تروت	مطبعة عامہ
قوانین	تلمیسی حقوق موضوعہ	کاظم افندی	قررت کتب خانہ	قوانین	قررت کتب خانہ
جبر	علم جبر	عزت بک		جبر	
حندسہ	کتاب حندسہ	بیدی بک	قصر	حندسہ	قصر

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All textbooks and books used in the *rushdies* and the *idadias* throughout the country were sold in bookstores in Istanbul (Kosovo vilayeti salnamesi 1318 Hicra, 253–267). Thus, students from Skopje purchased their school books and textbooks through their schools.

The structure of the aforementioned educational institutions in Skopje reflected the modernization of the Ottoman educational system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The school subjects and the manner of organization of these institutions reflected the efforts of the central government in Istanbul to implement modern educational methods in the education of the local population in the provinces, and through this reformed education to achieve its new social and political agenda. The instructions and guidelines for the local authorities at the lowest level, show that the central government cooperated with the local population in order to make the new educational programme as easily and as widely accepted as possible, especially by the Muslim population. These instructions and guidelines also show that the central government often responded positively to the demands of the local population, especially with regard to primary education, and this goes to prove that the Ottoman education policy was not static, but rather flexible and pragmatic. In this way, the Ottomans tried to monopolize knowledge and use it to increase their legitimacy.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT (FROM THE END OF THE 19TH TO THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

Liljana Guševska

Abstract: The specific historical-political and cultural-educational circumstances in Macedonia under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, did not create conditions for organized academic studies in any given field, including linguistics. Hence, those few philologists and linguists from Macedonian background acquired their education at various other locations, creating noticeable works that have the Macedonian language space as their subject of interest. This article attempts to present the linguistic profile of the most exceptional figure among these intellectuals, Krste Petkov Misirkov, in the period of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, (with emphasis on the book *On Macedonian Matters* of 1903 and *Vardar* journal of 1905). Studying in Russia, K. Misirkov was able to learn directly and indirectly from some of the most important names in Slavistics and linguistics at the time. Choosing to use scientific arguments to prove the distinctiveness of Macedonian language and culture and hence the separate ethnic identity of Macedonians, K. Misirkov's work touched on many issues that would become highly topical some sixty years later in sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics and other fields. His positions as regards the fundamental issues concerning the standardization of the modern Macedonian literary language received their full verification with the act of its codification, that is to say in the principles adopted by the Language and Orthography Commission of the Ministry of Education of the Government of The People's Republic of Macedonia in May 1945.

Апстракт: Специфичните историско-политички и културно-просветни прилики во Македонија како дел од Османлиската Империја во периодот на XIX век не создаваат услови за организирани академски проучувања во која било област, вклучувајќи ја и лингвистиката. Оттука, малиот број филолози и лингвисти од македонската средина го стекнуваат своето образование во различни средини, создавајќи забележливи трудови кои како предмет на интерес го имаат македонскиот јазичен простор. Овој труд настојува да го претстави лингвистичкиот профил на најмаркантната личност во редот на овие интелектуалци, Крсте Петков Мисирков, во периодот од крајот на XIX и почетокот на XX век (со акцент на книгата *За македонциите работи* од 1903 г.

и на списанието *Вардар* од 1905 г.). Школувајќи се во Русија, Крсте Мисирков можел директно или индиректно да учи од некои од најзначајните имиња во славистиката, но и во лингвистиката воопшто во тоа време. Определувајќи се за тоа со научни аргументи да ја докаже македонската јазична, културна и етничка посебност, Крсте Мисирков отвора редица теми кои ќе станат актуелни во науката за јазикот дури и шеесетина години подоцна во рамките на социолингвистиката, етнолингвистиката и сл. Неговите ставови околу основните прашања поврзани со нормирањето на современиот македонскиот литературен јазик ја добиваат својата целосна верификација при чинот на неговата официјална кодификација, односно во принципите прифатени од Комисијата за јазик и правопис на Министерството за образование при Владата на Народна Република Македонија во мај 1945 година.

In the period between the second half of the 19th century (especially the last decade) and the beginning of the 20th century, there was an evident increase in the interest to study the Macedonian language materials. One of the important issues in Slavistics became that of the dialectal basis of the first Slavic literary language, irrespective of the names different researchers used to denote it, or rather that of the language of the oldest Slavic literacy. The studying and publishing of the most important manuscripts of that era, as well as the ample field research in the territory of Macedonia, led Slavists gradually face the fact that there were dialects among the Slavic population in the far south which, while bearing certain resemblances with other South-Slavic languages (more precisely to the Bulgarian and Serbian languages), were quite distinct due to their particularities. If we disregard the numerous manipulations and the use of these researches for various propaganda and political purposes, we can see that in the linguistic studies of the said period the researched manuscripts and dialectal materials were often described with the attribute *Macedonian*, and not only in the territorial sense of the word but also in the linguistic, cultural and ultimately the ethnic distinctiveness sense of the word.

According to Dimitar Pandev, the distinctive features of Macedonian in comparison to other Slavic languages were clearly identified by scholars who adopted the language theories and Neogrammarian methodology of Fortunatov¹ and Courtenay.² Some of these students went on to become the leading scholars

¹ Filip Fëdorovich Fortunatov (1848–1914) was a prominent Russian linguist, founder of the renowned Moscow (Fortunatov's) linguistic school.

² Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929) was a Polish linguist and one of the most important and influential scholars of linguistics in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. De Courtenay founded the so-called Kazan school of linguistics. One of his most notable students was Nikolai Sergeevich Trubetzkoi.

in their respective fields: Masing³ was unrivalled in acoustic phonetics, Shchepkin⁴ in palaeography, and Selishchev⁵ and Oblak⁶ in dialectology. They built in their professors' theories in their Macedonistics works, but what is of particular importance is that they left, as their legacy, schools where Macedonistics is still nurtured today (Пандев 2009, 86).

The development of linguistic studies in Macedonia was greatly hindered by unfavourable political-historical and cultural-educational circumstances under Ottoman rule. The first modest steps in such scholarship were therefore made by Macedonian intellectuals who educated themselves outside of the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Russia. Even though the process of simplifying the script and contemplating the choice of dialectal language to be used as the basis for the literary language intensified around 1840s, as there was intensification of cultural-educational activities on Macedonian soil as well as efforts to introduce vernacular Macedonian in education, the philological endeavours undertaken by Macedonian scholars at the time were, however, relatively modest. Still, the issue concerning the basis of the Macedonian literary language and its physiognomy, which gained importance especially in the second half of the 19th century, reached its culmination with no other but Krste Petkov Misirkov.⁷ His appearance should

³ Leonhard Masing (1845–1936) was an Estonian linguist and the author of the first doctoral thesis on Macedonian language, defended in 1890 at the University of Derpt (today's University of Tartu in the Republic of Estonia). The doctorate was published a year later in St. Petersburg under the title *Zur laut- und akzentlehre der macedoslavischen dialekte: Ein beitrag zur kritik derselben* (available at: <http://damj.manu.edu.mk/pdf/0003Macedoslavischen%20Dialekte.pdf>).

⁴ Viacheslav Nikolaevich Shchepkin (1863–1920) was a renowned Russian linguist, Slavist and palaeographer.

⁵ Afanasii Matveevich Selishchev (1886–1942) was a Russian/Soviet linguist and one of the most important and prolific researchers of Macedonian dialects.

⁶ Vatroslav Oblak (1869–1896) was a Slovenian linguist, one of the eminent students of the Croatian linguist Vatroslav Jagić and author of the monograph *Macedonische Studien*, published in Vienna in 1896. (Available at: <http://damj.manu.edu.mk/pdf/0004Vatroslav%20Oblak.pdf>).

⁷ Krste Petkov Misirkov was a Macedonian linguist, historian, folklorist and publicist. He was born in 1874 in the village of Postol in the Ottoman Empire (in the present-day Republic of Greece) to a poor family. His elementary school education was in Greek, and he continued his secondary school education in schools in Belgrade and Sofia, graduating in the Serbian town of Šabac. In 1897 he was a student at the Faculty of History and Philology at the University of St. Petersburg. An important detail in his biography is that he was the co-founder of the Macedonian Students' Society (1902), which later grew into the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society "St Clement" (MSLS) in St. Petersburg. One of the Society's programme objectives was to elevate one of the Macedonian dialects to the level of a literary language. His capital work is *On Macedonian Matters*, the first book written completely in modern Macedonian language and orthography. It was published in Sofia in December 1903 but, because of its contents, it was forbidden by the Bulgarian authorities immediately after its publishing, and almost the entire edition was destroyed. Two years later, he prepared and printed the first and only issue of the first Macedonian scientific-literary and social-political journal *Vardar*, also in Macedonian language and orthography. Due to a number of external impediments, however, the journal was never distributed. He was also the author of a number of papers and articles published in Russian and Bulgarian periodicals. He was a polyglot and spoke English, Russian, German, French and other foreign languages. He died in 1926 in dire poverty. For more on Krste Misirkov's life, see: Ristovski 1991, 5–44.

be seen as a historical inevitability, a regularity, rather than as a coincidence in the process of the development of Macedonian national awareness, which had been marked by a number of Macedonian activists in the preceding period.



Figure 1
Picture of Krste P. Misirkov that had been kept in a frame at the editorial office of the journal *Vardar* in Odessa (1905). The original was given to academician Blaže Ristovski as a gift by Ekaterina Mihajlova Misirkova in Sofia (1963).

Thousands of pages have been written about K. Misirkov's work by domestic and foreign researchers who have examined his work from various aspects. Therefore, this paper does not aspire to any originality but is rather an attempt to present K. Misirkov's linguistic profile (via his book *On Macedonian Matters*⁸ and the journal *Vardar*⁹), not only in the context of his own time but also through the prism of later research and findings. The emphasis here is on the evaluation of his work by various renowned linguists who have recognised topics, concepts and methodological approaches in K. Misirkov's works that surpass the limitations of the time of their creation. We would like to start with the opinion of the Croatian linguist Josip Hamm, who, while assessing K. Misirkov's first work 'On the Significance of the Morava or Resava Dialects'

⁸ The book contains a 'Preface' and five articles: 1. What We Have Already Done and What We Ought to Do in the Future; 2. Is There a Need for Macedonian Scientific, Scholarly and Literary Societies?; 3. National Separatism – the Soil on Which it Has Grown and Will Continue to Grow in the Future; 4. Can Macedonia Turn Itself into a Separate Ethnographical and Political Unit? Has It Already Done So? Is It Doing So Now?; and 5. A Few Words on Macedonian Literary Language. K. Misirkov had already presented the first three articles before the members of the St Clement Society in the autumn of 1903, and later added the Preface and the last two articles.

⁹ The sole issue of the journal *Vardar* included a number of articles, among which were the Introduction by Misirkov, the ethnographic work 'A List of Villages in Southern Macedonia (Pazar, Solun, Gevgelia and Kukuš Regions)' and others, but the most significant article was 'An analysis of the origins of the Bulgarian and Serbian theories on the nationality of the Macedonians', which will be discussed further in this paper.

as being very good for a student in their first year of philological studies despite certain inconsistencies, critically points out that they persisted in K. Misirkov's work even a decade later. J. Hamm believed that if, at the beginning of his stay, Misirkov had "remained in the hands of the good Slavists" such as Liapunov,¹⁰ Lavrov¹¹ and even Kochubinskiĭ,¹² he could have become an excellent dialectologist, grammarian or folklorist, since some of his dialectological insights were far more clearly formulated than those that came after him. J. Hamm observes, however, that K. Misirkov was drawn more to issues related to Macedonian cultural progress (Hamm 1976, 204), and we would like to add here that he was drawn to Macedonian national progress in general. It is in this context that he highlighted the need for creating a distinct and generally accepted Macedonian literary language as the most important and most powerful means for pointing out the Macedonian distinctiveness and attaining national unity, while at the same time promoting the concept of Macedonian national separatism.

In this regard, another important Croatian linguist, Dalibor Brozović, maintained that these concepts of K. Misirkov could only be understood within the coordinates and terminological determinations of modern sociolinguistics and other disciplines in their modern forms, such as ethnolinguistics, anthropological linguistics and sociology. Thus, D. Brozović pointed out that, despite the recognitions that K. Misirkov received, his linguistic thought still remained insufficiently appreciated. D. Brozović further emphasised that neither the traditional historical-comparative, or even the philologically oriented, linguistics nor the modern structuralist linguistics could understand K. Misirkov correctly because the topics that interested K. Misirkov were not the focus of these disciplines. Therefore, although D. Brozović did not consider K. Misirkov a professional in linguistics, he described him as one of the early pioneers of sociolinguistics half a century before the formal establishment of this discipline (Brozović 1976, 36).

Dimitar Pandev, too, is of the opinion that K. Misirkov touched on issues that would only later become topical in linguistics, such as that of the official language, the relation language centre – language periphery, relinquishing a language, language planning, etc. (Пандев 2009, 110)

Here, we shall focus more specifically on the issue of the relation between the language centre and its periphery. This can be recognized in K. Misirkov's analysis, the aim of which is to demonstrate the essential differences between Macedonian and neighbouring South-Slavic languages. On the basis of these

¹⁰ Boris Mihaĭlovich Liapunov (1863–1943) was a Russian/Soviet linguist and Slavist. He was a professor at the University of Odessa and a student of V. Jagić, F. F. Fortunatov and Aleksandr Afanas'evich Potebnia.

¹¹ Pétr Alekseevich Lavrov (1856–1929) was a Russian/Soviet linguist, Slavist, and a professor at the universities of Odessa, St. Petersburg and Perm.

¹² Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kochubinskiĭ (1871–1907) was a Russian linguist and a professor at the University of Odessa.

distinctions K. Misirkov argued that the basis of Macedonian literary language should be comprised of the dialects spoken in the central regions. He elaborated on these essential external and internal linguistic factors in the last article of *On Macedonian Matters*, though other articles of the book also contain relevant argumentation. In the fourth article, ‘Can Macedonia Turn Itself into a Separate Ethnographical and Political Unit? Has It Already Done So? Is it doing so now?’, Misirkov raised several essential questions, including:

Do the Macedonian dialects have their own common features which do not exist in Serbian or Bulgarian? In the Macedonian dialects do the Macedonian expressions outweigh the Serbian and Bulgarian expressions, or is the reverse true? Finally, do the qualities of extreme or peripheral Macedonian dialects and speech-forms permit us to consider them closer to the central and most typical Macedonian dialect of Veles, Prilep and Bitola or are they closer to the central dialects of Serbian and Bulgarian? (Misirkov 2003, 237).

It is specifically in his work on these questions that D. Brozović identifies K. Misirkov’s concept of Macedonian language as a diasystem¹³:

In Macedonia, as in all other countries, there are many dialects which are very close to one another. This similarity among the dialects of Macedonia can be seen on the one hand in their general phonetic, phonemic, morphological, formal and lexical features; and on the other hand each dialect is very close to its neighbouring dialects and shares with them common characteristics which do not occur in the dialects of more distant parts. The western dialects are closest to each other and, so to speak, flow together, as do the eastern dialects; these dialects are linked in the same chain. (Misirkov 2003, 235).

K. Misirkov thus founded his thesis on the distinctiveness of Macedonian language on the fact that the peripheral dialects of all languages, including Macedonian, inevitably exhibit similarities with peripheral dialects that are part of another diasystem. Misirkov explained that the particular characteristics of the dialects that comprise the Macedonian language centre are essentially different than the characteristics of the dialects that comprise the language centres of neighbouring South-Slavic languages that were already codified: “The central Macedonian dialect i.e. that of Veles and Prilep, can never in its essence be oriented towards Serbian because the difference between this language and the central dialect of Serbo-Croatian, i.e. the current Serbo-Croatian language, is as great as that between Czech and Polish.” (Misirkov 2003, 237)

¹³ Namely, D. Brozović stated that at some places in the book, Misirkov talked about language as a diasystem in the modern meaning of the term, even though he himself could not have been aware of it (Brozović 1976, 39).

In support of this thesis, K. Misirkov identified certain characteristics in central Macedonian speech that do not exist in neighbouring Slavic languages, especially in the dialects that comprise their dialectal basis (East-Bulgarian and East-Herzegovinian, i.e. the South-Serbian dialect). In particular, he speaks about the reflexes *o* and *e* in the jers, the development of the old groups **tj* and **dj* characteristic for the Macedonian language areal, the anticipation of softness present in parts of the central dialects (for instance in the Prilep dialect), the reflex *a* from the nasal vowel *ѧ*, and so on:

In the central Macedonian dialects the following phonetic features can be found: the old Macedonian sounds *ъ* and *ь*, have been turned into *o* and *e* in those places where the sound has been preserved, e.g. *денои* from the old Macedonian *дѣньтъ*, through from *дѣньтъ*; instead of the old *ѡј* and *ѡј* we have *ќ* and *ѣ* or *јќ* and *јѣ*, for example *врејќа*, *ѡјуѣа*, instead of *њ* we have *јњ*, e.g. *којњ* instead of *коњ*, instead of *ѧ* – *a*, for example *рака*, etc. Not all these features are Serbian, nor are they Bulgarian. They do not exist in the main Bulgarian dialect, eastern Bulgarian, which serves as the literary language of the Bulgarians. (Misirkov 2003, 237–239).

In emphasizing these linguistic features in particular as being typically Macedonian, K. Misirkov probably unknowingly furthered Partenij Zografski's¹⁴ views expressed in his article 'Thoughts on Bulgarian Language' from some forty-five years earlier, where he had distinguished thirteen differentiating features that separate Macedonian and Bulgarian (Конески 1959, 31–32; Петкоска 1996, 36–37). This, on the other hand, speaks in favour of the fact that the linguistic thought in Macedonia as presented in the works by Misirkov's predecessors, irrespective of whether it was in its beginning phase and however modest its achievements, moved along a clear line when it comes to the awareness about the Macedonian linguistic distinctiveness in the South-Slavic context.

In that respect, it is important to point out that K. Misirkov referred to V. Jagić's¹⁵ theory that South-Slavic languages are distributed in a chain and add to each other:¹⁶ "Jagić tells us that the South Slav languages are, and have

¹⁴ Partenij Zografski (1818–1876) was an activist in the Macedonian Revival Movement, as well as a Bishop, textbook writer, philologist, and a folklorist. He is known for his idea of a common literary language for Macedonians and Bulgarians. However, even though he called it Bulgarian, he stated that it should be based on the south-western Macedonian dialects. Zografski's article 'Thoughts on Bulgarian Language', published in 1858 in the journal *B'lgarski knizhici*, was the first philological elaboration of the differences between the Macedonian and Bulgarian languages.

¹⁵ Vatroslav Jagić (1838–1923) was a Croatian linguist and one of the most preeminent scholars in Slavistics at the time. He was an exceptionally prolific author and worked as a professor at the universities of Odessa, Berlin, St. Petersburg and Vienna. He established and edited the influential journal *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (1875–1920). Among his students who went on to become well-known Slavists was K. Misirkov.

¹⁶ Although K. Misirkov did not specify the sources he used in writing *On Macedonian Matters*,

been, a chain of dialects [...] Within the South Slav language complex there are several branches outside the Serbian and Bulgarian political units; these are the Macedonian dialects.” (Misirkov 2003, 231–233).

He also referred to some other authorities on Slavistics at the time. In fact, characterising K. Misirkov as a Macedonian linguist with his own linguistic conception and programme, D. Pandev claims that they were founded on the scientific views of linguists such as Baudouin de Courtenay, P. A. Lavrov and A. A. Potebnia¹⁷ (Пандев 2009, 108). And, of course, V. Jagić. In that respect, K. Misirkov wrote: “There are several, such as professors Jean Baudouin de Courtenay, Petar A. Lavrov and V. Jagić who consider the Macedonian dialects as special forms of the Slav family of languages.” (Misirkov 2003, 193). Rudolf Preinerstorfer listed the works of V. Jagić that were most probably used by K. Misirkov and in which V. Jagić discussed the distinctiveness of Macedonian dialects and corrected certain inaccuracies he had found in Serbian and Bulgarian research into Macedonian dialects (Прајнерсторфер 1976, 393–395).

V. Jagić’s research into old Macedonian manuscripts made an important contribution to the recognition of the distinctiveness of the Macedonian language, as did his argumentation in favour of the fact that the dialects of Macedonian Slavs from the vicinity of Salonika had provided the dialectal basis for Old Church Slavonic – the first Slavic literary language. It is no coincidence, therefore, that K. Misirkov referred to his professor,¹⁸ to whom he regularly sent his works. According to J. Hamm, it was through K. Misirkov and other students from Macedonia that V. Jagić learnt there existed a small group of Macedonian patriots who wanted to introduce a local dialect in schools. J. Hamm adds that one issue on which K. Misirkov and V. Jagić could never agree was the right of small nations to independence and separatism, since V. Jagić believed that language criteria should never be included in political struggles. This was V. Jagić’s general position, however, and was not limited to the Macedonian case: his position with regards to Belarusians and Ukrainians was similar. This was all in the spirit of the Pan-Slavic idea, as reflected in the following words: “We, the Slavs, are too fragmented anyway; that is why our significance is negligible” (Hamm 1976, 205).

researchers have been able to determine the sources for specific parts of the book. Thus, R. Preinerstorfer, analysing the instances where K. Misirkov refers to V. Jagić, also pointed out those works where the renowned Croatian linguist presented his views on the distribution of Slavic languages and dialects in a chain (Прајнерсторфер 1976, 391–393).

¹⁷ Alexandr Afanas’evich Potebnia (1835–1891) was a Ukrainian linguist, philosopher and folklorist, and a professor of Linguistics at the University of Kharkov.

¹⁸ Later on, in exceptionally complex socio-historical circumstances and while undergoing ordeals in his personal life, K. Misirkov took a different position with regards V. Jagić, harshly criticising the research conducted by V. Jagić’s student Vatroslav Oblak, and accusing V. Oblak of merely carrying out his professor’s demands (cf. Мисирков 2008, 79–82). (But this is an issue that should be addressed separately, as it lies beyond the time scope that is the focus of this article.)

In V. Jagić's viewpoint one can discern an attitude that was widespread in Russian Slavic circles and of which K. Misirkov was well aware. It was no coincidence, therefore, that in the introductory text in *Vardar* K. Misirkov wrote that among the opposition to the journal and to Macedonian national separatists there were Russian Slavophiles and a number of Slavacists, who "say that even without a new Macedonian Slavic nationality there are far too many Slavic nationalities: every sensible man, they say, should aspire to a unification of these new Slavic nationalities that so far neither history nor philology has said anything about". K. Misirkov was therefore determined to demonstrate and prove the distinctiveness of the Macedonian language and nationality on the basis of scientific arguments and empirical materials collected in field research. He was also determined to make an effort to acquaint Russian audiences with Macedonia and the Macedonian question through the publication of articles in Russian in the journal *Vardar*.

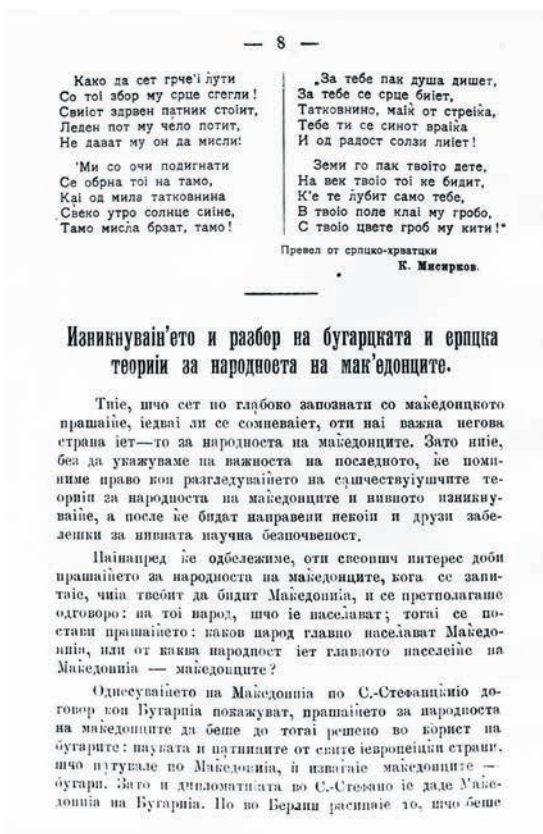


Figure 2

First page of the Misirkov's article 'An Analysis of the Origins of Bulgarian and Serbian Theories on the Nationality of the Macedonians' in the journal *Vardar* (Odessa, 1905)

In the central article of this journal, ‘An Analysis of the Origins of Bulgarian and Serbian Theories on the Nationality of the Macedonians’, K. Misirkov identifies the reasons for imposing the Bulgarian name onto the language and nationality of the Macedonians in the views of some leading Slavistics at that time and earlier. He also showed he was well-versed in discussions about, for instance, the theories on the homeland of Old Church Slavonic, that is to say the language of Cyril and Methodius, and in current knowledge about the dispersion and the boundaries of this dispersion of the Slavic peoples and languages, as well as Vuk Karadžić’s reform of Serbian orthography and language (Misirkov 1981, 497–503).

