Intelligentsia in exile. Bulgarian revolutionary emigration in the second half of the 19th century and the projects for a Balkan federation.

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Introduction

Research frames

In 1867 a Bulgarian revolutionary, historian and publicist named Georgi Rakovski died in Bucharest shortly after finishing his work *The Bulgarian hajduks,* dedicated to the Bulgarian national struggle against the Ottomans.[1] Rakovski, one of the most prominent representatives of the forming Bulgarian intelligentsia, spent the last years of his life in exile, laying the foundations for numerous state-building projects. Those plans were later adopted and developed by the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee established in 1869 - two years after Rakovski's death. The head of the committee, publicist Ljuben Karavelov, exploited and expanded the ideas of the "political liberation of the Bulgarian nation", "democratic rule over an independent Bulgarian state" and the "creation of a "Danubian federation" that could include Bulgaria and its neighbors in one political unit, enabling the Balkan nations to solve their disputes over contested borders and populations.[2] These Bulgarian intellectuals were born in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, they mostly lived, proclaimed their ideas and published their works abroad: in the newly established Romania or Serbia, in the Russian Empire or Germany. These individuals became minority elites, who originated in an Empire and started negotiating the rights of their group with the Ottoman authorities and, subsequently, their neighbors and Greater Powers.

The dissertation analyzes the correlation between the shifting status of minority elites and their political views using the example of the Bulgarian revolutionary intellectuals in the mid-19th century and their political projects with a focus on federalism. Unlike other state-building schemes, a federalist project is based on cooperation and allows a researcher to follow the compromises elites had to make and highlights the connections between different public actors. Thus, the shifting status of an individual and his/her political perceptions can be seen not only as personal choices, but as patterns of cooperation that remain valid for most intellectuals in European Empires.

[1] Rakovski, Georgi: *Bulgarskite hajduti*. Bucharest: Pechatnica C. Radulescu, 1867.
[2] Nikolov, Ivan: *Bulgarite i susednite narodi v publicistikata na Rakovski, Karavelov, Botev, Javorov.* Sofia: Makedonija Press, 1996: 20-23.

The dissertation investigates the social connections of the Bulgarian public actors from the mid-19th century to the formation of an independent Bulgarian state (1908). A boom of Balkan federalist projects started in the 1870s and saw periods of rise and decline afterwards.[3] The wider timeframe of the research, thus, allows to trace the impact and evolution of these political plans and the social ties behind them. These projects lay the foundation for the ideas of Balkan unity shared by Balkan socialists after the Balkan wars[4], and communists after the Second World War.[5] Thus, many political blueprints produced by minority elites left long-lasting traces in regional politics.

A 'Balkan federation' was not the only existing project harbored by the Bulgarian intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, Romania, Serbia or Russia. It coexisted with and often supplemented the Romanticist vision of a nation-state. Many Bulgarian intellectuals and their Balkan peers viewed a federative state as a suitable solution to the regional problems of consolidation.[6] However, while all Bulgarian 19-th-century intellectuals were nationalists, not all were federalists.

The research connects the rise of grand-scale political projects among the Bulgarian revolutionaries and their status of non-core group elites. This status is defined by extended social networking, political involvement and scarce material resources. The connection between the status of a public actor and his/her political thinking is often ignored, but it can allow to predict certain ideological turns and explain political motivations. Introducing federalism as one of the easily identifiable examples of the agents' ideologies, the dissertation argues that there's no significant difference between federalism and nationalism when it comes to the views of the mid-19th century non-core group public actors. To support this point, the research heavily relies on the entangled history approach,[7] concentrating on the ideological and

[3] Stavrianos, Leften. S.: "The Balkan Federation Movement A Neglected Aspect," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 48, No. 1 (Oct., 1942): 30-33.
[4] Damianova Zhivka: "La Fédération contre l'alliance militaire: les socialistes balkaniques et les guerres balkaniques 1912-1913", *Le Mouvement social , No. 147, La Désunion Des Prolétaires 1889-1919* (Apr. - Jun., 1989): 69-71; Nadoveza, Branko: *Balkanski socijalisti i balkanska federacija*. Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević, 1997
[5] Petranović, Branko*: Balkanska federacija 1943-1948*. Šabac : IKP Zaslon,1991.
[6] Pejkovska, Penka: "Dokladi na avstrijskite konsuli konsuli vuv Vidin, Ruse i Carigrad Adam Schulz, K. Wohlfarth, A. Prokesch-Osten do von Beust/ Reports of the Austrian consuls in Vidin, Ruse and Constantinople Adam Schultz, K. Wolfarth and A. Prokesh-Osten to F.F. von Beust 1869-1871", Izvestija na durzhavnite arhivi, kn. 68. Sofia: Izvestija na durzhavnite arhivi, 1994: 213-248.
[7] Mishkova, Diana: "Differentiation in Entanglement: Debates on Antiquity, Ethnogenesis and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Bulgaria", in Klaniczay, Gábor and Werner, Michael (eds.), *Multiple Antiquities - Multiple Modernities. Ancient Histories in Nineteenth Century European Cultures*. Frankfurt - Chicago: Universtiy of Chicago Press, 2011: 213-246.

political transfers happening in the region and the shared paths of the protagonists. The focus revolves around the study of connections through biographies. This approach allows to follow and explain the link between the personal (individual destinies) and theoretical (imperial context, the status of an agent in an egocentric network).[8] Thus, the research features several generations of public actors, demonstrating how views and circumstance changed and evolved to test and prove the hypothesis.

The status of a public actor and his/her social connections not only shaped his/her political thinking but could also influence the afterlife of the legacies and blueprints he/she left behind. The research, thus, creates a limited pattern, according to which a non-core group public actor in a position of political weakness was prone to envisioning a grand-scale political project based on his imperial backgrounds and experiences. The research focuses on the Bulgarian case but contains comparisons from other European non-core group intellectuals, while testing the viability of the pattern.

The dissertation suggests that nationalist and federalist projects shared the same sources of inspiration and that both were linked to the realities of the intellectuals and their imperial backgrounds. Contradictory attitudes to those backgrounds as well as the positions of the public actors in their networks often determined their political stances. In many cases, one comes across paradoxes. For example, in 1877, a Bulgarian intellectual Svetoslav Milarov depicted the Phanariots and the Patriarchate of Constantinople as primary enemies of the Balkan nation-states.[9] Yet, those were the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the religion-based community of the Rum-millet that helped sustaining vitality and culture of the Balkan peoples before the 19th-century national revivals. Most of the future nationalists, thus, were in one way or another connected to their Rum-Millet legacies. If one follows the gradual transformation of the narrow strata of intellectuals from 'Greek-dominated minorities' into 'elites' in their own Principality and, subsequently, an independent state, one may see how the status of nationalist agents, their background and their connections influenced their political projects depending on their attitudes, resources, destinies and sponsors. While in the position of perceived political strength, they attacked their neighbors. While in the position of perceived political weakness, they strove to acknowledge their shared legacies and goals. The Bulgarian case offers an

[8] Perry, Brea L., Bernice A. Pescosolido, and Stephen P. Borgatti: *Egocentric Network Analysis Foundations, Methods, and Models.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
[9] Milarov, Svetoslav: *Dvete kasti i vlasti.* Published in Македония/Makedonija, № 18, 25 of June 1872.

opportunity to follow the ideas and paths of intellectuals facing and adapting to political turmoil in a relatively short period.[10]

State of art

The idea of grouping intellectuals and searching for patterns in their experiences is not new. Various communities of European intellectuals in the 19th century were studied based on their connections and artistic inclinations. Joep Leerssen, for example, thoroughly investigated the trends of European Romanticism that created a whole community of artists, writers and agents that left both cultural and political impact on their societies.[11] Similarly, Italian Revolutionary emigrants adopted the trends of political Romanticism and became influential public actors in their own right, creating a vast array of political projects.[12] Above all, they were fundamental in shaping Italian national identity. The so-called Romanian 'fourty-eighters' played a similar role, as researched by Angela Jianu in her study of the ties between the Romanian intellectuals, who defined the politics of the Romanian state for decades to come.[13] Helena Toth included the Hungarian post-1849 emigration into the same European club of revolutionary intellectuals engaged in political creativity.[14] Similarly, religious activism in the Balkans in the 19th century also became a marker that allowed to target and estimate the influence of certain public actors based on their religious affiliation and political agenda.[15]

Although these approaches are all valid and allow to follow the resemblances between different European cases, none of them sets out to connect the status of the public actor with his/her political creativity, explaining the mechanisms behind one's revolutionary turn. However, the idea of cohort experience can enhance the value of the already-existing literature on the Balkan

[10] A similar analysis of an ever-adapting elite and the power of its' political arguments, for example, was carried out by Latinka Perović. See Perović, Latinka: *Dominantna i neželjena elita. Beleške o intelektualnoj i političkoj eliti u Srbiji (XX-XXI vek).* Beograd: Dan Graf, 2015.
[11] Leerssen, J. & Rigney, A.: "Fanning out from Shakespeare." In: J. Leerssen & A. Rigney (eds.), *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building and Centenary Fever*. (1-24) London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014: 4
[12] Isabella, Maurizio*: Risorgimento in exile. Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 92-99
[13] Jianu, Angela: *A Circle of Friends: Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840-1859.* Leiden: Brill, 2011: 178-183.
[14] Tóth, Helena: *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014; 20-73.
[15] Buchenau, Klaus: *Auf russischen Spuren, Orthodoxe Antiwestler in Serbien 1850-1945*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011: 23.

intellectuals and clarify the similarities between ideologically different agents. An agent's status can partially determine the political potential of an agent and, thus, add to the already existing works on various types of activism and individual destinies. Thus, when Leerssen points out the importance of written communication for Romanticist intellectuals,[16] he does not touch upon the different paths that brought his protagonists to their careers. However, if one assumes that there's a shared public sphere, a network of connections, one may also assume that there was a limited number of ways one could become a part of it. This thesis, thus, proposes a way of grouping individuals based on their non-core group status to use it as a marker for their political and cultural potential.

This work partially becomes a contribution to the research of inter-Balkan liaisons from the perspective of a cohort. Several authors assembled Balkan national narratives together stressing the links between Bulgarian nationalist elites and their counterparts and paving the way for this research. The subject of Bulgarian-Romanian relations in the 19th century has been touched upon by few researchers. Constantin Velichi, for example, can be regarded as one of the prominent historians, who treated the material mainly in the key of 'friendship' between popular democracies established after 1948.[17] Identity debates in the 19th century became the focus of Balázs Trencsényi's work.[18] Similarly, Blagovest Njagulov researched the role of the Bulgarian elites in the Romanian state and their place in the foreign society, while Dobrinka Parusheva concentrated on the similarities and connections between the political elites in Romania and Bulgaria.[19] Balkan interconnections also became a prominent topic for joined works that attempt to introduce a framework that includes regional history.[20] Thus, Bulgarian nationalists appear in one way or another in most works dedicated to the comparisons of state and nation-building trends in Central and Southeastern Europe.

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[16] Leerssen, J.: "Viral nationalism: romantic intellectuals on the move in nineteenth-century Europe." *Nations and Nationalism, 17 (2)*, 2011: 257–271; 258

[17] Velichi, Constantin N.: *La contribution de l'émigration bulgare de Valachie: à la renaissance politique et culturelle du peuple bulgare (1762-1850).* Bucarest: Éditions de l'Académie R.S.R. 1970; Velichi, Constantin N., and Creţeanu R.*: La Roumanie et le mouvement révolutionnaire bulgare de libération nationale: 1850-1878.* Bucuresti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979.

[18] Trencsényi, Balazs and Michal Kopeček, (eds.): *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1775-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, Volume II: National Romanticism. The Formation of National Movements (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007)

[19] Njagulov, Blagovest: "Bulgarian minority elites in Greater Romania (1918-1940)" In: Demeter, G., Peykovska, P. (eds.). *Political, social, economic and cultural elites in the Central and East-European states in modernity and post-modernity*. Budapest: 2010: 189-199; Parusheva, Dobrinka. *Pravitelstveniyat elit na Rumŭniya i Bŭlgariya vtorata polovina na XIX i nachaloto na XX ve*k. Sofia: Institut za Balkanistika, 2008.

[20] Mishkova, Diana: *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Vol. 4: Concepts, Approaches, and (Self-) Representations (co-edited with Roumen Daskalov, Tchavdar Marinov, Alexander Vezenkov)* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.

The impact of the Bulgarian nationalists on regional networking and the development of federalist ideas attracted much less attention from the researchers. Constantinescu-Iasi[21] as well as Velichi thoroughly explored Romanian-Bulgarian interactions through the biographies of several individuals, failing, however, to produce a general regional picture. The works of Blagovest Njagulov as well as those of Antonina Kuzmanova[22] contributed greatly to the topic of Romanian-Bulgarian diplomatic relations, however, they did not touch upon grand-scale political projects and the specific place of the plans of the Bulgarian emigrants in the Balkan political thought.

Imperial inspirations in the Balkans state-building processes laid the basis for the works of Diana Mishkova[23] and Alexandar Ignjatović[24] that treated the subject of the revised imperial legacies and their influences on the political thought in the region. And while Byzantine legacies remain an interesting topic for the researches, who followed and analyzed their application by the Balkan intellectuals as well as their influence on the regional political thought,[25] they do not include other Imperial legacies that inspired and shaped the ideas of the public actors. Thus, the current dissertation focuses mostly on the concept of grand-scale state-building projects and their origins and applications based on the status of the agents. It goes beyond a simple study of an elite or a review of Balkan federalism and/or nationalism.

The existing body of literature related to the Balkan federalist projects[26] covers the development of the idea from the late 18th century and Rigas Feraios's plans to re-establish the

[21] Constantinescu-Iași, Petre: *Despre români și bulgari. Contribuții istorice la prietenia româno-bulgară,* București: editura de stat, 1949, Constantinecu-Iași, Petre. *Din Activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari la Bucureşti*. Bucuresti, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1950.
[22] Njagulov, Blagovest et al.: *Istorija na Dobrudzha. Vol. 4*. 1878-1944. Veliko Turnovo: Faber, 2007. Kuzmanova, Antonina: *Ot Neuille do Craiova. Vuprosut za Juzhna Dobrudzha v mezhdunarodnite otnoshenija (1919-1940).* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1989.
[23] Mishkova, Diana: "The Afterlife of a Commonwealth: Narratives of Byzantium in the National Historiographies of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania" In: Roumen Daskalov and Tchavadar Marinov (eds), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*. Leiden: Brill, 2015: 118–273
[24] Ignjatović, Aleksandar: "Byzantium's Apt Inheritors: Serbian Historiography, Nation-Building and Imperial Imagination, 1882–1941" *The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 94, No. 1 (January 2016):* 57-92.
[25] Bakić-Hayden, Milica: "What's So Byzantine About the Balkans?" In: Dušan I. Bjelić and Obrad Savić (eds), *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 61–78.
[26] The topic is especially prominent among the Bulgarian and Serbian historians. As an example one may refer to Конев, Иван/Ivan Konev: "Utopiite na Balkanite kato ideal na perspektiva" In: *Predci i predtechi – mitove i utopii na Balkanite. Blagoevgrad: Mezhdunaroden universitetski seminar za balkanistichni prouchavanija I specializacii pri JUZU* "Neofit Rilski", 1997; Lalkov Milco: *Ot nadezhda kum razocharovanije, idejata za federacija v balkanskija jugoiztok.* Sofia: Vek 22, 1994; Stojanov, Cvetan: *Federativnata ideja v bulgaro-srubskite otnoshenija.* Sofia: durzhavna pechatnica, 1919. Topalov, Kiril: *Rakovski i Rigas v kulturno-istoricheskite modeli na Balkanskoto vuzrazdane*. Sofia: Kliment Ohridski, 2003.

Byzantine State[27] to the 20th century's successful and unsuccessful attempts to create 'Yugoslavias'.[28] Behind this long-living scholarly tradition, little remains uninvestigated. However, one should point out that general treatment of Balkan federalism as a locally isolated peripheral matter with little relevance to similar developments in other parts of the world[29] prevents it from being subjected to a systematic analysis that could establish deep-rooted interconnections and subsequently facilitate the understanding of the causes that initially animated the movement.

The idea of Balkan federalist projects was the topic of an outstanding research of Leften S. Stavrianos published as early as 1944.[30] Since then, however, little has been written on the subject. Later works dealt mainly with the 20th-century aspect of the problem only briefly mentioning the 19th-century origins of the issue and focusing on the general theme of federalism and its application. Thus, the fundamental publication of the Bulgarian historian Milcho Lalkov[31] gave a general overview of the federalist issues in the Balkans, while Stojanov's work stresses the Bulgarian-Serbian interaction regarding the same matter.[32] The majority of the existing works either treated the movement as unduly homogenous and static throughout its lifespan (or a collection of different static and homogeneous movements), teleologically and proleptically reading the future into the past.[33] Thus, they found the greatest value in language and actions which resemble a modern understanding of revolutionary movement and reform while ignoring those less-familiar particularities which are foreign to modern sensibilities, yet integral for the period of analysis. Therefore, the current research tests these narratives and the accompanying historiographical hypotheses and assumptions with reference to the realities and statuses of the public actors as well as the publications of the émigrés and their circle.

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[27] Lalkov, Milcho: *Ot nadezhda kum razocharovanije, idejata za federacija v balkanskija jugoiztok.* Sofia: Vek 22, 1994: 14.
[28] For further details see Jenchev, Velizar: J*ugoslavija – poslednata balkanska imperija*. Sofia: Renesans, 2005.
[29] One of the reasons for such a "localized" treatment of the issue may initially be connected to the popularity of the Balkan federative ideas mainly in Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, occasionally Greek and even Hungarian historiographies (especially regarding the late federative ideas of Lajos Kossuth), while very little has been written on the topic since 1950s in English, French or German.
[30] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *Balkan federation; a history of the movement toward Balkan unity in modern times.* Hamden: Archon Books, 1964.
[31] Lalkov, Milcho: *Ot nadezhda kum razocharovanije, idejata za federacija v balkanskija jugoiztok.* Sofia: Vek 22, 1994: 15-23.
[32] Stojanov, Cvetan: *Federativnata ideja v bulgaro-srubskite otnoshenija.* Sofia: durzhavna pechatnica, 1919.
[33] Quentin Skinner called this the "mythology of prolepsis", which was "the type of mythology we are prone to generate when we are more interested in the retrospective significance of a given episode than in its meaning for the agent at the time". See Skinner, Quentin: *Visions of Politics, Volume 1: Regarding Method.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: 73.

Challenges

The approach and methodology of the dissertation complement the existing narratives, but also contribute to the understanding of the innovations and inspirations of the Bulgarian state-building, its significance in the modern context, and its implications for the concepts like nation and modernity. The research, therefore, is not only a necessary continuation of the related works of several historians, but also an attempt to connect individual status and background with an eventual political impact. Focusing on the development of social connections, the dissertation follows personal ties and maps the changes in time and space. Thus, the publications and letters of the Bulgarian nationalists form the core of the sources used in the research. The process of identifying and grouping these elites remains complicated and, thus, requires a degree of precision as well as a wider grasp.

First, the background of the Bulgarian elite was nearly identical to that of other regional nationalists. Yet, they remained distinct. The Balkan nations, parts of the Romaean community,[34] once considered parts of the same *millet*,[35] sharing Ottoman past and legacy and post-Byzantine cultural and political imprints,[36] developed different types of elites by the mid-19th century: the noble-born (in most cases Phanariot or boyar Romanian aristocracy) and the Bulgarian and Serbian peasant or, in several cases, low middle-class merchant elite. Nevertheless, the individuals belonging to these different elites often preserved tight political and social connections. And their mutual disagreements and debates do not allow to analyze either of these intellectuals in a vacuum. What is at stake, therefore, is the question of the contribution of the Bulgarian emigrants to the ideological side of the Bulgarian struggle for independence and the role of the Romanian, Serbian, Greek elites in the creation of the Bulgarian intelligentsia.

One cannot comprehend the realities of Bulgarian intellectuals with their specific sets of traits without linking them to their foreign peers. While focusing on the Bulgarian nationalists, the

[34] Detrez, Raymond: "Pre-national identities in the Balkans" In: Daskalov, Rumen, Marinov, Chavdar (eds.) *Entangled histories of the Balkans. Volume 1: National Ideologies and language policies*. Leiden: Brill, 2013: 35-45.

[35] The *millet* is a debated term in the Ottoman history, and widely accepted view now is that it came to mean a belonging to a nation or one of the three religious groups: Greek Orthodox, Jews, and Armenians, only in the nineteenth century. For a seminal work on the meaning of *millet* in the Ottoman history see Braude, Banjamin: "Foundation Myths of the *Millet* System." In: *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. Teaneck: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982: 69-88.

[36] For further details about the population data in the Ottoman Empire before its collapse see Karpat, Kemal: *Ottoman population, 1830-1914: demographic and social characteristics*. Madison: Wisconsin, 1985.

dissertation follows their destinies, comparing them to the paths of their elder peers and their contemporaries from other non-core groups, with whom they shared attitudes, connections, arguments and political struggles. The ideas expressed by these mobile public actors impacted the relations between Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria, and defined Balkan politics for decades to come. Thus, one cannot simply describe individual destinies, but needs to see a pattern in them – a cohort experience.

Another challenge of the dissertation lies in the systematization of the multiple state-building projects produced by the intellectuals. In terms of state and nation-building, the work largely relies on Harris Mylonas's theory as methodically explained in his book "The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities."[37] Combining Brubaker's civic and ethnocultural nationhood, Mylonas focuses on the importance of international and geostrategic concerns for nation-building policies.[38] Examining the host-state, a non-core group and an external power targeting it, he creates a convincing approach, claiming that the non-core group's fate (a 'minority' described as a cluster of people with less influence on one level or another than the core-group running the state) largely depends on the external factors, such as its international support by states ethnically or culturally related to the group.[39] In the Balkan context, the Bulgarian mid-19th century elites offer an interesting case of a non-core group that quickly starts its transformation into a core-group. Thus, with the status, changes the political orientation.

The boundaries of a core group are rarely strictly determined, which makes the term itself dependent on one's perception. A core group contracts and expands, depending on the strategies chosen by those defining its' rights and status. The current thesis claims that mobile elites contributed to the separation of core and non-core groups, playing the roles of 'epistemic communities', justifying their political rights in order to widen the influence of their peers.[40] Their aim was always to upgrade the status of their own group, often at the expense of others. Thus, one should always bear in mind that even a non-core group is not homogenous and can include unwanted elements or even non-core groups of its' own.

[37] Mylonas, Harris: *The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
[38] Mylonas, Harris: Op. cit.: 17-23
[39] For the details on the motivation for external involvement, see Mylonas, Harris: Op. cit.: 30-49
[40] Adler, Emmanuel and Peter M. Haas: "Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program." *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 1, Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination (Winter, 1992): 367-390.