Having set himself the task to, as a Macedonian intellectual, always be in the service of his own people, K. Misirkov did not dwell on the issue of Macedonian literary language by coincidence. As we have shown, he addressed the language question throughout his book *On Macedonian Matters*, but it was in his article ‘A Few Words on the Macedonian Literary Language’ that it was given the central place. It was here that K. Misirkov elaborated, in great detail and with well-founded argumentation, the three fundamental issues regarding the standardization of a literary language: the selection of a dialectal basis; the lexis; and the alphabet and orthography.

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Неколку зборови за македонскиот литературен јазик.

Во четирите горни статии на оваа книга јас сакам да обрнам погледите на моите сонародници на вуждата од едно корено изменување на досегашниот процес на нашето дуовно развијане, као и на тоа, да моите возгledi во тој случај не сèг нешто ноо и безосновно, а сèг само чекор напред во досегашното развијане на нашето национално самосознавање и да сèг затоа сосем природни и основателни.

Се разбираат, оти во една мала книга, као што јет оваа мојата, не се можат подробно да се разгледаат сите задирнати прашања. За секоје од нив би се можела да напишат по една цела книга. Но сега за сега от таквија подробни разгледувања за задирнатите прашања се немаат уште голема и неотложна нужда; за тоа требаше за сите од нив да се кажат по неколку зборови, зашто они једно без друго сèг нејасни и неразбирливи. Осем разгледувањето на сите задирнати прашања, за да бидат јасно појасувањето на книгата, сега ќе требат да се кажат неколку зборови за својевременоста на книгата и нашиот литературен јазик.

Мнозина, можат, ќе речат, оти вистина арно јет чоек да се позамислит над прашањата, задирнати во таа книга, но сега уште не му јет времето. Со оваа книга, ќе речат они, се носат раздор и вазјединување меѓу нас, на место сојединување, кое сèг за сега ни јет така нужно. За македонска народност, македонска литература и литературен јазик ние ќе можиме да му мислиме само, кога ќе заживееме једнаш слободен политички живот; а до тогај нам ни требат, ние да сме сојединени и да останеме на страна националното прашање.

Figure 3

First page of the Misirkov’s article ‘A Few Words on the Macedonian Literary Language’ in his book *On Macedonian Matters* (Sofia, 1903)

For K. Misirkov, the creation of a literary language was a prerequisite for achieving Macedonian national unity and for countering the foreign (Greek, Bulgarian, and Serbian) propaganda, as well as eliminating the imposed foreign languages. K. Misirkov, much like P. Zografski had done before him, started from the fact that every dialect or sub-dialect can be a ‘vehicle of literature’, something that is determined by specific historical-cultural circumstances (Misirkov 2003, 295). These circumstances, as K. Misirkov explained, were crucial for a dialect to be elevated to the level of a literary language at a given time. In this regard, not only did K. Misirkov posit the issue of the dialectal basis of a literary language – an issue that his predecessors had analysed one way or another – but he also tried to offer an explanation based on sociolinguistics (Корубин 1994, 37).

The selection of central dialects (along the Veles – Prilep – Bitola – Ohrid line) as the basis of the Macedonian literary language was justified by K. Misirkov on two grounds. On the one hand, these towns had emerged as historical, cultural, economic and spiritual centres; and on the other, they were located at an equal distance from the language centres of neighbouring Slavic peoples. K. Misirkov referred to their central position in both a geographical and ethnographical sense:

The central town of Macedonia is Veles, and one need go only a short distance from there to reach Bitola and Ohrid via Prilep. This movement away from the precise geographical centre can be explained by the fact that Prilep, Bitola and Ohrid are of greater historical importance in Macedonia and, moreover, sufficiently distant from the Serbian and Bulgarian language centres to be able to form the Macedonian language centre. (Misirkov 2003, 299).

In his linguistic argumentation, K. Misirkov emphasised the development of *ж* into *а* as the dominant feature: “The Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Ohrid dialect is truly the core of the Macedonian language because to the west one finds the Debar dialect in which, for example, the word arm is pronounced *рока*, while in the south (the Kostur dialect) it becomes *ронка*, in the east (the Salonica dialect) *р’ка*, and in the north (the Skopje dialect) *рука*.”¹⁹ (Мисирков 2003, 299–301).

¹⁹ Following this criterion, K. Misirkov actually separates the central ‘a-dialects’. Only parts of the Ohrid region dialect, including the city of Ohrid, deviated, where *ж* > *а*. This defines it as a part of the peripheral western Macedonian dialects (Дијалектологија 2001, 20), where the said phonetic particularity is present. However, the historical significance of Ohrid as a spiritual and cultural centre, as emphasized by K. Misirkov, and the prestige its vernacular enjoyed, were probably the reasons for its inclusion in the central dialects. This can become more understandable if one takes into consideration that, as we have already pointed out, for K. Misirkov the creation of a Macedonian literary language was “a spiritual need, for this would put an end to the abuse of our interests by the propagandists and would enable us to form our own literary and scientific centre so that we would no longer be dependent on Belgrade and Sofia. This, however, is no easy task, and it can only be accomplished if the Macedonian from the north will extend his hand to his brother in the south, and if the Macedonian from the east will do the same to his brother in the west. And their meeting-place will be around Prilep and Bitola.” (Misirkov 2003, 301).

Although K. Misirkov's native Enidže-Vardar dialect had many particular features that differed from the central dialects, in his book *On Macedonian Matters* he strove to use the characteristic features of the central dialect as much as possible (Ристовски 2000, 168; Бојковска et al., 2008, 82–83), and two years later he even made certain changes in this regard in the journal *Vardar*.²⁰

No less significant were K. Misirkov's endeavours to modernize the Macedonian writing system, furthering the work of a number of earlier Macedonian authors who had already made significant progress in this area (Конески 1986, 22–23; Стаматоски 1986a, 11–20). Opting for phonetic orthography, K. Misirkov applied it, as he himself says, in practice in his own writing. In *On Macedonian Matters* he used 29 letters and made an exception only in the case of the sounds *s* and *u* (marking these with the digraphs *oз* and *oж*),²¹ while in the journal *Vardar* he also introduced the letter *a*.²² What is of particular importance is that K. Misirkov created the original graphemes *л'*, *н'*, *к'* and *з'* to mark the specific sounds of the palatals *љ*, *њ*, *ќ* and *ѝ* in the Macedonian language. He took a further step in the *Vardar* when he used diacritics above letters to mark the softening of consonant sounds (Стаматоски, 1986b, 70–80; Ристовски 2000, 168). K. Misirkov's choice of the grapheme *i* should also be noted, since this grapheme had already come into frequent use among Macedonian authors by the second half of the 19th century (Стаматоски 1986c, 78). K. Misirkov's work on the reform of the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet can be appraised as an attempt “with valid arguments – both practically and theoretically – to put an end to the graphemic-orthographic particularism of the time” (Стаматоски 1986c, 80).

K. Misirkov concluded *On Macedonian Matters* by listing three basic tenets for the standardization of the Macedonian literary language, taking this as a precondition for national unification:

1. the adoption of the Prilep-Bitola dialect, as the central dialect in Macedonia, for the purpose of creating a literary language equally distant from Serbian and Bulgarian,
2. the adoption of a phonetic

²⁰ As Blaže Ristovski observed in his detailed analysis of the language used in the journal *Vardar*, Misirkov no longer put emphasis on the Prilep dialect and tried to introduce features from all the four dialects he had included in the central dialect, with the aim of giving the Macedonian literary language as many differential characteristics as possible with respect to surrounding Slavic literary languages. He therefore relied extensively on the results of the developments in the Bitola-Ohrid dialect (Ристовски 1966a, 55).

²¹ B. Ristovski draws attention to how Misirkov in his early manuscripts used an old sign from Old Church Slavonic Cyrillic for the affricate *s* (Ристовски 2000, 168). T. Stamatovski points out that although the grapheme *u* had long been used in the Macedonian territory too, both sounds are rather rare in Macedonian and so K. Misirkov may have resolved to postpone solving the issue of their representation by a single grapheme (Стаматоски 1986, 78).

²² Macedonian linguists and historians have given extensive consideration to the issue of this grapheme's sound value and of K. Misirkov's decision to introduce it in his system (Ристовски 1966a, 57; 2000, 168; also: Стаматоски 1986b, 70–80). However, the general consensus is that K. Misirkov produced an original symbol in this case as well.

orthography with letters as used in this book and with minor concessions to etymology, and 3. the collection of lexicographical material from the dialects and speech-forms of all the regions of Macedonia. (Misirkov 2003, 309).

Bearing all this in mind, B. Ristovski observed that the language of K. Misirkov could by no means be defined as merely an “attempt” but rather as a creation that exemplified how a new literary language can be built upon a nationwide dialectal basis and thus become a unifying element of national spirit, because “not only did K. Misirkov formulate, but he also solved all the basic questions successfully and correctly, delving into details typically addressed within cultures with longer traditions and after more organized, large-scale research.” (Ристовски 1966b, 371)

The soundness of his positions was affirmed in May 1945 with the official codification of the modern Macedonian literary language by the Language and Orthography Commission of the Ministry of Education of the Government of The People’s Republic of Macedonia, that is to say that the principles adopted were in full accordance with Misirkov’s principles. In his *Grammar of Macedonian Literary Language*, Blaže Koneski formulated these as follows:

1. In the Macedonian literary language there should be instituted those forms from the central speech-forms which will to the greatest extent link all our speech-forms and will be most easily acceptable to the people of all the regions.
2. The Macedonian literary language should to the greatest degree be an expression of its basis among the people. The vocabulary of the literary language should be enriched with words from all the dialects, new words should be formed using living prefixes and suffixes and only when it is necessary should foreign loan words be adopted.
3. The Macedonian alphabet should consist of as many letters as there are sounds in the literary language. The orthography should be worked out on phonetic principles. (English translation from Ristovski 2003, LXXX).

In undertaking this responsible task K. Misirkov faced a major challenge – the linguistic terminology needed to express the concepts he was working on or, at least, referring to. Despite having predecessors in this field, the scope of linguistic terms he was using was much larger in view of the scope of the subject matter he was addressing. Aleksandar Džukeski clarified that the linguistic terms used by Misirkov were vernacular, international, or newly created words (simple terms) or syntagmas (complex terms) crafted to designate special concepts

related to different linguistic disciplines (Џукески 1976, 211). What A. Džukeski stressed as being specific to K. Misirkov's linguistic-philological meta-language, however, was that it was never used in its pure form but rather intertwined with the historical and journalistic language and that for this reason certain terms had different terminological meanings (Џукески 1976, 210). Despite these frailties, K. Misirkov deserves credit for the development of Macedonian linguistic terminology in the period prior to the official codification of the Macedonian literary language, and, correspondingly, for producing texts where characteristics of the scientific functional style²³ were predominant.

And one more thought. As a linguist with great potential and knowledge, K. Misirkov could have chosen any of the other linguistic disciplines. D. Pandev is thus correct to infer that K. Misirkov had the capacity of a great linguist who, instead of to the world science of language, devoted his capacity to Macedonia (Пандев 2004, 207). In making this choice, K. Misirkov was led by the thought that the role of the Macedonian intelligentsia was and always should be to affirm and proclaim the interests of its own people. Researchers of Misirkov's work have shown that in undertaking this mission K. Misirkov treated issues so complex that they surpassed the confines of his time. And that is precisely where one should see K. Misirkov's contributions to the development of not only the Macedonian linguistic thought, but of the South-Slavic one as well.

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- Figure 1: Picture of Krste P. Misirkov that had been kept in a frame at the editorial office of the journal *Vardar* in Odessa (1905). The original was given to academician Blaže Ristovski as a gift by Ekaterina Mihajlovna Misirkova in Sofia (1963) (Македонски албум. Документи од и за Македонското научно-литературно другарство и Македонската колонија во С.-Петербург. Macedonian Album. Documents from and about the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society and the Macedonian Colony in St. Petersburg. Подготовка акад. Блаже Ристовски. Соработник проф. д-р Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска, Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје, 2014, 90). Further in this text: Македонски албум 2014.
- Figure 2: First page of the Misirkov’s article ‘An Analysis of the Origins of Bulgarian and Serbian Theories on the Nationality of the Macedonians’ in the journal *Vardar* (Odessa, 1905). (Македонски албум 2014, 81).
- Figure 3: First page of the Misirkov’s article ‘A Few Words on the Macedonian Literary Language’ in his book *On Macedonian Matters* (Sofia, 1903). (Македонски албум 2014, 64).

ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A MACEDONIAN SCHOOL WITH A BOARDING HOUSE IN THE ŽITOŠE MONASTERY AND AN ACADEMY FOR TEACHERS IN SKOPJE

Blaže Ristovski

Abstract: In the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Macedonia was not yet an internationally recognized political entity and there were no established Macedonian national institutions or institutionalized sciences. This paper focusses on attempts to open a Macedonian school with a boarding house in the Žitoše Monastery and the attempt to establish the first Academy of Teachers in Skopje.

Анстракт: Во XIX и во првата половина на XX век Македонија не претставуваше меѓународно признат политички субјект и не постоеја етаблирани македонски национални институции и институционализирана наука. Во оваа пригода ние се осврнуваме на обидите за отворање на македонско училиште со пансион во Житошкиот манастир и обидот за етаблирање на првата Висока педагошка школа во Скопје.

In the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Macedonia was not yet an internationally recognized political entity and there were no established Macedonian national institutions or institutionalized sciences. Macedonian aspirations towards opening schools with native Macedonian as the language of instruction, rejecting the educational propaganda efforts by neighbouring countries, have already had its history that lasted a half-century. Many steps were undertaken in that direction, including appeals to the Ottomans authorities. This paper focusses on attempts to open a Macedonian school with a boarding house in the Žitoše Monastery and the attempt to establish the first Academy for Teachers¹ in Skopje.

¹ Visoka pedagoška škola.

The Academy for Teachers in Skopje

A decade prior to the founding of the Faculty of Philology in Skopje as a branch of the University of Belgrade, three renowned representatives of the Macedonian intelligentsia – Krste Misirkov,² Petar Poparsov³ and Teodosija Gologanov⁴ – made an attempt to establish the first Academy for Teachers in Skopje. Although this ultimately proved unsuccessful, it is recognized as a vital act in the history of higher education in Macedonia and an authentic expression of the Macedonian national idea.

When speaking about Misirkov, in a letter dated 1897⁵ (АВПРИ, ф. Славянский стол, д. 11653, л. 13) he announced the need for the creation of a Macedonian country and a Macedonian university. This letter was written soon after his enrolment at the Faculty of History and Philology in St. Petersburg, and he restated the same aspiration two years prior to his death in an article written on the occasion of the Prague Slavic Ethnographic Congress in 1924 (Мисирковъ 1924, 3). Misirkov dedicated his entire life to the realization of this idea. Only his great patriotic desire to be in his fatherland, immersed in its expected liberation, led him to halt his university career in 1902 (ЦГИА СПб, ф. 14, оп. 3, ед. хр. 34653, лл. 19–20). Later, in early 1907 and under completely different circumstances, he continued his Masters studies in Slavic philology at the University of Kiev (ДАК, ф. № 16, оп. № 465, спр. № 1130, арк. 7зв–8, and спр. № 1139, арк. 41–48зв), preparing his thesis dissertation on *The Kings Volkašin and Marko as Historical Personalities and Heroes of the South-Slavic Epos* (ИРНБУ, ф. 3, III № 20527). In addition, he was also publishing articles and books in Russia and in Bulgaria (Мисирков 2007).

Misirkov made even personal sacrifices in his determination at any cost to return to the Balkans with the status of a scholar and researcher of Slavic and particularly Macedonian history. As such, even on 26 November 1906, among other

² Krste Petkov Misirkov (18 November 1874, Postol, Enidže-Vardar region, in the present-day Greece – 26 July 1926, Sofia, Bulgaria) was the most prolific and sophisticated Macedonian slavist. He codified the modern Macedonian literary language and orthography and was the author of the first scientifically elaborated and thoroughly theoretically book on the codification of the Macedonian language: *On Macedonian Matters (За македонџиџиџе рабоџиџи)*. He was also the author of the first scientific magazine on Macedonian language *Vardar (Вардар)*, first published in 1905. As well as being the first national philologist, he was a historian, ethnographer, folklorist, publicist, revolutionary and national activist.

³ Petar Poparsov (14 August 1868, Bogomila, Veles region – 1 January 1941, Sofia) was a Macedonian cultural and national activist and part of the Young Macedonian Literary Society and its journal *Loza (Лоза)*. He was also a teacher, writer and publicist.

⁴ Theodosius of Skopje (secular name: Vasil Gologanov) (7 January 1846, Trlis, Ser region, in the present-day Greece – 2 February 1926, Sofia) was a churchman, scholar, and a religious and national activist who wrote academic articles on religion. He became the metropolitan of Skopje and fought to create a separate Macedonian Church as a restoration of the Archbishopric of Ohrid.

⁵ Letter to the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg.

things, he wrote to his professor and benefactor V. I. Lamanski to explain that, in spite of all the deficiencies and obstacles he faced in his life and work in Odessa:

... I am not leaving my scholarly work and either in January or February 1907 I decided to take the Masters exam on the *History of the Slavs*. I do not know if it is feasible to take such an examination, since at Russian universities there is no Chair for Slavic History that is separate from the Chair of Slavic Philology. I intend to take the exam at Kiev University with your former student, Professor T. I. Florinski as my examiner. I made this choice because Kiev is the closest university to Odessa and, secondly, because of the fact that T.I. is the most knowledgeable about the history of the south-Slavs. The journey to Kiev will take up less time and money than, for example, the journey to St. Petersburg. (ПФА РАН, ф. 35, оп. 1, ед. хр. 952, л. 4 об.).

Driven by this desire, in the spring of 1907 Misirkov filed a request to be elected an “Assistant Professor in the history of the Balkan peoples or for Slavic philology” at the University of Sofia (НА БАН, ф. 109, арх. ед. 482). His request, however, was rejected. Following the Young Turk Revolution, he hoped for the democratization of Turkey and the possibility of returning to Macedonia. In early August 1908, encouraged by Gavril Zanetov (a Bessarabian Bulgarian in Sofia), Misirkov sent a letter from Odessa to Aleksandar Teodorov-Balan, the Head of the Bŭlgarska Matica (close to the Exarchate) and a university professor in Sofia. In this letter Misirkov requested a “lecturing position in the Bulgarian all-male gymnasium in Salonika” and wrote the following:

Does the Holy Exarchate think that it is possible to restore my rights to teach in the high schools under its authority and as early as this current school year to appoint me as a teacher of Bulgarian and general history or for Bulgarian literature in the Bulgarian all-male gymnasium in Salonika, so that I can travel to Salonika to be there on time to begin with my job. (НА БАН, ф. 109, арх. ед. 564).⁶

From 1906 to the end of 1909 Misirkov actively participated (with discussions and papers)⁷ in the work of the Historical-Philological Society

⁶ Balan noted on the letter that he had responded to it on 19 August 1908; but yet again, Misirkov's request was denied.

⁷ His lectures from that time: Къ вопросу о происхождении и распространении имени ‘слова́не’ [To the Question of Origin and Extention of the Name ‘Slavs’] (26. XI 1907); Южно-славянскія эпическія сказанія о женитьбѣ короля Волкашина [South-Slavonic Epics on the Marriage of King Volkašin] (27. XI 1908); Преподавание исторіи славянъ въ русской средней школѣ [Teaching History of Slavs in the Russian Secondary Schools] (15. XI 1908); Къ вопросу о переворотѣ 1331 г. въ Сербіи и объ участіи въ немъ Стефана Душана [On the Issue of the Coup in 1331 in Serbia and on the Participation of Stefan Dušan in It] (4. IV 1909); Говоры восточной и южной Сербіи въ изслѣдованіи: “Диалекти источне и јужне Србије” [Speeches of Eastern and Southern Serbia in the Research: “Dialects of Eastern and Southern Serbia”] (13. XI 1909).

of Odessa University and published scholarly contributions in his editions that related directly to Macedonia. Amongst these works he published the full text of his dissertation on *South-Slavonic Epics on the Marriage of King Volkašin in Connection with the Issue Concerning the Reasons for King Marco's Popularity Among Southern Slavs* (Мисирков 1909), reflecting his lifelong interest in this subject. On 29 March 1908, Misirkov was selected as a regular member of this respectable Society. His selection was necessary for his scholarly affirmation in the circle, but also served to enhance his status later on in Macedonia.

Living far away in Russia, Misirkov was a foreigner in a large country, however, and 'as a person without Russian roots, a Turkish citizen, Macedonian' (АВПРИ, ф. Славянский стол, 1903–12, д. 5227, л. 65 and об.), he failed to understand that he could not win the trust in his adopted new environment.⁸ Instead these efforts only brought difficulties in his life and work, and after a clash with the Mayor of Odessa and the trustee of the Odessa school district for the second time (after 1902) he abandoned his Masters studies (Ристовски 2003, 31–35). Later, Professor B. M. Liapunov advised Misirkov to resume his studies in Odessa, but such an endeavour demanded much of his time and Misirkov had to ask for support from his professors A. I. Sobolevski and V. I. Lamanski, pleading with them to intervene on his behalf through the Russian Ministry of National Education so that "a stipend is arranged to support him through his preparation for the professorship" (ПФА РАН, ф. 176, оп. 2, ед. хр. 285, л. 1 and об.), specifically "to receive a professor stipend from the Novorossiysk University so that I can prepare for the examinations" (ПФА РАН, ф. 35, оп. 1, ед. хр. 952, лл. 8–10 and об.). However, his desire to resume his studies was to remain unfulfilled: with the outbreak of war he travelled to Salonika and was transferred to Chisinau.

But Misirkov was not easily discouraged. In one of his letters he wrote: "...in the summer of 1909 I visited Bulgaria and Macedonia" (АВПРИ, ф. Славянский стол, 1903–1912, д. 5227, л. 79). Since he stayed in Macedonia 'a whole month' longer than he had anticipated, according to the statement of his spouse E. Mihajlovna (in 1962), she received a reply to her own telegram asking after his whereabouts, saying: "He left Dafni" (Ристовски 1966, 798).

⁸ Always concerned with the fate of his fatherland, Misirkov again unsuccessfully attempted to become part of the consular-diplomatic service in one of the Russian consulates in the Balkans in these new circumstances (АВПРИ, ф. Славянский стол, 1903–12, д. 5227, лл. 66 and 77 об.). Soon afterwards he submitted a proposal to publish a weekly newspaper in Odessa called *Bližniĭ Vostok* (АВПРИ, ф. Славянский стол, 1903–12, д. 5227, лл. 67–69). Even with the creation of the '17 October Party' in 1906 he became not only a member but also a secretary of the Odessa committee. He also ran for candidacy in two elections for Member of the State Duma, both times unsuccessfully (ГАРФ, ОЛФ, ф. 555, оп. 1, ед. хр. 1483, л. 1 and об.) – all in the hope of being able to influence Russian-Balkan politics for the benefit of Macedonia.

We are as yet unaware of the nature of his mission to the Balkans and Mount Athos (Sveta Gora) at this time.