While Mylonas claims that the relations between a host-state and its neighbors determine the policies of expulsion, accommodation or assimilation that target a non-core group, he does not study a group's mobility and its' impact. His theory can be applied to multi-national empires that possessed a certain privileged core-group (or groups).[41] In the case of mobile elites, however, irredentist approaches often depended on their own organization and the support and competition with fellow non-core groups. Current research explains this particularity through the tight connections established between the revolutionary intellectuals (who were few) and their circle in the neighboring states and beyond (that was also narrow, but influential).[42] They could influence the inclusion and exclusion of their peers through their own networks, complicating the choices of the imperial authorities.

The conflicts and ties of the Balkan public actors cannot be separated from the ideal of a 'nation-state' that dominated the political thinking of the public actors even in the context of wider regional projects. Thus, the dissertation focuses on the challenges of its' creation. As Maria Todorova puts it: "In practice, however, nobody would underline the fact that the motive for ethnical conflicts is not an ethnic multitude (frequently used as a notion synonymous with the racial), but an ethnic multitude in the frames of an idealized nation-state that strives for an ethnic homogeneity"[43], therefore the research argues that with an inclusive approach the intellectuals were trying to reconcile nationalist emancipation with the political interests of their neighbors and Greater Powers. The introduction of inclusivity, however, was never their main goal.

The Bulgarian émigrés were a tight-knit and easily identifiable group, however, they tended to present themselves as different from their foreign peers and even members of other non-core group elites. However, they resembled other non-core group elites despite their occasional claims about their exceptional position. Hence, the project goes beyond a simple description of the Bulgarian nation-building strategies reflected in the works of the prominent agents but attempts to position the revolutionary nationalists and their plans within the general framework

[41] For an explanation of a correlation between nationalism and irredentism see Ambrosio, Thomas: *Irredentism Ethnic Conflict and International Politics.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001: 15-20.
[42] For the Romanian- Bulgarian case see Velichi, Constantin N., and Radu Eanu*: La Roumanie Et Le Mouvement Révolutionnaire Bulgare De Libération Nationale: 1850-1878.* Bucuresti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979, for the Bulgarian-Serbian case see Todorov, Velichko:*"Znam gi az tjah!" Surbija I surbite v bulgarskata literatura.* Sofia: Liternet, 2000. For more similar cases see Danova, Nadja: "Obrazut na gurcite, surbite, albancite I rumuncite v bulgarskata knizhina." In: Zheljazkova, Antonina (ed.) Vruzki na suvmestimost i nesuvmestimost mezhdu hristijani i mjusulmani v Bulgarija. Sofia: Фондация "Междунар. център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1995: 57-135.
[43] Todorova Maria: *Evropejski prostranstva: kak mislim za Balkanite.* Sofia: Prosveta, 2010: 38.

of the existing and developing ideas in Europe.[44] It reconciles the tension between cultural particularism[45] and large-scale processes happening in the region.

While using Meininger's concept of nationalist Bulgarian intelligentsia formed in 1835-1878 that framed the later development of Bulgaria as an independent state,[46] the research represents the Bulgarian revolutionaries as typical European intellectuals of the period – Romanticist nationalists. While acknowledging the impact of Western ideas on the public actors, the project explores how geographical location, cultural, economic, and intellectual ties between the Balkan states shaped the political imagination of the elites. Thus, the research focuses not only on the Balkan setting, but on the mechanisms behind political status, imperial non-homogeneity and Romanticist politics that determined the paths and political impact of the many European non-core group elites.[47] While not identical to Western patterns, Bulgarian nationalism can be compared to the Western analogues since the observed object, as Maria Todorova puts it referring to Heisenberg effect, "is revealed not as it is itself but as a function of measurement".[48]

The case of the Bulgarian intelligentsia in exile may be interesting, but it is not unique (the so-called Polish "*Wielka Emigracja*", the Great Emigration of 1831-1870 can be viewed as an interesting example of an elite in exile).[49] Its particularity includes its predominantly, peasant or low-middle class backgrounds and close ties with the neighbouring elites explained by the shared Byzantine and Ottoman past. All Bulgarian state-building projects either included their neighbours as participants or mentioned them as opponents. But they also shared political debates, especially when they touched upon unifying projects or contested territories. The dissertation, thus, provides a new analysis of the political discourse about the Balkan mid-19th century intelligentsias. Referencing the established narratives, the research focuses on the emigrants' discourse of self-interpretation and self-organization as found in their publications and letters.

[44] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann: "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity, *History and Theory,* Vol. 45, No. 1 (Feb., 2006): 32.
[45] Hopkins, A.G.: "Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History," *Past & Present*, No. 164 (1999): 198.
[46] Meininger, Thomas A.: *The formation of a nationalist Bulgarian intelligentsia, 1835-1878*. New York, Garland Pub., 1987.
[47] Daskalov, Roumen: "Bulgarian-Greek dis/entanglements" In: Daskalov, R, Marinov, Ch, (eds.) *Entangled histories of the Balkans. Volume one: National Ideologies and language policies.* Leiden: Brill, 2013: 168-169.
[48] Todorova, Marija: *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997: 10.
[49] For further information see Bade, Klaus J.: *Migration in European History*. Oxford, Blackwell, 2003: 134.

Plan

The dissertation consists of five parts, each addressing a specific question. The first chapter justifies the chosen terms and explains the approach that combines an analysis of social connections and an entangled history of imperial subjects. The non-core group elites became a group of people, who were both different from their imperial sovereigns and from their overwhelmingly peasant and/or indifferent countrymen. The clashes of their reality and political ideals resulted in the formation of connections between like-minded individuals, who shared more with each other than with the typical representatives of their national club. In many cases such individuals faced difficulties when trying to find a place for themselves in their states since their sovereigns were unable to accommodate their political aspirations. Their states provided them with education, connections and experiences that later determined their political projects and anti-imperial choices. However, they did not provide them with the desired political opportunities.

The chapter explains why non-core group elites become a viable category of analysis and highlights the representative role of the Bulgarian case. Since Bulgarian revolutionaries were not the only mobile European intellectuals harboring grand-scale projects,[50] they can be, theoretically, replaced with several other examples.[51] The uniqueness of the Bulgarian case lies in its' relatively late development and its' quick transformation from non-core to core group. While Serbia,[52] Greece and Romania were either on their way to securing full independence from the Ottoman Empire or had already gained it by the mid-19th century,[53] Bulgaria only became fully independent from the Ottomans in 1908.[54] Its complicate path to independence produced several cohorts of intellectuals in a relatively short period that allows one to trace the transformations of state-building ideas and webs of connections simultaneously. It should also

[50] One of the cases that is mentioned and analyzed in the subsequent chapters is that of a Polish Prince, a notable politician and diplomat, Adam Czartoryski and his project for a Balkan federation. For further details see Zurek, Piotr: "Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and the plan of the Balkan Federation (1804-1806)" *UDK Izvorni znanstveni rad Primljeno*: 8. 7. 2002.
[51] The concept of "revolutionary intelligentsia" is borrowed from Meininger, Thomas A.: *The formation of a nationalist Bulgarian intelligentsia, 1835-1878.* New York, Garland Pub., 1987.
[52] The Serbian case represents a long and complicated pass from suzerainty to full independence. Following the revolution of 1804-1817, it initially included only the former Pashaluk of Belgrade, but gained further territories later. See Serbia and the South Slavs: 1878-1914. In Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453.* New York, Rinehart, 1958: 448-467.
[53] Stavrianos.: Op. cit. 450-451.
[54] For a general view on the sequence of events in the Bulgarian history leading to 1908, see Crompton, R. J.: *Bulgaria*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, also Mazover, Mark: *Balkan: kratka istorija*. Alexandria Press, Beograd, 2003. Chary, Frederick, B.: *The history of Bulgaria*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2011.

be pointed out that, unlike Croatian or, for instance, Slovak elites[55], Bulgarian intellectuals often started their nationalist organizations and societies abroad, which also makes their case distinct.

The second part explores the nature of Balkan federalist ideas that took root when their propagators were unable to implement them. The chapter analyzes the origins of Balkan federalism and questions its inclusivity. The part deals with the similarities between irredentist and federalist projects, pointing out the same inspirations that gave life to these ideas. While relying on the publications of the intellectuals, beginning with Rakovski (probably, one of the first notable Bulgarian revolutionary emigrants of the 19th century),[56] the research follows their views through the whole process of Bulgaria's transition from the territory controlled by the Ottomans to an independent state. The chapter explains whether the so-called federalist projects were indeed federalist and in what sense.

The third part introduces the concept of an Imperial biography and social network analysis. It investigates how the Empires shaped their non-core groups and determined the allegiances of their elites. The chapter questions the 'oppressive' role of the Empire/s, presenting them as states that inspired and supported (mostly unintentionally) state-building creativity and education of their subjects. The part tests whether the Ottoman Empire indeed created its' own downfall in the Bulgarian intelligentsia following the Tanzimat reforms. It also questions the effectiveness of the methods used by the authorities to suppress the revolutionary movements and networks within the Empires.

The fourth section explores the longevity of an idea network and the transformations that state-building ideas suffered following political changes in the region. The chapter asks if grand-scale political projects that depended on social connections and imperial realities endured when those realities faded. This part investigates the process of the gradual growth of misunderstanding and controversy between the Balkan countries after 1878, resulting in the Balkan wars several decades later. This transition is shown through the case of the Bulgarian

[55] For an interesting case of Croatian resistance to Austro-Hungarian dominance, see Petrungaro. Stefano: "Fire and honor. On the comparability of popular protests in late 19th century Croatia-Slavonia," In: Rutar, Sabine (ed.) *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an inclusive history of Southeastern Europe.* Berlin, Lit, 2014: 247-265, for the Slovak case, one may refer to biographies and analyzes of the protagonists of the national revival. See Van Duin, Pieter: *Central European crossroads: social democracy and national revolution in Bratislava (Pressburg), 1867-1921*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2009. Brock Peter: *The Slovak National awakening: an essay in the intellectual history of East Central Europe*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976: 52. L'udovit Štúr and his Young Slovaks called for Slovak autonomy first within Hungary and later as a separate crown land of the Habsburg monarchy.

[56] Shishmanov, Ivan: "Rakovski kato politik", In: "Bulgarskijat vupros", Sofia: BAN., 2003: 480-512

intelligentsia and its growing expansionist ideas that confront the plans of Greece, Romania or Serbia. Furthermore, it explains the different paths and turns the federalist idea took, linking it to a significant change in the status of elites. (from a non-core to a core group)

The final chapter investigates the commemoration practices that define the afterlives of the public actors and their subsequent ascendency to the national pantheon. It explains how the paths and statuses of mobile public actors determined the extents of their social connections and the routes of their ideas, adding maps of their travels to the previous sections. It elaborates why different public actors occupied different positions in the web of social connections and how these positions defined the afterlives of their political projects. Dealing with the trajectories of individuals, the last part links formal and informal networking to the direction that state-building initiatives took. Finally, it elaborates on the reasons behind the rise and fall of federalism from the point of view of public actors' status and mobility.

A controversial topic during the Balkan Wars, the Balkan federalist idea reappears in historiography during and after the Second World War.[57] One of the possible federations, Yugoslavia, becomes a functioning example of a federative state in the Balkans. Those were mainly the 19-century Balkan intellectuals, on whose projects and ideas, the new state-building plans relied. The plans of those intellectuals, however, were rooted in their backgrounds and statuses that can explain both their nationalist and federalist turns. Without understanding the context of their projects, one cannot estimate their potential impact and the endurance of their ideas. The connection between individual status and political projects uncovers paradoxical attitudes, rivalries and choices that the individuals made, and the states endured.

[57] Geshkoff, Theodore. *Balkan union: A road to peace on Southeastern Europe.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Stavrianos, Leften Stavros. *Balkan federation; a history of the movement toward Balkan unity in modern times.* Hamden: Archon Books, 1964.

Chapter I. Building blocks: terms, methodology and approaches

In 1879 the poet Ljuben Karavelov published an article entitled "What do we require?" where he explicitly stated that "the aim of all Balkan Slavs is, firstly, national unity, secondly, racial solidarity, thirdly, the principle of freedom."[58] The terms used by Karavelov in his paper appeared in one form or another in all state-building projects and pamphlets produced by the mid-19th century Balkan intellectuals and their later followers. They often arrived at different conclusions, yet, they used the same political vocabulary, discussed the same topics, exchanged and debunked similar ideas. This chapter asks if minority elites can be a category of analysis based on their shared experiences, political strivings, realities and backgrounds. Using the Bulgarian intellectuals in the mid-19th century, the chapter argues that non-core group elites are a direct product of Imperial reforms and, thus, reflect the shifting nature of their states.

First, the part explains the application of the most important terms and notions and demonstrates how they aide in defining non-core group elites. Second, it analyses the realities of the Bulgarian non-core group intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire and shows how the context changed in the mid-19th century. The research classifies the protagonists as imperial subjects[59] and demonstrates how these individuals were shaped by their surroundings. While their realities bore a resemblance to other cases, one may see the Bulgarian example as representative. The Bulgarian elites were not noble-born and mainly came from the Greek circles of the Empire, which makes their cases special. Yet, they followed the same political trends as other nationalist intellectuals in Europe and often had connections with them, which makes the Bulgarian example general. Third, the chapter explains the choice of the public actors for the inquiry, providing a practical template of characteristics determined by their background and upbringing. Fourth, it clarifies the nature of the sources used for the research and the shortcomings they may have. And, finally, it answers the question, whether there's a pattern that allows one to see nationalist intellectuals as a separate group and a product of an Empire.

[58] Karavelov, Ljuben, Kakvo ni trjabva? Published in Завтава/Zastava, г. IV, № 31, 14 of March 1869 (Каравелов, Любен, Какво ни трябва?)
[59] Aust, Martin, Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin Schenk (eds.): *Imperial Subjects. Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Romanovs, Habsburger und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert.* Köln: Bohlau, 2015: 11-39.

Starting point: terms and notions

The term 'non-core group' that plays a crucial role in the research, is borrowed from Harris Mylonas.[60] The notion designates a community ideologically distinct from the main segment of the state's population, often with fewer political rights or lesser representation due to their national or religious affiliations, but not exclusively. While one may employ the word 'minority', the 'non-core group' becomes a preferable choice for the thesis. The term highlights the nature of the group that does not correlate with the number of people making up its bulk: a non-core group can be vocal, politically active, or barely noticeable. The Christian population in the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire, for example, made up a non-core group that played an important part in the life of the state, but never reached the same rights and freedoms as their Muslim peers.

The term 'non-core group' is also useful for defining those, who were, for one reason or another, not part of the most privileged community that met the state's full approval. One should point out that, in the context of European Empires, a public actor from a non-core group background could often pursue a traditional Imperial career becoming a typical representative of a 'core-group'. The porous structure of the core-group allowed one to access it, but it required, in most cases, that one discarded his/her previous national or religious identity or, in some cases, diminished its' importance. While certain individuals made the choice easily, others clung to their affiliations. Thus, it was not exclusively national or racial identity that discerned a member of a non-core group, but a political stance: most of the protagonists of the research, for example, knowingly adopted a 'less privileged' identity. The reasons behind this self-labelling could be both necessity and a deliberate choice. In the Bulgarian context, it was often motivated by personal choice[61] and rarely by sheer necessity.

Most members of non-core groups, including their elites, became 'semi-others' in the eyes of the authorities and neighbours. This 'semi-othering' showcases their specific position as the subjects and propagators of a variation of 'orientalism'. Different types of 'Orientalism'[62] are common when dealing with a 'foreign' element that is different from the familiar patterns.

[60] Mylonas, Harris: *The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012: 2-4.
[61] An individual with a Rum-Millet background could easily make an imperial career. Among such examples one may name a prominent Ottoman Military man, Omer Pasha, a Serb by origin, who rose up the Ottoman military ranks, converted to Islam and had a rather eventful life in the service of his Empire during the Tanzimat era. See Jelavich, Barbara: *History of the Balkans.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983: 349.
[62] Said, Edward: *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage books edition, 1979: 3-10.

However, according to Maria Todorova's definition, a 'semi-other' falls in-between the familiar and the foreign.[63] And the protagonists of the research fall into this category. 'Balkanism'[64] explains the perception of the protagonists by other European public actors, who viewed them as less civilized and less developed, although not completely divergent[65]. These Western perceptions remained valid for most of the East-European elites in the 19th century.[66] They influenced these elites, who, in their turn, turned these perceptions against their neighbors, fellow non-core groups or their sovereigns, painting them as less civilized. And one cannot ignore their impact when dealing with non-core group elites.

'Semi-othering' also defined the way non-core groups perceived each other and Greater Powers. They often treated fellow non-core groups as inferior when crafting state-building projects and defining borders.[67] Thus, the term 'semi-othering' helps to explain, for example, the contradicting attitudes of the public actors to federalism (a usually 'inclusive' ideology) and, simultaneously, their ardent and 'exclusive' nationalism. Besides that, 'semi-othering' clarifies why several non-core groups tend to either cooperate or compete, questioning the similarities of their political situations. All non-core group elites lacked resources to create independent political entities "pressing on the symbolic borders of the nation state by strengthening centrifugal forces within the national society".[68] Because of their precarious positions they could not avoid both competing and communicating with their states and other non-core groups.[69]

Political clashes between non-core group elites were difficult to avoid because all these individuals inhabited the Europe of Empires. For non-core groups it meant shared Imperial legacies: Empires had vast territories controlled by a single government and ruled over non-homogeneous populations. All Imperial subjects were familiar with this framework. Certainly,

[63] Todorova, Maria: *Evropejski prostranstva: kak mislim za Balkanite*. Sofia: Prosveta, 2010: 27-31.
[64] Todorova, Maria: *Imagining the Balkans.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 1-15.
[65] Mishkova, Diana: 'V tarseneto na balkanskija oksidentalizam,' in: *Balkanskijat XIX vek. Drugi prochiti*, ed. Diana Mishkova, Sofia: Riva, 2006: 235-273.
[66] Wolff, Larry: *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994: 284-332.
[67] Trencsényi, Balazs; Kopecek, Michal. (eds.): *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1775-1945): Texts and Commentaries.* Vol. II. National Romanticism. The Formation of National Movements. Budapest: CEU Press, 2007.
[68] Gripsrud, Jostein, Eide, Martin, Moe Hallvard et al. *The Idea of the Public Sphere: A Reader*. Lanham: Lexington books, 2010: 25.
[69] Daskalov, Roumen: *Debating the Past: Modern Bulgarian History; From Stambolov to Zhivkov*. Budapest and New York: CEU press, 2011: 7-10; Trencsényi, Balázs. 'Political Romanticism and National Characterology in Modern Romanian Intellectual History', In: *Re-Searching the Nation: The Romanian File*. Sorin Mitu (ed.) Cluj-Napoca: International Book Access, 2008: 245-270.

the cohorts of Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian or Polish emigrants in the mid-19th century were subjects of different states. Yet they all shared an experience of a life in a vast multi-national formation - the Ottoman, Russian or Habsburg.[70] Their shared understandings were defined not by their lives in one political unit (as in the case of the Hungarian post-1849 emigrants and their Romanian counterparts from Wallachia and Moldova, for example),[71] but by their status of a non-core group within a Greater Power and their clashing interests. This status served as a starting point for many of the bright international relationships and resulted in several joint political projects that are scrutinized in further chapters.

A similar status coupled with similar political aspirations resulted in the rise of written debates. Both political projects and international connections were brought about by what can be defined as an epistemic community.[72] The Bulgarian intellectuals, just like their Romanian or Hungarian counterparts, existed through a community of letters: projects, pamphlets, letters and books facilitated international and local knowledge exchange. Non-core group elites could not exist without their written communication, and these are their writings that allow one to trace group dynamics.[73] These intellectual elites molded a Romanticist type of a nation (a nation of letters rather than of blood).[74] Yet they are rarely defined as an epistemic community by researchers, although this term is very helpful in understanding the nature of these cohorts. It was exactly their written communication that allowed these revolutionaries, thinkers and philosophers to gain significant fame outside the borders of their homeland.[75] Without their written heritage or the written heritage produced by their peers, their names would not have preserved considerable social cultural and political authority in the decades to come.[76] Moreover, the written heritage is a direct reflection of their status: their political ideas, lives in

[70] Anievas, Alexander: *Capital, the State, and War: Class Conflict and Geopolitics in the Thirty Years' Crisis, 1914-1945* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2014: 88-89

[71] Miskolczy, Ambrus: 'Dialogues among Hungarian and Romanian exiles, 1850-1851'. In: *Geopolitics in the Danube Region* (Ignác Romsics and Béla Király eds.) Budapest: CEU Press, 1999: 99-129.

[72] Haas, Michael. "Epistemic Communities and International-Policy Coordination," *International Organization*, 1992, *46*, p. 1–35. Davis Cross, Mai'a. Rethinking epistemic communities twenty years later. *Review of International Studies*, 39, 2013: 137-160.

[73] Tóth, Heléna: An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 16-20.

[74] Suny, Ronald G.; Kennedy, Michael D: *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999: 25-32.

[75] Deák, István: *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979: 216-338; Gönczy, Katalin. 'Lajos Kossuth oder die Personifikation der Freiheit. Eine Fallstudie zur Entstellung von nationalen Mythen in Ungarn' In: *Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894). Wirken-Rezeption-Kult*. Holger Fischer (ed.) Hamburg: Krämer Verlag, 2007: 137-155.

[76] This particularity is especially clear in the case of Vasil Levski. See Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention: the living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero.* Budapest: CEU Press, 2009: 3-20.

the Europe of Empires, and lack of support are all documented in their writings. This is how one discovers these elites and the challenges they faced, in the first place.

Maia Davis Cross describes literary ties as "professional networks with authoritative and policy-relevant expertise".[77] 'Professional' is hardly the case of the diverse Bulgarian/Hungarian/Polish public actors. Thus, the term should be adjusted and linked to cultural beacons rather than one's area of professional expertise, since including only scholars or scientists would exclude their other peers from the research.[78] The Bulgarian 'epistemic community', for example, consisted of various men and women of letters, who promoted their national cause, but lacked resources. Thus, it is not surprising that Bulgarian intellectuals searched for common legacies with Serbia or Romania, securing a possibility of an alliance and keeping their options open.[79] As an 'epistemic community' they all became the most qualified group to define the 'shared culture' that granted legitimization to a state – federalist, unitary or other.[80]

The focus on federalism in the current thesis is partially explained by its association with nationalism in the eyes of the non-core group elites. It is an ideology that allows to trace cooperation more than any other, thus, it is easy to use it as a marker of a public actor's connection. 'Federalism' means a state structure based on cooperation with each of its units preserving sovereignty.[81] Besides, federalism reflects the shifting nature of national categories in the cases of the Balkan nations with non-defined boundaries. When different projects presented very different national communities with fluid borders, a federative system could accommodate such flexible notions. Non-core group elites were prone to searching for allies to improve their problematic position in the Europe of Greater Powers. They realized they could not reach their political aims on their own, thus, they often sought various forms of cooperation. Associations and secret societies were one way of bringing these people together. Ideological compromises offered another.

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[77] Cross, Mai'a. Rethinking epistemic communities twenty years later. *Review of International Studies*, 39, 2013: 137-160: 137

[78] Endersby, Jim. *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2008: 312.

[79] Buchenau, Klaus: 'Religija i nacija v Serbii, Bolgarii i Rumynii: tri pravoslavnyje modeli.' In: *Gosudarstvo-Religija-Cerkov'* 32 (2014) 4: 28-61.

[80] Suny, Ronald: 'Nationalism, Nation-making and the postcolonial states of Asia, Africa and Eurasia.' In: *After Independence: Making and protecting the nation in postcolonial and post-communist states.* Lowell W. Barrington (ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006: 279 (295).

[81] Gluck, Abbe R. "Our [National] Federalism." *The Yale Law Journal 123*, no. 6 (2014): 1996-2043.

One should stress that there was no significant difference in the goals behind their nationalism and federalism (in fact, their federalism tended to be a variation of their nationalism).[82] A 'non-core group perspective' explains the reasons for this paradox: these were epistemic communities of intellectuals aspiring for a more privileged position, yet lacking resources. Thus, they chose to use an inclusive ideology to disguise an exclusive political goal. This approach puts the Bulgarian case into a European context, makes this pattern applicable to other non-core groups and enables one to understand the possible strategies and actions of an ambitious non-core group elite in a state that dissatisfies their ambitions. 'Federalism', thus, offers a greater understanding of group dynamics.

Another important aspect that allows one to follow non-core group elites, is a change in status. One cannot suggest that there existed a pattern unless ideas and communities are viewed in transition. This research claims that if status or its' perception shifts from non-core group to core-group, then so do political ideas. This examination of shifts can partially explain how individuals changed their opinions, although it cannot be fully reliable in all cases. Once federalists turn to exclusive nationalism and nationalist seek federalist patterns, one may discern a direct connection to their status. Such is the example of the Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth, who only proposed an exclusive nationalist project before the failure of the revolution and his realization of his non-core group position.[83] Following his exile, the Hungarian leader became a federalist.

The position of the Bulgarian publicist Ljuben Karavelov, on the other hand, showed a different trajectory: from ardent Balkan federalism he came to disappointment and adherence to almost exclusively Bulgarian patterns by the end of his life. One cannot ignore changing political climate and external influences in these cases, but there was more to it. The status of the pubic actor and the change in his perception of himself and his peers contributed to these shifts. Federalist strivings were a compromise favored by the non-core group elites due to their lack of other viable emancipatory strategies, but the end goal of national emancipation never changed.[84] Status shifts, thus, define, a non-core group elite as much as their swaying from exclusive to inclusive ideologies.

[82] This issue is addressed in the following chapter.
[83] Spira, György. *Kossuth és alkotmányterve*. [Kossuth and his constitution plan.] Debrecen: Csokonai kiado, 1989: 17
[84] Todorov, Tzvetan, and Nathan Bracher: "European Identity" In: *South Central Review* 25 (2008) 3. The Johns Hopkins University Press: 3–15.

Among other notions that can be helpful in describing the non-core group elites, a position of political insecurity would be an important concept. Most non-core group elites were, on the one hand, typical Romanticist intellectuals, who read and exchanges ideas with their Western peers. Yet, they also found themselves in disadvantageous situations because of their precarious position in their Empires.[85] Thus, a Hungarian intellectual could be a friend of a British intellectual and share certain political ideals, but their motivations were fundamentally different: a British intellectual would propose a project from the position of their status-quo, while a Hungarian emigrant would be an exiled nationalist, hoping for the emancipation of his non-core group.

When grouping individuals, the idea of connection remains crucial: an epistemic community connects people, mutual semi-othering, shifting statuses, imperial experiences all form links between individuals - both physical and mental. Thus, the research fits into the context of 'entangled history'[86], where state-building ideas do not come from nowhere, but are, instead a result of knowledge transfers, personal friendships, shared education and grand imperial politics. These ideas were developed by numerous researchers, including Daskalov, Mishkova and Trencsenyi.[87] Some analyses also prove the connections between the political institutions in the Balkans and their European counterparts. Yet, they all point out one aspect of this approach that remains problematic. Daskalov and Mishkova summarized this problem, when pointing out that the outcomes of the Western inspirations in the political and economic sphere did not resemble the original model.[88] The end result, was always a mixture of familiar legacies, new ideas and complicated personal connections.

Non-core group elites did not operate in a vacuum, but they tended to understate or overstate their connections. Sometimes entanglements can be one-sided. The collection of letters to Count Ignatiev, the architect of the San-Stefano treaty of 1878, from numerous Bulgarian public actors over the generations proves just this point. Individuals constantly sent letters to the Russian politician, claiming his great role in the Bulgarian public sphere, which even he

[85] Mishkova, Diana: "On the space-time constitution of Southeaster Europe", In Rutar, Sabine (ed.). *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an inclusive history of Southeaster Europe*. Munster: LIT Verlag: 47-67
[86] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann: 'Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity' In History and Theory, Vol. 45, No. 1, 2006: 30-50
[87] Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, eds.: *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1775-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, Volume II: National Romanticism. The Formation of National Movements (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007). Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Vol. 2: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions (co-edited with Roumen Daskalov) Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014.
[88] Mishkova, Diana, Daskalov, Roumen: "*Forms without Substance": Debates on the Transfer of Western Models to the Balkans.* In: Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Vol. 2: Transfers of Political Ideologies and Institutions (co-edited with Roumen Daskalov) Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014: 1-99

himself acknowledged.[89] But, in fact, he did not participate in the Bulgarian revolutionary network. Ignatiev was not part of the Bulgarian revolutionary societies, befriended very few prominent Bulgarian public actors. He knew Bulgarian, but he did not follow Bulgarian newspapers and actively engage in their internal debates.[90] He was very much an outsider, a prominent Russian political figure, whose assistance and approval was sought by Bulgarian intellectuals, but whose reverence was mostly one-sided. So, how ca one address such cases?

Ignatiev's lack of entanglements doesn't deny his influence on the Bulgarian political thought, on the public actors and their many generations. In such cases, an approach suggested by Michael Herzfeld helps analysing these uneven connections between core and non-core group public actors. All non-core group elites shared a public sphere, where certain ideals and ideas circulated. As Michael Herzfeld puts it: "This is a common metaphor for the legitimation of intellectual identity; we speak of 'intellectual ancestors' and even of 'intellectual lineages.' And genealogy means, in practical terms, 'relations between relations' conceived on the basis of 'structural time'".[91] Thus, it was typical for non-core group elites to overstate their 'intellectual lineages'.

Furthermore, Herzfeld's approach was adjusted by Detchev to the Bulgarian case, where he elaborated on the importance of intellectual ancestors for the non-core group elites. The bounds of what Detchev calls 'social intimacy' [92] did not stay the same for the epistemic community of nationalists in the 1860s and in the 1890s. Younger generations replaced their elder peers, and some individuals lived long enough to change their opinions. And one may wonder when they stopped being non-core group elites and whether this 'social intimacy' shifted. Based on Herzfeld's notion, when non-core group elites stopped perceiving themselves as non-core they transformed into core-group elites. When this aspect changed, a different network emerged. But it still preserved the ideas of the predecessors.

[89] Hevrolina, Viktorija: 'Ignatiev I bolgarskij narod' in Ritta Grishina(eds.) Rossija-Bolgarija: vektory vzaimoponimanija XVIII-XXI vek. Moscow: RAN 2010: 116-121.
[90] Todev, Ivan: 'O zapiskah I donesenijah grafa Ignatjeva,'Ritta Grishina(eds.) Rossija-Bolgarija: vektory vzaimoponimanija XVIII-XXI vek. Moscow: RAN 2010: 113-116.
[91] Herzfeld, Michael: 'Rhythm, Tempo, and Historical Time: Experiencing Temporality in the Neoliberal Age' In: *Public archaeology: archaeological ethnographies*, Vol. 8 No. 2–3, 2009: 114
[92] Dechev, Stefan: 'V tursene na bulgarskoto: mrezhi na natsionalna intimnost 19-21 vek'. Sofia: Institut za izsledvane na izkustvata, 2010: 13-15.

Every public actor sought a justification for their political schemes in the past, among his predecessors.[93] This way political projects of these agents continue to evolve on their own decades later, often without the impact of the original authors. Their successors used their legacies as 'officialising strategies'.[94] Non-core group elites created versatile patterns and spread them in order to create a shared political vocabulary.[95] It is one of the reasons, why Romanticist nationalism was so wide-spread: it initially appeared as a sweeping ideology that could be adopted by both core and non-core group intellectuals. However, common inspirations did not determine the outcome.[96] Thus, this work avoids connecting political inspirations to outcomes without analysing realities and status of the agents.

But there is yet another aspect that makes studying cohorts of Balkan public actors and their realities difficult. It is, paradoxically, the background of other European Romanticisms and nationalisms. Leften Stavrianos, when reflecting on the 19th century 'revivals'[97] in the Balkans, for example, mentioned that Serbia, as well as Bulgaria were 'legged behind', comparing them to various Western European patterns of development.[98] If one relinquishes this idea of 'underdevelopment' and views the Europe of Empires as a framework, he trap of 'temporal othering'[99] can be avoided. In the case of the Balkans, the concept of 'underdevelopment' is notoriously overused.[100] A focus on social interactions and cohort experiences, on the other hand, puts the whole Bulgarian case into a global context. Balkan romanticist nationalism was not very different from its' European counterparts. Similarly, Balkan 'underdevelopment' was not exceptional in Europe and did not produce a different elite. What it did influence is the non-core group's constant desire to prove their status that is reflected in many of the writings of the intellectuals justifying their eligibility to have a nation-state.

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[93] For further information of the "appropriation of eternity", see Das, Veena, *Life and words: violence and the descent into the ordinary.* Berkeley: University of California Press, Berkeley, 2007: 95-108; also Herzfeld, Michael, *Evicted from eternity: the restructuring of modern Rome.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
[94] Bourdieu, Pierre: *Outline of a theory of practice,* trans. by R Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977: 40
[95] Clarke, James: *The pen and the sword.* Boulder: East European monographs, 1988: 177-179
[96] Elenkov, Ivan; Daskalov, Roumen: *Zashto sme takiva? V tursene na bulgarskata kulturna identichnost.* Sofia: Prosveta 1994: 5-15; Herzfeld, Michael: *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-state.* New York: Routledge, 1997.
[97] The term is debated and inevitably bears the imprint of the last century of various Balkan national historiographies. See Vezenkov, Aleksandar: 'Ochevidno samo na pruv pogled: Bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane kato otdelna epoha' in Mishkova, Diana (ed.): *Balkanskijat 19 vek. Drugi prochiti*. Sofia: Riva 2006: 82-128
[98] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart, 1958: 234
[99] The term "temporal othering" was introduced in the field of International relations theory by Sergei Prozorov. See Prozorov, Sergei: "The other as past and present: beyond the logic of 'temporal othering' in IR theory" In: *Review of International Studies*, 37, 2011: 1273-1293
[100] Roudometof, Viktor: "The Social Origins of Balkan Politics: Nationalism, Underdevelopment, and the Nation-State in Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria, 1880-1920." In: *Mediterranean Quarterly* 11.3, 2000: 144-163.

In this case, one may ask if non-core group elites should be treated as public actors from Imperial peripheries. After all, 'non-core' already means 'marginalization'. All non-core group public actors faced marginalization or indifference. For example, the Hungarian nation was shrouded in mystery in the eyes of the British and American public, but the appearance of the post-1849 emigres made their national cause a sensation.[101] The same would be true for the Polish emigrants and their success among the French (Chopin may be just one of the most famous examples of such propagators). It was not very different for the Balkan Slavs, who promoted their own causes. John Breuilly points out that nationalism "tends to be seen as the 'product' of modernity in the advanced region and as an 'effort' to realize modernity in the backward region".[102] But that would also mean that public actors had to prove themselves to foreign audiences and even to their own compatriots.[103]

Thus, it comes as a logical outcome that most non-core group elites followed similar political strategies and aims. They lacked resources and they hoped to escape the stigma of underdevelopment and semi-othering. In many cases, it was an idea articulated by the intellectuals themselves, who did not see their perspective state or nation measure up to the idealized Western examples. Besides, it influenced the foreign perceptions of the non-core group elites. Support for a national cause relied heavily on the group not being 'othered' - viewed as different from the more successful examples.[104] Therefore, intellectuals, carefully chose the legacies that they decided to base their emancipation programs on. In the end, they had to negotiate the rights of their group with an Empire, inventing various practical, legal and historical justifications for their cause.

So, as a result, one can use all these concepts and notions to describe less privileged elites functioning within Empires, who share nationalist ideas and become 'points of reference' in retrospect. But one may wonder if it was the Empire that made them non-core group elites. After all, individuals and cohorts are shaped by realities, and a state always tends to label its' inhabitants. The implications of an imperial life, thus, influence all activities of the non-core group elites.

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[101] Szilassy, Sándor: "America and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 102 (January 1966): 180-96

[102] Breuilly, John: "Nationalism and the Balkans" in Rutar, Sabine (ed.) *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an inclusive history of Southeastern Europe*, Berlin: Lit verlag, 2014: 30

[103] One of the most representative example of a discourse about the Balkan "underdevelopment can be found in Roudometof, Victor, and Roland Robertson: *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy the Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001:157-160.

[104] Todorova, Maria: *Imagining the Balkans.* Updated ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 5-10.

Pre and post-1878 Bulgaria: Changes in the minds and on the maps

Are non-core groups elites inseparable from a state that produced them? If the research claims that a non-core group elite is a category of analysis, then it should prove that minority intellectuals in the 19-th century European Empires had somewhat similar experiences.[105] Bulgarian nationalists make a suitable example since Bulgaria itself transformed in the second half of the 19th- century from an integral part of the Empire to a Principality under its' control, to a kingdom, to an independent state.[106] These constant shifts allow to follow status changes in the lives of the public actors: after all, there are few other examples that offer a similar opportunity in a relatively short period of time.

When referring to Imperial realities, there are at least three different periods that one needs to acknowledge: the nationalistic activities preceding the treaty of Berlin of 1878, the shifts following the formation of the Principality and its expansion (including the unification of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia in 1885)[107] and the period following Bulgaria's prominent statesman Stefan Stambolov's demise in 1894 until the full independence of the state in 1908. In the decades of 1860-1907 Bulgaria remained a part of the Ottoman Empire, although between 1878 and 1908 the sovereignty of the Ottomans meant much less for the Bulgarian political elites than before the Russian-Turkish war. And while the mid-19th century brought global revolutions, it also brought forward various non-core group elites.[108]

The rise of the Bulgarian intelligentsia coincided with the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire. The policy of Tanzimat, an attempt to reform the Ottoman Empire, officially began with the edict of Gulhane in 1839 that assured the equality before the law of both Muslims and Christians.[109] In the following decades the Sultans Mahmud II and Abdulmejid, inspired by the

[105] After all, most of the European non-core group public actors read similar literature, shared an interest in Mazzini's ideology, often knew each other personally or through shared acquaintances and had mutual debates. Thus, it does not come as a surprise that they followed the same pattern of political creativity as this chapter claims. See Claeys, Gregory: 'Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism, 1848-1854.' Journal of British Studies 1989/28: 225-61 and also Kavalski, Emilian R: 'The Balkan America? The Myth of America in the Creation of Bulgarian National Identity', in: New Zealand Slavonic Journal 2004/38: 133.
[106] For an example of a society in transition, see Gebremedhin, Yohannes: *The Challenges of a Society in Transition: Legal Development in Eritrea.* Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2004: 4-15
[107] Mirkova, Anna M. *Muslim Land, Christian Labor: Transforming Ottoman Imperial Subjects into Bulgarian National Citizens, C. 1878-1939.* Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2017: 13-58.
[108] Calic, Marie-Janine: *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region* München 2016: C.H. Beck Verlag: 289-302
[109] Deringil, Selim: 'The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908', *Comparative Studies in Society and History.* Vol. 35, No. 1 (Jan. 1993): 3-29

European models, attempted to modernize the Empire. During the same decades, the elites of the Christian population started actively opposing their sovereign and fighting for their national and/or religious emancipation, playing the ambitions of Greater Powers against one another. Thus, the Bulgarian nationalists followed their aims during the Crimean War of 1853-1856 and the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878 that resulted in the formation of the Bulgarian Principality within the Ottoman Empire. And it was not a coincidence that the Christian population started their own nationalist upheavals in the same period.

Prior to the Tanzimat period, non-Muslims had limited economic, cultural and political freedoms within their semiautonomous millets.[110] Their position was typical for non-core groups: they did not enjoy the same rights as the Muslim populations. They paid poll tax and were excluded from important political decisions concerning the whole state. However, one should point out that in the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman Empire neither the concept, nor the practice of citizenship involving equal rights and duties existed.[111]

Firstly, the Tanzimat reforms brought economic changes to the Rum-Millet populations, lifting the restrictions reserved for the Christians in economic sphere. The reforms attempted to reduce these limitations, transcending religious or ethnic affiliation, allowing non-Muslims to advance to higher administrative positions. In order to combat economic instability, the state had to introduce the rule of law over all citizens of the Empire.[112] In the end, the ambitious Rum-Millet citizens profited from these changes, which resulted in the rise of Christian middle-class entrepreneurs. And one can easily trace that many protagonists of this research came from these circles: they had low-middle class and merchant background as the table below demonstrates.

The Tanzimat period started as an attempt to reform the whole state, and the emancipation of the Christian entrepreneurs was only a side-effect of the reforms. In a way, these reforms could not be avoided. Demeter demonstrated the dire economic situation in the Ottoman lands, offering an example of the British growing import of textiles and the degradation of the local

[110] Emrence, Cem: 'Imperial paths, big comparisons: The late Ottoman Empire'. *Journal of Global History, 3*(3), 289-311.
[111] Davison, Roderic:"The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in: Bernard Lewis, Benjamin Braude (eds.) *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. Teaneck: Holmes and Meier: 1982: 845
[112] Zurcher Erik-Jan: "Village and Empire: Recent Trends in the Historiography of the late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey". In: Shehabi H., Jafari P., Jefroudi M. (Eds.) *Iran and the Middle East. Transnational Encounters and Social History.* London: I.B. Tauris. 2015: 249-261.

industry: by 1830 in Thessaly out of 2000 looms only 200 worked.[113] Thus, the authorities, predictably, strove to engage their population, including Jews and Christians into the reforms. But while they did succeed in certain areas they never went as far as to offer equal opportunities to all citizens. In the end, the Rum-Millet elites received just enough economic freedom to start organizing themselves, which led to their gradual separation from the empire and also from their former peers.

Some of their peers, however, remained dependent on the Ottoman authorities, becoming objects of scorn and neglect in the eyes of their emancipated peers, who strove to break free from the Empire.[114] Those economic elites were dependent on the Ottoman market and state orders that assured their welfare and sustained the vitality of their community. Many chorbadjii worked for and with the Ottoman state, supplying the government with goods and performing orders for the officials in the capital. They lacked the ambition to request further rights like their more radical peers, who chose to use the new economic opportunities to replace the older elites that included many of the Bulgarian chorbadji.[115]

If one considers the Greek-speaking merchants of the pre-Tanzimat era to dominate the economic and bureaucratic sphere of the Rum-Millet, then one may also assume that non-Greek nationalism offered career opportunities that rose with the reforms.[116] Dimitris Stamatopoulos points out that the millets "necessarily turned against the imperial model – the only framework within which the above-mentioned social groups could reproduce their social dominance."[117] Similarly, the Muslim population of the Empire started separating as well: the Arab-Muslim agents and the Albanian public actors distanced themselves from the Ottomans in the course of the 19th century. All these separations coincided with the reforming processes in the Empire.

Another important change that affected the rising Bulgarian intellectuals was related to the religious turmoil within the Rum-Millet. Stamatopoulos points out that the period from 1830

[113] Demeter, Gábor: *A Balkán és az Oszmán Birodalom II.: Társadalmi és gazdasági átalakulások a 18. század végétől a 20. század közepéig. Oszmán Birodalom (Rumélia, Anatólia, Közel-Kelet).* Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Budapest: MTA, 2016: 229.
[114] Paskaleva, Virginia: „Die Entwicklung des Handwerks und die kulturelle Vermittlungsfunktion von Handwerkern bei der „Europäisierung" Bulgariens im 19. Jahrhundert". In: *Handwerk in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*, hg. v. Klaus Roth. München, 1987: 129-135.
[115] Quataert, Donald: "The Age of Reform, 1812-1914." In: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Bd. 2, hg. v. Halil Inalcık und Donald Quataert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994: 759-946
[116] Stoianovich, Traian: "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant." *The Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234-313.
[117] Stamatopoulos, Dimitris. "From Millets to Minorities in the 19th – Century Ottoman Empire: an Ambiguous Modernization", in S. G. Ellis, G. Hálfadanarson, A.K. Isaacs (επιμ.). *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*. Pisa: Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press, 2006, 253-273, 255

until 1860 signified changes in the structure of the Patriarchate: powerful seculars, who collaborated with the Holy Council of the Elders, no longer came from the Phanariot circles after the Greek revolution, but were replaced by the so-called neo-Phanariots, who hailed from different parts of the Rum-Millet. This included Stefan Bogoridi, an intellectual with a Bulgarian background, who later brought fellow-Bulgarians to the capital.[118] These changes reflected the shifts in the Rum-Millet structure. The Ecumenical Patriarchate tried to institutionalize the entrance of the seculars in its' administration. One of the results was the inclusion of the ambitious individuals into the religious system. But for the Bulgarian elites that was a chance to form their own religious space. Thus, the Orthodox millet started falling into sub-national groups. The results were the Bulgarian (1870), Serbian (1876), the Romanian (1885) independent Churches. As Stamotopoulos rightfully points out, the economic insecurities in the Empire introduced something that had no previous precedent – a legal way of manifesting one's identity outside the Rum-Millet. Following the Tanzimat, these identities were recognized. Christians could not only relinquish their previous dressing code but were allowed to advocate the rights of their own communities within the Rum-millet and expand their businesses freely.[119]

The ideological attempt at Ottomanism promoted the reorganization of all religious communities. The second Tanzimat decree of 1856 insisted on the equality of the citizens, but still preserved the millet system.[120] Trying to separate the political from religious, the state attempted to interfere with the management of the millets. While the goal was to prevent Russia from interfering with the internal Ottoman affairs, the reforms backfired: The Ottoman authorities identified their Rum-Millet subjects and gave them greater economic and religious freedoms but were unable to satisfy their growing political demands.