Nevertheless, all these occurrences had a sort of natural flow and continuity. In the summer of 1910, Misirkov and his family attended the Pan-Slavic Congress in Sofia, separately from the Russian delegation, (Ристовски 1966, 478–483). We know that he met Dijamandija T. Mišajkov⁹ and Stefan J. Dedov,¹⁰ and also that he met with Petar Poparsov, and with the former Metropolitan of Skopje Teodosija Gologanov. At the same time a new national movement appeared in the Bitola Vilayet under the name of ‘Russian party’. On 3 March 1910, the Serbian Consul in Bitola informed the Ministry that ‘an interesting occurrence’ had taken place in his district over the previous two months:

...the villages in the areas around Bitola, Demir Hisar and Kruševo have been subjected to propaganda activities in favour of some ‘Russian Party’. A large number of villagers visited the Russian Consulate so they could register with that ‘Party’ and asked the Russian Consul to take them under protection. It is unclear who could have led the villagers to undertake such steps since none of the leaders of the active national propagandas could exploit this in their favour. It seems that the movement came about as a result of the behaviour of a local Tsintsar¹¹ called Vasil, employed as a dragoman by the Russian Consulate. When interviewing the villagers who came to the Russian Consulate to complain, he advised them very vulgarly and stupidly to give up on all other propaganda because it was the safest to be under Russian protection. The villagers took this for granted and rushed to register with the ‘Russian party’. (АС, МИД, ф. III, 35 Р, ред 495, 1910).

In fact this was the result of the activities of the core of the supporters of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in Bitola, who, in the aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising had managed to gather signatures from

⁹ Dijamandija Trpkov Mišajkov (15 March 1872, Bitola – 6 April 1953, Sofia) was a member and founder of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg. He was a member and founder of the Macedonian Club with a reading room and the editor of its main newspaper *Balkanski glasnik*, published in Belgrade in 1902, and co-author of the first complete Macedonian program for national liberation.

¹⁰ Stefan Jakimov Dedov (28 October 1869, Ohrid –19 September 1914, Sofia) organized the Macedonian Club, with a reading room, and was the owner of its main journal newspaper *Balkanski glasnik*. In 1902 he was the first to publicly proclaim the Macedonian language to have phonetic orthography. After the termination of the journal and the prohibition of the Macedonian Club, he went to St. Petersburg with Mišajkov, with the recommendation from the Russian ambassador, to become founders/members of The Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society on 28 October 1902. He was also one of the signatories of the Memorandum to The Russian Government and the Council of St. Petersburg’s Slovenian Benevolent Association. (12 November 1902).

¹¹ Synonymous with a man of Vlach origin.

citizens in 34 villages petitioning for schools to be opened with Macedonian as the language of instruction and with Macedonian-language textbooks. All the while, Dimitrija Čupovski¹² kept in contact with Kruševo and Bitola and this is why Misirkov wanted to work in Salonika. Immediately after his having been selected, a member of the Bulgarian Literary Society (10 January 1910), Gologanov, also applied for re-election as a Metropolitan of Skopje while still in Sofia. At the same time, Marko Atanasov Mušević¹³ from Kruševo received the support of the Athos monasteries, and on 13(18) May 1910, together with the other co-signer Nace Dimov (the brother of D. Čupovski), submitted a request to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in St. Petersburg for financial support of 10,000 roubles to restore the Church of St. Athanasius on the grounds of the demolished Žitoše Monastery and to open a Macedonian school with a boarding house. On 2 July the Holy Synod considered the request from Mušević and Dimov but rejected it because at that time Serbo-Bulgarian talks were underway under the auspices of Russia on the war against Turkey and the division of Macedonia. Similar requests were submitted in the following years, but such appeals from Macedonians went unheard, overshadowed by the gunpowder smoke of the Balkan Wars and the onset of the First World War (Ристовски 2001, 471–484).

In line with the spirit of this whole movement, the idea was born to establish an Academy for Teachers in Skopje. This was initiated as early as 1909, when the Macedonian people of the Skopje ‘sandžak’¹⁴ nominated the high-school professor Poparsov for elections to the Turkish parliament on the National Federal Party list. However, the heralds of the Young Turks Movement did not support his candidacy. It was at just this time that the Bulgarian Exarchate launched a campaign for the election of its own Metropolitan in Skopje, since this diocese did not have its own pastor and was showing tendencies that were not aligned with the aims of the Exarchate. As a result, the Exarchate wrote the following letter to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Sofia:

¹² Dimitrija Dimov Čupovski (8 November 1878, Papradište, Veles region – 29 October 1940, Leningrad, Soviet Union) was the most notable organizer and promoter of the Macedonian cultural and national voice, a member and a founder of The Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg (1902–1917), a member and a founder of The Slavo-Macedonian National and Educational Society “St. Cyril and Methodius” (1912–1913), a member, a founder and a chairman of The Russo-Macedonian Beneficial Society ‘St. Cyril and Methodius’ (1913–1914), a member, a founder and a chairman of The Macedonian Revolutionary Committee in St. Petersburg (1917–1924) and vice-president of The Russian Benefit Society for the Novice Writers, Actors, Artists and Scientists (1915), a regular member of The St. Petersburg Slavonic Benefit Society, The Slavic Unity Society and other Russian associations. He was a poet, publicist, editor, publisher, cartographer, historian, lexicographer, engaged in cultural and national activism.

¹³ Marko Atanasov Mušević (first half of the 19th century, Kruševo – after 1920, Prilep), engaged in cultural and national activism, was an icon painter and collector of folk poetry.

¹⁴ Region within the Ottoman administration.

The order and discipline of the Holy Eparchy of Skopje, which in the last years have not been satisfactory, entail undertaking of certain measures. For some time now, a persevering group is working against the Exarchate and against the Exarch directly with the aim to incite a movement among the population and the gathering of a Popular Congregation in Istanbul at which the Exarchate constitution will be revised in favour of purely Macedonian dioceses of the Exarchate. With P. Poparsov at the head of this group, they work towards limitation of the power to the high clergy, whom they accuse of deliberately hindering the development of education. In order to stop such unfriendly tendencies, we have decided first and foremost to fill the diocese with a regular diocese prelate. We grant our trust in the current acting administrator of the diocese his Reverend Mr. Neophyte. (Димевски 1976, 101, note 82).

In the diocese under the leadership of Poparsov there was indeed intensive propaganda against the Exarchate's intentions, and the former Metropolitan of Skopje Gologanov (replaced by the Exarch in the beginning of 1892) was nominated as candidate for the post again. When the Exarch learned about the intentions of the voters, he alerted the Synod and demanded, on 12 June 1910, that the Synod force Teodosija to withdraw his candidature. Teodosija, however, wrote defiantly to the Exarch that he confirmed his candidature and was determined to return to Skopje if he was elected by the people. Subsequently, the Exarch instructed Neophyte, the incumbent Metropolitan, to organize a national protest against Teodosija's candidature. Sadly, only two at the convened council of the diocese of Skopje and one member of the Church School Community signed the pre-ordered 'protest letter'.

All this further aggravated the Skopje population, who responded by assembling a popular congregation in the grounds of the church of the Holy Mother of God, where they adamantly declared: "We do not accept any other as Metropolitan except our Metropolitan Teodosija!" The spiritual leader at this national gathering was again Poparsov. He had been familiar with the activities of the Bulgarian Exarchate and those of Teodosija since as far back as 1891, when Poparsov had supported his first candidature (and one of the organizers of the Young Macedonian Literary Association in Sofia and the editor of its journal *Loza*¹⁵). This explains the bitterness of Archimandrite Neophyte's letter to the Exarch, dated 20 June 1910, complaining about the mood and activities of: "some of the guilds¹⁶ which are under the influence of the teacher Mr. Petar Poparsov who has set in his mind that he is a leader of the people. He constantly talks against the exarchate and its headquarters,

¹⁵ *Loza* [English: The Vine].

¹⁶ Esnaf.

including me as well, and encourages the guilds to support the candidacy of Metropolitan Teodosija, because he has suffered himself protecting the interests of the Macedonians”. Discovering a ‘conspiracy’ in the electoral campaign, Neophyte correctly assessed the endeavours and intentions of the three Macedonian notables coincided with the wishes of the Macedonian people, and continued:

From some members of the Council I learnt that Krste Petkov, the one who promoted his ‘Misirkovism’, had asked from one of his relatives who lived in Skopje to be introduced to the teacher Petar Poparsov to help him in his collecting of folk songs about ‘Krali Marko’ in the Skopje borough. Poparsov was kind enough to agree straightaway. I write to you, Your Beatitude, because there is justified doubt that here schismatic tendencies are on the rise again. That gentleman, Krste Misirkov, expressed his desire in the letter to his relative to return to Macedonia and to come to Skopje once Macedonia is finally free. The man wanted to become a professor at a Skopje University (?!). If this is true, and there is no reason for it to be a lie, then you can come to the conclusion yourself what kind of danger lies ahead for Bulgarism in these historic times. Just imagine if the ‘Misirkovism’ of Mr. Krste joins forces with the ‘separatism’ of his Eminence Teodosija and the ‘autonomism’ of Mr. Petar Poparsov! (Димевски 1976а, 338).

This “danger on an unprecedented scale for the Bulgarian work in Macedonia” had been in preparation since before the year 1910. It is true that Misirkov worked extensively on the history of King Marko and its treatment in folk poetry, and even the letter to his relative reflects this reality. I. Ć. Kiselinov reported us that Misirkov told him at that time how he dreamt of lecturing at a Faculty ‘Macedonian History and Geography and the History of Folk literature’, and in another article further claims that Misirkov envisaged the creation of a separate University in Skopje (Киселиновъ 1941, 6). In a letter written on 13 May 1961, his spouse E. M. Misirkova, claimed that after they got married, Krste visited Macedonia several times.

The initiative for the creation of Macedonian schools and the Russian Party movement in the Bitola region demonstrates the extent to which aspirations for the affirmation of Macedonian cultural-national ideology were intensifying at the same time as plans were being devised by Macedonia’s neighbours for a war for the division of European Turkey. This is even more clearly confirmed in the letter of Archimandrite Neophyte from 11 July 1910, in which he describes the popular congregation held at the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Skopje:

Those in attendance accepted the proposal by P. Poparsov for the establishment of a state Academy for Teachers in Skopje without much deliberation and with acclamation. To the objection made by our secretary Mr. Todorov that education is in the domain of the Holy Bulgarian Exarchate, and not the Turkish state authorities, P. Poparsov responded with irony: 'If the Exarchate were interested in the people's education, it could have long ago taken an initiative to establish a school for higher education. And since nothing of the kind has been done, the people will turn to the state.' G. Todorov remarked once again that higher education requires university-trained cadres. Poparsov responded: 'Macedonia has such cadre. It would suffice if it called back its intellectuals scattered abroad!' Later I understood, Your Beatitude, that Poparsov had been informed about the correspondence that Krste P. Misirkov, born in Enidže-Vardar and who at the moment resides in Russia, kept up with some members of the Church School Community in Skopje where Misirkov was proposed as one of the professors if Skopje ever managed to establish this Academy for Teachers. (Димевски 1976, 103–104).

Taking into account Misirkov's attendance at the Slavacist manifestations in Sofia, and his visits to Macedonia as well, Archimandrite Neophyte added in his letter that: "I am deeply convinced that Poparsov is involved in this affair and I believe that he met with Misirkov in Sofia not long ago." (Димевски 1976, 103). Therefore the conclusion of Neophyte's letter is very lucid, accurate and truthful:

Your Beatitude, from what I have already written, I conclude that this is a plot directed against the Bulgarians in Macedonia. It is not an accident that His Eminence Teodosija has been put forward for the position of the Metropolitan, the well-known author of the pamphlet *On Macedonian Matters*, has been put forward for the position of a professor, while the author of the anti-Exarchate pamphlet *Stambolovism in Macedonia and its proponents*, Petar Poparsov, has been put forward for the position of a political leader. The union of this triangle in Skopje would cause tremendous harm to the Bulgarianism in Macedonia if not a tragedy even. (Димевски 1976, 103–104).

The Bulgarian Exarchate and Bulgarian state took this confidential information from Skopje seriously and vigorously rejected the candidacy of Metropolitan Teodosija and with the aid of the easily bribed Turkish authorities, furthermore, they prevented the attainment of the people's pressing needs and demands at that moment in history. However, the attempt for the creation of a

university centre in Skopje marked a path for the future. Following Salonika and Bitola, Skopje came to be viewed as a cultural-national and political centre that attracted the attention of three prominent people from more recent Macedonian history. They symbolically represented the three parts of Macedonia: Petar Poparsov from the Veles region, Krste Misirkov from the Enidže-Vardar region, and Teodosija Gologanov from the Ser region.

Macedonian school with a boarding house in the Žitoše¹⁷ Monastery

The aspirations and efforts to establish schools with Macedonian as their language of instruction were inevitably impeded by the Ilinden Uprising and large-scale chetnik operations in neighbouring countries. In early 1910, however, a national movement known as the ‘Russian political party’ emerged in the region of Bitola. As previously stated, the Serbian consul notified the Serbian ministry about the unfolding of ‘peculiar events’ in the region of Bitola, of which he had been hearing about in the previous two months. Specifically, there were rumours about the emergence of some ‘Russian political party’ in villages in the regions of Pelagonia, the villages surrounding Kruševo and Demir Hisar. A large group of villagers had gone to the Russian Consulate in order to join the said ‘political party’ and asked him to grant them protection. It is not known who advised the villagers to do such a thing, especially since none of the national propaganda stood to benefit in their national propaganda efforts. In fact, this was the continuation of an initial wave of gathering signatures for a petition to open native language schools in villages after the Ilinden Uprising. This was accepted and supported by 34 villages. These events in the villages of the Pelagonian plain, the villages surrounding Kruševo and in The Demir Hisar region are connected with the activities and undertakings of The Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society, especially with the connections its chairman Čupovski with the town of Kruševo. It was no coincidence that he visited Kruševo later in 1911.

In relation to these events, the dedication to the national cause shown by Marko Mušević should be taken into consideration. At the end of December 1884, he went to St. Petersburg to seek an audience with the Russian Tsar, to which he was granted on January 9 next year and gave the Tsar ‘a collection of old coins’. Moreover, in the name of Macedonians he made an appeal to the director of the Asian Department, explaining the difficult position of Macedonia and unambiguously articulating the demands for Macedonian national identity and the hopes of Macedonians for help from

¹⁷ Monastery St. Athanasius in village Žitoše, near town of Kruševo, in Macedonia.

Russia¹⁸ (it was published in the Slavofile newspaper *Svet*¹⁹ and *Makedonskiĭ glas*²⁰ in Sofia.

Mušević went to Russia in March 1902 to acquire information about the Tsar's response to the appeal that hundreds of Macedonians in Belgrade had delivered to the Russian ambassador in Serbia. The appeal informed the Tsar of the 'extremely difficult' situation of the petitioners and requested that he "indicate how to handle affairs in the future"²¹. In St. Petersburg he was admitted by the Russian Tsar, to whom he issued 'an official statement' on behalf of the Christian people of Macedonia. The chairman of the First Department of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded to this official statement on behalf of the Russian Tsar that "Russia has never stopped caring about potentially assuaging the unfortunate fate of the Macedonian people."

On 13/18 May 1910 'The Macedonian Slavs Marko Atanasevič Mušević and Nace Dimitrievič Dimov' submitted the following appeal to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in St. Petersburg:

From 1895 to 1908, the Macedonian Slavs were under the tyrannical oppression of four different masters that ruled Macedonia and Macedonian Slavs. These are the following: The Turks, who from the position of Government Authority committed atrocities that were well known to the rest of the world. The Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians on the other hand, harassed the population with their armed chetniks at will, using all means available to achieve their well-defined goals. Consequently, the poor Macedonian Slavs, confused under all these kinds of influences, worked against their own interest following foreign dictates.

In 1903 the crackdowns on the Ilinden Uprising led to the destruction and the demolition of numerous villages, churches, schools and monasteries, not to mention the countless Slav victims throughout the Ottoman Empire. In mounting the uprising the Macedonian Slavs had hoped to compel Russia to intervene and liberate the unfortunate Macedonians from their centuries-long enslavement. Unfortunately, after the reactionary turn of events of The Committee of The Young Turks Movement, those hopes ended back in 1909. This turn of events regarding The Committee of The Young Turks Movement Committee forced the premature

¹⁸ See: РГИА, ф. 473, оп. 1, ед. хр. 2100; ф. 516, оп. 206/2703, ед. хр. 49; оп. 53/2048, ед. хр. 6; АВПРИ, ф. 146 (Славянский стол), оп. 459, ед. хр. 4615, 1–2.

¹⁹ *Свѣтъ* [English: Light].

²⁰ *Македонский Гласъ* [English: Macedonian Voice].

²¹ See: ГАРФ, ф. 102, ДО 1898, ед. хр. 8/1898, л. 124 and 125.

departure of the recently arrived Macedonian Slavs notables from abroad.

In this devastated Slavic country, the Turks settled immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Asia with the intention of increasing the Turkish population in order to suppress the Slavs. Wishing to take advantage of the opportunity at hand, Germans bought land from the Slavs, established their colonies, Catholic churches and schools, took care of poor orphans and all those unlucky enough to lose their parents, and submitted them, as well as the rest of the population, to Catholic propaganda. The American protestant missionaries, by adopting the same means as the cunning Germans, wished to achieve the same.

This is why we, the Slavs, should stop to think carefully what measures to take against these evils. And since our homeland is in such a horrendous situation as we have described it, we the *Macedonians* would like to submit an appeal to the Head of the Slavic Church to offer his assistance, in accordance with the words of His Royal Highness Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, in 1902.

Let the head of the Slavic Church be held accountable for the salvation of this Slavic land – the birthplace of the first teachers of the Slavs, Ss. Cyril and Methodius. The light of Slavic literacy was first shed by them and their mission. And the place where the Slavic sun first rose is now ruled by Turks and Germans, who close down our churches, schools and make us learn in Turkish.

For the prevention of all of this, the following is necessary and urgent:

1) The restoration of the Žitoše Monastery St. Athanasius, located in the centre of Macedonia, some 4 hours from Prilep, on the right side of the road to Bitola and an hour away from Kruševo. Žitoše Monastery was destroyed during the revolution in 1903 and the abbot and all the monks were killed. But, the large monastery estate with fertile farmland can be made profitable and thus provide support for elementary schools that would compete against the Protestant and Catholic schools.

2) Success in the restoration of this monastery would lead to the salvation of another monastery, St. Nikola Toplički, also destroyed during The Ilinden Uprising. This monastery is also rich with farmland here that can be turned profitable, if cultivated properly

and with the new available tools. This will help increase income for the support for the aforementioned schools and churches.

3) The merger of these two monasteries makes the realization of the aforementioned goal possible, as well as the establishment of the estates of these monasteries in Salonika and Bitola, which will in turn allow for opening of religious schools and boarding schools for all able but poor sons and daughters of the Macedonian Slavs. With the realization of these envisaged goals, the progress of the enemies of the Slavic language, culture and education and of the Christian Orthodox Church in Slavic Macedonia will be blocked. However, in order to make that happen it is necessary to provide the following funds:

- 4) For the restoration of the Monastery Church of
St. Athanasius 6000 roubles
- 5) For the repair of the monastery hospices 2000 roubles
- 6) For the purchase of agricultural equipment and
livestock 2000 roubles

Total: 10,000 roubles

Please find attached the Reply on behalf of His Royal Highness Nicholas II, Emperor and Autocrat, № 232 (РГИА, ф. 796, оп. 191, ед. хр. 157, VI отделение 1 ст., л. 1–2).

On 2 July 1910, at the request of the Russian Tsar, the Holy Synod reviewed the appeal submitted by the Macedonian Mušević and Dimov for 10,000 roubles towards the restoration of the Žitoše Monastery St. Athanasius in Macedonia which had been destroyed during the uprising in 1903. The appeal was submitted along with five photographs of the monastery and a letter from the chairman of the First Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated 23 March 1902, № 232, addressed to Mušević, containing the addresses of the Christian people in Macedonia, regarding the public statement to *The Emperor and Autocrat*. The Synod decided to reject the appeal on the grounds that an authorized document setting out the necessity of the funds had been not submitted, nor a power of authority for raising the question (Ibid., л. 3 and об.).

In fact, the decision of the Holy Synod was taken in accordance with the official Russian policy towards the Balkans and the establishment of Macedonian national institutions outside of the already established order of neighboring propaganda, was out of the question, especially, in a time when

intensive conversations about a Srebo-Bulgarian agreement for conquering and splitting the territory of Macedonia with Russian support were taking place.

The issue regarding schools in Macedonian language probably became more acute after Čupovski's visit to Kruševo. Mušević, now as authorized delegate by the parishioners of the Žitoše Monastery St. Athanasius, returned to St. Petersburg and on 15 October 1911,²² filed a notably more elaborate appeal to the Holy Synod of The Russian Orthodox Church which included ambitions regarding the opening of schools throughout all Macedonia. Rather, this time the request is concentrated on the ruined Žitoše Monastery and its estates, and on the possibility of establishing a Seminary and Crafts School in them.

It is further stated that the Roman and Protestant propaganda were recruiting and accommodating poor and deprived children in all kinds of boarding houses and "turning them into sworn enemies of the Christian Orthodox faith and their Christian Orthodox brothers. "For 30 years now, – subsequently says Mušević – I have empathized with the suffering and agony of the Macedonian people of Christian Orthodox faith. I have prayed for some alleviation of their plight. As an authorized envoy of my brothers in faith and fellow citizens, I have travelled to Russia many times." He went on to describe his three earlier visits, concluding that:

Recently all of my attention and that of my fathers in faith has been devoted to attempts to restore the destroyed shrine in our native land. The locals were ready to sacrifice and provide and pay in kind all they could for its restoration. I myself was determined to become a monk, with the hope that with my knowledge of the local way of life and the local languages, specifically Turkish, Greek, Romanian, Albanian and Slavo-Macedonian, as well as Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian, I could be of greater use to my unfortunate people. But our good will and all our endeavours proved insufficient for the realization of our intentions. Money was needed, money that our ruined and unfortunate population didn't have.

Mušević said that assistance could only to be sought from Christian Orthodox Russia. The Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, V. K. Sabler, promised to help, but first Mušević was advised to visit the Makaryevsky Monastery to familiarize himself with the monastic order. However, his admission to the monastic order was disallowed. That is why, he was later recommended to Mount Athos, but this also proved futile. Sabler then advised him that to apply for the restoration of the monastery he needed

²² See: РГИА, ф. 796, оп. 191, ед. хр. 157, VI отд 1 ст., л. 4–5 and об.; ф. 797, оп. 96, д. 250, лл. 3–5.

to acquire photos of the ruined monastery and the authorization granted by the residents in the vicinity. Having acquired all this, in July 1911 Mušević returned to Russia together with a photographer from Mount Athos called Ivan Janovski and appealed to the Holy Synod to undertake to restore the Žitoše Monastery under its patronage. Once restored, he argued, the complex could not only provide for the upkeep of the monks but also for “the cause of national education in Christian Orthodox spirit”. He says the following:

For this purpose, we hope, first of all, to open a Christian parochial school within the monastery with classes for the education of craftsmen, so that, among other things, we could protect the orphans from falling prey to foreign religious propaganda and offer them sanctuary with our Orthodox monks, as well as some necessary knowledge for their everyday practical life.

In the Christian parochial school, special attention would be paid to the Church Slavic and Russian language so that the students could serve in the Holy Church as readers and singers and disseminate the ideas of Slavic brotherhood and unity based upon the Holy Orthodox Christianity.

Mušević declared he had already provided qualified teachers ready to undertake this task, and it was for this reason that he addressed the Russian Orthodox Church for help. Even though Mušević narrowed the scope of his request and all that he now proposed was the establishment of a Seminary and Crafts School within the Žitoše Monastery, however, the Russian authorities did not even take the proposal into consideration. Only after the First Balkan War and in rather different historical circumstances did the Holy Synod, on 11 March 1913, include Mušević’s proposal in the agenda for their meeting, deciding that:

Bearing in mind that: 1) an appeal similar to this one has already been submitted by the same Marko Mušević and Nace Dimov and discussed by the Holy Synod, whose decision № 5089 was issued in the period between 2 to 20 of July 1910 and was negative due to a lack of any authorized validation that such funds were necessary for the restoration of the Žitoše Monastery, nor were the supplicants authorized to submit such a request; 2) no such authorized validation has been provided with this appeal, and 3) the appeal for the restoration of the Žitoše Monastery, needless to say, should be submitted by the religious authorities under which this monastery operates, the Holy Synod decides that this appeal submitted by Marko Mušević should also be refused, and the applicant will be duly notified at his address in St

Petersburg via a mayoral order because of the applicant's report in which his registered residence is in St. Petersburg, Solyarniy lane 11 (РГИА, ф. 796, оп. 191, ед. хр. 157, VI отделение 1 ст., л. 6 and об.).²³

This order was sent out on 18 April 1913 (Ibid., л. 6 об.), but it was a whole year later, on 22 April 1914, under completely different historical circumstances, the Mayor informed the Holy Synod that their decision had not been delivered to Mušević because he no longer had an address in St. Petersburg (Ibid., л. 7). It is clear that Russia was not prepared to condone the establishment of schools teaching in Macedonian. The third item of the Synod's official decision is indicative of this, especially when requiring that the appeal be made by "the religious authority under which this monastery operates". This actually meant that the appeal could be made only by the Exarchate if this monastery was under its jurisdiction, and the Exarchate would of course never allow a school with Macedonian as its language of instruction. Besides, the request was in direct violation of the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement, whose arbiter was the Russian Tsar himself.