The reforms resulted in better communication between different segments of the populations, giving rise to foreign language education, new educational establishments and enterprises that were supposed to cater to various layers of the Ottoman citizens.[121] Thus, the non-core group elites profited from the better communication technology (telegraph) and all the new

[118] Stamatopoulos Dimitris: "Greek-OrthodoxPatriarchate of Constantinople, 1839-1923", Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού ,Κωνσταντινούπολη URL:<http://kassiani.fhw.gr/l.aspx?id=11472>)
[119] Quataert, Donald: "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 403-25
[120] Stamatopoulos, Dimitris: (From Millets to Minorities in the 19th – Century Ottoman Empire: an Ambiguous Modernization", in S. G. Ellis, G. Hálfadanarson, A.K. Isaacs (επιμ.). *Citizenship in Historical Perspective* Pisa: Edizioni Plus – Pisa University Press, 2006: 259
[121] The role of education institutions in supporting revolutionary connections is analysed in Chapter IV.

opportunities offered by the state, attending institutions that taught courses in French and English, and not only in Turkish.[122] On the other hand, the Ottoman Foreign Language School (1864) allowed non-Rum-millet citizens to learn Romanian, Bulgarian or Greek. Education act of 1869 produced a centralized and compulsory system modelled after the French example.[123] Non-core groups, thus, had their own schools, stimulating competition. On the one hand, the state failed at an attempt to introduce attractive imperial identification. On the other hand, one may assume that it did not. The Architects of the Tanzimat did not fail to reform the sector of education and economics. They simply allowed the non-core groups to develop but failed to produce opportunities for ambitious non-core group elites.

The rise of elite ambitions partially caused the Tanzimat reforms together with economic turmoil.[124] Parts of the Rum-millet, the Orthodox Balkan population,[125] started not only separating from each other, but challenging their sovereigns already in the beginning of the 19th century. The Serbian Revolution of 1804, the "fore-runner of the national and social "liberation movements" in the 19th century"[126], greatly inspired waves of self-identification with a national group, beginning as a manifestation against economic abuse and misrule of the local Ottoman authorities in the Pashalik of Belgrade[127] and transcending into the domain of a culturally organized nation.[128] Serbs of Voivodina, living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, would desert to join their 'kin'[129]. Moreover, the Uprising had such a profound impact on the Slavs living in various Empires that "as Karadjordje's victories became known in Croatia, too, officers and soldiers attached to the Commandant-General of Slavone-Srem and of Croatia deserted to Serbia and became volunteers in Karadjordje's forces".[130]

[122] Boyacioğlu, Fuat: 'The historical development of the foreign language education in Ottoman Empire'. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 174* (2015) 651 – 657: 654
[123] Evered, Emine*: Empire and Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*. London: Tauris, 2012: 1-2
[124] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart, 1958: 215
[125] Detrez, Raymond: 'Understanding the Pre-Nationalist Balkans: The "Romaic" community' In: Kitromilides, Paschalis; Tabaki, Anna. (eds.) *Greek-Bulgarian Relations in the Age of National Identity Formation*. Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2010: 21-70
[126] Djordjevic, Dimitrije; Fischer-Galati, Stephen: *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981: 68
[127] Stavrianos: Op. cit.: 237-243
[128] Dechev primarily regards a core-group as a cultural nation, not only a «Romaic community» or any other alliance of that sort. Dechev, Stefan: *V tursene na bulgarskoto: mrezhi na nacionalna intimnost 19-21 vek.* Sofia: Institut za izsledvane na izkustvata, 2010: 13
[129] Petrović, K.: ‚Jedna epizoda iz odnosa Karlovackih gradjana prema prvom srpskom ustanku u Austriji.' In: *Rad vojvodjanskih muzeja*, 10, 1961: 163-164
[130] Djordjevic, Dimitrije; Fischer-Galati, Stephen, *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981: 72

In Eastern Serbia, Bulgarian detachments were formed to fight as volunteers for the 'cause of national liberation'.[131] The Bulgarians also became involved in the Greek insurrections in the Danubian Principalities,[132] where Sofronius of Vratsa founded a Bulgarian committee for liberation. The Serbian and Greek insurrections were both based on cultural, ethnic, or religious markers of their participants. And those were also the first organized anti-imperial upheavals that had economic motivations, but cultural signifies for the crystalizing non-core group elites. Another important aspect is the foreign perception of these events and their participants: it was the first time that Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire became a pretext that allowed Greater Powers to interfere with the Ottoman affairs.[133] These attitudes enhanced the importance of the non-core groups: for the first time their elites could successfully appeal to foreign audiences.

The difference between any upheaval and a nationalist manifestation can be seen in the accounts documenting these events from the Imperial side. Neither the First, nor the Second Serbian Uprising referred to 'Serbia' as a state-project. Instead, it had only a community of the 'Serbian nation' at its focus.[134] Mirjana Marinković explains it in the following way: "When we look at the sources written in Ottoman Turkish during the First Serbian Uprising we ca notice the terms such as: the Serbian reaya (Sirb reayasi), the Serbian unbelievers (Sirb keferesi), or the Serbian rebels (Sirb eskiyasi); only in the documents written after the Uprising we find the term nation (millet) for the Serbs".[135] Influential Bulgarian public actors, on the other hand, became distinct enough in the eyes of the Porte already in 1849, when "the Bulgarians appeared as "Bulgar milleti" for the first time in the firman issued in 1849 related to the establishment of the Bulgarian Church in Istanbul".[136] Partially, it was also the official recognition of the Ottoman Empire that prompted the rise of the state-building projects among the nationalist elites. They started becoming something more than 'Christian subjects', and the Ottomans officially recognized their right to self-organize when introducing the Tanzimat reforms.

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[131] Op. cit.: 74
[132] Todorov, Nikolai: "La Participation dea Bulgares a l'insurrection hetairiste dans les Principautes Danubiennes" In: *L'Etudes balkaniques*, I, 1964.: 90.
[133] Calic, Marie-Janine: *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region* München 2016: C.H. Beck Verlag: 251-265.
[134] Nedeljković, Mile: 'Temelji obnovljene srpske drzave' In: Ljubinković, Nenad et al. *Karađorđev ustanak-nastajanje nove srpske države*, Beograd: Velika Plana, 1998: 31-41
[135] Marinković, Mirjana: "The shaping of the modern Serbian nation and of its state under the Ottoman Rule" In Dogo, Marco. *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-building in the Balkans*. Ravenna: Longo, 2002: 41
[136] Marinković: Op. cit.: 41.

Thus, economic decay, imperial weakness, subsequent reforms all brought about the rise of nationalist ideologies among non-core groups, creating vocal representatives, who became the elites. And these elites started carving their political space within the Rum-Millet. The creation of the independent Exarchate was such a manifestation of nationalism in the Bulgarian case.[137] It was also an attempt to secure a private space for the non-core group elites, who saw it as an institution that advanced the Bulgarian national idea and nurtured it in the minds of the local Slavic population.[138] In the end, these intellectuals needed the Exarchate to generate not just a 'majority',[139] but *their* majority, which was neither Greek, nor Ottoman. They, simply put, wanted to include individuals in the process of political participation[140]. And this whole project wouldn't have been possible without the Empire's reforms and the weary attitudes of the Ottomans towards their Greek subjects following the Greek War of Independence of 1821-1832. After all, the changes in the Rum-Millet were made possible because the authorities discerned and identified their subjects as more than 'Christian', but also as Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs.[141]

But the degradation of the Rum-Millet and the Tanzimat reforms had yet another strange consequence for the Balkan intellectuals. Together with rising hostilities, the shared imperial legacies and backgrounds opened possibilities to alliances between various elites in the positions of a political weakness. The former Romaen community became a reference point for the intellectuals that motivated their cooperation.[142] Thus, the Ottoman Empire also granted the Bulgarian elites a list of possible rivals and allies, who were once all part of the same Rum-Millet and could always share grievances directed at their former sovereign.

Although all these effects of the reforms and imperial rule moulded the Bulgarian elites and their realities, it would be incorrect to assert that the Tanzimat reforms only hoped to assure

[137] Milarov, Svetoslav: 'Dvete kasti i vlasti'. Published in Македония/Makedonija, № 18, 25 of June 1872
[138] The importance of the establishment of the Bulgarian orthodox exarchate can be viewed primarily as a new stage of the competition over the Christian population and its affiliations. Alexei Kalionski: "Ethnicity and migrations. The Bulgarian case, 1830-1915", In: Dogo, Marco: *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-building in the Balkans*. Ravenna: Longo, 2002: 86, Mylonas, Harris: *The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012: 59
[139] Nation-building is the process through which the majorities are constructed. See Berghe, Pierre, van den: *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. London: Praeger, 1987: 58-83
[140] Bendix, Reinhard: *Nation-building and citizenship: studies of our changing social order,* New enl. Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
[141] Deutsch, Karl: *The nerves of government: models of political communication and control*. New York. Free Press. 1963.
[142] Maragos, Vassilis: 'The nation of faith: Partenij Pavlović and aspects of the Orthodox Commonwealth' In: Kitromilides, Paschalis and Anna Tabaki (eds.), *Greek-Bulgarian relations in the age of national identity formation*. Athens: Institute of Neohellenic research, 2010: 83-109

the loyalty of their Christian subjects. An attempt to modernize the Empire, after all, was aimed at all the segments of the population. The creation of the non-core group elites was a side-effect: the authorities did not take into account the ambitions of the individuals, whom represented their 'minorities'. Thus, when given an opportunity to create a Principality by Abdul Hamid II's government, the Bulgarian elites did not turn pro-Ottoman. After the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 Bulgaria gained autonomy from the Empire[143] and continued its nationalist course. The number of Bulgarian schools in the Ottoman Empire increased, and so did the number of the Bulgarian students abroad, since more people started traveling out of the country, enjoying opportunities of primary education in the Empire and then going abroad. From 1878 to 1905, Moscow State University accepted 83 Bulgarian students, although their number decreased with each decade.[144] The University of Vienna was chosen by 487 Bulgarian students, and the University of Graz had 129 Bulgarian students respectively.[145] But during the whole second half of the 19th century Bulgaria remained part of the Empire, although it did transform into a Principality and then a Kingdom. Thus, all these students were not detained in their host-state but allowed to travel freely with relative ease.

Non-core groups reflected the changes in the Ottoman State. And when their statuses and realities changed, so did the Empire. This change is something that Krassimira Daskalova points out when stressing the correlation with the overall rise of education in the Ottoman Empire and in Bulgaria. The author writes about the Bulgarian teachers in the 1870s and the opportunities they had in the Ottoman Empire and abroad: "Of the teachers with complete secondary education only about one fifth graduated from Bulgarian schools – in the first Bulgarian *gimnazia* founded in Bolgrad, Bessabaria in 1859 (where a large Bulgarian émigré community existed) and the *gimnazii* in Plovdiv and Gabrovo, founded in the late 1860s. The others were graduates – as already mentioned – of various Russian, Greek, Serb, Czech, and West European secondary schools, and some studied in American and French Colleges or Lyceums, mostly in Constantinople. It should be noted that very often one and the same person

[143] On the Bulgarian revival and its connections to the "liberation" of Bulgaria, see Crampton, R: A concise history of Bulgaria. Cambridge, Cambridge university press, 1997, p. 46-50.
[144] Karasev, V.G. Kostjusko, L.: „Ausländische Studenten aus slawischen Ländern an der Moskauer Universität in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts." In:Richard Georg Plaschka, Karlheinz Mack (Hg.). *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes II. Universitäten und Studenten. Die Bedeutung studentischer Migrationen in Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg.* Wien, 1987: 11-29.
[145] Eppner, Harald: „Die Rolle und Bedeutung der Grazer Universität für die Studentenschaft aus Südosteuropa 1867-1914." In: Plaschka, Richard Georg, Karlheinz Mack (Hg.): *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes. Wissenschaftszentren und geistige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg.* Wien, 1983: 290-291

changed several educational establishments during her/his studies.[146] Thus, 'national revival'[147] could be very national, but it still reflected the trends taking root in the Ottoman Empire – the spread of the French model of education and the general introduction of the population into literacy.

These non-core group elites all shared imperial realities, yet one may wonder how their realities were different from the core-group strivings to modernize their state and achieve political leverage. Non-core group intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire, unlike their core-group peers, had to turn the "predominantly agricultural societies that lived in a world of corporate privileges for religious groups rather than individual rights"[148] into active core-groups and modern nations. Those aims and their position discerned them from other communities. These elites always found themselves at the mercy of Greater Powers and their Empires. After all, what all the 19th-century forming Balkan states had in common were the limited resources of their elites and their constant search for allies. This factor did not change following 1878. This simple observation explains the many compromises they were going to tolerate to achieve the goal of national emancipation.

In the end, non-core group elites became misfits, who did not wish to accept Imperial identity, but also found difficulties building shared political projects with their former peers. The community of the Rum-Millet was never homogeneous, and certain clashes marked its' history prior to the struggle for the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchate.[149] With time, new elites developed ambitious projects and did not wish to adhere to the existing Phanariot authorities, opting to carve out a place for themselves and their group. Partially, it was the inflexibility of the Rum-Millet that prevented it from turning into a nation of its' own.[150] Instead, it fragmented.

[146] Daskalova, Krassimira: „Developments in Bulgarian Education: from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-State and beyond, 1800-1940s." *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación,* 4(1), 2017: 1-29

[147] Although the term is heavily depated, it is used in the paper to designate the transitions of intellectuals' ideas during the struggle of the Bulgarian emancipation. Therefore, the timephrames of the „revival" remain flexible. See Daskalov, Roumen: 'Problematizacija na Vuzrazhdaneto.' In: Mishkova, Diana (ed.) *Balkanskijat 19 vek. Drugi prochiti.* Sofia: Riva 2006: 159-164.

[148] Mylonas, Harris: *The Politics of Nation-building: Making Co-nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012: 54.

[149] Detrez, Raymond: "Between the Ottoman legacy and the temptation of the West. Bulgarians coming to terms with the Greeks" in Detrez, Raymond (ed.) *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2008: 33-49

[150] Mark Wheeler: "Not so black as it is painted: The Balkan political heritage" In: Carter F.W.; Norris, H.T. (eds.) *The changing shape of the Balkans*, London, University college press, 1996: 1-8

The decades of Bulgarian-Greek-Romanian-Serbian political clashes followed brief reconciliations.[151] The Bulgarian intellectuals came to destroy the Rum-millet by 1880s, yet, what they proposed was a very similar type of communality. They tried to replace the Empire with their national propaganda, but it offered nothing new.[152] Furthermore, the projects for Greater Serbia, Bulgaria or Greece were all as much a result of the Romanticist trends as they were the inspirations taken from the Ottoman Empire.

The Pan-Slavic ideas in the 1840s, 50s and 60s[153] flourished, introducing federalism as an antithesis to the Imperial rule. Yet it was another Ottoman legacy. Bulgarians, Romanians and Serbs were trying to separate themselves from the 'Greek cultural yoke',[154] the domination of the Patriarchate of Constantinople over their social lives, but they faced another dilemma in the process. They had to explain how they were different from each other. And they were not different enough, even as they struggled to form their separate core-groups. After all, the similarities in their state-building often prove that apart from the label 'Bulgarian' there was little practical difference between the national causes supported by the Serbian and Bulgarian elites.

One may wonder, when the Bulgarian elites finally became a core-group. Following the unfulfilled expectations of the Congress of San-Stefano,[155] that had promised significant territorial gains to the principality of Bulgaria and the later Berlin treaty that had offered it a much more modest solution,[156] the public actors of the 70s and 80s turned into members of a smaller core-group. Yet, they remained under the control of Greater Powers, who pursued their own interests.[157] Thus, these individuals cannot be considered a fully emancipated and

[151] Atanasov, Dimitar: 'Balkanite i ljubovta po turgenevski. Predvaritelni belezhki otnosno pozicijata na regiona v mislovnata karta na Evropa' In: Purvev, Ivan; Barumova, Marija (eds.) *Dvuvekovnijat put na edno ponjatie 'Balkanskijat poluostrov' (1808-2008).* Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski 2014: 187-201.
[152] Pejo Javorov's articles prove to be a source mirroring the Bulgarian nation-building propaganda in Macedonia. Javorov, Pejo: *Statii vurhu Makedonskija vupros.* Edited by Vladimir Vasilev. Sofia: Hemus 1935.
[153] The rise of Pan-Slavism in the Balkans in the late 40s is analyzed by Stavrianos in Stavrianos, Leften Stavros:*The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart, 1958: 255-256. From the prominent Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj to the Serbian politician Mihailo Polit-Desancic, a federalist vision grew out of Pan-Slavic trends. See Milutinović, K.N: *Knjiga o Balkanu*. Belgrade, Balkanski institut, Tom drugi, 1937: 180-195.
[154] Kitromilides, Paschalis. *An Orthodox Commonwealth: Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe*. Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate/Variorum, 2007, p. 333-359
[155] For a detailed vision of the Bulgarian borders see Maps Showing the New Boundaries under the Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey, Signed at San Stefano, 19th February 3rd March, 1878. London: Printed by Harrison and Sons, 1878.
[156] Yavuz, M. Hakan: *War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.
[157] Jelavich, Charles: *Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism; Russian Influence in the Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia, 1879-1886*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958: 205-235.

independent core-group since their own political positions as well as those of their state remained shaky. They often lacked the authority to carry out fully independent political decisions. Therefore, one can argue that their status could only be determined by the perceptions and disappointments of the public actors themselves. After all, even in the 1880s, not all the public actors perceived their nation as a true core-group.

Those were, thus, not the differences, but the similarities that led the former Rum-Millet members to political clashes once they started transforming into core-groups. The Balkan public actors resented each other not because they were different, but because they were similar. For example, already during the opening of an Assembly of notables in Turnovo in 1879 the British consul, who was observing the proceedings, reported that "there did not "exist any Pan-Slavistic tendency, or even sympathy, among the Bulgarians, whether leaders or mass. Their tendencies are remarkably, I might almost say unamiable, exclusive; and may not incorrectly be defined as Pan-Bulgarian; nothing more. As to their Servian or Russian cousins, they make no secret of their dislike of the former, and of their wish, gratitude apart, to be well rid of the later".[158] Yet, unifying tendencies were perpetuated by the Balkan mobile elites, voiced by the diplomats and spread by the public actors, albeit, under different circumstances.[159] By the 1880s the situations changed, turning the Balkan communities against each other, the Serbian-Bulgarian war of 1885 being one of the results of such an irredentist policy.[160] And, once again, the non-core group elites were the ones to continue the disputes about Balkan federalisms and nationalisms.

The rise of these disputes, however, depended on the Empires and Greater Powers that defined the positions of the non-core group elites. For example, in the 80s Bulgaria's prominent statesman, a former revolutionary Stefan Stambolov would consider an alliance between Romania and Bulgaria under the rule of king Charles, which he discussed with a Romanian diplomat, supposing he could get rid of Bulgarian king Ferdinand on a short notice.[161] As soon as the tensions with the Ottoman Empire subsided, both sides reverted to their exclusive nationalisms. In 1886 a British noble George Baden-Powell summed up the contradictions between 'nationalism' and 'federation' in the minds of the non-core group elites in the

[158] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart, 1958, p. 427
[159] Belic, professor Belgradskogo universiteta: *Serby i bolgary v balkanskom sojuze.* Peterburg: Tipografija A.S. Suvorina 1913.
[160] Vojvodić, Mihailo, and Radovan Samardžić: *Srbija u međunarodnim odnosima krajem XIX i početkom XX veka*. Vol. 584. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1988: 32
[161] Djuvara, T.G.: "Souvenirs diplomatiques," *Revue des sciences diplomatique, LIII* (January-March, 1930): 33

following way: "Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece might tomorrow join hands in an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the view to resisting all outside pressure or interference."[162] He later would elaborate on the subject, explaining that that kind of stability in the Balkans could secure the region, not interfering with the balance of Greater Powers.[163] Moreover, even the perceptions of nationalists and federalists changed depending on the relations of the group with the Empire.[164]

Amidst this criticism, there was another yet another way that the Ottoman Empire shaped the lives of the Bulgarian public actors. It became a part of their imagination and political creativity. The anti-Ottoman rhetoric that first thrived in the 1860s and 70s was used with equal success for several decades till it switched its focus from that of a 'nation's fight for freedom' to a more elaborate strategy of depicting the Ottomans as a threat to the Bulgarian state and its' perspective territories, namely Macedonia. The image of an 'evil Empire' turned out to be a very powerful inspiration for the public actors in the decades to come. For example, Bulgarian poet and journalist Pejo Javorov wrote in 1903: "We will return the cup of sorrow to our tormentor, we will bring it back to him, who has filled it and we will force him to drink it till the last drop all at once".[165] It's just one of the examples of another shaping aspect of the Empire that influenced the non-core group elites. The Ottoman Empire became a perfect antagonist for its' non-core groups. The decline of the Empire's power and the growth of the neighboring states with their nation-building ideas only contributed to the process.

As a result, all parts of the Ottoman Empire eventually separated themselves from the state during the long 19th century. That factor is one of the reasons why one can study the Bulgarian non-core group elites, but cannot isolate them from the Serbian, Greek and even later Albanian and Turkish rising public actors. After all, they all shared one path: a transformation of a non-core group into a core-group with an Empire in the background.[166] This approach provides a broad perspective on a collision of conflicting legacies. Since Bulgaria gained its full

[162] Baden-Powel, George: *Confederation – The Solvent of the Eastern Question*, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, VOL CXL, 1886, p. 802
[163] Ibidem, 803
[164] Serbian scholar Karić in his book dedicated to the practical applications of a Balkan federative idea, lists Serbian statesman Ilija Garasanin, the author of the political doctrine "Nacertanije" as one of the "apostles" of the Balkan federation, meaning that "federalism" could begin with federalizing Serbia and later spreading further, Karić, Vladimir: *Surbija i balkanski sujuz. Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur I Petur Nencho Popovi.* Svishtov-Pluven (translated by L. Vishin) Sofia: pechatnica 'Napreduk' 1895: 14.
[165] Javorov Pejo: 'Narodnite stradanija' In: Statii vurhu makedonskija vupros. Sofia: Hemus 1935: 28.
[166] Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson: *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015: 48-57

independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1908, one can claim that the state, its' laws, its' systems and its' literature and institutions were all brought to life by individuals, who had Ottoman experiences.

The Empire's control over the nationalist elites weakened with each decade. In a relatively short time, the Empire carried out reforms and started losing territories. The improvement of the educational system resulted in the opening of the new institutions within the Empire that became accessible to the non-core group elites as well. The modernization resulted in better connections and improved infrastructure used for business, travel and information exchange.[167] The Empire had very little control over its peripheries, which granted the public actors an opportunity to carry out their nationalist activities.[168] Thus, being a non-core group public actor meant being part of an Empire. They simply could not have existed otherwise.

Action Figures: the choice of the protagonists

If non-core groups can be described and analysed, so can be their members. This part explains, how they are chosen for the current thesis. While every research has limitations, this work cannot possibly encompass all the important Bulgarian agents, thus it picks up representative cases based on the characteristics shared by most of these individuals. After all, there are several traits that made non-core group public actors, who they were.

First, all the protagonists of the research were born in the Ottoman Empire, and all started their paths in their state. As Mate Rolf points out: "The individuals used the opportunities of mobility, advancement or transfer that were the Empire had to offer them."[169] But while all their compatriots were born in the same state, those were only the nationalist elites that chose a clear political stance. For the most part, they were ambitious individuals aiming at their respective nation's emancipation.

Their second marker, thus, is their involvement with the nationalist ideas. Often, it resulted in problems with authorities since their turbulent lives reflected acute political change. For

[167] Anscombe, Frederick F.: *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 162.
[168] Mardin, Şerif: *Religion, Society, and Modernity in Turkey*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006: 37.
[169] Rolf, Malte: „Einführung: Imperiale Biographien. Lebenswege imperialer Akteure in Groß- und Kolonialreichen (1850–1918)" in „*Geschichte und Gesellschaft," "Imperiale Biographien",* 40. Jahrgang/Heft 1, Januar-Marz 2014: 9

example, the revolutionaries of the 1860-1870s were almost always supervised by the police, and not exclusively by the Ottoman one. Arguably the most famous case of an apprehension of one of the mobile public actors is that of Vasil Levski.[170] Similarly, during the same decade Hristo Botev and Trifon Panov, two other revolutionary Bulgarians, came under the supervision of the Russian Police, who suspected their involvement with the local revolutionaries.[171] Ljuben Karavelov, a Balkan federalist and a nationalist, was arrested by the Habsburg authorities in 1869 in Novi Sad, his pan-Slavic ideas and links to Serbian federalists Ljubomir Miletić and Vladimir Jovanović being well-known to the Habsburgs.[172] Thus, it is in many ways thanks to those imperial supervisions that the researches can find hints regarding the emigrants' ideas and strivings.[173]

The third point would be an Imperial career that would often have a nationalist tone. These intellectuals came from low-middle class and merchant background, often became students in the Ottoman Empire and abroad and later worked as teachers,[174] journalists, doctors,[175] publicists, etc. Often, they were supported by wealthier merchants and better-standing nationally sensitive compatriots.[176] But mostly they had a certain professional skill to sustain themselves and/or they got involved in illegal activities like the free hajduks of Panajot Hitov and his comrades. Also, one can come across people like historian Marin Drinov, who had an accomplished academic career that contributed to the national cause by itself. Thus, the research tackles Bulgarian nationalists with a pro-active position often supported by an Imperial career.

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[170] A person with a dozen of aliases and pennames, Levski was still apprehended by the Ottoman police, causing a great upheaval among his revolutionary peers. Noneva, Zdravka/Tileva, Viktorija et el: *Vasil Levski. Dokumentalen letopis 1837-1873.* Sofia 1987.

[171] Karakostov, Stefan: *Botev v spomenite na suvremenicite si.* Sofia: Prtizdat 1977: 450-462. For the Russian police reports regarding Panov, see ЦДА на НРБ. ф.260, оп.1, дело 91, л.24.

[172] Armours, Ian: *Apple of Discord: The "Hungarian Factor" in Austro-Serbian Relations, 1867-1881*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press 2014: 92

[173] Most of the prominent publicists, poets, revolutionaries inevitably attracted the attention of the police, which labelled them as 'dangerous', even if reality tended to be more prosaic. The reasons behind such assumptions are partially rooted in the visibility of these individuals: the authorities heard more about them than about their less vocal peers.

[174] Almost half of the protagonists of the research at some point worked as teachers either in Bulgaria or abroad.

[175] Occasionally one can come across an individual like Ivan Seliminski, who was a professional doctor, while still supporting revolutionary activities and being engaged in philosophical debates. See Tsatsov, Dimitar: "The Critical Tradition in Bulgaria." *Studies in East European Thought 53,* no. 1/2 (2001): 37-46

[176] For example, the 'Virtuous society' (Dobrodetelna druzina), a relatively conservative organization of the Bulgarian revolutionaries, actively supported young compatriots in their studies and travels. See Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo Marin Drinov 2005: 151

The fourth point would be the background. In the case of the current research, one should point out that Bulgarian public actors are different from non-core group elites from other Empires. Unlike their Hungarian and Polish counterparts, the Bulgarian agents could not hail from nobility or upper-class magnates. There was virtually no noble-born elite, however marginalized, available for the Bulgarian nationalists. Their background varied from priestly to merchant families, almost never including peasants.[177] There could be occasional exceptions, of course, but they did not alter the overall picture.

One should stress that the generational divide did affect the backgrounds of the public actors. For example, the Karavelov brothers hailed from a low-middle class background and became intellectuals. Thus, the daughters of Petko Karavelov were not the children of a craftsman like their father had been. They were the daughters of Bulgaria's prominent politician and public figure. They (Lora, in particular) created their own images based on the reputation of their father, but they also separated themselves from the elder generation. Younger public actors claimed to understand the struggles of their predecessors, yet, they did not face the same challenges. Partially this perception of continuation of the elites developed because the non-core group intellectuals documented their experiences with striking efficiency: for example, Ivan Vazov, a celebrated national writer, recorded the events of his exile it in a form of a theatre play and a novel,[178] which would, in their turn, influence the articles of the poet Pejo Javorov, who belonged to a much younger generation.[179]

The fifth point that discerns these individuals is mobility. In the Bulgarian case, one may encounter all kinds of individuals brought together by the reality of their emigration and their later involvement in the political and cultural life of the principality. Since "borders do not represent a fixed point in space or time, rather they symbolize a social practice of special differentiation",[180] the protagonists of the research can all be described as border-crossers.

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[177] Brunnbauer, Ulf. „Lokal – regional – global. Südosteuropäische Emigrationsmuster vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg am Fallbeispiel des Königreichs Kroatien, Slawonien und Dalmatien." In: Brunnbauer, Ulf; Novinšćak, Karolina; Voß, Christian (Hgg.): Gesellschaften in Bewegung. Emigrationen aus und Immigration nach Südosteuropa. München: Kubon und Sagner, 2011 (= Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch, Bd. 38): 11-39.

[178] Vazov, Ivan: *Nelimi-nedragi. (introduction by Milena Caneva*). Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1974.

[179] Javorov, however, shares and reinterprets many ideas introduced by his emigrant predecessors, including their contradictory attitudes to the territorial divisions in the region, swaying from acceptance to "demonization" of Bulgaria's neighbours. See Javorov, Pejo. 'Gurcija, Rumunija I Surbija' in: Svoboda ili smurt. No. 12, 21 April 1903. (*Свобода или смърт*, брой 12, 21 април 1903.) Also see: Aretov, Nikolaj. 'Svoje I chuzhdo vuv vuzrozhdenskata dramaturgija'. *Nauchni trudove.* Vol. 45, book. 1. Filologija. Plovdiv: universitetsko izd. Paisi Hilendarski 2007: 208-231

[180] Van Houtum, Henk, and Ton Van Naerssen. "Bordering, ordering and othering." In: *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 93, no. 2, 2002: 126.

Mobility could be of two types: forced and voluntary. The essence of forced mobility is captured by Ivan Vazov in his novel "Unloved, uncherished". There, the Bulgarian emigrants in Braila stare intently at 'their Bulgaria' from across the Danube, thinking about the strange notion of borders and lamenting their misfortune: "Oh, Bulgaria, you are never as precious as when we are away from you! You are never as necessary, as when we lose you hopelessly!"[181] But when some of the protagonists were romanticized exiles, others had lives and careers abroad. Mobility did not always coincide with forced exile, it could also provide the public actors with new opportunities and perspectives.[182] Emigrants studied abroad, crossed Imperial borders, establishing personal interconnections, crafted state-building projects and actively documented their lives.

Also, their mobility ranged from extreme to moderate. The typical marker of 'trans-borderness' is found in the biography of the revolutionary Georgi Rakovski. After being involved in the murder of two soldiers in Romania, he came under an investigation. Then an interesting episode took place: "During the investigation, Rakovski presented the following passports: Russian, French, British, Austrian, Greek and Serbian, all issued with different names on them. He spoke the following tongues: Russian, Serbian, Romanian, Arabic, Turkish, Greek and French, but he refused to disclose his citizenship even during further interrogation in front of the Minister, who, before leaving, asked him once again about his nationality."[183] This short story already marks him as a Balkan non-core group nationalist, who travelled all around the region. But other cases could be much less extreme, featuring only a few destinations.

The sixth discerning point would be ideological. All non-core group elites were nationalists, independently of their radicalism. For example, Rakovski's mobility and lack of resources inspired him to support a state-building project that could be a compromise, pushing him towards a mixture of federalism and nationalism. If one sees the power of an individual's argument based on the individual's social resources,[184] then Rakovski's travels and search for allies would be a reasonable outcome of such a correlation. A similar analysis of other

[181] Vazov, Ivan: *Nelimi-nedragi. (introduction by Milena Caneva*). Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1974: 24.
[182] Dragostinova, Theodora: *Between Two Motherlands Nationality and Emigration among the Greeks of Bulgaria, 1900-1949*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011: 77-116
[183] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 19-20
[184] Nan Lin: *Social capital. A theory of social structure and action.* Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2001: 3.

protagonists would demonstrate an identical picture: they were all nationalists, who pursued their goals to the best of the abilities.

The seventh point would be valid for most non-core group public actors, but still can be considered vague. It is multilingualism. Most of the Bulgarian public actors were multi-lingual, although there were exceptions. For example, publicist Ljuben Karavelov was fluent enough in Serbian, Russian and Romanian to actively publish works in the respective states.[185] Among the mid-19th century emigrants, these cases were hardly exceptional, making them seemingly typical for a cohort. Thus, multi-linguality can already define the chosen protagonists enough to see them as a group.

Another marker would be the level of education. While the institutions in the Empire and their impact of the development of the Bulgarian revolutionary network are discussed in further chapters, it is the general level of education that matters for their identification. It is their education that sets them apart from the illiterate majority and makes them an elite. And this point would be valid for most non-core group elites in the Balkans. While analysing the Serbian case, for example, Stavrianos points out that the predecessors of the Balkan state-builders themselves were facing a dilemma when applying their ideas to practice, since the bulk of the population was ignorant to Obradović's or Karađić's educational philosophies.[186] Partially that indifference was the result of the population's reduced abilities to take part in the state affairs.[187] However, the indifference of the majority can also be explained by the seeming irrelevance of the 'grand-scale' political ideas of the nationalist agents to their compatriots. Thus, in order to become a 'well-informed citizen',[188] a part of a 'non-core group elite' one needed education.

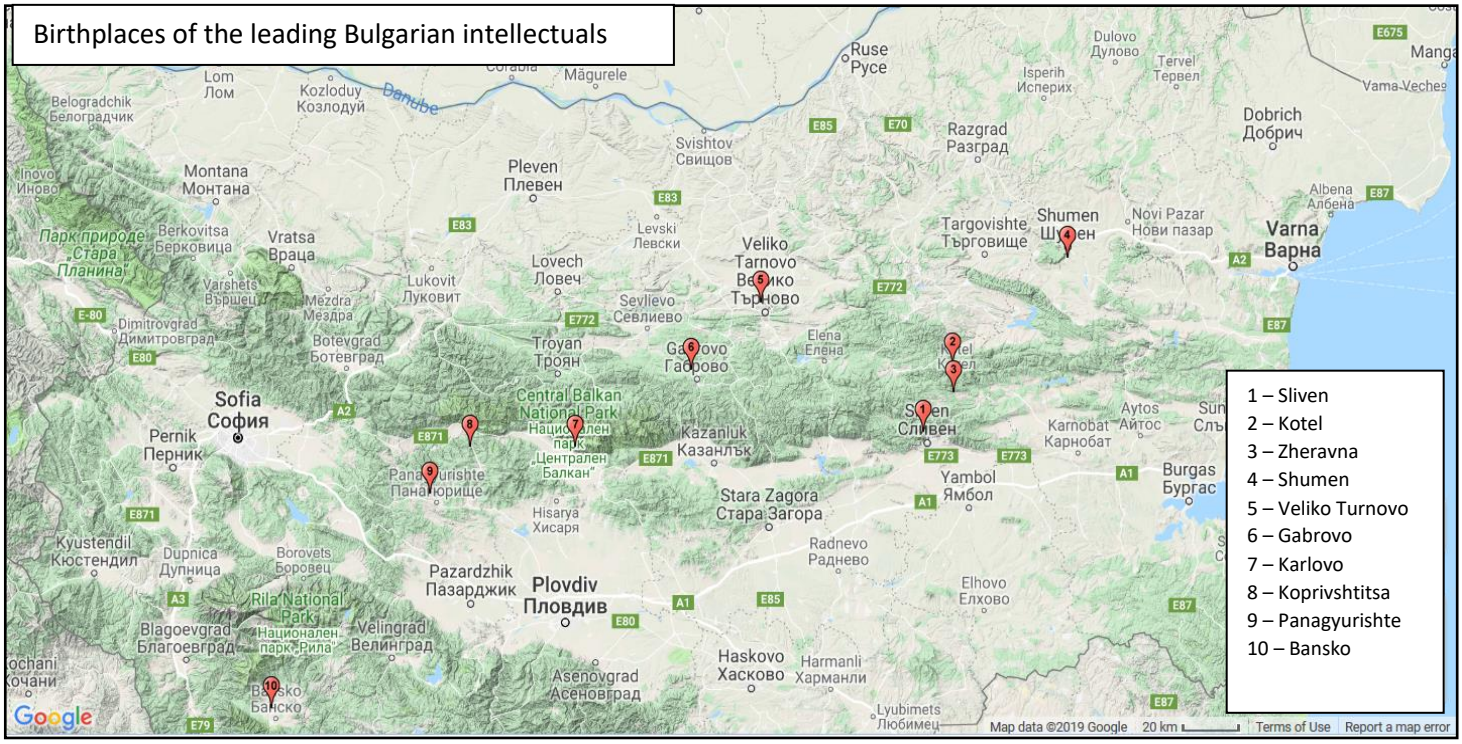
[185] Stojanov, Zahari. *Biografii. Chetite v Bulgarija. Suchinenija. Vol. 2.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1983: 109-118. Karavelov's first biography appeared in 1885.
[186] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart, 1958, p. 247
[187] As an example one can mention that only 2 percent of population in Croatia had a right to vote by the end of the 19th century, resulting in very limited "involvement" of the larger masses in "manifesting" their national and political affiliations. Hopken, Wolfgang: ‚Gewalt auf dem Balkan – Erklärungsversuche zwischen „Struktur" und „Kultur"' In: Höpken, Wolfgang; Riekenberg, Michael (eds.): *Ethnische und politische Gewalt in Südosteuropa und Lateinamerika*. Köln: Bohlau 2000: 53-95. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the Rum-millet, the Orthodox population, was mainly ran by the Greek patriarchate. The subsequent secession of several Orthodox Churches, therefore, coincided with the bloom of their nationalistic feelings. Roudometof, Viktor. "From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453–1821" In: *Journal of Modern Greek Studies, Volume 16*, 1998: 11-34.
[188] Schutz, Alfred: Alfred Schutz, "The Well-Informed Citizen" (1946), *Collected Papers II: Studies in Social Theory*(photomechanical reprint), The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976: 120-134 (First published in: *Social Research* 13 (1946), 4, 463-478.

If we summarize the most important shared traits of the protagonists in a table, their introduction will stress several communalities: they were mostly born in small towns, had middle-class and merchant backgrounds, followed imperial careers, and usually had impressive education. They grew up in relatively prosperous areas in Central Bulgaria, where Greek or Bulgarian schools existed, as shown in the map beneath the tables. Also, the younger generations, interestingly enough, often had lower level of education than their predecessors.

Name	**Birth date**	**Birth place**	**Education**	**Occupation**	**Background**
Vasil Aprilov	1789	Gabrovo	Gymnasium in Brasov, the University of Vienna (medicine).	Merchant, writer, benefactor.	Merchant
Nikola Benin (known as Neofit Rilski)	1793	Bansko	The Bansko painting school, religious schools in Melnik and Veles.	Painter, monk, teacher.	Merchant, low-middle class
Ivan Seliminski	1799	Sliven	Greek gymnasium in Kydonies, University of Athens (medicine).	Medic, publicist.	Merchant
Ivan Bogorov	1818	Karlovo	The Great School of the Nation in Constantinople, lyceum in Odessa. Higher education in Leipzig (chemistry) and Paris (medicine)	Medic, publicist, writer.	Merchant
Gavril Krastevich	1818	Kotel	Kotel, Karlovo (early education), the Great School of the Nation in Constantinople, Sorbonne (law)	Lawyer, judge, translator, publicist	Merchant, low-middle class

Najden Gerov	1823	Koprivshtica	Greek school in Plovdiv, Lyceum in Odessa	Linguist, folklorist, writer, publicist	Low-middle class (teachers)
Georgi Rakovski	1821	Kotel	Religious school in Kotel, The Great School of the Nation	Publicist, journalist, historian	Merchant
Ivan Kishelski	1826	Kotel	The Great School of the Nation, University of Kiev (mathematics)	General in the Russian Army, later governor of Varna and Vidin, military theorist	Religious (priestly family)
Vasil Drumev	1841	Shumen	Seminary in Odessa, Kiev Theological Academy	Monk, writer, politician	Low middle-class (craftsmen)
Ljuben Karavelov	1834	Koprivshtitsa	Gymnasium in Plovdiv, Moscow State University (never graduated)	Publicist, writer, journalist	Low-middle class
Panajot Hitov	1830	Sliven	Self-educated	Professional outlaw, publicist	Middle-class (cattle-breeders)
Vasil Levski	1837	Karlovo	Religious education in Karlovo, Stara Zagora and Plovdiv	An aspiring monk, publicist	Low-middle class (craftsmen)
Todor Ikonomov	1838	Zheravna	Early education in Razgrad, Ruse and Sofia. Later Kiev Theological Academy	Publicist, writer, politician	Religious (priestly family)
Stefan Stambolov	1854	Turnovo	Seminary in Odessa	Politician	Low-middle class
Petko Slavejkov	1827	Turnovo	Schools in Turnovo, Dryanovo, Svishtov. Self-education	Poet, publicist	Low-middle class (smith)

Marin Drinov	1838	Panagyurishte	University of Kiev, Moscow State University	Historian, publicist	Low-middle class (craftsmen)
Hristo Botev	1848	Kalofer/Karlovo	School in Kalofer, gymnasium in Odessa, University in Odessa (history and philology)	Poet, publicist	Low-middle class (teachers)



While the table above offers an idea, who the non-core group elites were, there is one question that remains: how can one treat individual destinies in the context of a cohort? Individual occupations differed as well as their political trajectories and personal stories. After all, professional outlaws like Panajot Hitov or Filip Totju do not fit into the frames of well-educated public actors, but they both played an important role in the formation of the Bulgarian state and

the development of the non-core group elites. Thus, it may be national sensitivity that remains the most important marker of all.[189]

Referring to Tara Zahra's argument,[190] one should see indifference as a marker of analysis with its own power to explain a social situation. The ability to influence an indifferent majority was the prerogative of intellectuals.[191] The Bulgarian elites were drastically outnumbered, and, to upgrade a non-core group to a core-group, they needed a supportive audience. In this case, the ideological strains between Rakovski and the Greek intellectuals, for example, would also find a reflection in the competition between the opposing merchant and intellectual elites.[192] They fought over influence on the indifferent Balkan populations. Besides that, economic tensions and rivalry that had no ethnic or national basis could be exploited easily by the non-core group ideologists to gain support for their national cause.

Non-core group elites were never a numerous group. One can easily identify a non-core group public actor by his attitude to national indifference alone. For example, in a letter to a Bulgarian revolutionary leader Panajot Hitov, sent to Belgrade from Braila in 1874, his comrade Pejev would described the elder generations of emigrants in the following manner: "In Braila, as well as in other Romanian cities, Bulgarians are immersed in a death-like slumber and there's little hope that they will awake since they are all involved with Romanians and Turks. Under their influence, they have lost every national sentiment. I was stricken by the insensitivity of the colonists, who are almost exclusively Bulgarian and should have preserved their specific national life".[193] Further Pejev added: "Braila is a hard thing, brother Panajot! That kind of national indifference (национална нечувствителност) for a man, who is intently watching his nation's destiny, is difficult to bear. Yet, there is not much to do. We should search and work".[194]

Two conclusions follow from the letter above: most non-core group intellectuals were connected and they were aware of their meagre numbers. The result of the connections of the

[189] Stichweh, Rudolf. "The Stranger - on the Sociology of the Indifference*".* In: *Thesis Eleven.* November 1997 vol. 51 no. 1: 1-16
[190] Zahra, Tara: 'Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis' in: *Slavic Review,* Vol. 69, No. 1 (Spring, 2010): 93-119
[191] Giesen, Bernhard: *Die Intellektuellen und die Nation: Eine deutsche Achsenzeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993: 27-30
[192] Kitromilides, Paschalis: "In the pre-modern Balkans: loyalities, identities, anachronisms". In: Tziovas, Dimitris, *Greece and the Balkans. Identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the enlightenment*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 2003: 19-30
[193] Български исторически архив *(БИА) Ф. 87* IIA 8592
[194] BIA. Op. Cit.

nationalist elites was a network of revolutionary organizations. These committees and groups usually consisted of individuals invested in active revolutionary activities, leaving numerous recordings behind. In 1875 two emigrants exchanged letters, related to the organization of the upcoming uprising, this time claiming Panajot Hitov did not invest enough effort in supporting the cause. One of the emigrants, Rafail Atanasov from Galati, would write to Ivan Sapunov in Belgrade: "First of all we need organization!", later elaborating on the general importance of public agitation in an attempt to export a state-building idea to the masses.[195] But despite these records, one may still have individuals, who had very limited revolutionary connections, but remained Bulgarian nationalists like historian Marin Drinov, for example. Thus, open revolutionary activity can be seen more as an option than a definite marker that discerns every representative of a non-core group elite.

A nationalist stance made one a public actor, and political activity made a public actor into a representative of the non-core group elite. They proclaimed themselves national elites and became such. They simply did not allow anyone to dispute their right to be 'nationally sensitive; Bulgarians. Panajot Hitov described this paradox in the following way: "Let me be forgiven for my words, but in our Motherland only the hajduks (outlaws), the shepherds and the cattle herders are free people. They are, at least, for a time, not subjected to the Turkish yoke and the violence of the chorbadjis. Yet, the Bulgarians are all ready to give their whole lives for just one free and happy minute".[196] Hitov was certainly attempting to make his explanations fit his own revolutionary agenda, yet, he, himself being a "hajduk",[197] primarily saw his aim in awakening those less fortunate and nationally insensitive. Therefore, he can be regarded as a self-proclaimed expert, an integrator of the people into the nation.[198] Hitov was never an ideologist, but one still cannot ignore him when it comes to dealing with non-core group elites.