The introduction of the Macedonian language into official use for Macedonians was first confirmed in the Charter on the establishment of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg (28 October 1902), which was one of the first tasks that this association has set to itself. This association prompted the majority of the main protagonists for opening a Macedonian school with a boarding house in the Žitoše Monastery and an Academy for Teachers in Skopje. The Macedonian language was officially proclaimed and standardized after the establishment of the Macedonian national state after World War II.

²³ For the execution of the decree was decided on 5 April 1913 (Ibid., л. 6 об.).

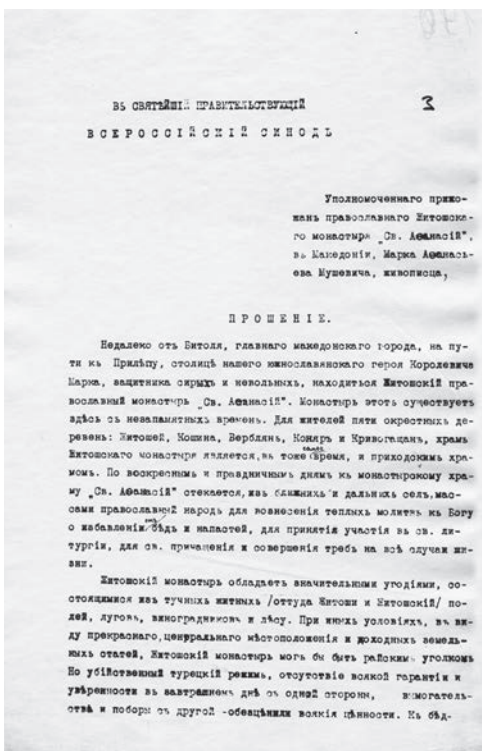


Figure 2

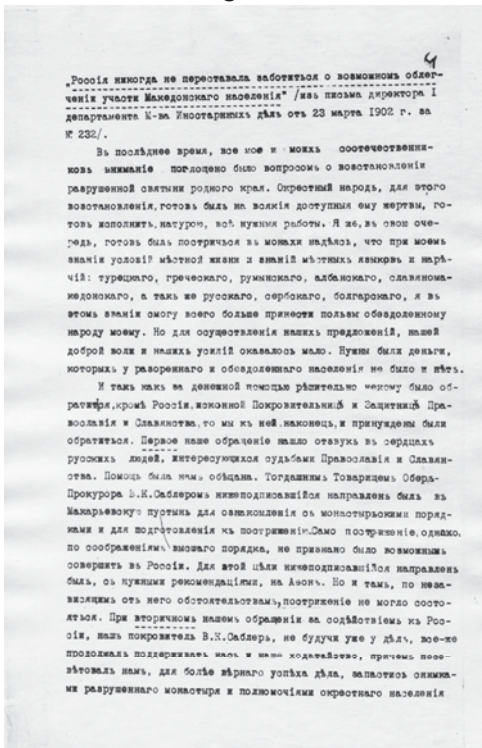


Figure 4

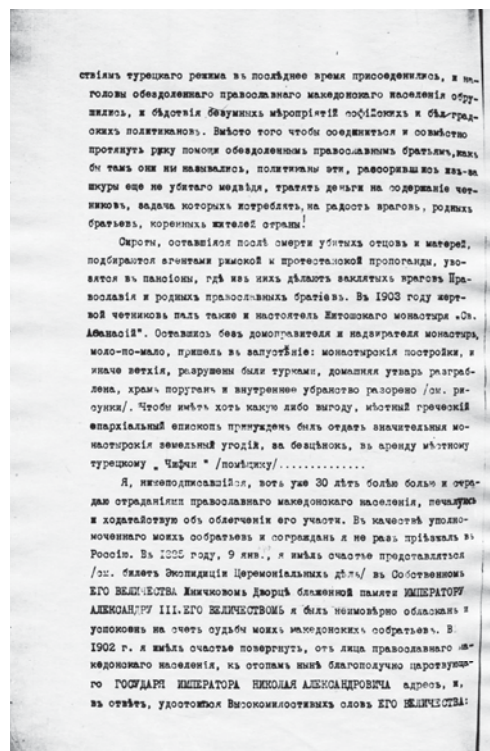


Figure 3

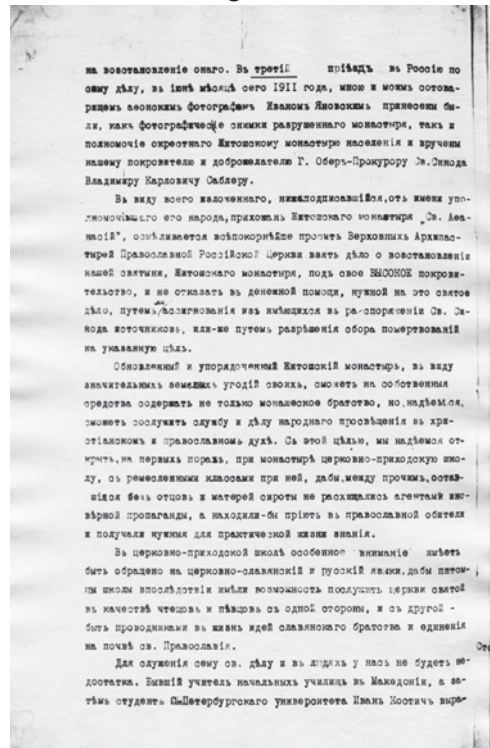


Figure 5



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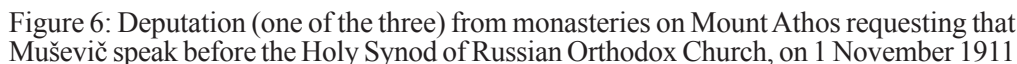




Figure 7: Mušević on his way to the Žitoše Monastery. From left to right: the Turkish gendarme, the photographer, Mušević (wearing a black hat) and the coachman, containing an inscription in his own handwriting at the bottom of the photograph that reads: “Marko Mušević with the photographer and the gendarme escort on the way to photograph the Žitoše Monastery of St. Athanasius in Macedonia”.

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Figure 1–5: Supplication from Marko Mušević, dated 15 October 1911, asking the Holy Pan-Russian Synod in St. Petersburg for aid in the restoration of the Žitoše Monastery of St. Athanasius, and for the opening a Macedonian school there. Македонски албум. Документи од и за Македонското научно-литературно другарство и Македонската колонија во С.-Петербург. Macedonian Album. Documents from and about the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society and the Macedonian Colony in St. Petersburg. Подготовка акад. Блаже Ристовски. Соработник проф. д-р Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска, Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје, 2014 (further: Македонски албум 2014), 116–117.

Figure 6: Deputation (one of the three) from monasteries on Mount Athos requesting that Mušević speak before the Holy Synod of Russian Orthodox Church, on 1 November 1911. Македонски албум 2014, 118.

Figure 7: Marko Mušević on his way to the Žitoše Monastery. A photo taken from the original, which is kept in St. Petersburg (РГИА, ф. 796, оп. 191, ед. хр. 3157, отд. VI/). Македонски албум 2014, 119.

THE DEBAR-MIJAK SCHOOL OF ZOGRAFS IN THE 19th CENTURY AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN REGIONAL CONTEXT

Sašo Cvetkovski

Abstract: This article is about the effects of artistic currents, influences and traditions in 19th century Macedonia in the work of the Debar Zograf (icon and fresco painting) School, including its founders and most important representatives, such as Dičo Zograf and Avram Dičov.

Апстракт: Во текстот се говори за уметноста на XIX век во Македонија со посебен осврт на Дебарско-мијачката зографска школа, основоположниците и најзначајните претставници, Дичо Зограф и Аврам Дичов. Се говори за уметничките текови, влијанија и традицијата која значително ќе влијае на творештвото на овие зографи.

The cultural history of the Balkans in the 19th century includes a number of significant developments, amongst which the work of icon-painters – or *zografs/zographs* – was especially notable. Icon-painters, often working in groups or workshops (*tajfi*), had a major influence on methods of artistic creation in specific areas and cultural environments (Пора 1961, 83–104; Василиев 1965, 151–309; Николовски 1984, 5–27; Андреевска 1990, 287–298; Попова 2001, 248–279; Генова 2012, *passim*; Τσιγараς 2003, *passim*; Μπονοβας 2009). Among the prominent icon-painting schools that emerged in the mid-19th century was the Debar-Mijak School of Zografs, which dominated in the southwestern region of Macedonia between Ohrid, Struga Debar, Kičevo, Gostivar and Tetovo, but also north of Skopje in the Vranje area and in Kosovo and Metohija (Василиев 1965, 157–311; Николовски 1984, 16–21; Давидов Темерински 2001, 21–114; Грозданов 2004, 9–29, 56–94, 143–153; Цветковски 2010, 13–56, 90–188, 143–163, 177–207; Цветковски 2013, 17–44, 63–255). Their works can also be found in the wider areas of the Balkans, including Salonika, Seres and Kavala to the south, and as far north as the River Danube and Vidin (Коловски 2014, 29–123; Гергова, Генова, Ванев, Захаријева 2017, *passim*).

The first manifestation of the creative skills of the craftsmen from Debar and Mijak's Region¹ was in masonry and wood-carving. From the middle of the 19th century, however, their work expanded to fresco-painting and icon-painting (Василиев

¹ In the western part of Macedonia.

1965, 175–196; Хадиева Алексијевска, Касапова 2001, 5–33; Ќорнаков 1986, *passim*; Грозданов 1995, 193–205).

The rise of the Debar-Mijak Painting School was stimulated and conditioned by the fundamental social changes and reforms that took place in the Ottoman Empire in the first decades of the 19th century. These liberal reforms accelerated after 1829 with Turkey's defeat in the Russo-Ottoman War. The ensuing Treaty of Adrianople (Edirne) granted religious and confessional rights to members of the Orthodox *millet*, including the right to build new churches and renovate older ones (Hamer 1979, 318–320). That included the opportunity to build new churches and renewal of the older ones. This clause created favourable conditions for the first generation of painters from the Debar-Mijak School.

The 19th century witnessed a dramatic increase in church-building and decoration. Thousands of icons and frescoes were painted, together with elaborate and exquisite wood carvings, in both religious and secular buildings (Николовски 1984, 5–25; Ц. Грозданов 1995, 191–192; Грозданов 2004, 56–62). The Mijak School played a crucial role in this 'Macedonian Revival' - one of the most pictorially complex artistic periods in Macedonia. Although still under Ottoman rule, Macedonia in this century saw a rapid increase in the commissioning of painting and building by donors from a broadening social strata.

The first known works of artists from the Debar-Mijak School are dated to the 1840s. These are works by the founder of the school, Dimitrija (Dičo) Zograf² (Грозданов 2004, 63–76; Цветковски 2011, 24–28). It is important to emphasize here that, prior to Dičo Zograf, most icon painting in Macedonia in the first decades of the 19th century had been created by *zografs* from other regions and other cultural and artistic milieux, and that most of these artists had been trained in Late Byzantine styles under the influence of older traditions. The late Byzantine legacy was in itself a transfer of knowledge, and it was the major influence in the work of the *zografs* of the first generation of Debar-Mijak *zografs*. Conceptually and pictorially, the work of the Debar-Mijak *zografs*, especially those of the first generation, relied heavily on the older artistic heritage of Late Byzantine fresco painting while adding elements from the techniques and style of the Ohrid-Moschopolis tradition of fresco painting from 18th century. During the time of the late 18th and the first half of the 19th century, there was an evident influence from the modern mass production of printed icons

² Dičo Zograf (1819–1873) was the founder of the renowned Debar Zografs School and the most important and productive icon and fresco painter of the 19th century in Macedonia. His opus includes around 2,000 icons and several large fresco compositions. He was born in Tresonče, Mala Reka, in Debarca, where his workshop was located and where he crafted his orders. He learned the zograf craft from the elder Mijak *zografs* and from Mihail and Dimitar (Danil) from Samarina. He won great respect and reputation from a range of clients, including monastic brotherhoods, city and prominent donors from the cities. He worked for both church and civic donors and we find his works throughout almost all the Balkan parts of the Ottoman Empire. He trained his sons in the family craft, and after his death they took over the workshop. His elder son, Avram Dičov, was especially prolific.

from Mount Athos which were used as iconographic templates (Попа 1961, 83–98; Rousseva 2006, 164–190; Поповска Коробар 2005, 142–165; Давидов Темерински 2006, 143–160; Палигора 2018, 121–136).

The richness and complexity of 18th century art continued in the religious art of the first decades of the 19th century, especially in northern Epirus, Macedonia and Mount Athos, and we can follow and discover the last stages of Byzantine and Late Byzantine art until it was superseded by academic realism towards the end of the 19th century.

The majority of 18th century art in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric, not only in Ohrid itself but in Korça, Moschopolis Vitkukji, Berat and Elbasan, was mostly a result of the activities of few leading zografts and zograft groups (*tajfi*) who worked continuously for more than fifty years. The continuity of their work was secured within families of zografts who handed down the family tradition over several generations. With their work organized upon such principles these groups managed to achieve a strong influence on the artistic and creative processes over broad swathes of territory and cultural settings. Among the leading zografts and zograft *tajfi* in the 18th century were the brothers Konstantin and Athanas Zograf from Korça and the brothers George and John Tzetiris from Grabovo³. In the first decades of the 19th century the most active zografts in this region were Michael Anagnoston from Samarina and his two sons Dimitar and Nicholas. In the mid-19th century, however, it was of course the workshop of the Debar-Mijak zografts⁴ that rose to prominence⁴ (Попа 1961, 78–105; Papastratos 1990; Drakopoulou 2006, 142–181; Поповска Коробар 2005, 73–86, 93–100; Русева 2012, 20–27; Cvetkovski 2018, 199–208).

³ Among the zografts of the 18th century whose work left a lasting imprint on art in the area of the Ohrid Archbishopric, the brothers Constantine and Athanas from Korça and their artistic workshop were particularly influential. For over half a century they led the development of religious painting, creating fascinating works, amongst which should be noted over twenty large fresco-ensembles accomplished in the areas of Prespa, Korça, Moschopolis, Vitkukji and Ardenica, as well as the Holy Mount Athos. In addition to numerous depictions of saints, their church decorations included many large-scale compositions incorporating complex themes and iconography. The zografts Constantine and Athanas were from the village of Potkožani, above Lake Ohrid, and originally bore the family name Vako, which they later replaced with Zograf according to the craft that was their occupation and that brought them a great reputation. The second most important workshop within the artistic circle of Moschopolis and Ohrid from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries was the workshop of the brothers George and John Tsetiris from the village of Grabovo. In their family workshop they were later joined by their sons Nikola, Naum George and Ndin, who maintained and cultivated the family's painting skills and traditions throughout the whole of the 19th century. Amongst researchers there is a theory that the oldest brother, George Tsetiris, learned the zograft craft from the brothers Athanas and Constantine from Korça.

⁴ A number of zografts arrived in Macedonia from Northern Epirus in the first half of the 19th century, amongst whom the most significant was Michael Anagnoston. In the period 1826–1849/50, Anagnoston produced important works of art in Bitola, the Monastery of Sveti Jovan Bigorski, and in Ohrid. He settled with his family in Kruševo, and his sons, the older Dimitar (Danil) and the younger Nikola Mihailov, were also zografts of great merit. Nikola worked intensively in the second half of the 19th century in areas of Macedonia.

Michael Zograf-Anagnoston and his son Demetrius introduced new impulses in the transition between Byzantine art and Baroque. In the 1820s these artists enjoyed the patronage of Metropolitan Gregory of Bitola, who supported and recommended them. The earliest of their known works, dating from 1826, was an *artoforion*, or tabernacle, for the Church of St. Demetrius in Bitola (Машник 1996, 273–274; Тричковска 2010, 409–411). They were soon engaged in other artistic projects, but it is for their work at the Monastery of St. Jovan Bigorski and its dependant (*metoh*) Church of St. George in the village of Rajčica near Debar that these zografis are best known. Michael Anagnoston and his son Demetrius (who would become a monk at the Monastery of St. Jovan Bigorski under the name of Danil) were mature artists working in a defined and elaborate style with a clear sense of the value of their creations (Балабанов 1975, 101–103; Николовски 1994, 112–120). They skilfully and insightfully enhanced the prevailing Byzantine style with their knowledge and mastery of western Baroque styles, already accepted among Orthodox communities in Venice and coastal centres of the Adriatic and Ionian, creating a unique fusion of the Byzantine style of icon-painting and Western styles of religious painting. Michael and Demetrius Anagnoston enjoyed the confidence and patronage of Abbot Arsenij of the Bigorski monastery, who entrusted them with important artistic and pictorial commissions, including the decoration of the refectory and the painting of over thirty icons for the monumental wood-carved iconostasis in three zones in the monastery church (Тричковска 1994, 141–165). Amongst those who were influenced by their work was Dičo Zograf from Tresonče, who learnt his craft working with Michael and Danil at the Monastery of St. Jovan Bigorski and in churches in nearby Lazaropole, Rajčica, Elbasan (Василиев 1965, 179–185; Балабанов 1973, 7–18; Грозданов 2004, 26–29; Цветковски 2011, 24–27; Цветковски 2017, 327–334).

A key influence evident in the works of the Debar-Mijak School was the iconographic manual for painters, *Ermenia*, composed by Dionysius of Fourni in Mount Athos in the early 18th century, which these artists endeavoured to translate and enhance.⁵ The discovery of 15 copies of *Ermenia* translated into Macedonian testifies to the influence of this text on icon-painting in Debar at this time. Additional transcripts of this manual in neighbouring Slavic environments are thought to exist that have not yet been discovered. Many of the preserved transcripts of the *Ermenia* include stories of saints from Macedonia added to the original Greek text written by Dionysus, including descriptions of Slavic saints and local saints whose depictions

⁵ One of the most important features of art from the 18th and 19th centuries in this region was the widespread use and influence of painting manuals, and above all translations and editions of the *Ermenia*, originally composed by Dionysus of Fourni in 1725. The *Ermenia* sets out instruction, in a clear and synthesized way, for icon and fresco painting, as well as guidelines on the iconography and themes to be followed in decorating Orthodox churches. The version of this text produced by Dičo Zograf is an amended copy of the original work by Dionysus. These painting manuals were used by several generations within one zograf workshop or one zograf family, as was the case with Dičo Zograf. Today we know of two versions by Dičo Zograf: one from 1844/45 and another from 1851.

were popular with donors from the time of the Renaissance. Icon-painters also drew on data and motifs from earlier frescoes and from the *Stemmatographia*, written by Hristifor Žefarovič, which Metropolitan Parthenius Zografski is known to have gifted to Vasil Ginovski (Грозданов 2004, 95–119, 189–203, 225–237). Dičo Zograf was also in possession of the *Stemmatographia* and painted the Slavic saints according to the iconographical model of this text even in his earliest works. He added these descriptions to his second version of the *Ermenia* from 1851. Dičo had edited his first edition of *Ermenia* in 1844/45 at the beginning of his individual career, probably with the support of his much more experienced teachers, Michael and Danil from Samarina (Василиев 1975, 27–32, 57–145; Мутафов 2001, 268–279). Dičo Zograf emerged as a central figure in the art of the Revival through his extraordinary productivity, versatility and talent, creating over two thousand icons and dozens of fresco compositions, constantly developing his individual style and expanding his knowledge (Балабанов 1973, 7–18; Грозданов 2004, *passim*; Цветковски 2010, 13–56, 90–188, 143–163, 177–207; Цветковски 2013, 17–44, 63–255; Грозданова Коцески 2008, 3–17). He collected a number of painters' manuals, and edited his own version of *Ermenia*, which was used by his sons Avram and Spiridon as well as some of his students and contemporaries. Dičo also showed a great interest in liturgical books and hagiographies of saints, thus enriching his own personal culture and theological education. This scholarly interest stayed with him till the end of his life, even in the years when he was no longer painting, as can be seen vividly in a letter from Dičo to Stefan Verkovič of 1869 in which the *zograf* enquired about new issues of *Mineis* and other printed books. From the same letter we see that Dičo collected old books and manuscripts that he forwarded to Verkovič in Ser, and in return for which he received newly printed books from Kiev and Moscow (Верковиќ 1985, 309–310). The versatility of Dičo's thematic and iconographic motifs made a rich contribution to art in this dynamic period, including pioneering developments and advances unmatched since the time of the Renaissance. Dičo worked for both secular and religious patrons in the Ottoman Empire, in Christian environments that still obeyed the age-old Orthodox norms. He accepted modernization in the form of printing, seeing it as a means of preserving post-Byzantine traditions.

The numerous icons and frescoes painted by Dičo have been identified on the basis of his signature, allowing us to trace the main locations where he worked. The two main areas of Dičo's activity were in Skopje in the north and Ohrid to the south: he worked extensively in the villages of his native area of Mijak and Reka, at the Monastery of St. Jovan Bigorski and the Church of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in Kičevo. He also worked in the Polog region, especially in the areas of Gostivar and Tetovo, as well as in Mavrovo and Struga. A single example of his painting has been found in Treskavec near Prilep. There is evidence that he resided in Skopje for a period of time and later on moved to Ohrid. Outside the borders of the present-day Republic of Macedonia, Dičo worked in Serbia on the cathedral

church in Vranje, and in Bulgaria in three churches (Gjumendje, Vidin and Kula). There is a fairly plausible opinion that the majority of his works in the period from 1844 to 1868 was painted in Tresonče (Tresanče) where he had his workshop. As a preliminary preparation he took or received measurements for the iconostases, and then he arranged the topics within the given height of the iconostasis, including the depictions of local patron saints, or icons that were personal donations) but he painted these icons in his native village, either alone or with assistance. In this approach he differed from the usual methods of *zograf tajfi*, who worked inside the churches where they were painting. His students and assistants are mainly known, as are the wood-carving masters with whom he collaborated on the making of iconostases. These collaborators included Toma from the village of Selce and Spase (Грозданов 2004, 25). The quality and of his work and efficiency with which he delivered it, as well as the many personal contacts he made, led him to receive many commissions. The important commission he received from Vranje was most probably arranged by the metropolitans in cooperation with the *esnaf* (guild), as was the case with many other churches in Skopje and the area surrounding (Давидов Темерински 2001, 21–114; Макуљевић 2008, 45–104). Many groups of Mijak builders group, carvers and *zografs* resided and worked in Bulgaria, and Dičo may have either travelled to Vranje – or, more likely – received the commission through mediators. All of the churches for which he painted icons – in the territories of present-day Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia – were then within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, which made such communications easier. Dičo's workshop was taken over by his son Avram Dičov, who also occasionally worked with his brother Spiridon. Avram and Spiridon had both studied the craft for a long time in their fathers' workshop.

Avram signed his first individual work when he was 28 years of age, in 1868. For the following three decades he worked with extraordinary and dynamic working rhythm, accomplishing a vast output, in fresco-painting even more than icon-painting. That he had already spent years learning and practising his craft alongside his father is affirmed by the mention of his name in a donors' inscription dated 1863 in the Church of the Virgin of Kamensko, and later in 1866 in the church in the village of Gari (Грозданов 2004, 85–88, 106–119, 130–132; Цветковски 2010, 207–228).