Apart from national sensitivity, another difficulty in choosing the protagonists lies in their ideological trajectories and the vagueness of their ideas. For example, Ljuben Karavelov, an ideologist, an emigrant and an active propagandist of a full-fledged Balkan federation,[199] based

[195] БИА. IIA 8573 ф.№82, also published in Strashimirov. Arhiv na vuzrazhdane. Vol. 1. Sofia 1908: 302-304, № 11
[196] Hitov, Panajot: *Moeto putuvane po Stara Planina. Redakcija,* uvod in belezhki ot Aleksandar Burmov. Sofia: Hemus 1940: 5
[197] Hitov, Panajot: *Kak stanah hajdutin.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo Otechestvo 1982: 49-64
[198] Karl W. Deutsch*: Nationenbildung, Nationalstaat, Integration*. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag , 1972: 26-32
[199] Karavelov, Ljuben: 'Moi bratja' published in *Народност (Narodnost)*, 9 March 1869, Bucharest.

his aspirations on the exapmples of the United States and Switzerland. He saw a union between Romanians, Bulgarians and Serbs as a logical continuation of the alredy existing imperial ties. Yet the boundaries of Karavelov's federation were far from being fixed and definite. In 1871 he wrote: "Our slogan is "Freedom and everyone gets his own!" and if the Greeks like it, we won't push them away from us".[200] Karavelov's accepting attitude spread further to Croatia and generally everyone, who was eager to join the project. In the end, one can only assert that Karavelov was a nationalist, but the rest of his ideas remain very vague: he never wrote about a form of government in detail, never wrote about suffrage and legal systems. And his example is typical among the non-core group elites. Most of their projects and strivings remained vague.

Another problem with a cohort approach comes when one encounters an individual, who changes his views and political beacons. For example, during the Crimean War of 1853-1856 Georgi Rakovski, an emigrant in Bucharest at the time, created an enthusiastic poem dedicated to Emperor Nicholas I of Russia, whom he saw as a "saviour of the Slavic people", who could once again demonstrate "how glorious the Slavic nations once were".[201] The poem contained the following verses:

One herd – one shepherd,
Emperor Nicholas,
Sent to us by God,
You will have the whole world,
Their pride will be destroyed![202]

In 1861, only a few years later, while staying in Belgrade, bitterly disappointed Rakovski composed a brochure, entitled "Resettlement in Russia or the Russian harmful policy towards the Bulgarians". The text would eventually appear in print in Bucharest.[203] Objecting to the

[200] Karavelov, Ljuben: 'Bulgarite ne tursjat chuzhdoto, no ne davit i svoeto', *Svoboda,* 1, no. 7, 17 December 1869.
[201] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 30.
[202] Adzhenov: Op. cit.: 31
[203] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo Marin Drinov 2005: 151-153.

resettlement of the Bulgarians from Vidin to the villages deserted by the local Tatars in the Russian Empire, Rakovski wrote the following: "Listen to me, Bulgarian brothers, especially those from Vidin province! The Russians have always been one of the wildest and most savage nations, and their majority remained such until today. The Bulgarians first baptized them, then gave them the alphabet, the Holy Scripture and first education. It is well-known around the world and their scholars acknowledge that as well. But with what kind of gratitude did they repay us for these good deeds!?"[204]

But the challenges only start with assessing Rakovski's opinions. It is also the image of Rakovski himself that suffered changes. The controversial pamphlet was reprinted in 1886 with a foreword written by a celebrated writer, journalist and revolutionary Zahari Stojanov, who developed Rakovski's line of thought further: "But the people, who have destroyed Poland, Ukraine and Bessarabia do not want to listen to us. They have already once expressed an aspiration to turn Bulgaria into a Danubian gubernia (district), and nothing sacred would stop them."[205] Both Rakovski and Stojanov had their agendas that were separated by a decade. When addressing the reasons for their support of certain ideals, one should address not only the obvious political climate of the period but connect it to the social and political status of the ideologists. After all, it was always the main instigator for their activities. To Zaimov it was the anti-Russian side of Rakovski that mattered, but in the 1970th the federalist Rakovski became a more important figure in the context of Socialist friendship.[206]

Addressing changes of opinions and perceptions of individuals when dealing with a cohort remains a challenge. However, there is a solution that simplifies this task. One must focus on the ideological turns of the public actors, which always evolves around national emancipation. Nationalism and lack of resources produced an adaptable non-core group public actor, whose attitudes to external factors changed, but whose nationalist aims remained.

Finally, one may wonder if these individuals need to be grouped at all, whether they themselves acted as a group. Such an approach sheds light on the nature of the state and nation-building developments in the Balkans and demonstrates that it was a limited number of people that stood behind those processes. Among the 19th-century European identity constructs the Bulgarian

[204] Rakovski, Georgi Sava: Suchinenija. *Izbor, harakteristikata i objasnitelni belezhki*. Edited by Mihail Arnaudov. Sofia: Universitetskata biblioteka 1922: 471-473.
[205] Rakovski, Georgi Sava: *Pereselenije v Rusija ili ruskata ubijstvenna politika za bulgarite.* With an introduction by Zahari Stojanov. Izdanije na v. Nezavisimost. Sofia: Skoropechatnica na K.T. Kushlev 1886: 1-2
[206] Trajkov, Veselin: *Georgi Stojkov Rakovski*. Sofia: Ban, 1974.

case offers its own challenges such as a largely illiterate and indifferent population and severe competition from the side of other non-core groups and empires.

It's a perfect example of a non-core group and its potential. Being squeezed between three empires, the 19th-century Bulgaria offers a case of elites developing and propagating their views with Greater Powers in the background. Referring to a similar matter in the Finnish identity debate, Marjatta Hietala cites the words of an editor of a leading Finnish journal of the beginning of the 20th century: "Only a nation whose every member is fully aware that his nation has a special mission in the world and because of that it will not assimilate with other nations is good enough and able enough to live as a nation among other nations in today's hard struggle for survival".[207] It was that 'struggle for survival' that motivated the non-core group elites and turned them against each other, against the Empires and often against the West.[208] The extreme importance of this struggle also discerns them from more confident core-group elites. The trope itself was widely used by intellectuals, who compared the survival of nations to the survival of animal species. (nationalism and biology)

When referring to cohort experiences one cannot avoid generalization pitfalls, excessive focus on individual destinies or the lack of such. Thus, not all important Bulgarian public actors are featured in the research. It is almost impossible to omit the destinies of individuals like Rakovski and Botev in a work based on the mid-19th century Balkan material. Nonetheless, many other public actors remain in the shadows. The research does not claim to bring all these characters into the light. It neither sets this goal. Relying on the archival resources and publications, it sketches the outlines of the social connections of these public actors and elaborates on the sets of reasons behind their political creativity.

Associated sources

Non-core group elites are studied through the written legacy they left behind. Since the memoirs of the public actors are highly subjective, one can address them as parts of interviews

[207] Hietala, Marjatta: "Nationality and other nations. Discussion at the turn of the century in Finnish scholarly journals and schoolbooks", In: Nations, Identities, Historical Consciousness: Volume Dedicated to Prof. Miroslav Hroch. 1. Vyd. ed. Praha: Seminář Obecných Dějin Při Ústavu Světových Dějin FF UK, 1997: 14
[208] Buchenau, Klaus: *Auf Russischen Spuren. Orthodoxe Antiwestler in Serbien, 1850-1945*.Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011: 51-61

demonstrating one's agenda and ideas.[209] It is impossible to create an accurate survey of the characters' relationships due to their deceased status. Thus, one should carefully categorize the accounts that are employed in the research and concentrate on the shifts in their statuses, connections and opinions.

There are three types of sources used in the current thesis that allow to follow the connection between an actor's status, connections and political ideas. First, one encounters the publications of the protagonists themselves. That category includes articles, pamphlets, books and similar materials that share their political stances and even personal circumstances.[210] Such sources are easily accessible since they were conceived as available materials by the authors. Moreover, it is often not easy to determine the nature of the audience that this type of sources addressed: in the case of journals, for example, the language and the place of publication already signified part of its purpose. For example, the 'Danubian Swan' published by Georgi Rakovski in 1860-1861 appeared in Belgrade, contained several articles in French and was partially sponsored by the Serbian government.[211] Without a deeper analysis these facts alone reveal several important points. Firstly, they demonstrate the connections between Rakovski and the Serbian public actors (his links to Obrenović are, furthermore, highlighted in the memoirs of his peers). Secondly, they stress Rakovski's attempts to draw the attention of an international audience. Finally, the questions of sponsorship reveal possible interest parties and allow to see the extents of the network with its' groups and nods.

Besides the easily identifiable audience, purpose and interested parties, the publications offer another opportunity for the research. They can very well reflect the changes happening in the network with time due to their highly personal nature. They also mirror the image policies of the individuals, who wrote them. For example, revolutionary recollections published decades later, reflect both the romanticized past and the agenda of the present. In the case of immediate reactions, a public actor expresses his immediate political views that make sense only in the given context. For example, in 1856 a notable Bulgarian intellectual, a doctor and a publicist Ivan Seliminski wrote reflecting about the paces of the Bulgarian revival: "It is not in our interest to introduce the Western ideas in our country before time, for they are harmful for it.

[209] In the current context, the approach presupposes their analysis without referring to their reliability as "past" or "present". Leavy, Patricia. *Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 133-161

[210] Hristo Botev and Ljuben Karavelov were especially productive when it came to publishing, both being professionals in the field.

[211] Konstantinova, Zdravka: Derzhavnost predi durzhavata: Svruhfunkcii na bulgarskata vuzrozhdenska zhurnalistika. Sofia: Universitetskoto izdatelstvo Kliment Ohridski, 2000: 61-64.

Let us stay faithful to our religion, our language, our nation, our customs and sermons and avoid any other, who thinks in a different way".[212]

An emigrant, who lived and travelled through the entire region, doctor Seliminski was deeply influenced by his constantly altering surroundings.[213] Ardently defending the uniqueness of the Bulgarian identity and expressing obvious awareness of the "threats" – either coming from the "West" or the "East" – he balanced between strong Russophile beliefs,[214] mistrust of the Greeks and an idea of a "unique" Bulgarian identity. Seliminski's reactions, thus, reflected his perception of the current situation.

The second category of sources consists of purely fictional accounts. They give their author a degree of artistic freedom and do not require him/her to recollect every detail. Partially, memoirs fall into this category. For example, Stojan Zaimov, a notable Bulgarian chronicler, writer and publicist, published his memoirs related to the events of 1869-1877 in 1898 in Plovdiv.[215] While Zaimov dutifully attempted to record the dialogues, the clashes and the tensions between the Bulgarian public actors, his memoirs resemble fiction more than an actual historical reflecion. He also added the romanticized images of 'freedom fighters' to enhance the appeal of his work. But behind his embelishments, certain facts remain. For example, Zaimov descibed Dimitar Obshti, a prominent revolutionary, in one of his dialogues taking place in the headquaters of the 'Freedom' journal in Bucharest in 1870: „Voivode Hitov has offered him as a connection to me. And I adviced Levski to take him as a comrade. In one of the letters, Levski praised him highly, writing: 'Fire and flame! Wherever Obshti steps, Turkish grass would not grow!'"[216] Dimitar Obshti might have been less (or, probably, even more) impressive in real life than in Zaimov's descriptions, but from this account alone one can deduct his connections to both Levski and Hitov, important nods in the network of the Bulgarian revolutionaries in the 1870s.

[212] Seliminski, Ivan: 'Kak trjabva da razbirame nasheto vuzrazhdane' In: Seliminski, Ivan: *Izbrani suchinenija (edited by Kochev, N. i Buchvarov, M.)* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo 1979: 150
[213] Arnaudov, Mihail. *Ivan Seliminski: zhivot, delo, idei*. Sofia: Durzhavna pechatnica 1934.
[214] For further details referring to Seliminski's Russophile ideas, see Kristanov, Cvetan, Penakov, Ivan: *Doktor Ivan Seliminski.* Sofia: BAN 1962.
[215] Zaimov, Stojan: *Minaloto. Ocherki i spomeni iz dejatelnostta na bulgarskite tajni revoljucioni komiteti ot 1869-1877. 1 book.* Plovdiv: Hristo Danov 1898.
[216] Zaimov, Stojan: *Minaloto. Ocherki i spomeni iz dejatelnostta na bulgarskite tajni revoljucioni komiteti ot 1869-1877. 1 book.* Plovdiv: Hristo Danov 1898: 6.

Fictional accounts can also take form of novels featuring real protagonists like the "Chronicles of the April Uprising" by Zahari Stojanov[217] or mostly made-up characters in the setting of the 1870s like Ivan Vazov's novel "Unloved, uncherished" that is used in the dissertation.[218] The latter type of fiction introduced non-existent protagonists that were usually based on real prototypes. The question of the veracity of such representation is often left aside. Instead, it is more the fact of the author's awareness of the events that matters. The real-life story, thus, occupies a peripheral place. In this way, even if a Bulgarian revolutionary appearing in Dostoevsky's "Demons" is most likely based on Hristo Botev, who himself was a friend of the Russian revolutionary Nechaev,[219] it is the existence of such an account that matters. Similarly, one can regard the revolutionary love story published by Ivan Turgenev as a tale of a Balkan agent and his interconnections with an element of drama to it.[220]

In such cases, even memoirs almost inevitably become fiction with real characters. Sometimes the only difference between these two types of fiction is that memoirs claim truthfulness, while fictional works (especially when one takes Ivan Vazov's epic into account)[221] concentrate on drama and plot. Sometimes the two merge. In both cases, dramatic introductions and well-described settings clarify the status and strivings of the non-core group elites. After all, many of these public actors themselves were poets and writers.

Those were often creative individuals, who founded revolutionary organizations and committees abroad,[222] the so-called 'hâș'-es[223](the exiles in Romania, who inspired Vazov, the Bulgarian term is 'хъш') being particularly important. Thus, one should assume that their fiction and poetry can often be a reliable source that explains their difficult positions better than a police report or an article in a journal can. For example, Bulgarian poet Dobri Chintulov,

[217] Zahari Stojanov may be the most famous chronicler of the revolutionary events in the mid-19th century Bulgaria. His 'Chronicles of the Bulgarian Uprisings. Eyewitness Reports. 1870–1876' remain his most famous work. Besides that, some of his accounts were even translated into English. See Stoyanoff, Zahari: *Pages from the autobiography of a Bulgarian insurgent.* Transl. by M. W. Potter. London, 1913

[218] Vazov's 'Under the yoke' was widely acknowledged in Europe and brought Vazov fame beyond the borders of Bulgaria. The English version received critical acclaim as well. See Vazoff, Ivan: *Under the Yoke: A Romance of Bulgarian Liberty with An Introduction by Edmund Gosse*. London: William Heinemann 1912.

[219] Delchev, Boris: *Khristo Botev: opit za psikhografiia* Plovdiv: zd-vo "Khristo G. Danov", 1981: 78; 114.

[220] Turgenev, Ivan. *Nakanune*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoje izdatelstvo hudozhestvennoj literatury 1959.

[221] Eser, Umit. 'A versatile text for the propaganda of nationalism: Under the Yoke by Ivan Vazov.' In: *Balkan nationalisms and the Ottoman Empire. Vol. I. National movements and representations.* Ed. Dimitris Stamatopoulos. Istanbul: the ISIS Press, 2015: 211-212.

[222] Velichi, Constantin N, *La contribution de l'émigration bulgare de Valachie: à la renaissance politique et culturelle du peuple bulgare (1762-1850).* Bucarest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République socialiste de Roumanie, 1970, Constantinescu-Iași, P, *Despre români și bulgari. Contribuții istorice la prietenia româno-bulgară,* Bucuresti: Editura de stat, 1949

[223] Vazov, Ivan. *Hushove.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo Zahari Stojanov 2006.(a theater play).

while living in Odessa, wrote a poem, reacting to the departure of a Bulgarian emigrant from the Russian Empire, where he pointed out:

"But there, in your father's arms,
When happiness wraps you,
Think that our brothers
Are living in darkness and gloom"[224]

From this poem alone, one can assume that the Bulgarians in Odessa were a tightly connected group engaged into artistic creativity. Thus, in the dissertation fiction is often employed to analyse the density of a network and most wide-spread ideas and political trends among the non-core group elites.

Finally, the third type of soruces used in the dissertation are archival materials and mainly unpublished documents that include letters and drafts of political projects. The materials from this group come from several archives: The Bulgarian Historical Archive (Български исторически архив (БИА)), the Bulgarian State Archive (Централен държавен исторически архив (ЦДИА)), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ), the Romanian National Archives (Arhivele Nationale ale Romaniei (ANR)). Most of the documents accessed belong to the collections of these archives and represent document assortments dedicated either to individuals, to events or organizations.

For example, Panajot Hitov's collection from the Bulgarian Historical Archive[225] is especially helpful when it comes to determining the correlation between career and political attitudes. Hitov lived a long life and transformed from an outlaw into a respected public figure in the Bulgarian state. On the other hand, the file of the Slavic Committees in Russia sheds light on the relationships between the Russian Slavophiles and some of the Bulgarian public actors, offers insights into the true political plans behind the curtain of 'brotherly ties' and 'Slavic bonds'.[226] Besides, there are photographs that could be used to indicate relationships and their

[224] БИА, IIA 6189 (Различни тихове за разни причини съчинени от различни искусни мъжи. Изпроводяк на едного българина из Одесса)
[225] For example, the Bulgarian historical Archive (БИА/BIA) has a collection of materials related to Panajot Hitov and his long and turbulent life. See БИА IIA 8573 ф.№82
[226] In the State Archive of the Russian Federation (ГАРФ) one can locate the letters addressed to Count Ignatiev, the statesman behind the San-Stefano Treaty. Many of these documents shed light on the attitudes of the Bulgarian emigrants to the man, whom the partially thanked for the vision of a 'Greater Bulgaria'. See ГАРФ, Фонд 730 опись 1 и 2.

representation, as pointed out by Martina Baleva in her work.[227] But in the current case, such sources are occasionally referenced, but not actively used. Apart from them, one can still come across published archival materials that make up the bulk of the dissertation. Since most of the public actors featured in the research tended to be prominent (and often famous) individuals, the attention to their personalities causes a massive amount of scholarly inquiries. On many occasions extracts from such research are cited in the dissertation.[228]

Unlike the two other types of sources, certain archival materials allow one to determine the real impact of a public actor's voice. In this case the line between the 'influential' and the 'less influential' is defined mainly by the quantity and accessibility of the written heritage one left behind.[229] For example, regarding Hristo Botev's activity abroad, one may point out that he closely communicated with the local socialists, became 'supervised' by the official government and also established important connections with the local Romanian intellectuals.[230] When one cannot find direct and trustworthy accounts of the nature of Botev's friendships, one may refer to the letters and drafts that offer a more detailed picture.

The informal character of letters often reveals hidden motives, dire circumstances and petty troubles that make up the daily life of the protagonists. They reference the emigrants' poverty, hopes, job searches, etc. Often, these sources help determine the extents of their mobility, which can be difficult to deal with, when it comes to radical revolutionaries like Rakovski or Levski. All the sources are interpreted in the purview of entangled history, to find and label connections, thus, their predictable bias does not interfere with their function in the dissertation. Thus, even if one cannot interview any of the protagonists, one can still see what occupied their minds enough for them to keep writing about it.

It is the pattern of transmitted ideas that matters for the research. Thus, although there is a difference between memory and facts, both produce a reality. Besides, fiction can be both a

[227] Baleva, Martina, and Thomas Cooper: "Revolution in the Darkroom: Nineteenth-Century Portrait Photography as a Visual Discourse of Authenticity in Historiography." *The Hungarian Historical Review 3, no. 2* (2014): 363-90.
[228] As an example see the documents published in Strashimirov, Dimitur: *Arhiv na vuzrazhdane.* Vol. 1. Sofia 1908
[229] The social mobility is remarkable in the case of a "politically active" elite, where the involvement in the creation of various state-building projects turns former revolutionaries into leading statesmen, and celebrated writers. See the cases of Zahari Stojanov and Stefan Stambolov. See Aretov, Nikolay: "The rejected legacy" in Detrez, Raymond, Segaert, Barbara. (eds.) *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2008,: 75-77: Daskalov, Roumen: Debating the Past: *Modern Bulgarian History; From Stambolov to Zhivkov.* Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2011: 7-10
[230] Constantinescu-Iaşi, P.: Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti. Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 7-10

reflection of reality and a hopeful construct. In this way, Stojan Zaimov's accounts feature real people. One cannot reconstruct the exact chain of events based on these memoirs alone, but one can determine the connections between these characters. Similarly, newspaper articles and occasional interviews are applied in the last part of the thesis to the examination of image politics and the ways individuals could change or promote their opinions. Therefore, the sources in the dissertation are used as means to illustrate the revolutionary biographies and partially to compensate for the inability to conduct a traditional social networking analysis as it is discussed in the third chapter.

'Intelligentsias' abroad and in Bulgaria: the importance of 'cohort experiences'

An individual biography is a result of circumstances and social connections. And an experience of a cohort is a tapestry of individual destinies that follow similar patterns and allow one to understand the underlining reasons for their political creativity. The political potential of an imperial subject and the connections he/she could form is revealed through an analysis of a group, not one individual. Thus, an analysis of a cohort also enhances the understanding of individual destinies.

The correlation between the Empire's liberalization and the rise of the non-core group's demands proves the usefulness of a cohort approach. With the growing study opportunities for the Christian subjects,[231] the forming intelligentsia began questioning the realities of their state and their less emancipated position. These elites engaged in political creativity that had different degrees of anti-Imperialism to it: it ranged from outright replacements of the Empire with a free republic of the idealistic Vasil Levski to more careful reformist projects of Pandeli Kisimov and Stambolov's later attempts to create a union with Romania.[232] The more rights an Empire granted to its non-core group, the more demanding the elites became. And the Bulgarian case offers only one of such examples as demonstrated in the chapter. The Empire lost legitimacy in the eyes of the non-core group elites, and many of their representatives could not longer be satisfied by reform, but only by revolution.

[231] Yosmaoğlu, İpek: *Blood Ties: Religion, Violence and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia,* 1878–1908. Ithaca/London 2014: 48–78.
[232] All these instances are examined in detail in the following chapters, thus they are only briefly mentioned here.

In some cases, the Empire did manage to accommodate their troublesome non-core groups with radical compromises. The same pattern would be valid for the post-1849 Hungary: the Habsburg Empire transitioned to a dual-state in many ways to ensure the loyalty of the well-organized and educated Hungarian national elites, yet, after the Ausgleich of 1867, the waves of Magyarization and growing demands of the formerly non-core group elite followed.[233] A failure to accommodate a non-core group elite happened in Poland decades earlier. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland granted by Alexander I of Russia to his Polish subjects in 1815[234] did not ensure the cooperation of the Polish elites and their loyalty to the Empire. It sparked revolts and nationalist uprisings instead.

In all these cases separated by several decades, the Empires attempted to answer the aspirations of the non-core group elites with varying degrees of efficiency. Simultaneously, they could not supress them to the point of annihilation. When in danger most of these intellectuals survived in exile like Lajos Kossuth, Georgi Rakovski and a great number of other non-core group nationalists. And only a survey of them as a cohort of related individuals can offer a researcher this wider perspective of their states and political dynamics.

Non-core group elites are a separate group of Romanticist intellectuals, who provide an excellent sample for a research. They were mobile,[235] politically active and non-numerous, yet, they left their mark not only on the Empires that created them, but on their subsequent nation-states, producing political blueprints for future generations. Thus, non-core group elites can be a useful category of analysis, but they can only be used in an Imperial context: they were the product of an Empire, and, therefore, the concept of 'non-core group elites' as such is only helpful when dealing with imperial history.