The numerous preserved works of Avram Dičov included in our chronological overview allow us to perceive the characteristic themes in his opus and offer insights into his methods of working. It is notable, for example, that in the realization of large frescoes he often included many associates, most of whom were *zografs* from Tresonče studying the craft in his father's workshop. Some of their names are mentioned in donors' inscriptions. For example, during his work on frescoes for the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Patriarchy of Peč, the inscriptions include the names of Blažo Damjanov, Petre Pecarov and Mihail Petrov, while the inscription at the Church of St. Nicholas in Vraneštica, Kičevo, includes the name of Grigorij Petrov. At the

Church of St. Elijah in Stenče, the name of Petre Novacev Pecarov is mentioned. At the Monastery of St. Ioakim Osogovski and the Church of St. Nicholas in the village of Rankovci, Kriva Palanka, the names of Miron Iliev and Grigor Petrovič are inscribed, while at the Church of the Virgin in the village of Draslajca, Struga and St. Kyriaki (Nedela) in the village Slatino - Debar, he painted together with his brother Spiridon (Spire). And in the church in Vevčani we can see similar stylistic variety as well as recognize the difference between the frescos painted by Avram and those painted by his associates on the roof construction of all three naves of the church (Цветковски 2010, 223–225).

For the majority of his compositions and thematic conceptions, Avram used his father's version of Ermenia as a textual and iconographic model, though certain thematical differences are evident in which we can discern influences from the original Ermenia written by Dionysus of Fournä, as well as from contemporary prints. At the beginning of the 20th century, when Avram Dičov and his son Nikola Avramov, together with the majority of known zografts from the Debar workshop, were painting their last works, a new generation of artists emerged who had been taught at art academies in Russia and Ukraine. On their return, these artists abandon the models of icon-painting followed by zografts from Debar, thus opening the way for new influences from the contemporary arts on the first generation of Macedonian artists.



Figure 1: Jesus Christ “Mandylion”, Bigorski monastery St. John the Baptist, 1848

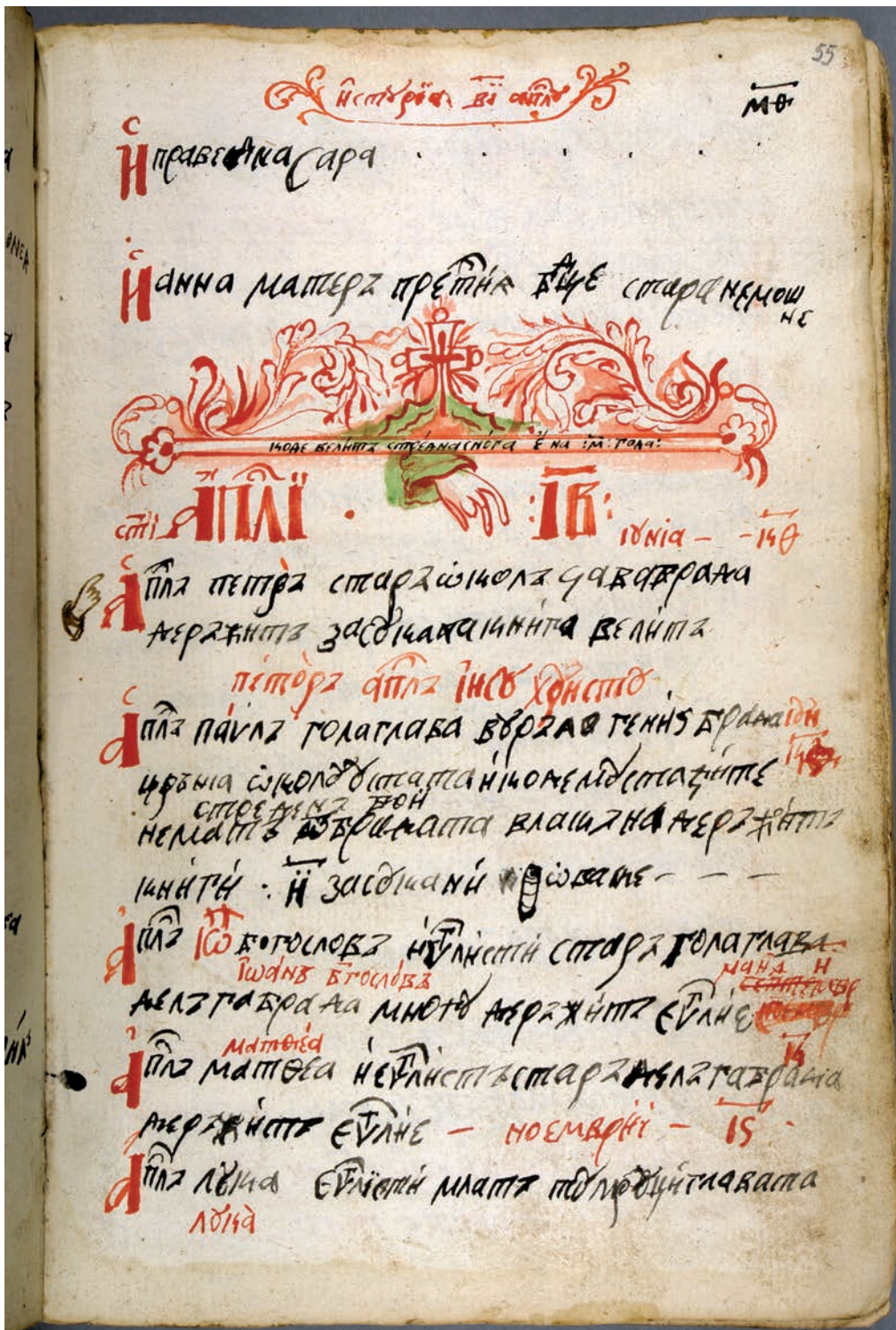


Figure 2: Erminia, Dičo Zograf, 1844/45



Figure 4: St. John Vladimir, church of St. George-monastery Rajčica, 1848/1852



Figure 5: Icon, Mother of God with Christ and saints, church of The Mother of God, village Rosoki, 1852



Figure 6: Icon, The Virgin “Life-Giving Spring” (Zoodochos), church of The Mother of God, Debar, 1865



Figure 7: Icon, Mother of God with Christ, church of the Mother of God village Rosoki 1874, zograf Avram Dičov



Figure 8: Mother of God with Christ, church of St. George village Kunovo 1879, zograf Avram Dičov



Figure 9: Composition of the Seven Slavic Saints, church of the Mother of God, Kičevo 1880-1881, zograf Avram Dičov



Figure 10: Icon, Mother of God with Christ and saints, Icon gallery of the church of the Mother of God Kamensko in Ohrid, zograf Seraphim



Figure 11: Icon, St. Cyril, St. Clement and St. Methodius, church of Ss. Cosmo and Damian village Peštani, zograf Seraphim

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THE BEGINNINGS OF FOLKLORISTIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN MACEDONIA

Katerina Petrovska-Kuzmanova

Abstract: The national and cultural renaissance in Macedonia and throughout Europe was founded on a growing awareness of the value of oral traditions and ways of life and the ensuing collection of folklore material. The work of many national revivalists in the collection and publication of folklore materials marked the end of the 19th century. Their work played a particularly notable role in the development of Macedonian culture. In Macedonia, as well as in most Slavic-speaking environs, this increased interest in folklore, seen from a present day point of view, served to awake and affirm national feeling among people and helped open new directions in the development of artistic production. The collection of folklore material during this period was of great importance for the establishment and development of folkloristics and ethnography. All these collections published in the 19th century included interpretations by their authors, including Konstantin Miladinov, Kuzman Šapkarev, Konstantin Petkovič and Efrem Karanov. They also made attempts at classifying their published material and comparing different recorded versions, thus making a pioneering contribution to the development of folkloristics and ethnology.

Апстракт: Собирачката дејност и свеста за народниот јазик и бит се основите врз кои се гради платформата за одвивањето на национално-културната преродба не само во Македонија туку и ширум Европа. На таа линија се движи и работата на голем број преродбеници кои го одбележуваат крајот на XIX век во однос на собирањето и публикувањето на фолклорниот материјал. Несомнено, нивната дејност одигрува вонредно забележлива преродбенска функција во македонската култура. Во Македонија, како и во повеќето словенски средини, допирот со фолклорот во исто време претставува она што од денешна ризници на животот и на уметноста и да се разбуди националната свест. Појавата на собирачката дејност на народното творештво е мошне значајна за почеткот и развојот фолклористиката и етнографијата, бидејќи авторите како што се Константин Миладинов, Кузман Шапкарев, Константин Петкович, Ефрем Каранов и други при публикувањето на материјалите даваат свое толкување, прават сопствена класификација или споредба на запишаните варијанти со што даваат сопствен придонес во развојот на фолклористиката и етнологијата.

The general public has the impression that some sciences have ‘always been there’, and this belief also exists about ethnological and folkloristic research. This is because it can be assumed that nomadic groups in prehistory had a consciousness about themselves, as well as their own particular beliefs, songs and stories. According to Bausinger, however, we can only talk of a ‘science’ in cases where there is a systematic interest in a subject and where this interest creates institutions with their own scholarly traditions (Bausinger 2002, 11). As any chronological survey of the most important folkloristic works in European academic thought will show, the development of a systematic interest in folk culture is linked to the ideology of the Enlightenment. Given the breadth of this movement, it is reasonable to state that ‘folk culture’ studies were ‘discovered’ at this time. The works of the German philosopher and writer Johann Gottfried von Herder, as well as those of Thomas Percy and James Macpherson, is of great significance for European literature. Herder was the first to study folklore poetry in depth and to champion its historic and literary value and meaning, creating a solid foundation for folkloristics. Herder called for the collection and study of folk poems as a valuable tool for understanding the character and particularities of the people and the ‘national spirit’. His interest in folklore was broad and was not limited to German folk poetry but also included folk tales. What was new about Herder, the Brothers Grimm and their followers is that they highlighted, first and foremost, the people, and second that they believed that habits and customs, festivities, ballads and proverbs are part of a whole and express the spirit of a nation. There are numerous reasons why people became interested in folklore at this point in European history, including aesthetic, intellectual and political factors. This was a period when authors turned to their own pasts as an idealized refuge with a universal value, and came to consider folklore poetry as a cultural treasury of mankind. This turning to local history and folklore, along with the ‘discovery’ of folk culture, had the goal of kindling national consciousness. The heritage of the Enlightenment thus not only includes the texts that intellectuals created at that time but also ideas that are still fruitful for the development of folkloristics (Пенушлиски 2017, 31).

According to many researchers, the emergence of an all-encompassing interest in folklore is inseparably tied to the appearance of Romanticism as a movement in European philosophical and artistic thought. Folkloristics was born in the conditions of this new movement, which emerged as a direct result of major social changes in Europe towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. “One of the elements that make up the content of the commonly known literary and cultural movement known to all people under the term romanticism – is the elevated cult of national, traditional or oral literature, especially the cult of the folk poem, which romanticists proclaim to be the final expression of the total intellectual, emotional, and material life of

the people” (Поленаковиќ 1969, 8). Among south Slavic peoples, Romanticism and the associated development of folkloristic thought was based on national-patriotic movements. From this we can draw the conclusion that, as Penušliiski notes: “the interest in folklore appeared and was based on the national soil with certain political understandings: to distinguish the national particularities and the right to a free and independent life through the popularization of folklore” (Пенушлиски 2017, 33–34).

In Macedonia the breakthrough of Enlightenment and Romantic ideas was closely associated with the formation of an urban middle class. “The forming of our bazaar, of our young middle class, meant the creation of the societal environment that would have the last word in the economic and cultural-political life of the Macedonian people in the 19th century” (Конески 1959, 6). The economic and cultural rise of a middle class in Macedonia began in the mid-19th century as socio-economic developments created a more compact civic environment interested in securing its cultural and social status. These socio-economic and cultural changes ushered in a national awakening that has become known as the Macedonian national revival. This cultural movement, driven in large part by patriotic educators, saw the emergence of a number of distinguished and influential scholars, writers and intellectuals. The seminal work of Dimitar¹ and Konstantin Miladinov² was especially significant in highlighting the wealth of Macedonian folk creations and the richness of the vernacular language. This turn towards the study and recording of folk culture and language was fundamental to Macedonia’s national-cultural revival. The collection of folk creations by revivalists was considered “an important weapon for the creation of national culture” (Пенушлиски 1988, 141). Recording, studying and publishing folk culture would be the most prominent feature of the work of all Macedonian revivalists from the second half of the 19th century.

The two Miladinov brothers from the town of Struga directly inspired a number of future Macedonian educators, textbook writers, writers and collectors of folklore (Тушевски 2008, 8–9), including Partenija Zografski, Grigor Prličev and Kuzman Šapkarev. Dimitar Miladinov, in particular, was a tireless teacher whose ideas spread throughout Macedonia. Without his pioneering work the

¹ Dimitar Miladinov (1810, Struga – 1862, Constantinople) was one of the leaders of the national revival, teacher, collector of folklore, publicist and founder of Macedonian ethnography. He not only collected folklore but also actively popularized the idea of national awakening and culturally enlightened development. He also engaged in the education of the young and helped send them to Russia to continue their studies. Dimitar died in 1862 in Constantinople.

² Konstantin Miladinov (1830, Struga – 1862, Constantinople) was a poet and a collector of folklore. He completed his education in Struga, Ioannina and Athens, and started studying Slavic philology in Moscow in 1857. His poetic works, despite only consisting of 15 poems, put him at the forefront of the revival of Macedonian literature. He collected, edited and classified folklore, investing great effort into the publication of his anthology, which he eventually succeeded in achieving in Zagreb in 1861. Konstantin died in 1862 in Constantinople.

Macedonian revival would be unimaginable. “Dimitar Miladinov seemed to have been predetermined for a leading position in the Macedonian national and cultural movement, as a person around whom not only all the important ideas and happenings in the Macedonian revivalist movement revolve, but also almost all the most important protagonists that function in the developing processes of the movement” (Радически 2011, 23). A valuable aspect of Miladinov’s legacy is the academic rigour and integrity he brought to the collecting, recording and study of folk literature. This is especially important given the context in which he worked, when folklore studies in general – not only those in south Slavic lands - were subject to much mystification that could confuse even some of the most educated folklorists. According to Mitrev, “the Miladinov brothers tend to be fully rigorous in terms of originality and authenticity” (Митрев 1980, 236). While Dimitar was the leader in the collection of materials, it was his brother Konstantin who executed the larger part of the work on the *Anthology*.³

Konstantin Miladinov’s foreword to the *Anthology* is an outstanding work of the revival in Macedonia (Пенушлиски 2017, 46–47) and a significant contribution to folklore scholarship. His classification of the poems in the *Anthology*, though not entirely consistent, is especially significant in that it was carried out on the basis of their origins, purpose and application in everyday life and with more general analysis of their motifs. Konstantin Miladinov himself says the following in his foreword:

These poems are classified as poems about fairies, church poems, heroic poems, shepherds’ songs of mourning, comic love poems, wedding poems, Lazarus poems and harvesting poems. The heroic poems come after the fairy, church and shepherd poems, and the love poems come after all the rest. (After the fairy poems there is a group of poems called ‘other old poems’ in which it was common to represent speaking trees, birds and other animals). This classification was not always consistent in the strictest sense of the word. (Миладиновци 1983, 10).

In the interpretation of the folk poem as an exceptional indicator of the way of life of the people and thus analogous to their exceptional creative powers, we can recognize the influence of romanticist theory in folkloristics, predominant at the time, which in turn indicates that our early folklorists were familiar with contemporary achievements in folkloristics. The romanticist ideas that permeate the folkloristic work of the Miladinov brothers have been noticed by many scholars.

³ The *Anthology* of the Miladinov brothers was printed in Zagreb in 1861 with the material and moral support of the Croatian bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer. The *Anthology* contains a foreword by Konstantin Miladinov in which he provides the first classification of Macedonian folk poems, including: 662 poems, folk tales about people and places, folk rituals and beliefs, about a hundred riddles, about fifty proverbs, and more than 400 personal names and surnames.

For Damjanov, “the Miladinov brothers in the 1860s gave Macedonian literature and culture the ideas of the romanticist revival” (Дамјанов 2011, 140), as can be inferred from the cult towards folk poetry as an inevitable theoretical postulate of Romanticism in all literatures. Although Romanticist ideas are evident in the foreword to the *Anthology*, Konstantin Miladinov did not succumb to the misconceptions characteristic of so many romanticists and early folklorists, especially in terms of the dating of folk poems, stories, customs and beliefs. As the foreword explains:

Among the poems, some reflect antique values, with beliefs that refer even to pre-Christian times, and in others these beliefs are mixed with newer ideas. Thus some of the poems come down to us from older times while some belong to newer times; and yet in others we can see the old in new clothing. (Миладиновци 1983, 10).

Unlike Romanticists, who tended to believe that pre-Christian traditions were passed on unchanged for centuries, Miladinov correctly notes that folk traditions change over time. The foreword also considers the origins of folk poems, the ways in which they were performed and passed on and their functions in folklore. Remarking on the ways folk poems developed and spread, for example, Miladinov points out that this occurred originally through folk dancing, which was ‘the school through which folk poetry was perfected’ (Миладиновци 1983, 9). He was also aware that scholars of folklore should publish the sheet music of folk poems along with the text. Although he undoubtedly collected sheet music, however, he explains in the foreword that: “the size of this book did not allow for songs with notes to be printed” (Миладиновци 1983, 7). All these aspects illustrate a meticulous scholarly approach to collecting and studying folklore. It should be noted, though, that Konstantin Miladinov was a person who kept a finger on the pulse of everyday life and was familiar with popular sentiments and traditions. The foreword to the *Anthology* is thus of the utmost importance in the development of Macedonian folkloristics. Therefore it can be said that the legacy of these Enlightenment intellectuals consists not only of the texts they created and the anniversaries we celebrate in their honour but also certain key ideas that would prove fruitful for the development of this field, because the work of the Miladinov brothers secured a significant and firm starting point for the development of our national self-awareness (Саздов 1980, 1–20).

A number of other early collectors of folklore are also highly significant, not only on account of their great efforts in gathering and publishing but because the forewords they wrote to their collections offer valuable insights into the genesis of folkloristics and ethnological scientific thought in Macedonia. Kuzman

Šapkarev⁴ was one of the most prolific early collectors and his folkloristic work was directly influenced by the Miladinov brothers. Šapkarev started his work in Plovdiv and published three small volumes. Of these, the *Materials for the biography of the brothers Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov* was especially significant for Macedonian folkloristics, as well as providing important biographical information and insights into their revivalist efforts. Another of these volumes is a text about the Rosalia festival (1884), providing the most complete and reliable description of Rosalia processions in Macedonian folkloristics. The text includes all elements characteristic of this procession: the times at which they took place, the makeup of the groups, their clothing and weapons, as well as the rules for their movements and a list of prohibited acts. Šapkarev's description served as the basis for all future research on the Rosalia. Nikita Tolstoy, for example, drew on Šapkarev's ethnographic notes in describing this male ritual procession in his text on 'Elements of folk theatre in south Slavic New Year rituals'. The third volume of Šapkarev's work was his *Collection of Folk Antiquities*, which contains folk stories and beliefs. In the foreword to this collection he explains his decision to give precedence to folk stories, saying that:

... with the publishing we want to achieve a certain primacy in the publishing of these folk creations, considering the fact that until then mostly poems have been published, aware and proud that we'll get the first such book in our literature. (Шапкарев 1976, 32).

Published in Sofia in 1891–94, Šapkarev's *Collection* was 'the first notable appearance of prose storytelling genres in our folk literature (Саздов 1976, 40). His work was informed by all the major publications available to him at the time, and a great scholarly virtue of his *Collection* is that, unlike many works of folklore collectors, it gives information on when, where and from whom he recorded all of his material. In terms of numbering and classification, Šapkarev himself mentions that he formed his system on the basis of the Miladinov brothers' *Anthology* and supplemented it with his own interpretation. It is highly likely that he also followed the example of Vuk Karadžić. Šapkarev does not classify the stories by genre but groups them according to the places they were collected, though he himself acknowledged that it might be better to group them by content. The proverbs and riddles are presented alphabetically. The value of this anthology is that it contains extensive ethnographic material classified according to "the time and the surroundings in which they (the customs) are practiced" (Шапкарев 1976, 69). Alongside descriptions of behaviour connected to certain

⁴ Kuzman Šapkarev (1834, Ohrid – 1909, Sofia) was a teacher who became a collector of folklore and an ethnographer under the influence of Dimitrija Miladinov. The volume and quality of the collected material put Šapkarev in the list of most prolific collectors of folklore, not only in Macedonia, but in the Balkans as well. Since 1900 he is a regular member of the Bulgarian literary society. Other than the *Collection*, which was published in Sofia between 1891 and 1894, he wrote numerous textbooks and three books of ethnographic-folkloristic material.

events, Šapkarev also provided a commentary in the form of notes on certain rituals and other beliefs. His ethnographic notes include descriptions of folk costumes in some parts of Macedonia, which was rare at that time.

Ġorgija Pulevski⁵ addressed issues of language, history, ethnography and culture. In the context of our topic, it is important to note that he conducted research on Balkan ethnography in his earliest works with the goal of locating the Macedonian ethnos in relation to other Balkan and Slavic ethnicities (Ристовска-Јосифовска 2015, 76–77). These ethnographic notes are recorded in his *Dictionary of Three Languages* and his *Slavic-Macedonian General History*, including notes on customs and folklore related to the past of the Macedonians and other Balkan peoples. *The Dictionary of Three Languages* is especially important because of its clear conception and expressly stated idea of a separate homeland for Macedonia, the Macedonian people and the Macedonian language in the Slavic world. Like many other scholars of culture in this period, Pulevski had a keen interest in collecting folklore. Šapkarev recorded that Pulevski collected folklore material but was unable to find a publisher (according to Ристовски 1996, 19). Pulevski believed that the material he collected should be used to awaken the national spirit and activate a liberation movement. This attitude is shown in his poem ‘Macedonian Fairy’, which is consciously written in an archaic language with clear pointers to how it should be sung, which led Draganov to include it in his *Macedonian-Slavic Collection*. In the two-volume anthology of 15 poems, *Macedonian Songbook*, the first three poems are personal creations by Pulevski. The poems ‘Macedonian Weeping’ and ‘Macedonians in Favour’ are written in a specific style reflecting the spirit of the Revival, while ‘Macedonian Sorrow’ is written in the spirit of folk poems, which led to this poem gaining popularity among the people. With this anthology, Pulevski joined the collectors and folklorists of this period, even though he clearly made personal interventions in his recording of folk poems. In *Macedonian Songbook*, it should be noted, the poems have specific graphic signs that point to the melodic line of their vocal performance, and also lists of which instruments should accompany the poems. Pulevski was a diligent collector of folklore who managed to “to put his feelings and thoughts into the mouth of the folk singer” (Ристовски 1982, 21).

⁵ Ġorgija Pulevski (1822/23, Galičnik, Debar region – 13 February 1893, Sofia) was a Macedonian writer, lexicographer, historian, textbook writer, grammarian, poet, folklorist, ethnographer and military leader. He wrote the *Dictionary of Four Languages* (Belgrade, 1873), the *Dictionary of Three Languages* (Belgrade, 1875), the patriotic-political poem *Samovila Makedonska* (Sofia, 1878), the collection of poems *Macedonian Songbook* (Sofia, 1879), the first part of the first printed Macedonian grammar book *Slopnica rečovska* (Sofia, 1880) and the manuscripts *Grammar* and *Slavic-Macedonian General History* (completed in 1892 shortly before his death, and published in its whole by Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 2003).

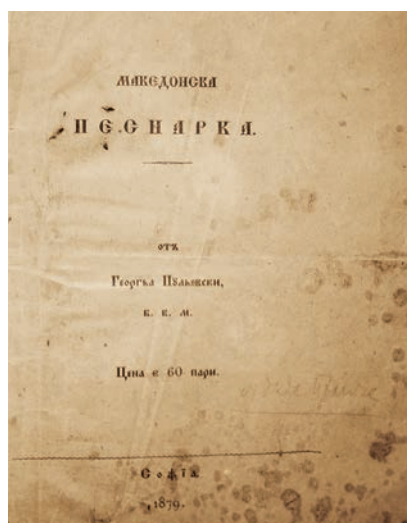


Figure 1: *Македонска песнарка* [Macedonian Songbook]

Marko Cepenkov⁶ should also be mentioned, not least because his writing career stretched over almost forty years – far longer than his contemporary folklore collectors and ethnographers. Cepenkov personally recorded his folklore and ethnological material in his own hand. The number of his collected works is impressive: 5,032 proverbs, 681 stories, 170 poems, 100 riddles, 389 beliefs, 46 incantations, 201 dreams and their interpretations, 67 children's games, linguistic ethnological material (a dictionary, secret languages, descriptions of crafts, customs, rituals, utensils from domestic material life and agriculture, etc.). A number of genres of folk poetry, such as mourning songs, as well as secret languages and craft descriptions, were recorded for the first time in his work. Cepenkov's work is invaluable in the diversity and richness of the collected material, which offers an original insight into some folklore genres. The value of Cepenkov's work lies not only in the volume of the collected material "but also in the quality of their writing and construction. Marko Cepenkov is a unique phenomenon in our folk literature" (Саздов 1980, 122).

In this early period of the development of folkloristics in Macedonia the role of Partenija Zografski⁷ was especially important. Zografski was a textbook writer and the first Macedonian to become a bishop. Committed to a more systematic approach, he was among the first to start collecting folk songs from the area of Galičnik. He wrote textbooks in his native language, and attempted to discuss this question

⁶ Marko Cepenkov (1829, Prilep – 1920, Sofia) was a collector of Macedonian folklore whose work is of priceless value to Macedonian folkloristics, ethnography, linguistics and national history. He wrote a play called *Crne Voivode*, and his autobiography is a rich source for the study of life in Prilep. The works of Cepenkov are collected in ten books, published in Macedonia in 1972.

⁷ Partenija Zografski (1818, Galičnik, Deabr region – 1876, Constantinople) was a Macedonian textbook writer, philologist and folklorist, and one of the most distinguished cultural and religious scholars in 19th century Macedonia. He was the first Macedonian to become a metropolitan.

theoretically in the two articles published in *Carigradski vestnik* in 1857 and *Bulgarian Booklets* in 1856 (Конески 1959, 26-44), using folk poems to illustrate and support the approach he advocated. Zografski also published seven folk poems in *Bulgarian Booklets* in 1858, diverse in terms of genre, motif and metric from his hometown. The poems he published are written down appropriately and accurately, which indicates that he wrote them down himself, and the similarity of the transcription for which he advocates in his textbooks is also noticeable. The seven poems he published in *Bulgarian Booklets* are among the oldest Macedonian folk poems to have been published, thus making Zografski one of our first folklorists.

Scholarly interest in folk poetry and stories later turned to the description of rituals, requiring an ethnographic approach. The ethnographic work undertaken by Konstantin Petkovič⁸ on wedding rituals in the vicinity of Veles is especially significant, following an academic approach influenced by Russian scientific thinking that combined history and ethnography in a thorough and meticulous description of rituals. The approach taken by Petkovič demonstrates realism and respect for chronology, free of the shortcomings of some Romanticist scholarship. Petkovič describes the norms surrounding premarital relations and records the details of wedding ceremonies, including the songs, the length of the various ritual activities and the roles of all the people involved. This and other works by Petkovič constitute a major scholarly contribution to the development of Macedonian national culture.

The circle of pioneering collectors of Macedonian folklore materials also included distinguished collectors and researchers from the ranks of Macedonian intellectuals: Dimitra Matov⁹ from Veles, Efrem Karanov¹⁰ from Kratovo and Evtim Sprostranov¹¹ from Ohrid. Dimitar Matov contributed studies on Macedonian folklore to numerous Bulgarian magazines in the second half of the 19th

⁸ Konstantin Petkovič (1824, Bašino – 1898, Odessa) was a Macedonian revivalist, poet, translator, scientist and Russian diplomat. He was the first Macedonian to complete Slavic studies at the Historical and Philological faculty at the University of St. Petersburg. He was the author of one of the first poems of the new Macedonian literature and a signatory of the first paper on Slavistics written in Macedonian, which was printed in an issue of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He wrote in Russian and Macedonian and spoke English, French, Italian, Romanian and multiple Slavic languages. He was a diplomat in Vidin, Dubrovnik, Palestine and Beirut.

⁹ Dimitar Matov (1864 Veles – 1896, Dresden) was a distinguished Macedonian folklorist and ethnographer of great importance in the 19th century. He wrote several poems but gave up his literary work for scholarship and left to specialise in Vienna and Leipzig. He collected folklore material from the town of Veles and its surroundings and published studies in the fields of linguistics and folklore.

¹⁰ Efrem Karanov (1852, Kratovo – 1927, Kyustendil) was a folklorist, historian, translator and a member of the Macedonian revolutionary movement. He was one of the most distinguished collectors of Macedonian folklore. Karanov graduated in Slavic philology in Russia, where he started to collect folklore material. He published this work in collaboration with the Bulgarian Literary Society, which he joined as a corresponding member in 1875, and in 1884 as a full member.

¹¹ Evtim Sprostranov (1868, Ohrid – 1939, Sofia) was a Macedonian revolutionary, and literary scholar. His literary and scientific opus was very rich and spanned multiple areas, including poetry, prose, essays, translation, linguistics, ethnography, history and folkloristics. Sprostranov was the author of a large number of publications about the life and work of distinguished people who participated in the Macedonian revolutionary movement, as well as the history of the city of Ohrid.

century, such as *Books for Reading* and *Bulgarian Overview*. These included 'Navi' (1889), 'Stories of justice and guilt' (1893), 'The song of the son's wedding' (1894) and 'Is the epic the oldest genre in poetry?'. In Matov's works we can see he was influenced by the Russian folkloristic school and practised the comparative-historical method. It should be noted that in his works Matov mostly focused on examples of Macedonian folk creations.

Efrem Karanov was another collector of folklore who transcribed in his own hand and also published scholarly papers in the field of folkloristics (Саздов 1980, 143). His paper, 'A description of the Kratovo region', was one of the first ethnographic papers of its kind in this area, relating all the more important historical, ethnological and anthropological characteristics of the region. Through this text Karanov presented himself as someone with solid ethnographic knowledge and theoretical preparation. In 1889 in the first issue of the 'Anthology of folklore, science and literature', Karanov published one of his most important folkloristic papers: 'An index of the various versions of the poems from Miladinovs' *Anthology* to date, published in different anthologies and periodicals'. This paper was a significant contribution to classification in Macedonian folkloristics. "Working on the studying and publishing of folk poetry creations, Karanov became the author of the first monograph and the first index of Macedonian folkloristics" (Саздов 1980, 150). In the same collection he published the article 'Ethnographic materials from some regions in the north of Macedonia bordering Bulgaria and Serbia', in which he provided detailed ethnographic information about the northern areas of Macedonia (Саздов 1980, 149). Despite not being extensive, the folkloristics work of Karanov constitute a significant contribution to our cultural history.

Evtim Sprostranov published works not only from the fields of ethnography and folkloristics but also linguistics, archaeology, publishing and translation. He was also a historian and chronicler of his time and of his birthplace – the city of Ohrid. He produced a large number of publications about the life and work of distinguished people who took part in the Macedonian revolutionary movement, as well as the past of the city of Ohrid. In his works he tried to interpret the situation in Macedonia. He published his first scientific articles in an 'Anthology of folklore, science and literature', where his attention turned mostly to his hometown and some linguistic problems. Sprostranov wrote beautiful collected poems, stories and short genres, about children's folklore and beliefs from Ohrid, Kruševo and Kičevo. One of his most important works in which his folkloristic positions and his connection to his hometown can be seen is 'Materials for the biography of the Miladinov brothers', written for the 50th anniversary of their death.

We can also find ethnographic materials other than folk poems in the work of Panajot Ćinovski¹², in whose unpublished materials - along with the writings

¹² Panajot Ćinovski (1842, Galičnik – 1886, Vranje) was a painter, ethnographer, folklorist and lexicographer. *Miyak Folk Songs*, written by Panajot Ćinovski and several colleagues, was printed in a number of sequels. Ćinovski's collection of folklore materials makes him one of the most

of wedding songs - an important place is given to descriptions of wedding rituals in Galichnik. In terms of collecting activity and ethnographic-folkloristic beginnings of the science in Macedonia, the opinion of Vasil Ikonov¹³ in the foreword to his collection of folk poems from the western part of Macedonia is also interesting:

Mostly, our folk life – he wrote – is described in our folk poems and rituals. Under pressure from the conditions and positions in which our people often found themselves in, they lost the educated ones, they lost a lot of their works and there was no one else but the folk poet to leave the traces of past epochs in the folklore. According to that, the collection and printing of our poems and rituals is of utmost importance and it's the only choice for the studying of our past as a people (Пенушлиски 2017, 47).

Despite some weaknesses in his *Collection* of 1893, he made a great contribution to the presentation of Macedonian ritual folklore from his region (Ристовски 1985, 86). Ikonov published his second collection of folk poems, of which the most common are the ritual ones and short descriptions of rituals, which represents a significant step forward in the consideration of folk practices as a whole. In this sense we can agree with the conclusion that “Vasil Ikonov takes a modest, but important place in the pantheon of Macedonian culturally-national history” (Ристовски 1985, 86).

The most significant achievements of Macedonian folkloristics and ethnography in the late 19th century were made above all by Dimitrija and Konstantin Miladonov, Kuzman Šapkarev, Konstantin Petkovič, Efrem Karanov and Vasil Ikonov, who laid the basis for all future work in these fields. The spirit of national romanticism, characteristic of the time of national awakening, permeated the work of these pioneers. This generation of scholars dedicated their energies to folklore study and achieved as much as possible within the historical context in which they worked. They asked essential questions relating to the further development of literature as well as science. The early collection and classification of folklore was a major factor in the national awakening in numerous cultures, including in Macedonia. The words of Dimitar Miladinov thus still ring true today: “I sowed the seed, and you’ll be alive to reap its fruits” (Митрев 1980, 236).

important collectors of Macedonian folklore poems of the 19th century.

¹³ Vasil Ikonov (1848, Lazaropole – 1934, Lazaropole) was a Macedonian teacher, folklorist, ethnographer, printer, translator and calligrapher. He was an active supporter and coordinator of the ecclesiastical movement against the Patriarchate in Constantinople and of the anti-Greek movement in the Debar region. Ikonov was a polyglot who spoke Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian, Romanian and probably French.

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Figure 1: Македонска песнарка [Macedonian Songbook] отъ Георгия Пульевски, б.м.в. София.

ATANAS BADEV: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MACEDONIAN MUSICOLOGY

Nataša Didenko

Abstract: Atanas Badev was one of the first professionally educated musicians to make a significant contribution to the study of Macedonian music culture in the 19th century. This paper covers Badev's life and his activities concerning his professional development in the field of pedagogy, the musical education of his students, choir conducting and composing religious and secular music. As a versatile musician in the spirit of European musical aesthetics, and influenced by national romanticism, Badev also engaged in collecting and studying Macedonian musical folklore. Elements of Western European music predominate in his music works, which are still relevant today, especially in religious music.

Апстракт: Атанас Бадев е еден од првите македонски професионално школувани музичари, кој дал значаен придонес во проучувањето на македонската музичка култура во XIX век. Во трудот се прави обид да се претстави животот, дејноста и професионалниот развој на Бадев во доменот на педагогијата, описменувањето на музички кадри, хорското диригирање и создавањето на црковни дела и други музички композиции. Како сестрано образован музичар во духот на европската музичка естетика и под влијание на национал-романтизмот, тој се занимавал и со собирање и проучување на македонскиот музички фолклор. Во неговото музичко творештво преовладуваат елементите на западноевропската музика, којшто и денес се актуелни и се ползуваат во нашето музицирање, особено во црковното.

Atanas Badev was one of the first professionally educated Macedonian composers, music pedagogues, ethnomusicologists, choir conductors and music theorists. Born in Prilep on 14 January 1860, he completed his primary education in his hometown¹ under the tuition of Nikola Gančev Eničerev² and

¹ The first public school in Prilep opened in 1843 in the school building specially erected for that purpose in the grounds of the Church of the Annunciation of Virgin Mary. It was named after the Slavic apostles, the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius. In the period between 1860 and 1865, the head teacher in the elementary school was Vasil Aleksiev Kurdelev, from Mavrovo, who made a number of reforms, introduced new courses and opened an upper course at the elementary school which laid the foundations of the male class school.

² In August 1866, Nikola Gančev Eničerev was appointed head of the main class school in Prilep, with 60 students. He taught there for 11 years from 1866–1877, and married in this period. He first

Josif Kovačev.³ From a very early age Badev showed a special interest in music. He was taught church singing by Kote Pazov⁴ and later on by Georgi Smičkov,⁵ a famous lay clerk and one of the first Macedonian collectors of folk melodies.

Badev's father was a successful merchant with the means to provide his children with further education of a high standard. After completing primary school, therefore, Badev was sent on the advice of his teacher, Josif Kovačev to continue his studies at the male gymnasium in Salonika (Витанова 1955, 358–359). He was soon forced to cut short his education at the Salonika High School, however, due to the premature loss of his father. In the following period the family suffered financial difficulties, and Badev, along with his mother, his sister and two brothers (one of them married with eight children), moved to Bulgaria.⁶ There he continued his education at the first high school in Sofia and in this new environment, as Dragoslav Ortakov records, his musicality came to the fore as he helped his music teacher in managing the school choir (Опраков 2004, 23).

During the summer holidays in 1879, Badev initiated the formation of the first church choir in Prilep. The choir was composed of pupils and music lovers and performed during Sunday services in the church but also on the occasion of other holidays and festivities in the city (Голабовски 1999, 99).

In 1884, Badev graduated with an excellent performance at the first high school in Sofia. His close relative, Metropolitan Metodija Kusevič (Македонски историски речник 2000, 56) agreed to finance his education and so he was given the opportunity to continue his studies abroad. Although his desire was to

introduced the programme from the Plovdiv Gymnasium, using the Lancasterian method, also known as a 'mutual instruction' method. This method was named after the British pedagogues Dr Joseph Lancaster (1778, London – 1838, New York) and Andrew Bell (1753, St. Andrews – 1832, Cheltenham) and became popular in the early 19th century. (For more detail on this method, see: Lancaster 1821). Eničerev also used the instructions and multiplication tables of Sava Hadžhilev Dobroplodni (1820, Sliven – 1884, Sofia), which contained instructions and examples of Bulgarian language teaching and arithmetic. Eničerev introduced the following new subjects into the curriculum: Turkish language, theology, ethics, physics, anatomy, mathematics and geography (Трайчевъ 1925, 113–115).

³ Josif Kovačev (1839–1898) was a teacher, educator and reformer of education. He founded the first pedagogical schools in Štip (1869) and Prilep (1874). On his arrival in Prilep in 1874 (Божинов 1982, 15) the schools were reorganized. The class school in the town was adapted to the requirements of the municipality to provide teacher training, since there was an urgent need for teachers in the villages of western and southwestern Macedonia. For a short time, the Prilep four-class pedagogical school achieved notable success (Сидоровска-Чуповска 2009, 54–55).

⁴ Kote Pazov (1826–1901) was born in Prilep and taught at the first public school in Prilep (1843–1886).

⁵ Smičkov was a leading figure of the spiritual and secular musical life of Prilep in the last decades of the 19th century. As a self-taught musician, he educated himself about the area from which he originated, probably in the surrounding monasteries, where he had the opportunity to adopt the autochthonous elements of the Macedonian church singing based on the Octoechos of John of Damascus. Smičkov adopted the principles of European linear notation and collected old folk melodies (Ковилоски 2017a, 224).

⁶ In the 1890s many people from urban and rural areas in Macedonia migrated to Bulgaria in search of better living conditions, amongst whom there were many educated people (Витанова 1955, 358).

continue studying music, his family suggested he should study mathematics so that he could continue his father's profession as a merchant (Витанова 1955, 359). Since he did not have the opportunity to choose what he liked most, he majored in physics and mathematics at the Novorossiysk Faculty in Odessa. After a two-year stay, Badev again had to cut short his studies, because after the death of his close relative Kusevič, there was no one able to finance his studies (Ортаков 2004, 23).

Badev's stay in Odessa had a significant impact on his decisions about his future. In addition to school subjects, he had the opportunity to learn more about Russian music culture. Music was his greatest childhood love, and in the following years he decided to dedicate himself to studying music. However, since he did not have enough financial resources to achieve his goal during that period, he started working as a teacher in Salonika in the school year of 1885/86 (Кандиларовъ 1930, 81). His salary was 122 liras for 19 hours of work plus 20 liras in addition. Once he had saved enough to pay for his journey and stay, Badev left for Moscow to fulfil his lifelong dream. He enrolled at the Moscow-Synodal School to major in Music Studies, and two years later he transferred to the Court Choir of St. Petersburg (Витанова 1955, 359) where he studied in the same class as some of the most important Russian composers, including Nikolaj Rimski-Korsakov⁷ and Mily Balakirev⁸ (Ковилоски 2010, 16). During his stay in St. Petersburg he composed music which, although not completely successful, still won him the commendation of the professors of the Court Choir as the most gifted student (Витанова 1955, 359–360). According to Sotir Golabovski, after Badev finished his studies he became the first Macedonian to have acquired such outstanding music education (Голабовски 1999, 97–98).

After completing his studies in Russia, Badev took a job as a music teacher in Salonika. With his dedication and commitment he soon became one of the best teachers and conductors and also made a significant contribution towards the development and progress of musical culture. His students, who became teachers and choral conductors, disseminated musical knowledge and culture throughout the towns of Macedonia. According to Vitanova, these students include: Serafim Bojanov Ivanov from the village of Dolno Draglište, who worked in Bansko and wrote folk songs with Angel Bukorešliev; Ivan Mihailov Beležkov, who worked in Razlog; Božin Tančev, who graduated in maths and was in charge of the choir in Sofia; Anton Jovčev Tošev, who became deputy conductor of the choir of Badev; Hristo Šaldev, a teacher and assistant conductor of the choir; Pejčo Makov; and Luka Pop Theofilov Melijčin, and worked in Razlog (Витанова 1955, 358).

⁷ Nikolaj Rimski-Korsakov (1844–1908) was one of 'The Five' – a group of prominent 19th century Russian composers influenced by the music of Glinka in St Petersburg. The group included Balakirev, Borodin, Mussorgsky, and Cui.

⁸ Mily Balakirev (1837–1910) was a Russian composer, pianist and conductor who initiated and led 'The Five'. He introduced elements of Russian folklore in his compositions.

In 1892, Atanas Badev was working in Bitola. There he met and married Marija Dimitrova-Štipjanova⁹ and they soon moved to Salonika. However, their stay there did not last long: a student rebellion in the male and female gymnasium in Salonika led to numerous displacements of teaching staff, including Badev. Therefore, in 1896, he was transferred to Ruse, in Bulgaria, as a teacher at the male gymnasium (Витанова 1955, 360). According to Ortakov, the real reason for his relocation was that his work as a teacher in Salonika coincided with the first actions of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. These actions caused extreme caution among the leadership of the Exarchate's schools in Macedonia, who began to relocate cultural workers whose activities could in any way be useful for the goals and work of the Organization (Ортаков 2004, 24).

In Ruse, Atanas Badev continued to invest in his educational and creative musical work. Although he taught pupils and conducted the choir in the male gymnasium in Ruse, he was also devoted to composing music and compositions. It was in Ruse he created his most important work of art, *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* (fig. 1). The liturgy was composed on the basis of spiritual compositions he had had the opportunity to study in the major music metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg. *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*, for mixed choir, was printed in Leipzig in 1898. It consists of several compositions, among the most important of which are the 'Cherubic Hymn', 'Receive the King', 'Praise the Lord of Heaven' and 'Christ is Risen'. According to Kodžabašija, church choruses preserved through the oral tradition can be detected in some of the melodies, as well as themes from famous Byzantine composers that we might assume he has learnt and sung back home. However, their Byzantine nature was somewhat neutralized by harmonization in the spirit of European music. Instead of introducing the usual harmonic solutions, which were recognizable in European music, Badev decided to keep the recognizable traditional ison¹⁰. These are actually the most exciting parts of his *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* (Коџабашија 2008a, 183–184). Of this work, Ivan Kamburov wrote that "Badev approached the tones from their basis and harmonized the songs with rare artistry" (Витанова 1955, 380).

On 18 September 1988, the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* was performed for the first time before the Macedonian public as part of the 'Struga Musical Autumn', and two years later, in 1990, it was performed for the consecration of the Cathedral Church of St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje (Голобовски

⁹ Dimitrova-Štipjanova finished in the first class of the gymnasium in Stara Zagora, in Bulgaria.

¹⁰ An *ison* is a drone note (rarely double or triple) to accompany a melody. The ison was originally intended to determine the 'tonal centre' and later to maintain a stable intonation in chanting. In the course of time, the ison grew into a distinctive 'harmonic basis' of Byzantine music, which gave it additional expression. It was formed at the beginning of the 8th century as an integral part of the *Octoechos* of John of Damascus, and it reached the peak of its popularity during the time of St. John Koukouzelis, when the Papadike of singing became dominant in the liturgy (Коџабашија 2004, 38–39).

1999, 98). In 1988, to honour the centenary of the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*, the Macedonian Post Office issued a stamp with the portrait of Atanas Badev (fig. 4). The latest edition of the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* (fig. 2) was promoted on 24 June 2014, during the Great and Holy Lent Concert of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius choir from Veles, in the “Cathedral Church of St. Panteleimon’s of the Diocese of Povardarie” in Veles. A transcript of the Liturgy in digital form was prepared by professor Veselinka Madžarova, who is also the conductor of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius youth church choir in the Diocese of Povardarie, and the edition was printed by the Macedonian Orthodox Church – Ohrid Archbishopric (Metropolitan Agatangel 2014).

After working as a teacher for two years at the male gymnasium in Ruse, Badev received an invitation from the Holy Synod of the Exarchate to be a teacher of Greek shape-note singing at the Samokov Theological School. He accepted the invitation and began to teach the seminarians how to read western and neumatic notation used to record the liturgical chants in Old Church Slavonic (Опраков 2004, 24). However, as Vitanova reports, Badev was dismissed by the Holy Synod. According to his adopted daughter, Ljuba Hristova, the reason for his removal from the theological school was because she, as the teacher’s daughter in the seminary, played harmonium at the Protestant Church. The employees’ children were not allowed to be under any other religious influence (Витанова 1955, 360–361).

Prior to his dismissal from Samokov, Badev was promoted to the level of first-degree teacher and was transferred to Kyustendil as a music teacher in the women’s gymnasium. There he spent the last years of his life. Badev’s work was not limited only to pedagogy and choral-conducting. His knowledge in the field of musical theory, harmony and counterpoint, acquired during his studies in the major musical metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg, also informed his research in Macedonian folk art. In fact, he was also the first collector of folk melodies to undertake the systematization of the metrical and rhythmic features of Macedonian folk music. As an all-round musician with excellent education in the spirit of European musical aesthetics and influenced by national romanticism, in parallel with his composing and pedagogical activity, he also engaged in collection and studying of Macedonian folk music (Диденко 2017, 31).

In 1904 Badev announced the findings of this research at the Second Congress¹¹ of the Music Union in Sofia, where he presented a paper on ‘Macedonian Folklore and its Features’. His paper was the first serious work in the field

¹¹ The paper was presented at the first congress in 1903 according to Venelin Krstev ‘Essays on the History of Bulgarian Music’, (Sofia, 1970), and Živko Firfov and Metodija Simonovski in ‘Macedonian collectors from the end of the 19th century’. Whereas according to Vitanova Lilyana in ‘Atanas Badev’, Sofia, 1955; Ortakov Dragoslav in *Atanas Badev and his ‘Zlatoust (Divine) Liturgy’*, Skopje, 2004 (Ortakov 2004, 25) and Kodžabašija Jane in *The Church Singing in Macedonia and Atanas Badev (1860–1908)*, the 150th anniversary of his birth, his paper was presented at the second congress in 1904.

of ethnomusicology in which, for the first time, the melo-rhythmic structures of Macedonian folklore were expertly explained (Диденко 2017, 31–32). In fact, he was the first to present the basis for establishing the measure theory of our folk music by grouping the smallest metric elements into extended-time bars (S(kalovski) 1958, 90). Several educated musicians, including Dimitar Hadži Georgiev and Dimitar Popov Ivanov, asked Badev to print his paper (Витанова 1955, 372), which would lay the foundations of contemporary Macedonian ethnography; however, since he did not receive any financial support and he himself did not have enough funds, his work was not printed, and eventually the paper disappeared (Диденко 2017, 32). Today, the existence of the paper is known only through published reports in the press releases of the Congress. In terms of Badev's achievements in this area, the Bulgarian musicologist Ivan Kamburov (1883–1955) wrote: "Knowing folk music well (especially Macedonian), Badev was the first to form the basis for establishing the measure theory of our folk music by grouping the smallest elements (*chronos protos*) into extended-time bars, a matter which he elaborated in an extensive report at the Music Congress in 1904" (Голабовски 1999, 99).