[233] Henschel, Frank: "Religions and the Nation in Kassa before World War I." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 3, no. 4 (2014): 850-74.
[234] Przekop, Danuta; Janowski, Maciej: *Polish Liberal Thought Up to 1918.* Central European University Press, 2004: 37
[235] Lipset, Seymour Martin, Reinhard Bendix. *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959: 11 Social mobility in general can be seen as a characteristic of any society on its' root to industrialization. Thus, it is predictable that economic and political reforms in the Ottoman Empire opened career opportunities not exclusively for the former Rum-Millet subjects, but for many other groups within the state.

Chapter II. The temptation of federalism

The current chapter introduces the concept of federalism into the thesis and identifies the place of the Bulgarian public actors of the mid-19th century in the framework of European federalist strivings. Creating a link between the status and connections of a public actor and his political imagination, the chapter explains the reasons behind the protagonists' federalist and nationalist choices. Following their letters and publications, as well as their political strategies, one can determine how they fit into the context of European federalist thought and identify their possible reasons for engaging into grand-scale political creativity. The chapter answers the question of whether the Bulgarian ideologists can truly be considered federalists despite their openly nationalistic claims.

What is federalism?

Unifying state-building ideologies spread out in the Europe of Empires during the long 19th century with both clear and hidden political goals behind them. Most of these grand-scale plans involving several political and or/ethnic entities were considered 'federalist'. Yet those were often contradictory projects set in opposition to one another. In order to understand what connects the European federalist schemes together (including the Bulgarian examples) one should address the very concept of federalism.

One of the most iconic definitions of federalism and its roots is given by Daniel Elazar: "An idea that defines political justice, shapes political behavior, and directs humans towards an appropriately civic synthesis of the two."[236] In the author's view, political justice associated with this idea manifests itself in the absence of clear minorities and majorities, where majorities are forced to be 'compound rather than artificially simple'[237] and minorities have a chance to survive and defend their interests. Furthermore, federalism's foundations are covenantal, which presupposes the major role of a political choice rather than organic forces or conquest in its'

[236] Elazar, Daniel J.: *Exploring Federalism*. London: University of Alabama Press 1987: 1.
[237] Elazar, Daniel J.: Op. cit.: 2.

formation.[238] It was precisely that idea of a presupposed choice that made federalism into a beloved reference point of the 19th-century diplomats.[239]

Idealistic interpretations of federalism not only mask the real goals behind its theory but allow multiple readings of the phenomenon. As Freely and Rubin point out: "Perhaps Swiss federalism protects linguistic minorities, but American Federalism does not. Perhaps Canadian federalism increases political participation, but Australian federalism does not."[240] In order to reconcile the many particular shapes federalist ideology can develop the author offers a simpler definition of federalism. It is 'a means of governing a polity that grants partial autonomy to geographically defined subdivisions of the polity'.[241] Therefore, a federalist ideology can be regarded as, primarily, a political scheme that acknowledges the territorial identities of its subjects. This explanation will be, thus, used when addressing the projects of the 19th-century public actors. After all, their plans primarily focused on the creation of specified territorial units within an imaginary state.[242]

Territoriality is an essential part of federalism. Moreover, spatial identity is the form of group distinctiveness that federalism acknowledges.[243] While federalist ideology can appeal to any number of groups within a state, its organization is tied *not* to the religious, national or any other marker that can discern a population, but to the territory that a political unit occupies. Federalism, therefore, always results in complex federal arrangements, as Hueglin and Fenna point out.[244] The final result notwithstanding, a federalist project always remains a plan that places territoriality at its core.[245]

Yet the territorial principle that discerns federalism is strongly linked to the interpretation of identity *within* its frames. It is its ability to integrate multiple identities that creates its appeal for the minority public actors. Ideally, the purpose of federalism is to "organize and protect both individual and group liberties".[246] The manifestation of these liberties is linked to the

[238] Elazar, Daniel J.: Op. cit.: 4-5.
[239] Miroslav Šedivý: *Metternich, the Great Powers and the Eastern Question.* Pilsen, Czech Republic: University of West Bohemia, 2013: 59-86.
[240] Feeley, Malcolm; Rubin, Edward L.: *Federalism: Political Identity and Tragic Compromise*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2008: 2.
[241] Feeley, Malcolm; Rubin, Edward L.: Op. cit.: 12.
[242] Romsics, Ignác: „Regionalismus und EuropaGedanke im ungarischen politischen Denken des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts", in Borodziej et al. (eds.): *Option Europa: deutsche, polnische und ungarische Europapläne des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Volume 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005: 135–165 (137–142).
[243] Hueglin, Thomas; Fenna, Alan: *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry. Second Edition.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015: 16.
[244] Hueglin, Thomas; Fenna, Alan: Op. Cit.: 25.
[245] King, Preston: *Federalism and federation.* London: Croom Helm 1982: 20-21.
[246] Hueglin, Thomas; Fenna, Alan: Op. Cit.: 25.

identities of the groups. Federalism, therefore, as most scholars point out, regards identity as *primarily* territorial.[247] This primarily territorial division translates into religious and national affiliations, forcing all aspects of identity to acquire a spatial basis even if initially it did not exist or was not prominent.[248]

The locational bias of federalism makes it a tool for avoiding territorial conflicts.[249] This particularity made it a tempting choice, for example, for the Bulgarian mid-19th century agents, who had to negotiate the rights of their national group with both Greater Powers and their neighbors. Yet in the case of the already exiting clashes, federalist ideology does not in itself substitute the propaganda necessary to justify the reasons for bringing together diverse clusters of people. Often the reasons behind a possible unification have an ideological and philosophical basis. As Ronald Watts puts it: "The essence of federalism as a normative principle is the perpetuation of both union and non-centralization at the same time."[250] These seemingly contradictory principles turn federalism into an ideology that is equally used by the public actors, who are eager to prevent a state from collapsing and those, who wish to gain national emancipation and/or collapse a state (like in the case of the Bulgarian, Hungarian or Polish elites in the 19th century). Therefore, theoretically federalist ideology is always motivated by a dichotomy of 'unity in variety', which, simultaneously, also characterizes an idealized Imperial state.[251]

Due to the combination of decentralization and unity, federalism cannot be interpreted as purely a nation-building project. Basing the argument on the territorial compromise-based nature of federalism,[252] the research regards it as a state-building plan that can be applied when several nation-building ideas clash. Federalism can and often is used in the service of nation-

[247] Amoretti, Ugo M.; Bermeo, Nancy: *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*. Baltimore and London: JHU Press 2004: 3.
[248] Keating, Michael: *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1998: 25.
[249] Keil, Soeren: "Federalism as a Tool of Conflict-Resolution: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", *L'Europe en Formation*, Vol. 363, No. 1, (2012): 205-218.
[250] Watts, Ronald: "Federalism, Federal Political System, and Federation," *Annual Review of Political Science,* Vol. 1, No. 1, (1998): 121.
[251] Mosher, Michael: "Montesquieu on Empire and Enlightenment", in Muthu, Sankar (ed.) *Empire and Modern Political Thought*. Chicago: Cambridge University Press 2012: (112-155), 113.
[252] Wolff, Stefan: "Complex Power-sharing and the Centrality of Territorial Self-governance in Contemporary Conflict Settlements," *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (2009): 27-45; van der Beken, Christophe: *Unity in Diversity - Federalism as a Mechanism to Accommodate Ethnic Diversity: The Case of Ethiopia.* Münster: Lit Verlag 2012: 40-43; Osterkamp, Jana: "Imagined Law" and „Imagined Communities". Confessional Collectives and their Ideas for a Federal Habsburg Partition of Galicia", in Kleinmann, Y., Stach, St. Wilson,T. (eds.) *Religion in the Mirror of Law. Research on Early Modern Poland-Lithuania and its Successor States in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*. Frankfurt: Klostermann Verlag 2016: 41-60.

building, but one should always point out that in itself federalism should be viewed isolated from any nationalist ideology (which is often not the case in practice), as a separate unit of analysis.

It is the organizational factor rather than the ideological traits that discerns several varieties of federalism.[253] Wachendorfer-Schmidt discerns two ideal types: the case, where "political institutions will motivate territorial actors to collaborate by dividing the powers between them functionally and providing for tasks to be accomplished jointly."[254] The second example would have powers separated and offer a higher degree of decision-making possibilities to the local authorities. Watts also points out that often, in theory as well as in practice, one encounters hybrid types, where federalism develops practices that include unitary financial arrangements (shared economic policies etc) and intergovernmental relations.[255] Thus, federalism is characterized by different levels of decision-making and power distribution. Besides that, it can also presuppose degrees of autonomy given to the units.

A 'federation' or a 'federal state' share the same meaning. However, a 'confederation' represents a different organizational level. It is "reserved for federal organizations of a looser order".[256] The 'looser order' can mean voluntary participation, a temporal nature of a union, a league that is brought together by a common aim, but not a shared political ideology. Yet, most of these differences have a purely symbolic meaning. They may relate to the vague idea of 'sovereignty'[257] and its place in the hands of the central or local government. However, a simpler explanation would present a confederation as a system, where the central government has no power to expand its' will over its components without their unanimous consent.[258]

Depending on the density of its organizational model, federalism can have different functions. In the context of the 19th century aspiring non-core groups one must stress two most important roles the ideology may play. Firstly, it can function as a form of keeping territorially distinct political communities under the influence of central power, but still satisfying their demands.[259]

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[253] Ziblatt, Daniel: "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe." *World Politics* 57, no. 1 (2004): 77-78 (70-98).
[254] Wachendorfer-Schmidt, Ute: "Introduction" in Wachendorfer-Schmidt, Ute (ed.) *Federalism and Political Performance*. London: Routledge 2005: 7.
[255] Watts, Ronald: "Typologies of federalism", in Loughlin, John; Kincaid, John; Sweden, Wilfried. (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Regionalism & Federalism.* London: Routledge 2013: 20 (3-22).
[256] Sharma, Pradeep: *Economic Political Geography*. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing 2007: 199.
[257] Laband, Paul: *Das Staatsrecht des Deutschen Reiches*. Vol. 3. Abt. 2. Freiburg (Breisgau: u. a. 1911: 58.
[258] Halberstam, Daniel: "Federalism: theory, policy, law", in Sajó, András; Rosenfeld, Michel (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013: (576-609) 582.
[259] Kwan, Jonathan: "„Öffentlichkeit', Adressdebatten Und Die Anfänge Des Parlamentarismus in Der Habsburgermonarchie 1861–1867", in Adlgasser, Franz et al. (eds,) *Hohes Haus!: 150 Jahre Moderener*

Secondly, it can work as a way of achieving certain rights and liberties by the representatives of those political communities. While in theory, federalist ideology combines both functions, in practice it stresses one over the other depending on the ideologist prophesizing it. Therefore, federalism appearing as a concept in the thought of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck[260] would have a different leading function than federalism of the Bulgarian emigrant and publicist Ljuben Karavelov.[261]

Federalism can be propagated from a position of a political strength or weakness. Representing the 'middle-ground' between "international and national organizational principles"[262] in one tradition and a bond between sovereign entities in another, federalism of the 19th century, came to mean 'Federal State'. It is this definition that relies on national and constitutional background that characterizes most of the plans for implementing federalism in the mid-19th century context. The plans themselves could be vague but usually stressed the free will of the participants, following what Schutze describes as voluntary participation.[263] Among the writings of the protagonists of the current research there is not a single case of a federalist idea that introduces its forceful implementation. Certainly, all the projects of these non-core group public actors never received their chance for practical application, therefore, a theoretical application of federalism does not necessarily coincide with the final outcome of the project. Neither do the theoretical principles of representation match the product, a political blueprint.

A federation offers a possibility of representation to all the territorially fixed groups involved in the project. According to Bosco, federalism can be seen as a constitutional model with a specific form of government.[264] A constitution, therefore, regulates the freedoms given to the participants of a federation. The author, furthermore, engages in the overview of the ways representation could be organized in a federative state with the example of the projects from the time of the Enlightenment up to 1945. In most of these cases the truly represented

Parlamentarismus in Österreich, Der Tschechoslowakei Und Der Republik Tschechien Im Mitteleuropäischen Kontext. NED. New edition. vol. 35. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2015: 135–144; Gonda, István: "Bismarck Und Der österreichisch-ungarische Ausgleich Von 1867." *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8, no. 3/4 (1961): 257-311

[260]Pflanze, Otto: *Bismarck and Parliament. In Bismarck and the Development of Germany*. *Volume II: The Period of Consolidation, 1871-1880*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990: 154-178.

[261] Ersoy A., Górny M., & Kechriotis V. (Eds.): *Modernism: The Creation of Nation-States*. Budapest: Central European University Press 2010: 301-390.

[262] Schütze, Robert: *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law*. London and New York: Oxford University Press 2009: 15.

[263] Schütze, Robert: Op. cit.: 17.

[264] Bosco, Andrea: *The Federal Idea: The history of federalism from Enlightenment to 1945*. Vol. I. New York: Lothian Foundation Press 1991: 4-5.

participants of those federations were the elites (national, financial, etc.).[265] While ideally a federative state can assure a voice for the representatives of all the units involved, it addresses the representation of its citizens through several levels that depend on a form of government chosen for a federation. And, in this case, there are numerous variants.

One of the reasons for the spread of various federalist ideas may lie in the many possibilities of organizing a federative government and dealing with personal representation. A federation can still be a federation when ruled by a monarch, a council consisting of the elected representatives of the local units or their hereditary elites. The only condition that has to be fulfilled is the abstract sovereignty of the units. Schutze gives an example from Bodin, where both authors refer to the Swiss League as a confederation, while describe the German Empire as a unitary state governed by an aristocracy of princes.[266] This idea can be easily implemented for the analysis of the Balkan cases. It explains that even an assembly or multiple rulers does not necessarily equal a federation since it should include the involvement of the sovereign territorial units in the process of decision-making on a local as well as central levels.

Apart from the governmental system that can form a federation, the eventual aim of the project can also differ. Except for the obvious premise of "organizing issues and conflicts of territoriality into politics"[267], a federalist scheme can follow several goals that sometimes coincide. A federalist plan can be used as an attempt to avoid a seemingly inevitable armed conflict between the parties. Such projects were especially popular before a war or shortly after one.[268] The second underlying aim of a federalist project usually finds its roots in an attempt to reform a state due to any number of economic or political reasons. Plans that appear primarily as attempts to preserve a state are usually propagated by the core-group public actors or the ruling elites influenced by their aspiring counterparts.[269] Finally, a federalist idea can serve as

[265] Bosco, Andrea: Op. cit.: 86.
[266] Schütze, Robert: *From Dual to Cooperative Federalism: The Changing Structure of European Law*. London and New York: Oxford University Press 2009: 17.
[267] Hueglin, Thomas; Fenna, Alan: *Comparative Federalism: A Systematic Inquiry. Second Edition.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2015: 27.
[268] The interwar period especially produced a number of scholarly pieces as well as hopeful plans evolving around the idea of a Balkan Union. Most of these publications regard the enterprise as primarily a way of avoiding an armed conflict. See "A Balkan federation", *Advocate of Peace through* Justice 90, no. 7 (1928): 405-06; Galitzi, Christine: "The Balkan Federation." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 168 (1933): 178-82. One of the most famous works of the period would be Theodor Geshenkoff's *Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe.* New York: Columbia University Press 1940.
[269] Such would often be the cases of the public actors trying to preserve the Habsburg Empire in the beginning of the 20th century. See Péter, László: "R. W. Seton-Watson's Changing Views on the National Question of the Habsburg Monarchy and the European Balance of Power." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 82, no. 3 (2004): 655-79.

a liberation project, pursuing the goal of national emancipation, which is the case of the protagonists of the research. Yet in several cases, the pursuit overshadows the frames of federalism, therefore it becomes not the final goal, but rather a means to achieving an outcome that has little in common with federalist theory.

When referring to the motivations behind federalist strivings, Holly Case points out that "European federalist schemes share a common root with nationalist and are based on a politics of (in)security."[270] That is a sound argument that is difficult to dispute (apart from several rare cases of idealistic thinkers). However, the author addresses federalism as one monumental ideology, omitting the different ways those insecurities could be manifested. Yet different propagators of federalism throughout the 19th century defended their convictions from different positions of political weakness that coincided with their far-reaching goals. A Romanticist Intellectual in the mid-19th century (Bulgarian, Hungarian or Polish),[271] for example, saw federalism primarily as a way to liberate his nation from the rule of an undesired sovereign. While a sovereign or a member of a core-group elite could be motivated by the preservation of his own state in one form or another. If one takes these different insecurities into account, the difference between a political ideal and a means to a non-federalist aim becomes apparent. In order to answer the question of the chapter that relates to the federalist nature of the writing samples and strategies of the Bulgarian ideologies, one should address the examples of their European peers first.

The experience of European federalism. Enlightenment and Romanticism

Although Daniel Elazar, one of the most prominent scholars of federalism, argues that the idea can find its roots in times immemorial, dating back to the Bible,[272] the true rise of European federalism started with the Enlightenment.[273] The current section, therefore, overviews the most notable federalist strivings in Europe focusing on the 19th century intellectuals and their inspirations. It is through the analysis of the overall European trends that one can establish the

[270] Case, Holly: "The Strange Politics of Federative Ideas in East-Central Europe." *The Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 4 (2013): 833-66: 833
[271] Isabella, Maurizio*: Risorgimento in exile. Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 92-99.
[272] Elazar, Daniel J.: *Exploring Federalism*. London: University of Alabama Press 1987: 5-6.
[273] Bosco, Andrea: *The Federal Idea: The history of federalism from Enlightenment to 1945*. Vol. I. New York: Lothian Foundation Press 1991: 5-6.

influences of these movements on the Bulgarian public actors, whose unifying ideas are almost never studied as an inseparable part of a shared idea space (similarly to their German, Polish or Hungarian counterparts).

European federalist tradition relied on several inspirational examples (like the Holly Roman Empire as well as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Yet it is the idea of a sovereign state first and a nation-state as its' variation that became most prominent during the 18th century. In her survey of the European federalist tradition Éva Bóka stresses that it partially derived from the drawbacks associated with the nation-states: Rousseau emphasized that "the sovereign nation-states of the Westphalian system behave as rivals pursuing power policy without an end. The principle of balance of power is not suitable to ensure peace. On the contrary, it can only strengthen the warrior competition."[274] The 18th-century federalism was partly an ideology that acknowledged the inevitable necessity of European cooperation. Therefore, it focused on avoiding war.

A philosophical ideal rather than a series of well-formulated plans, federalism of the European Enlightenment relied on the models like the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or/and the multinational monarchies.[275] Yet neither of these were federations in the sense of a union of sovereign participants with purely territorial identity, equally involved in the process of state decision-making. The Enlightenment popularized federalism as primarily a quest for peace, contributing to the subsequent development of the idea since it artfully combined philosophical strivings for a civic society and represented an opportunity to establish a long-lasting community with shared political values. Therefore, the projects of Rousseau and Kant inspired generations of European thinkers and political advisors to Emperors such as Friedrich von Gentz and Adam Czartoryski.[276] Yet the plans that were born out of these ideas did not necessarily follow them.

When addressing the idea of a unifying doctrine as a way of sustaining peace through the example of Friedrich von Gentz and Chancellor Metternich, Mark Mazower points out that: "Before the French revolution there had been endless alliances of states and princes, constantly shifting in order to preserve or disrupt the prevailing balance of power. The war against France

[274] Bóka, Éva: "In search of European federalism: A Historical Survey", *Society and Economy 28*, no. 3 (2006): (309-31), 311.
[275] Mastny, Vojtech: "The Historical Experience of Federalism in East Central Europe", *East European Politics and Societies* Vol 14, Issue 1, 2000: 64 – 96.
[276] Pasture, Patrick: *Imagining European unity since 1000 AD*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015: 50.

had started out in this way, as a traditional coalition, but it had ended…as a principal of general union, uniting all the states collectively with a federative bond, under the guidance of the five principal powers".[277] A coalition of powers forged a link close enough to a 'federative bond' due to the imminent danger that manifested itself in the threat of a common enemy. Therefore, most of the 19th-century federalisms originated in a shared vision of a common enemy, not a spontaneous unifying wish or a Kantian ideal of a civic society. Moreover, the French Revolution became a turning point that divided the Enlightened philosophical ideals and the practical approaches generated by the Romanticist visions of a nation-state.

Nation-states were a 19th-century product that came out of the nationalism awakened by the French revolution.[278] However, if "only in France did the Revolution produce, for a short time at least, a unity of spirit and purpose in the national ranks," [279] other practices often resulted in the lack of uniting power. Romanticist intellectuals strongly associated the fulfillment of their philosophical ideas with the formation of a nation-state that could allow their 'interest group' to execute its rights and liberties, while existing within a certain cultural frame. Since federalism primarily encompasses a bond between regional units, the Romanticist idea of a territorially-based identity could be added to the ideological side of a peaceful civic society introduced by the philosophers of the Enlightenment.

The Romanticist turn also continued to put a stronger emphasis on the secular values that could be offered through a federalist scheme. Napoleon envisioned a European empire based on universal secular principles, and it was this universalism that attracted many of the European public actors to federalism making it versatile. It could easily be used in the service of the nation. The romanticist vision of welding "all the nations of the area into a community able to assert and defend itself"[280] seemed certainly appealing to many of the nationalist intellectuals. Yet, it was never the only motivation behind their federalist strivings. They were nation-builders above all else. And, simultaneously, they were fascinated by the Enlightenment's idea of a Europe, a community based on a set of shared civic values.

[277] Mazower, Mark: *Governing the world. The history of an idea, 1815 to present*. New York: Penguin Books. 2013: 4.
[278] Kohn, Hans: *Prelude to Nation-states. The French and German experience, 1789-1715*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967: 2-4.
[279] Kohn, Hans: Op. cit: 18
[280] Bossy Raoul: "Romanian Contributors to federalism in the XIXth century", *The Polish Review* 4, no. 1/2 (1959): (83-90), 83.

Inspired by Kant's ideas regarding the right of nations that "presuppose the separation of many neighboring states independent of one another", [281] the Romanticist intellectuals strove not only to promote their nation, but to define its symbolic borders and its status within a larger space that was Europe. As Bernhard Giesen puts it: "While the construction of a collective identity should also preview existing diversity and variety, it succeeds only naturally and spontaneously".[282] The aim, of an intellectual group of the nationalist intellectuals, therefore, was that of organizing the process and shaping its ideological side. Federalism happened to fit into their worldview. It could help them reinforce identities and allegiances within their group the way it was done in the case of the United States that started drafting the articles of Confederation as early as 1777.[283]

In 1787 the process of drafting the constitution started in America, resulting in a foundation for a federative state. From 1879 to 1865 the state went through its' dual federalism phase, where "the national and the state governments were equal partners with separate and distinct spheres of authority."[284] While one may argue whether this was the case in practice, the importance of the mere existence of a federation with its branching representative system in America greatly influenced the European Romanticist thinkers, including the Bulgarian protagonists of the research.[285]However the striking difference between European federalist debates and American experience lay in the nature of the territorial units involved. While the forming Romanticist intelligentsia mainly focused on a union of nation-states, the American example can be considered rather a union of states in one nation. In the Bulgarian case, when Rakovski, Botev or Karavelov would address federalist ideas, they would inevitably think of a most suitable way of their implementation: they could not build an 'America' of their own but had to work with the competing nation-building plans.