According to Vitanova, about 40 folk songs (mostly Macedonian) are recorded and harmonized in Badev's notebooks. The songs are recorded in simple or variable metres:

1. Simple metres:

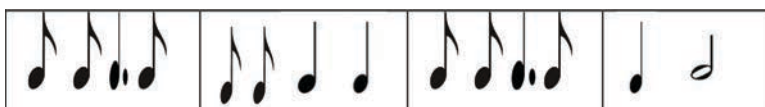
2/4 — ‘I’ve drunk wine, mother’ (‘Sum piel vino, mamó’)



3/4 — ‘Has such a miracle ever been seen!’ (‘Kade se čudo videlo’)



3/4 — ‘You dropped your ring, Nešo, on the other side of the river’ (‘Prsten ti padna, Nešo otade reka’)



4/4 — ‘I’m coming home drunk from the town’ (‘Pijan idam od gradot’)



2. Variable metres:

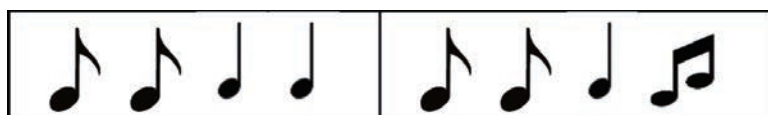
3/8 + 2/8 — ‘Teach me, mother! guide me’ (‘Uči me majko, karaj me’)



2/8 + 3/8 — ‘Come out, grandma!’ (‘Izlezi babo’)



2/8 + 3/8 + 4/8 — ‘Every night Fanka was sitting’ (‘Sekoja noć Fanka sedela’)



Badev not only made a significant contribution to the development of musical art in Macedonia but also to the marking and musical notation of Macedonian folk songs. His musical creations, especially his spiritual songs, were used by many eparchies and parishes and retain their artistic value today (Павловски, Карајанов and Андоновски 2002, 360). He spent the last years of his life in poor health and in need of constant medical care. He made many attempts to move to the Bulgarian capital, but unfortunately failed. On September 21, 1908, he passed away from a heart attack in a train on his way from Sofia to Kyustendil.

Atanas Badev and the First Church Choir in Prilep

Atanas Badev founded the first church choir in his hometown of Prilep in 1879. From the very beginning, the choir consisted of four voice types: alto, descant, tenor and bass, and performed four-voice spiritual compositions. Josif Kondov, Dimitar Jančulev and others were among the first members of the choir (Трайчев

1938, 6). The choir also included the older lay clerks Todor Gavazov and Georgi Smičkov, which showed that the multiple-voice spiritual choral music, based on the Western European principles, was adopted by several lay clerks who were educated in the Byzantine spiritual and musical tradition (Протоереј Ангелески 2016). Dmitri Bortnjanski¹² was one of the composers with most works on the repertoire. The leadership of the choir was subsequently taken over by Aleksandar Jančulev, who made a significant contribution to its development and progress.

In his time, a poem for the Russian Tsar Alexander II (Трайчевъ 1925, 154) was also included in the repertoire. As Kovilovski points out in his book *Prilep and the Prilep region during the 19th century: cultural and historical processes*, Toma Nikolov (who would later become a teacher in Prilep) witnessed the creation of the Prilep choir and its work. Nikolov recounts that during weddings, feasts and other celebrations in Prilep and Varoš, many songs were sung, including 'The Russian Tsar is the one and only on this earth', 'He is alive, he is alive' and 'Soldiers enrol on the field near Sophia'. Nikolov admired the choir's performance:

When the choir started to roar in the church during the service, the worshipers were dumbstruck because their songs were mesmerizing. There was no wedding without the choir. I started to go from Varoš to Prilep regularly every week so I could sing in the choir. During my absence, I was replaced by singers in the monastery from the village of Varoš, as they were in abundance and competed over who can sing more. When Atanas Badev left for Sophia, he was replaced by the left singer at the city church, Georgi Smičkov ... (Ковилоски 2017a, 222)

In the school year 1880/81, the management of the choir was taken over by Badev's former teacher, Georgi Smičkov. According to Georgi Trajčev, the choir had about 30 members, with 7-8 singers in each of the four voice types (alto, descant, tenor and bass). The members were mostly self-taught, since at the time none of them knew the musical notation, and shape-note singing was still not a school subject (Трайчевъ 1925, 153–154). However, the archived music materials handwritten by Smičkov indicate that he formulated the tunes of certain spiritual compositions from a European to a Byzantine notation for the needs of the choir. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the choristers also used written musical materials when learning the compositions (Опраков 2004, 23). After Georgi Smičkov, subsequent conductors of the choir included Jordan Jančulev, Anton Tošev and others (Трайчевъ 1938, 6). At the beginning of the

¹² Dmitri Bortnjanski (1751–1825), composer and conductor. He is known for his contributions to choral concerts and liturgical works.

school year 1886/87, the choir was again handed over to its founder, Badev (Ковилоски 2017a, 222).

During the First World War, the choir of the Church of the Holy Annunciation was inactive, and was not reactivated again until 1922 under Peter Spaseski. Later, the choir's leadership was taken over by the music teacher Vasilije Nikolić (the father of Vlastimir and Slobodan Nikolovski). During that period, the choir included about 40 male members from different professions: officials, intellectuals, craftsmen, and others from town. In addition to the performances of the religious services, the choir was invited to perform independent concerts during the major public holidays. Usually the performances were held in the 'Sokolski Dom', but for the holiday in honour of St. Sava¹³ the choir performed in Prilep schools singing national-patriotic compositions. Although the church choir made a significant contribution to the enrichment of the musical life and choral singing in the town of Prilep, its main orientation and activity continued to be within the church (Протоереј Ангелески 2016).

After the Second World War, the choir continued with its activities, though now reduced exclusively to church compositions. After a certain period it received its official name, the Tchaikovsky Choir which was used for its performances until 1975. After the liberation, the choir was run by the conductor Petar Spaseski, and after his death the choir was taken over by Mojsoski. When the conductor Mojsoski passed away, serious efforts were made for the choir to survive and continue with its activities.

Today the choir at the Church of the Holy Annunciation is led by conductor Dime Ivanoski and has about 20–30 members, mostly pensioners (Протоереј Ангелески 2016). The Prilep church choir, in its present existence in the cultural milieu of the Republic of Macedonia, has made efforts to preserve Badev's work since he, as one of the first professionally trained musicians, was the founder of the choir and contributed greatly to its success as its conductor.

From our present knowledge about the life, work and role of Atanas Badev in society in accordance with the socio-cultural conditions in which he lived and created, we can say that Badev contributed to the development of many aspects of Macedonian music and culture, including choir-conducting, music pedagogy, church works and other compositions. He is also the first collector to make and perform the systematization of the metrical and rhythmic qualities of Macedonian

¹³ St. Sava is a holy day of the Serbian Orthodox Church that is celebrated on January 27 (January 14 according to the old calendar), in memory of the Serbian educator and the first Serbian Archbishop Rastko Nemanich-Sveti Sava. On 2 January 1840, at the proposal of Atanasij Nikolić, the rector of the Lyceum in Kragujevac St. Sava was declared as a patron of schools. By 1945, St. Sava was the national day of education but was later abolished with a government decision. From 1990, St. Sava is celebrated as a patron of schools again (Sveti Sava – Školska slava [Sveti Sava – Day of Schools]. <http://edukacija.rs/vesti/sveti-sava-skolska-slava> (Accessed: 20.09.2018).

folk music, as well as the first who studied, researched and collected Macedonian music folklore. These diverse music activities make Badev one of the pivotal figures of musical art in Macedonia. Therefore, in the Macedonian musicology he will remain remembered as one of the most prominent Macedonian composers of the 19th century, whose work was influenced by West European music, which still marks our music making, especially religious music.



Figure 1: Cover of the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*



Figure 2: Cover of the latest edition of the *Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*



Figure 3: Anthem for Ss. Cyril and Methodius and Children's Song



Figure 4: Postage stamp of Macedonian Post Office (1998)

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MACEDONIAN CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS – THE NUCLEUS OF EARLY ACADEMIC RESEARCH

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Abstract: Cultural development in Macedonia was founded on literacy and creativity and developed in a long and complex process that began in the 19th century and proceeded in different forms before culminating in its validation with the constitution of the modern Macedonian state (1944). Emigration played a vital role in this process and this article provides an overview of some of the most important Macedonian historical cultural-national associations abroad. Numerous associations of Macedonians were active in different countries and it was their initial research that generated the first ideas about institution-building on which modern Macedonian science and academic institutions are based.

Апстракт: Во основата на културниот развој во Македонија се писменоста и креативноста, развивани во продолжителен и комплексен процес, почнувајќи од XIX век и продолжувајќи во различни форми до конституирање на современата македонска држава (1944). Во тој процес емиграцијата игра многу важна улога, според тоа, овој прилог има за цел да обезбеди преглед на некои од најважните историски културно-национални здруженија на Македонците во странство. Тие најдобро се следат низ една серија на здружувања на Македонците во разни земји, чии првични истражувања се чекори и идеи за градење на институциите се основите за денешната современа македонска наука и научни институции.

The earliest stages of Macedonian academic research and institution building comprised non-institutional scholarship, since there was no Macedonian state at that time. The work of Macedonian emigrants was thus a crucial factor in the national revival process. Among the many complex factors that defined the cultural development of Macedonia, the activities of Macedonian émigré intellectuals occupied a special place. Cultural-national associations of Macedonians were active in different countries, but this time we are following the line of those which laid the foundations of Macedonian academic thought and thus can be considered forerunners of the later institutions of the Macedonian state. In this occasion, the focus will be on the period from the end of the 19th

and beginning of the 20th century. What we will attempt here is to find a common thread revealing the beginnings of Macedonian academic research through Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia (1888) up to the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg (1902).

Sketching the types of migration from Macedonia towards Black Sea Region, they differ from migration for work, educational emigration, refugees, church missions, trade relations etc. The most frequent and massive emigration waves, during second half of 19th and beginning of 20th centuries, were those towards Bulgaria. In the period following the Serbo-Bulgarian war (1885) and the abdication of Prince Alexander of Battenberg (1886) a new situation arose concerning the position of the Bulgarian state toward Macedonian emigrants, who experienced great difficulties under the Stefan Stambolov regime. However, Macedonians continued to organize themselves and express their ideas in various journals and magazines. One of the most important journals was *Makedoniia*,¹ published in 1888 in Ruse. There are also records that a circle was organized around this editorial office that was dedicated to Alexander of Macedon. The journal's editor Kosta Šahov moved to Sofia in June 1889. One month later, a meeting of prominent Macedonians took place at Hotel Konkordia, and three months later a Macedonian reading room was built in Sofia, organized by Aleksandar Karađulev from Ohrid who, together with Haralampij Anastasiev, wrote the Charter on the establishment of the Reading Room. It is not known when exactly it ceased to exist, but there are records of its existence as late as February 1890. In September 1889, for example, there was an attempt to organize a Macedonian Savings House for Macedonian emigres. An official Charter was eventually established for a Loan-Savings Bank of Macedonians in Sofia, and the bank managed to survive for two years (Ристовски 1989, 386–410).

Between 1888 and 1893, Macedonians initiated the establishment of a number of organisations and associations in various locations. There were also attempts at self-organization by emigrants from the Debar region in this period. An important account was written by S. Stamatov on the basis of information shared with him by one of its members, Dimitar Iliev:

In 1888, the people from the Debar region held an assembly that he attended and where a decision was reached to found an association. An appropriate protocol had been put together. There were no other sessions of this assembly. What happened to the protocol and who kept it remains unknown. The Abbot of the Monastery of St. Jovan Bigorski, who was in Sofia at the time collecting donations, attended the meeting.

¹ *Македонија* [English: Macedonia].

All who were present at the meeting decided that the collected donations should be used to open a boarding-school for poor children at the monastery. Most of the money was donated by a man from Debar, whose name Iliev did not know, and who had a hardware store in 'Pirotka' Street. He was single and had no heirs.

Pavle Adžievski from the village of Galičnik, who was in Sofia at the time but unemployed, was appointed as a teacher at the school. He was given all of the collected money (25 napoleons) as an advance, amounting to almost his entire yearly salary, in order to depart for Bigorski immediately... (Стаматовъ 1935, 24–25).

Also in 1889 the regional Macedonian Society "St. Ivan (of Debar)" was established in Sofia with the main goal of supporting educational work in Debar. The members of the society all originated from the Debar region. This society, according to an article published in *Makedoniia* existed until May 1893, at which time it was 'either dead or in its death throes'. At the same time, many similar societies appeared and disappeared and the authors of the article called for either restoration of the old society or establishment of a new one with the same purpose (Ристовски 1989, 400, note 190). In November 1898 a Charitable Brotherhood of Debar was formed in Sofia (Стаматовъ 1935, 25–29; Стаматовъ 1935a, 22; Костов 2004, 374–379) and in 1908 it began publishing the journal *Debŭrski glas*² (cf. Ристовска-Јосифовска 2004, 171).

The Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society (1888)

At the same time there were mentions of many such societies appearing and disappearing, one of the first of which was the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society. Even before 1888, there existed various cultural-educational societies of Macedonians both in Macedonia and abroad, though they were not called Macedonian and did not have aims or missions that could be defined as founding the initial stages of organized academic research. The Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society was established in Sofia in c.1888 (cf. Ристовска-Јосифовска 2008, 192–203), as the beginning of associations of Macedonians designed for scholarly research. This association was founded by Macedonian emigrants in Sofia under the chairmanship of Ćorgĭja Pulevski (fig. 1).³ Dimitrija Ćupovski

² *Дебърски гласъ* [English: The Voice of Debar].

³ Ćorgĭja M. Pulevski (1822/23–1893) was a revival activist, lexicographer, poet, folklorist, author of grammar books, historian, ethnographer, komitadji, volunteer in the Serbo–Ottoman War (1876) and the Russo–Ottoman War (1877/78), participant in the liberation of Pijanec and in the Kresna Uprising (1878/79), founder of the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia (1888) and an author of published books and manuscripts.

(fig. 2) was the only one to offer specific information about this society in the journal *Makedonskiĭ golos* (*Makedonski glas*):⁴

In 1888, the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society was formed by Macedonian emigrants in Sofia, under the presidency of Ćorgija Pulevski, with the goal of reviving Macedonian folk literature. It was disbanded by the Bulgarian authorities and many of its members were exiled from the principality. (Управда 1913, 77).

It seems that the institution of this Society was prevented even before it was formally registered by the courts in Sofia. Most likely, this unsuccessful attempt to officialise the activities of the Society forced Pulevski, the head of the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society, to return instead to his research and creative work and to finish writing the manuscripts of *Slavic-Macedonian General History*⁵ and his *Grammar*.⁶ Therefore we are also unable to discuss the aims of the Society with any kind of certainty in view of the fact that not a single written record about it has so far been discovered. Nevertheless, assuming the aforementioned information about the creation of the Society is correct, this might lead us to an informed guess that the title of Pulevski's *Slavic-Macedonian General History* was in some way related to the name given to the Society and even to its programme.⁷ The possibility that this Society was nipped in the bud after its very first meeting is not to be excluded.

In fact, the goals and views of these cultural-national society, as well as those of some Macedonian intellectuals, can be researched more specifically on the basis of the written documents and papers they produced. The task of paramount importance for us is to trace the development of Pulevski's idea to establish a literary society including the purpose of working on constituting the Macedonian literary language. His advocacy for it can be traced throughout his works. In *Dictionary of Three Languages*⁸ (Belgrade, 1975), he discusses the way in which the literary language of a nation should be created, by '4 or 5 learned people' gathering together (Речник од три језика 1875, 124). Pulevski developed and further refined this idea when he was already living in Sofia, and so in his manuscript *Grammar* he writes:

And the aforementioned people, even when consisting of many tribes and different religions, are called a people on the basis of their shared language. These aforementioned tribes, when they

⁴ *Македонскиĭ голосъ* (*Македонски глас*) [English: Macedonian Voice].

⁵ *Славянско-македонска општа историја* [English: Slavic-Macedonian General History].

⁶ *Јзичниџа* [English: Grammar].

⁷ The ideas and works of Pulevski were similar, whether coincidentally or as a result of an actual connection, to the aims of the Society of St. Ivan (of Debar) established in 1889, in supporting educational work in the Debar region. The activities of the Society of St. Ivan (of Debar) are known to have come to an end in May 1893, while Pulevski passed away on 13 February in the same year.

⁸ *Речник од три језика* [English: Dictionary of Three Languages].

have differences in their language, need to repair and correct any linguistic differences and all the tribes should select a literary society to regulate and purify a unified language – languages (Ристовска-Јосифовска 2008, 197).

This quotation can be seen as defining the principle, or one of the principal programme goals, of the aforementioned Society, i.e. to prepare a draft of the Macedonian literary language. In his manuscript *Grammar*, when making a general reference to the manner in which others wrote grammars, Pulevski actually described his own approach when writing the grammar. He was right to think that the literary language should be based on the vernacular, and for that purpose he used the folk songs and customs as his source materials. Regarding the process of constituting a literary language, Pulevski wrote and recommended the following: “In purifying and correcting a systematic and unified vernacular, folk poems are indeed collected...” (Ристовска-Јосифовска 2008, 198). Later on, in his *Slavic-Macedonian General History*, Pulevski explained his views, making it clear that this was his strong and constant preoccupation:

The speech of all Slavic peninsular tribes was the same on a linguistic basis, but at present they manifest great differences and they do not even understand each other’s communication (conversation).

[...] And thus philologists from everywhere have said that when there is more than one breed of people who can understand each other then a literary basis should be written. (Пулевски 2003, 921–922).

The quotation can be analysed from several perspectives. Of paramount importance for us is what was meant by the term ‘literary basis’. Judging by the text of his manuscript *Grammar*, this ‘literary basis’ was related to the ‘literary society’; and in view of the fact that the Macedonian language for him is ‘Slavic-Macedonian’, the name and the purpose of the society he established in 1888 seem quite logical. Assuming the aforementioned information about the creation of the Society is correct, this might lead us to an informed guess that the title of Pulevski’s *Slavic-Macedonian General History* was in some way related to the name given to the Society and even to its programme. It can be even considered part of the activities of the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia and a starting point for us to attempt to shed some light on its programme. Its main objective was the study of Macedonian history, language and ethnography (Ристовска-Јосифовска 2008, 84–128).

The information that can be derived from the scant date available to us leads us to view this Society as part of the Revival Movement. It reflects the state of the Macedonian awareness among the Macedonian emigration at the time. Judging by the name given to the Society (‘Slavic-Macedonian’ and ‘literary’),

its main purpose must have been the revival of ‘Macedonian folk literature’, concurrently with promoting Macedonian national identity, language and culture. We believe the works of the Society’s founder and leader can serve as a good starting point from which to gain insight into its ideological programme as promulgated among the emigration in Sofia. If we analyse Pulevski’s ideas and views in the period before the establishment of his Society, we can view its constitution as a reflection of the aspirations that permeate his entire opus. And if we analyse his works from the later period, it is obvious that the ideas expressed in them embodied the natural progression in his thinking and could serve to complement the activities for the affirmation of the distinctiveness of the Macedonian nation, culture and language, and at the same time its affiliation to the greater Slavic family. We can come to the conclusion that it pursued very similar programme goals (as it was similar in name) with the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society founded later in St. Petersburg (1902–1917).

The Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia (1891–1892)

A group of young Macedonians travelled the Balkan capitals in search of decent conditions for their education while directly exposed to the pressures of various propaganda systems.⁹ The history of the activities of the group of Macedonian students related in one of these scant references is quite correct in reporting that they moved from one place to another in an attempt to avoid pressures from the official authorities and foreign propaganda efforts, as well as in their preparations to establish the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

Among the Macedonian emigres in Sofia, the establishment of a ‘secret society’ of Macedonian students between the end of 1890 and the beginning of 1891 emerged, and soon (1892) evolved into the Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia. Speaking about leading figures of the Society, in 1885/6, Dame Gruev¹⁰ enrolled in the Bulgarian Men’s High School established in Salonica by the Exarchate and there he met Petar Poparsov (later, one of the main founders and activists) with whom he initiated the creation of a literary circle. Later on they were expelled from the school because they were the leaders of a rebellion (January 1888). It was in these circumstances that they received a transfer offer from the Serbian Consul and the expelled students moved to Belgrade (1887/8), where they first came into contact with socialism. And thus the group of young Macedonians embarked on their path of multiple relocations. In this group we find some of the most important personalities who would mark the following

⁹ On propagandas, see: Rossos 2008, 72–78.

¹⁰ Dame Gruev (1971, Smilevo, Bitola region – 1906, Rusinovo, Maleševo region) belonged to the generation that endeavoured to obtain a higher education. After finishing elementary school in the village of Smilevo he went to Bitola and enrolled in the Cyril and Methodius Secondary School with a scholarship provided by the church community of Smilevo (1882/3).

period. In order to protect themselves from the denationalizing pressures, they organized themselves in a secret revolutionary circle in Belgrade as well. For example, Gruev wished to study at the University, but was prevented by the Greater Serbia propagandists,¹¹ and at the end of June 1889, together with Poparsov and other Macedonians, left for Sofia. But, the Bulgarian authorities ordered the closure of night schools for Macedonian emigrants in 1890, whose heads were Gruev, Poparsov, Goce Delčev and many other Macedonians (Ристовски 1989, 428–435).

The Society was founded in Sofia in 1890/1891 by the group of Macedonian students exiled from Salonika and Belgrade. The main protagonists of this Society were those who had left Belgrade, including D. Gruev and P. Poparsov, but also G. Balasčev, D. Mirčev, N. Naumov, H. Pop-Kocev, K. Šahov, K. Karađulev, H. Matov, E. Sprostranov, N. Dejkov, and I. Hadzinikolov. The Sofia-based students, K. Misirkov and D. Čupovski, became close companions and held similar views. Gruev gave the best account of the cooperation between Macedonian students and the creation of the society, as well as about the public and secret goals of its founders: “In Sofia, we mostly taught each other. During our preparations to form the society (we were working on its statute), we pretended that the society was to have an academic character, while in fact we were preparing for the organization of our future revolutionary work” (Јане 1981, 16).

A useful instrument for conveying political messages and publishing research into the national identity and its development was, of course, the press. So, among the journals published at this time, of particular importance to us are the articles published in *Loza*¹² as part of the activities of the Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia (1891–1892). In early 1892 the Society published the first issue of this journal, whose name gave the movement its name, the *Loza Movement*, while its protagonists were called *Lozari*. The journal itself was an exceptional phenomenon in the development of the Macedonian standard language, introducing many Macedonianisms in its lexis, phonetics and morphology, as well as phonetic orthography with a reduced alphabet (Ристовски 2017, 27). The main goals of the Association were listed in its Charter, published in the first issue of *Loza*, and these goals justify our placing it among similar cultural associations which we consider to have laid the historical foundations of Macedonian scientific thought. These goals were stated as follows:

- a) to publish a magazine whose name, program and direction will be decided by the Association;

¹¹ In his memoirs, Gruev wrote about his disappointment when he was exposed to the pressures of Serbian propaganda: “Here we could clearly see the intentions of the Serbs, how hard they tried to convince us of the Serbian idea and impose Serbian on us, something that irritated us even more” (Јане 1981, 15).

¹² *Лоза* [English: The Vine].

- b) to prepare for the establishment of a reading room in the capital and to open it when the finances allow; and
- c) to engage in charity and other good deeds in the future when the Society manages to accrue sufficient means, and to do this in accordance with its goals (supporting students, etc). (Усрав 1892, 47)

With the abolition of this association, part of the members returned to Macedonia and in 1893 established the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization in Salonika. According to Gruev, who was one of the founders and leaders of the Society, the idea of establishing a revolutionary organization was born within this society. Even his roommate Mirčev wrote: "... the idea about the future revolutionary work for Macedonia was an idea that first developed in our apartment..." (Мирчев 1981, 92).

However, the political situation deteriorated after the murder of Minister Belčev, that is to say, after the unsuccessful assassination of Stambolov, and the authorities cracked down on socialists, among others. Gruev was incarcerated in Sofia (21 March – 4 April 1891). Reading the Interrogation Records, we learn about the ideas and positions as regards various issues related to the Macedonian intelligentsia. The statements about the activities during that period into the Young Macedonian Literary Society and for publishing the journal *Loza* are of particular importance to us. The questions asked by the interrogator reveal that the authorities were quite well informed about the secret organizations of Macedonian students, as well as about their plans. The activities of the members of the society had not gone unnoticed. To the questions asked by the interrogator ('Why do you need a journal when there are journals in Bulgaria in which anyone can write, even Macedonians?'), Gruev replied: "The journals here cannot provide sufficient space for the Macedonian problems, and the situation in Macedonia is such that it requires a separate medium. What lies ahead of us is a great and difficult struggle to unite the people in Macedonia for resistance not only against the Turkish terror, but also against the foreign propaganda that breaks up the people into Serbs, Greeks and Bulgarians."

What made the Young Macedonian Literary Society stand out among the other cultural activities was the fact that, as a cultural and national phenomenon in Macedonian history, it marked a new course in the development of the national awareness. Its very name (as the successor of the Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society from several years earlier) expressed a new dimension in self-determination, with its rejection of the Slavic prefix and affirmation of the Macedonian ethnicity. The Society gave a new impulse to the revival, especially among Macedonian emigrants in Sofia, gathering a new generation of activists who were educated and had new ideas. In its essence it was a sequel to the previous

associations - or attempts at forming associations - for the purposes of the cultural elevation of Macedonians, only this time with a new quality: cultural elevation that would later lead to an organized liberation, following the example of the revolutionary movements of other Slavic peoples.

The Student Society “Vardar” (1893–1894)

The Student Society “Vardar” was formed in Belgrade in 1893/1894 as another cultural and national association of Macedonian scholars who had emigrated in quest of an education. Its membership included a number of Macedonian activists who had participated in setting up various similar associations with goals related to developing scholarly research and which can be considered predecessors of later Macedonian academic institutions. Its members included Misirkov and Čupovski, with Nikola Popov appointed as president. Sources of information about the Society can be found in its published commitments and surviving correspondence, as well as from various other publications and the contemporary press. A key source is the Vardar Society’s Rulebook, adopted on 15 March 1894, which defines the objectives:

Article 1. The pupils from the Ottoman Empire from all schools hereby form the Society “Vardar”

Article 2. The headquarters of the association is in Belgrade, and in future there may be branches in the provinces.

Art. 3. The goals of this society are: a) to research the fatherland from a geographical, ethnographic and historical aspect; b) to provide mutual aid for members in educational, moral and material terms; c) to work on comprehensively preparing the members to serve their people living in the State of His Majesty the Sultan. (Ристовски 2017, 31).

An especially important task in this programme was the planning of literary and journalistic activities, which were to be achieved through a Literary Board composed of five persons elected at the main assembly. The Board elected the president and secretary from among themselves. Literary works were to be printed in a separate book, with a decision of the assembly and with funds from the Society. The Board’s duties were regulated by Article 26:

a) to give a final opinion on all received works and to submit them, accompanied by appropriate criticism, to the assembly; b) ... to submit to the assembly, within one month, its opinion on the submitted work; c) the secretary is to register the work received

from the Literary Board in its records of literary works; d) to prepare literary works for printing. (Ibid., 32).

In his reminiscences Misirkov confirmed that “The public goal of the society was the study of Macedonia from an ethnographic, geographical, philological and historical aspect” (Misirkov 2003, 198). He wrote in *On Macedonian Matters* (1903): “Nothing came out of that society, because the Serbs did not trust the Macedonians and began infiltrating it with Old Serbs, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, and so on ...” (Ibid., 198).

The Society “Vardar” had a direct impact on and was a kind of predecessor of the Macedonian Club formed by the same Macedonian émigré intelligentsia in Belgrade. In fact, three members in this movement - Misirkov, Čupovski and Grigorie Hadžitašković – were constant representatives of the Macedonian line in the liberation struggle (Ристовски 2017, 35).¹³

The Macedonian Club in Belgrade (1902)

In 1902, the Macedonian Club was formed in Belgrade, continuing the ideas and goals of earlier associations. According to the available documentation, the new organization had been active among Macedonian intellectuals in Belgrade since 1901. The Club included students (for example, Stefan Jakimov Dedov from Ohrid (Fig. 4), Dijamandia Trpkov Mišajkov (Fig. 5) from Bitola and Mihailo Petrov from Prilep), as well as various political and economic emigrants, including the businessman Nikola Todorov, the icon-painter Marko Atanasov Mušević from Kruševo and Lazar Osmanov from Veles (a participant in the Serbo-Ottoman War, the Russo-Ottoman War and the Kresna Uprising). The Club was only formally launched, however, after the official opening of the Slavic Club in Belgrade, whose affiliates included the Czech, Russian and Bulgarian clubs. These events served as an instigation for the Macedonians to seek recognition of the Macedonian Club as a separate member. Due to the negative reaction of the Serbian government, however, a petition to the Russian Tsar was organized and signed by hundreds of Macedonians before being submitted on 7 February 1902 (Ристовски 2017, 41–42).

Several months later, on 7 July 1902, the first issue of the weekly newspaper *Balkanski glasnik* (*Revue Balkanique*)¹⁴ appeared (fig. 3), and eight issues were published, written in Serbian and with introductions in French. The group of intellectuals gathered around this journal published articles dealing with issues related to the national character of the Macedonians, their history, language and ethnography. Moreover, they sought a solution to the Macedonian question by

¹³ Ten years later this association influenced the journal *Vardar*, published by Misirkov (Odessa, 1905).

¹⁴ *Балкански гласник. Revue Balkanique* [English: *Balkan Review*].

turning this from ‘a pure academic issue’ into ‘a national question’. According to them, the solution for the political organization of Macedonia was to obtain autonomy. Following the example of other Slavic peoples, this group advocated the opening of *Matica Makedonska* and the opening of a Macedonian reading room in Belgrade, as described in an article in *Balkanski Glasnik (Revue Balkanique)* of 18 August 1902: “Macedonian youth here have decided to open a reading room for their compatriots where a series of public lectures will be held. Such an educational-humanitarian institution has been a basic need for a long time, and we wholeheartedly welcome it and wish it every success”.

The last issue of the journal (25 August 1902), announced the name of the association and its intent to become a formally established institution and to join similar associations from other nations: “A Macedonian Club was founded in Belgrade a while ago whose rules were submitted to the government for approval. This club, like the Russian, Czech, etc., will function as a branch of the Slavic Club”. The article further announced that a Memorandum (appeal) of immigrants from Serbia was being prepared for submission to the representatives of the Great Powers, i.e. signatories to the Berlin Agreement:

The Macedonian youth gathered around *Balkanski glasnik*, with the assistance of all Macedonian emigrants living in Serbia, have prepared a memorandum (appeal) that will soon be sent to representatives of the Powers – signatories to the Berlin Treaty – in which they demand improvement of the situation in Macedonia and Old Serbia.

All of this provoked a harsh reaction in Serbian political circles and led to efforts to disband the Society through prohibition of its legal existence, banning its journal and exiling its founders from Serbia. Two of the main protagonists, Dedov (fig. 4) and Mišajkov (fig. 5), left for St. Petersburg with a letter of recommendation from the Russian diplomatic representative (Ристовски 2017, 45–47).

The Macedonian scientific-literary Society in St. Petersburg (1902–1917)

The aim of the Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society in St. Petersburg was to develop and promote scholarship through cultural and scientific associations to support the systematic academic study of history. Its organization began since 1900–1901, but the Society’s first act was dated 28 October 1902, on the basis of the Appeal from 19 signatories (fig. 6–8) addressed to the Council of the Slavic Charitable Society of St. Petersburg for a permit to use the Council’s rooms for gatherings.¹⁵ However, the activity of these Macedonians was not limited to

¹⁵ About the signatories, as well as the other members - intellectuals, traders, craftsmen and other Macedonian immigrants, see: Ристовски 2017, 66–120, 123–166. Also see: Ямбаев 2008, 77–79.

Macedonian emigrants in St. Petersburg. On the contrary, the members were in constant movement between cultural centres in the Balkans and the then Russian Empire and the links connecting all these aforementioned associations led all the way to the Black Sea region. Within this area the members were in a constant search for quality education as well as for an environment where they could freely express themselves, striving for the establishment of a Macedonian state and academic culture and where they could freely associate actively and create. The activists of this association were mainly intellectuals educated in various educational centres.

Speaking of the founders (fig. 6–8), **Misirkov** graduated at the Faculty of History and Philology at the St. Petersburg University, and about the path of his education he wrote in his *Diary* (1903):

I am a son of a peasant from the village of Postol (*Alaklis* in Turkish) located over the ruins of ancient Pela in the Enidže-Vardar kaza in the Salonika Vilayet, Macedonia. I received elementary education at a Greek school in my native village, from where I left for Belgrade in 1889, then went to Sofia the same year, and then to Belgrade and Shabac and back to Belgrade again. In Serbia and Bulgaria I attended 4 classes in high school and in the Teachers' College. Then, in 1885, I left for Russia, where (in Poltava) I graduated from the Seminary and from the Petersburg University, after which I was allowed to get additional training at the St. Petersburg University in the Department of Slavonic Philology. But, for valid reasons, I had to leave the University and go back to my homeland. (Мисирков 2012, 26).

Čupovski (from Papradišta), one of the founders and chairman, was a student at the St. Petersburg Seminary. He studied at the Teachers' College in Belgrade, he was a cadet at the Seminary in Novgorod and then moved to the Seminary in Simferopol, and also studied at the Taurian Seminary. Students at the St. Petersburg Seminary were also **Dragan Konstantinov Kusev** (from Prilep), **Nikola Hristov Pipin** from Bansko, as well as **Hristo T. Šaldev** (from Gumendže in the Enidže-Vardar region), who had earlier studied in Salonika, at the Bulgarian Seminary in Constantinople and the Seminary in Poltava.

Nikola Hristoforovič Hristov from Radoviš was a student at the Imperial Military Medical Academy, as well as **Milan Trajkov Stoilov** from Kukuš (he had earlier studied in Kukuš and completed six classes at the Bulgarian Seminary in Constantinople) as well as **Aleksandar Konstantinov Statelov** from Salonika (previous education in Silistra, Varna and Ruse). Another important founder and member was **Gavril Konstantinov [Tasev]** (from the Kostur region) – a student at the same Academy. He finished high school in Belgrade and enrolled at the

Faculty of Philosophy (Linguistic-Literary Department), but then graduated from the Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg.

Toma Zaharjevič Hristov (from Prilep) was a student at the St. Petersburg Forestry Institute as well as **Ivan Hristov Noštev** (from Voden), and **Hristo Nikolov Bobatonov** (from Salonika) was a student at the Mining Institute. **Nikolaj Antonov** (from Voden), who studied at St. Petersburg University, completed four classes at the Greek Classical School in Voden, the 5th and 6th class at the Serbian Classical High School in Šabac, and studied at the Royal Serbian Teachers' College in Aleksinac. He became a student at the Physics and Mathematics Faculty in St. Petersburg. **Nikola Steriov Ničota** (from Kruševo) was also a student at St. Petersburg University, who finished elementary school in Salonika, a Serbian high school in Constantinople, studied at the Law School in Belgrade, but due to financial difficulties he transferred to study natural sciences in St. Petersburg, and then transferred to the Imperial Moscow University. At St. Petersburg University we also find **Risto Vasilev Rusulenčič** from Rusolenče, Voden region. He started his education at the Greek Secondary School in Voden and continued at the Serbian High School in Constantinople. Then he enrolled in the Faculty for Natural Sciences at St. Petersburg University, but because of lack of funds he transferred to the Physics and Mathematics Faculty (Natural Sciences Department) and then graduated from the Medical Faculty at the Novorossiysk University in Odessa.

Mišajkov was a lawyer from Bitola, but he graduated from the Teachers' College in Kyustendil and from the Law School at the Great School in Belgrade, and also **Dedov** (from Ohrid) was a lawyer (he was a student of the Court Department of the Law School in Belgrade, and in 1902 left for Russia). **Anton Simeonov Hadžijanov** (from Štip) was a student at the Institute for Eastern Languages in St. Petersburg, but he later transferred to the Law School, and **Rafael Tasev Petkovski** (from Debar) was a student in the Regent class of the Court Singers Chapel.

In 1903, Čupovski submitted the Charter, dated 16 December, on the establishment of the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society for adoption (Ристовски 1978 I, 241–243). Article 1 of the Charter defined the goals as follows:

- a) To develop national awareness among the members of the Macedonian colony in St. Petersburg; b) to study the language, songs, customs and history of Macedonia in ethnographic and geographic sense; c) to reconcile and unite all Macedonians irrespective of their education and conviction, in the name of their common origin and the unity of their homeland; and d) to popularize all of the above among the Macedonians in Macedonia and outside its borders (abroad).

Article 2 outlined its activities:

a) organizing assemblies and lectures; b) reading papers, short stories and poems, etc.; c) collecting folklore (artworks) and historical monuments for Macedonia; d) providing spiritual support for compatriots when they first arrive in Russia; and e) assisting and developing relations with other Slavic societies and circles, as well as with separate Slavic activists.

Article 12 was especially important because it officially introduced the Macedonian language into literary use for the first time: “Conversation in the Society is conducted in Macedonian (Slavic-Macedonian); the abstracts and protocols will also be written in this language.”

Among the **scientific and literary journals and books** published by this association, whose official body would later become *Makedonskiĭ golos* (*Makedonski glas*)¹⁶ from 1913, several publications of its members deserve special mention. Dedov, one of the founders of the Macedonian Club in Belgrade (1902) who also participated in the establishment of the Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society in St. Petersburg (1902), published two of its newspapers in Sofia: *Balkan*¹⁷ (1903) and *Kurier*¹⁸ (1904). On the other hand, Misirkov published his book *On Macedonian Matters* in Sofia (1903) and this was the first book published in contemporary Macedonian language, very close to the Macedonian literary language established later, presenting at the same time a Macedonian national programme grounded on scientific analysis.

In addition, Misirkov published the journal *Vardar*¹⁹ in Odessa (fig. 9) as an unofficial monthly journal of the Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society. This journal was printed in only one issue on the 1 September 1905 and was never distributed. Because of the revolution and lack of funds, the printed journal remained in the printing house of Odessa, and only copies from the Censor’s Office have been preserved. This was the first scientific-literary and national-political journal to be published in contemporary Macedonian literary language and orthography,²⁰ including the first national statistics on the population in Macedonia (fig. 10) was designated as Macedonians (Ристовски 1978 I, 157–226, 367–424), generated by a Macedonian scholar, a collection of Macedonian folklore, as well

¹⁶ *Македонскій голос* (*Македонски глас*) [English: Macedonian voice]. On this journal, see: Апостолски et al. 1969, 5–29; Ристовски 1978 II, 367–424; Тодоровски 1997, 155–162; Радически 1997, 167–177.

¹⁷ *Балканъ* [English: Balkan].

¹⁸ *Курьеръ* [English: Courier].

¹⁹ On the printing activity of Dedov, Misirkov and Čupovski, see: Мокров, Груевски 1997, 179–186.

²⁰ Macedonian literary language and orthography were officially recognized by an act of state in 1944 at the First Session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia.

as ethnographic and historical treatises. The publisher explained the character of the journal in a letter to Professor Baudouin de Courtenay (26 July 1905):

On 1 August this year I will publish the monthly censored journal *Vardar*, dedicated to the interests of Macedonia, which will also have purely scientific interests in the field of studies of the Southern Slavs and Balkan Peninsula, treating topics from various points of view. *Vardar* will strive as much as possible to satisfy both its Balkan readers and those interested in the Macedonian question in general, as well as scientists interested in Macedonia from a linguistic, ethnographic, philological and historical point of view. (Ристовски 1966, 74).

The journal thus fully reflected the essence of the activities of Macedonian emigrant scholars. Its programme listed the following planned topics: ‘poetry, short stories, novels and plays covering topics from local life’, ‘monuments of old Slavonic literature and the oral Macedonian folk literature’, ‘the Macedonian literary language’, ‘the distinctive Macedonian dialects’, ‘Macedonian literary works’, ‘the people’s life and their cultural situation’, ‘literary schools and trends’, ‘characters, customs, costumes, people’s lifestyles, field and domestic tools, working methods, domestic order and upbringing, living conditions’, ‘the contemporary life of the Macedonians’, ‘the economic interests of the people’, ‘the distribution of land’, ‘churches, schools and literacy’, ‘national-religious education, ‘the patriotism of the intelligentsia’, ‘research and articles on the old and new history of Macedonia and the Macedonians’, ‘the most recent phenomena in the life of the Slavic peoples’, and ‘articles in Russian referring to Macedonia and the Macedonian question’ (Бернштейн 1958, 179–180).

One of the Society’s goals was the compilation of a **Dictionary** and this was officially recommended at the Second Regular Session (29 December 1902), at which it was decided: “Every member who wishes to write down several characteristic Macedonian words should hand them over to the secretary, who will then copy them in a special notebook, divided into four graphs: Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian”. Unfortunately, the Secretary Milan Stoilov died in the following year during the Ilinden Uprising and this notebook has not been discovered so far. It is known that Čupovski worked on a Macedonian-Russian Dictionary, but that this was destroyed in the bombing of Leningrad (1942). It is also known that a **Macedonian primer** was in preparation and that Pavel Ćulafkovski travelled to New York to carry out this printing (Ристовски 2017, 65).

What is most important in the context of our research is that their work originated from and was concerned with Macedonia and the need for building future cadres and institutions. In fact, all this intellectual movement in favour of the creation of a Macedonian state and institutions had its roots in Macedonia

and was only vocally and publicly expressed by Macedonian emigrants within severe constraints. Links to the homeland were constantly maintained in different ways, including journeys back home. For example, Misirkov undertook such a journey to his native village of Postol in 1900 to carry out field research that later resulted in the publication of the first known **Macedonian national statistics** on the population for the region of Enidže-Vardar. At the same time, he also collected folk tales and other ethnographic material. Such **collecting and presenting of folk songs and poems and customs** was a programmatic commitment undertaken by many other members. For example, Filip Nikolovski and Nikola Ničota recorded oral folklore during a visit to Macedonia with the purpose of opening **Macedonian schools**. The establishment of schools was one of the primary goals. Equally important was the attempt to open an Academy of Teachers in Skopje in 1910 by the Metropolitan Teodosija Gologanov (the leader of the third wave of the so-called Unionist movement),²¹ Poparsov and Misirkov.

We attempted to find a common thread running through Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia up to the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg, concerning the beginnings of the Macedonian academic research. Čupovski himself was inspired by Pulevski. It is a corroborated fact that Čupovski's brother, Nikola Čuparov,²² also used Pulevski's manuscripts and greatly respected Pulevski and his work. Blaže Ristovski believes that the activities of Čupovski and Pulevski in the period between 1890 and 1892 were related, when, as a member of his family's builder's crew, Dimitrija resided in Sofia and studied at the Macedonian night school there. That they had personal contact is corroborated by the fact that in Čupovski's personal library in St. Petersburg there was a nicely bound copy of Pulevski's *Slognica rečovska* in which Dimitrija himself had underlined the syntagma 'Slavic-Macedonian language' in red pencil on the very first page (Ристовски 1978 I, 93–95). The influence Pulevski had on Čupovski (Друговац-Стојановска, 1997) and the respect he commanded is also corroborated by the ideological connections between them in many other areas as well. Bearing all this in mind, we can say that Čupovski and his brothers continued Pulevski's ideology and adapted it to the new developments and knowledge in their struggle for affirmation of Macedonian national awareness and statehood. Besides, there is almost no difference between the names of the earlier Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society and the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society, and any thorough

²¹ One of the specific national manifestations was the movement in favour of a union with the Roman Catholic Church as a way to achieve cultural and national recognition as a separate church, language and people, including the opening of Macedonian schools (Ристовски 2001a, 249–259; Сидоровска-Чуповска 2009, 165–178).

²² His handwritten autobiography from 1924–1925 should be taken into consideration. Also the Charter on the establishment of the Cultural and Charitable Society of the Mijak Papradište-Oreše Region in Sofia was officially verified on 2 June 1923 and among its founders were Čupovski's brothers: K. D. Čuparov, N. D. Čuparov, P. D. Čuparov and T. Čuparov (Ристовска-Јосифовска 2004, 176–177).

comparative analysis of the documented works of Pulevski and the declared goals of the latter Society leads us to conclude that the Society may well have operated along the same lines. Čupovski was inspired by Pulevski and his activities, as can be inferred from the fact that he referred to the Society as *Slavic-Macedonian*, unlike his compatriot Misirkov who referred to it only as *Macedonian*.

By following the activities of cultural-national associations of Macedonian emigres, a common thread emerges revealing the beginnings of Macedonian academic research, starting with Pulevski's Slavic-Macedonian Literary Society in 1888 and continuing with the establishment of the Young Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia in 1891–1892. Many members of the same circle of Macedonian intellectuals later participated in the organization of two student societies, The Vardar in 1893–1894 and the Macedonian Club in 1902 in Belgrade. When some of these emigres moved to Russia, they established the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society in St. Petersburg. In the interwar years, the Macedonian Literary Circle in Sofia (1936–1942) played a significant role in preserving the legacy of these previous efforts, connecting the work of its predecessors with the first scholarly institutions established in the new Macedonian state. These first state academic institutions include the Association of Artists, Scholars and Scientists (1945), the Macedonian Writers' Association (1947), and the highest academic institution – the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1967).



Figure 1: Ćorġija M. Pulevski, dressed in a traditional folk costume, decorated with the medal of St. George awarded to him for bravery during the Russo-Ottoman War, holding the sabre given to him by the Russian Tsar



Figure 2: Dimitrija Čupovski in his student uniform in Petersburg. There is only a date handwritten by him on the back of the photo that reads: “1 May 1901 (–1–V–01–)”.



Figure 3: The front page of the newspaper *Balkanski glasnik* (Revue Balkanique)



Figure 4: Stefan Jakimov Dedov



Figure 5: Dijamandija Trpkov Mišajkov



Figure 6-8: Application from the founders of the Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society



Figure 9:
The front page of the journal Vardar
(1905)

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Список сел од јужна Македонија
(Пазарско, Солуничко, Гевгелишко и Кичево)*

1. Селата однаде (од југозапад, на запад) од Вардар:

№	Име на селото	Јазикот	Числа на македонски	Числа макед. макед.	Вкупно
1	Душаново	турци	околу	15	солуничка
2	Кочани			15	"
3	Мандишан	македонци	често	30	"
4	Долната Маја	"	"	100	"
5	Страната Маја	"	"	25	"
6	Горно Крушово	"	"	300	"
7	Ливадица	"	"	25	пазарска
8	Рани	"	"	20	"
9	Кочани	"	"	103	"
10	Петрово	"	"	110	"
11	Бутаново	"	"	30	"
12	Оризари	"	околу	50	"
13	Бара	"	често	15	"
14	Долно	"	"	15	"
15	Белешка (оттуда од Вардар)	"	околу	300	тишина
16	Хрбено	"	често	20	пазарска
17	Изар	"	"	10	"
18	Шиница	"	околу	60	"
19	Сово	"	"	250	"
20	Гурови	"	"	150	"
21	Туманово	"	"	30	"
22	Туман	"	"	60	"
23	Шабаро	турци	"	100	"
24	Кучино старо	македонци	често	?	"

*) Обележјата на македонските села се на Солуничко, Гевгелишко и Кичево, што се наоѓаат, а не во Вардар, а не во Кичево.

Figure 10:
The first Macedonian statistics

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Figure 1: Ćorgija M. Pulevski. The photo was first published in: *Македонски Голосъ (Македонски глас)*, I, 1, С.-Петербургъ, 9.VI 1913, 16.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF MACEDONIAN ACADEMIC RESEARCH AND INSTITUTION BUILDING (19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY)

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