The European 19th-century intellectuals were mainly concentrated on solving nationality problems through the means of federalism and much less on the governmental and economic issues that federalism could instigate. Referring to this paradox, Wilson highlights: "It is imperative to point out that political leaders, regardless of nationality or time period, in

[281] Rakic, Vojin: "Kant's semantics of world (state) making", in Lemay-Hébert (ed.) *Semantics of State building: Language, Meanings and Sovereignty*. London: Taylor and Francis 2014: 64.
[282] Giesen, Bernhard: *Die Intellektuellen und die Nation: Eine deutsche Achsenzeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1993: 68.
[283] Boyd, Eugene: "American Federalism. 1776 to 1997: Significant Events", in Holdstedt, Melissa (ed.) *Federalism: History and Current Issues*. New York: Novinka books 2006: 4.
[284] Boyd, Eugene: Op. Cit.: 5.
[285] Kavalski, Emilian: "The Balkan America? The Myth of America in the Creation of Bulgarian National Identity." *New Zealand Slavonic Journal 38* (2004): 131-57.

advocating a confederated or federated system as a possible solution to the nationality problem within the Danubian Basin, have always advocated this solution from a position of political weakness. This was the case with the Polish émigré, Adam Czartoryski, the Serbian minister of the Interior, Ilija Garasanin, the Czech leader Palacky, the Romanian leader Nicolae Bälcescu, Kossuth, Jászi, and even the Belvedere policy of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. They all advocated federation at times when they were not in a position to implement such a policy. The proponents of federation schemes are not in the position to realize them. More often than not, then, they advocate such solutions when they are not faced with the political responsibilities for their projects."[286] Therefore, most of the 19th century federalist projects tended to be vague (although sometimes quite poignant) attempts at addressing the cohabitation of national groups.

Solving nationality problems predictably bred insecurities both among the core-group and non-core group federalists. The later, though, were usually in a weaker political position. The emancipation of their nation never ceased to be the objective that the cohorts of mid-19th century mobile ideologists strove to accomplish. Most of them remained primarily Poles, Romanians and Hungarians, even choosing the paths of exile or opting for compromises.[287] They tried to reconcile their 'construction of European'[288] with the realities they had to face. They usually had scarce resources at hand and combined a very extended set of interconnections with a 'minority' status. They also had inside knowledge of the Empires they lived in, which made them consider fellow non-core groups as potential members of a federative state. These migrant intellectuals were often pushed to dealing with foreign peers due to their mobility. When non-core group public actors were unable to fulfil the desired goal (whether it was a goal of national emancipation or of promoting a certain ideology) they became flexible and eager to recruit and accept support from other sides. Often their 'insecure' positions in the host-states pushed them to opt for inclusion rather than exclusion and to consider cooperation rather than annihilation. Moreover, the extensive connections their mobile lives granted, allowed them easier access to their potential allies, who shared their position of political weakness.

[286] Wilson, Samuel J.: "Lost Opportunities: Lajos Kossuth, the Balkan Nationalities and the Danubian Confederation". *Hungarian studies* 8 no. 2, 1993: 171-193: 174-175.
[287] Gömöri, George: "East European Federation: Worcell's forgotten plan", *The Polish Review* 12, no. 4 (1967): 37-43: 38-39.
[288] Middel, Matthias: "The Invention of the European", *Comparativ* no. 5-6 (2015): 9-10.

These political insecurities yielded one outcome: "no one single substantial and comprehensive 'Plan for Europe' was devised in the 19th century."[289] While most of the intellectuals involved dedicated significant mental effort to the idea they mostly failed because they could not agree on what their version of Europe meant. Their primarily concern was always their respective nation and its' rights and freedoms, but never a federalist striving. The non-core group public actors almost never propagated a federation from a position of perceived political strength or at least as a way of achieving status-quo. They were negotiating difference within the multi-national Empires and their buffer zones. They did not attempt to preserve the balance between the 'national' and the 'supranational', but rather to save the 'national'. In order to put this assumption to a test one can refer to most prominent European federalist examples.

A European federalist club of nationalists

It is often difficult to separate Romanticist intellectuals in the mid-19th century from one another since they were all part of a greater European public sphere, where ideas were shared. In order to prove it, one can simply review the projects that they created and address the political goals that they shared. All the individuals appearing in the following paragraphs were either loosely connected, or knew each other very well or never met personally, but read the same sources. Among the most prominent examples of different federalists in the mid-19th century one may address the projects from Italy, Germany, Poland and Hungary, as well as an array of pan-Slavic strivings that also included a Balkan federalist idea. It is difficult to divide these federalist intellectuals based on their national affiliation since most of them were intricately linked through personal friendships, shared acquaintances or shared ideas. But the degrees often their 'radicalism' often vary.

The German federalist case can be considered one of the earlier examples of the 19th-century federalisms. Wolf Gruner points out that following the Napoleonic wars most of the German federalist strivings developed within an idea of reorganizing the European society formulated by Saint-Simon.[290] But the author's analysis of the project of the philosopher Karl Christian

[289] Borodziej, Wlodzimierz et al. (edd): *Option Europa: deutsche, polnische und ungarische Europapläne des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I, Göttingen: V&R 2005: 136.
[290] Gruner, Wolf D.: „Europa-Vorstellungen und Europa-Pläne im Umfeld des Wiener Kongresses und in der Epoche der Europäischen Transformation (1750 – 1820)", in: Duchhardt Heinz; Morawiec, Malgozarta (Hg.)

Friedrich Krause brings attention to a set of common markers that would be repeated by the following cohorts of the intellectuals (and not only the German ones). Krause's project adhered to the necessary criterium of federalism: it was a proposition for the creation of a European union of sovereign states with equal political rights, a Council of representatives, an economic space with free trade and transportation possibilities.[291] Yet one aspect of this plan that reveals its true nature was its primary German orientation. Krause saw Germany (and not France) as the 'heart of Europe', while its people were 'Europe's blood.'[292] The German culture, therefore, was also regarded as the very unifying element that had to hold the union together.

Following Krause's project, subsequent German state-builders addressed the federalist idea as a way of pursuing their political ambitions, including the expansion of their state. Ziblatt stresses that in 1867 and 1871 Prussian state-builders adopted a federal political model that transformed independent states into regional states.[293] Later on, the author brought up the idea that characterized most of the mid-19th century German federalist ideas: they were attempts to offer concessions in order to satisfy the desire to expand.[294] Again, the final goal was not the creation of a federation. And, besides that, in practice, it was aimed at the process of building one particular nation, rather than uniting several nations in a union. German federalism, therefore, as a final product, was executive and not dual like in the case of the United States.[295]

Among the theorists, who criticized the Prussian model Georg Gervinus can be considered a type of federalist, whose strivings approached the existing American model. An advocate of a republican type of government, he was a liberal, who disapproved of the German Empire, not recognizing it as a federative state relying on the historical legacy of German federalism.[296] Instead, he envisioned a large federation of the German and Austrian lands that could act more effectively in the European and world affairs.[297] And, yet, again, a Romanticist intellectual inspired by the political thought of the Enlightenment and the revolutions of 1848 advocated a federation that he saw through the lenses of his nation and that had to serve it.

Vision Europa. Deutsche und polnische Föderationspläne im 19. Und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2003 (1-37): 28.

[291] Gruner, Wolf D.: Op. Cit.: 29.

[292] Gruner, Wolf D.: Op. Cit.: 29.

[293] Ziblatt, Daniel: "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe", *World Politics 57*, no. 1 (2004): (70-98); 74.

[294] Ziblatt, Daniel: Op. cit.: 74-75.

[295] Ziblatt, Daniel: *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008: 109-141.

[296] Wagner, Jonathan: *Germany's 19th Century Cassandra: The Liberal Federalist Georg Gottfried Gervinus.* Brussels: Peter Lang 1995: 142.

[297] Wagner, Jonathan: Op. cit.: 108.

The nationalist ideology that translated into federalist strivings was developing simultaneously all over Europe, especially following the revolutions of 1848. Among the most famous examples of the influential political thinkers, who followed this route, was Giuseppe Mazzini. He emerged as a dominant propagandist in the Italian nationalist movement in the 1830.[298] Realizing the need for ally recruitment in his nation-building cause following the uprisings of 1830-31, Mazzini became a political theorist, who gradually gained almost unparalleled fame among the European intellectuals. He represented a peculiar case of conflicting interests. On the one hand, debating with the federalist Proudhon, he highlighted the unitary nation-states as the only acceptable units of a European cooperation.[299] On the other hand, he still advocated for cooperation rather than isolationism.

Mazzini's vision of a democratic republic resonated with the prominent Risorgimento figures, who developed their own programs with Mazzini's views in hindsight. Carlo Cattaneo, a writer and philosopher, chose not to endorse Mazzini's ideals, not believing into the possible unification of Italy or in the feasibility of Mazzini's plans.[300] Mazzini's ideal of Italy's special mission within the European context coincided with the idea of a unity that could 'liberate' all the nations of Europe.[301] In 1850 Mazzini together with a French, Alexandre-Auguste Ledru-Rollin, a German, Arnold Ruge, and a Polish, Wojciech Wladyslaw Darasz founded the Central democratic committee of Europe.[302] The enterprise gained him allies, spreading his ideas to the intellectuals from other aspiring nations.

While remaining an Italian nationalist, [303] Mazzini promoted an all-European type of a union, also believing that a free confederation of the South Slavs, Hungarians and Romanians had to replace the Habsburg Empire. Mazzini's followers took this idea of national liberations further. Marco Antonio Canini, a prominent Italian federalist and Mazzini's ally, sought to accomplish this ideal through a Balkan Union. His path of an emigrant brought him together with the Hungarian revolutionaries, including Lajos Kossuth, the Romanian fourty-eighters, the

[298] Haddock, Bruce: "State and nation in Mazzini's political thought", *History of Political Thought 20*, no. 2 (1999): (313-36), 315.
[299] Boka, Éva: "In search of European federalism: A Historical Survey", *Society and Economy 28*, no. 3 (2006): (309-31): 316.
[300] Lovett, Clara Maria: *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820–1860*. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972: 72
[301] Haddock, Bruce: "State and nation in Mazzini's political thought", *History of Political Thought 20*, no. 2 (1999): (313-36), 317.
[302] Spira, György: *Kossuth és alkotmányterve*. Debrecen: Csokonai kiado 1989: 8.
[303] For further information regarding Mazzini's ideology, see Recchia, Stefano, Urbinati, Nadia: *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations.* Princeton: Princeton University Press 2009: 27-28.

Bulgarian nationalists, including Georgi Rakovski, and, finally pushed him to dedicate his efforts to the idea of a Balkan Federation or a Danubian Union.[304]

Among the circle of Canini's acquaintances and Mazzini's followers, the Polish and the Hungarian cases produced an especially fruitful legacy. The Polish intellectuals, just like their Italian and Hungarian peers started from an Imperial scratch. But besides the influence of the Italian and German thinkers, they also heavily relied on their perceived legacy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[305] Beginning with Prince Adam Czartoryski, an advisor to Emperor Alexander I of Russia and later an emigrant, Polish federalism, just like its' Balkan counterparts, developed within the context of the multi-national Empires dominating Europe.

In the two documents reflecting on the state of affairs in Russia and the directions of the Imperial policies, Czartoryski relied on the notion of a 'natural right' when referring to the aspiring nations.[306] His federative project was, in fact, a combination of several federations: one of the French People, one of the Slavs led by the Russian Emperor, one of the Germans that included Switzerland and the Netherlands.[307] Furthermore, Czartoryski saw a possibility of a creation of a Balkan federation under the Greek leadership and Russian supervision. According to Czartoryski, Poland and Russia could form a compromise that can be compared to the much later idea of an Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich, an alliance between two sovereign nations.

Following Czartoryski's example, Wojciech Jastrzębowski, a prominent scientist, went further to propose a European republic without inner borders, a unified juridical system and full representation of all the participating nations.[308] Jastrzębowski was one of the peace-seeking intellectuals, who invested effort in developing not simply an idea, but a comprehensive set of regulations and laws that could support a functional state. His vision also inspired Stefan Buszczyński, an emigrant intellectual, who was one of the first to envision the United States of

[304] Canini, Marco Antonio: *Vingt ans d'exil par Marco Antonio Canini, emigre venitien*. 2-e ed. Paris. Librairie Internationale A. Lacroix, Verboekhoven et C-cie Editeurs 1869.
[305] Dziewanowski, M. K.: "Dualism or Trialism? Polish Federal Tradition." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 41, no. 97 (1963): 442-66.
[306] Morawiec, Malgorzata: „Vom "ewigen Bündnis der zivilisierten Völker" (1831) zur "Dämmerung Europas" (1867). Der Wandel des Europa-Diskurses in der polnischen Publizistik des 19. Jahrhunderts". In Morawiec, M.; Duchhart, Heinz (eds.) *Vision Europa: Deutsche und polnische Foderationsplane des 19. und fruhen 20. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 2003: 38.
[307] Morawiec, Malgorzata: Op. Cit.: 38.
[308] Brock, Peter: „A pacifist in wartime: Wojciech Bogumil Jastrzebowski", *The Polish Review 12*, no. 2 (1967): 68-77.

Europe.[309] In his case, besides the aim of national emancipation, he built upon the bitter disappointment with the Imperial policies and their inabilities to guarantee the rights of smaller nations.

Disappointments with the Empires following a failed revolution (just like in the case of the Italian and Polish failed uprisings), inability to accomplish a nation-building goal as well as a way of promoting the status of the local elites all came together in the strivings of the Hungarian intellectuals. In the eve of the Revolution of 1848 most of the Hungarian public actors (including those in the short-lived Batthyany government) promoted an exclusively Hungarian brand of nationalism and ignored the aspirations of other non-core groups of the Habsburg Empire.[310] Lajos Kossuth himself represents a perfect example of this switch from a position of a perceived political power to that of a political weakness.

Although Kossuth did consider the so-called 'question of nationalities'[311] prior to his ascend to the Hungarian political scene, it was following the defeat of the short-lived independent Hungarian state in 1849 that he and his peers dedicated great attention to the possibilities of involving the non-Magyars and Hungary's neighbors into their plan. His follower, critic and associate, a renowned Hungarian writer and politician Ferenc Pulszky left detailed accounts of Kossuth's and his own attempts to create a viable political future for Hungary. Recalling his travel to London in 1849 on Kossuth's behalf, Pulszky pointed out that the aims of the revolutionaries were primary to "gather support for the Hungarian cause".[312] (without any strong federalist striving surfacing at that time) With all the diplomatic actions of the revolutionaries involved, they paid little attention to the strivings of other non-core groups. As Leften Stavrianos puts it: "When the Hungarians proclaimed their independence on April 14 they overlooked the political aspirations of the Yugoslavs, even though they had been made abundantly clear by this time."[313]

The defeat of Hungarian forces at Világos in 1849[314] and general Görgei's surrender shuffled the ambitious plans of the state-builders, many of whom, including Pulszky and Kossuth,

[309]Morawiec, Malgorzata: „Vom "ewigen Bündnis der zivilisierten Völker" (1831) zur "Dämmerung Europas" (1867). Der Wandel des Europa-Diskurses in der polnischen Publizistik des 19. Jahrhunderts". In Morawiec, M.; Duchhart, Heinz (eds.) *Vision Europa: Deutsche und polnische Foderationsplane des 19. und fruhen 20. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern 2003: 48-49.
[310] Spira, György: *A magyar forradalom 1848-1849-ben*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1959: 71-90.
[311] Kávássy Sándor: *Kossuth a nemzetségi kérdésről emigrációs irataiban*. Eger: Az Egri Ho Si Minh Tanárképző Főiskola füzetei 750, 1970: 408.
[312] Pulszky, Ferenc: *Életem és kórom, vol. II*, Budapest: Kiadja Ráth Mór 1884: 421-469.
[313] Stavrianos, Leften: *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Holt McDougal, 1958: 265.
[314] Mason W. John: *The Dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1867-1918*. London: Longman. 1997: 4-5.

became emigrants. Not supported by any of the non-privileged aspiring nations of the Austrian Empire, the public figures of the Hungarian insurrection had to face a dilemma – that of inclusion in and exclusion from a sketched nation-state. The fate of their rebellion was sealed, but the fate of the Hungarian nation was not. And possibilities of regional cooperation that arose from federalism seemed to offer an alternative to the ideologists.

The views of many of the revolutionaries changed when they became refugees, forced to analyze the reasons for their failures. One of the most significant of such causes was the inability to succeed without the assistance of the non-Hungarians. And, therefore, it was in exile, when the plans for the Danubian confederation, an all-inclusive state-building program, were sketched.[315] First appearing in the so-called Kütahya constitution in 1851, Kossuth's ideas took the Hungarian state-building project to a different level. Kossuth proposed the "free use of languages on the country level and that the nationalities be allowed to establish country-wide national organizations and to elect their national leaders."[316] Imagining a democratic Hungary in a state based on universal suffrage and extended political autonomy, Kossuth believed he could sketch a state more appealing to the non-core groups than the Habsburg Empire. (He was especially concerned about the ways of negotiating state-building with the Romanian and Croatian public actors).

Kossuth's strivings to find common goals that could grant him allies against the Habsburgs resulted in the development of his connections with the fellow non-core groups elites and Hungary's neighbors.[317] While his previous relations with the Serbs, for example, could be described as lacking mutual goals and understanding, it was after the failure of the revolution, that Ilija Garašanin, the Serbian Prime-Minister and Minister of Interior, the author of the famous "Načertanije", arguably a guiding political program of the Serbian politics during several subsequent decades, offered his support to Kosuth and became sympathetic to the cause of the exiled governor-president.[318] Similarly, Kossuth attracted attention of Marco Antonio Canini, sustaining a fruitful cooperation with the Italian revolutionary in the decades to come.

[315] Borsi-Kálmán, Béla: *Együtt vagy külön utakon, A Kossuth-emigráció és a román nemzeti mozgalom kapcsolatának történetéhez*. Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1984: 133.
[316] Sugar, Peter: *A History of Hungary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1994: 242.
[317] Bóka, Éva: *Az európai egységgondolat fejlődéstörténete*. Budapest: Napvilag kiado 2001: 77-78.
[318] Hajnal, István: *Belgradi diplomácia és Magyar emigránsok a szabadsagharc után.* Budapest: Szemle 1926: 408.

The ruler of the Danubian Principalities, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, showed an interest in Kossuth's ideas through a friend both men shared, general György Klapka[319]. Partially through his peers Kossuth came to know another important Romanian public actor - Nicolae Bălcesu. Bălcescu, a distinguished Romanian philosopher and politician, suggested to Nicolae Golescu, a Romanian ideologist living in the Ottoman Empire at the time, to search for Kossuth following his escape from the Habsburg lands.[320] Interested in a possible union of the Central and Eastern European nations, Bălcescu, however, wished that Hungary as a territorial formation would be limited to the lands inhabited by Hungarians exclusively, while leaving out those, where other nationals, namely Romanians, were present.

These meetings and exchanges of ideas resulted in a version of a Danubian Confederation in 1862. Greatly influenced by Giuseppe Mazzini, [321] Kossuth, Canini, Klapka and Pulszky started searching for practical ways of involving the South-Slav and Romanian politicians in their possible state-building project. Kossuth's ideas were pragmatic, he wished that "in the future the neighbors of the Hungarians would not raise weapons against them, but would cover each other's backs, fighting for their common freedom".[322] The unprecedented degree of local autonomy offered in the project, including the possibility of an autonomous Transylvania, gained Kossuth interest and support of foreign peers, but also faced a backlash from the side of many of the Hungarian nationalists.[323] Kossuth and his associates took effort in sketching the project, introducing a complicated system of national representation and universal suffrage.

Arguably, Kossuth's Danubian Confederation can be considered one of the most comprehensive projects of European 19th-century federalism, its detailed description of a legal system surpassing hopeful ideas of cultural unification and 'brotherly bonds' that characterize most other projects (especially the Bulgarian ones). Partially, the reason behind the laconic and clear nature of the plan (despite the absence of any practical ideas of carrying it out) lies in Kossuth's background: Kossuth was not only a revolutionary leader, but also a professional lawyer (and, maybe, a lawyer above all else). His attention to legal details, therefore, was his distinguishing quality. Most of Bulgarian federalists were writers, publicists or poets.

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[319] Borsi-Kálmán, Béla: *Együtt vagy külön utakon, A Kossuth-emigráció és a román nemzeti mozgalom kapcsolatának történetéhez.* Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó 1984: 83.
[320] Ghica, Ion: *Amintiri din pribegia de la 1848. Noile scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*. București: Humanitas 1889: 497-499.
[321] Nyulásziné Straub, Eva: *A Kossuth-emigráció olaszországi kapcsolatai 1849-1866*. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, II. Forráskiadványok 34, 1999: 25-37.
[322] *Spira, György: Kossuth és alkotmányterve*. Debrecen. Csokonai kiado, 1989: 9.
[323] *Spira, György:* Op. Cit.: 33-34

The rippling consequences of the Danubian confederation had their effect on the public sphere in the Habsburg Empire. After all, the dual Monarchy itself can be also viewed as a result of the prominent public actors, mainly the post-1849 emigrants, trying to accommodate difference and find a way of answer their national aspirations.[324] Kossuth never approved of a bond between Hungary and Austria and remained dedicated to his confederative idea. He revisited the project in the beginning of 1880s, where he proposed a more conservative stance, rejecting the autonomy of Transylvania.[325] Nevertheless, the principles of local autonomy, representation of the nations, universal suffrage, as well as the aim of replacing the Habsburg Empire, remained.

Unlike Kossuth's detailed plans, the Balkan federalist tradition (one can loosely consider the Danubian Confederation its' part as well since Kossuth sought a Union with Hungary's Eastern neighbors) had a rich legacy that reflected two major direction: pan-Slavism (either in a form of a cooperation with Russia or without it) and more 'global' Balkan federations (partially inspired by the legacy of the Byzantine Empire). One of the first comprehensive Balkan federalist plans was created by Rigas Feraios in the end of the 18th century. With all of the influences of the Enlightened thinkers, the project was primarily an idea of reviving the Byzantine Empire with its Christian peoples (at that point part of the Rum-millet) under the leadership of the Greek nation.[326] Searching for allies to overthrow the Ottoman Empire, Rigas Feraios, similarly to the authors of other European projects of the time, placed the Greek nation in the center of a perspective union. His plan not only inspired the cohorts of future Balkan federalists (many of the representatives of the Bulgarian 19th century elites, for example, had their initial education within the Greek cultural circles, therefore, they were very aware of the existence of the project), but set a standard for the ties that could form a Balkan federation: shared religious and cultural legacies with fellow non-core group elites to propagate them.

The versatility of a Balkan federalist idea inspired the establishment of a new political society, the Eastern Federation, in 1841.[327] Leonidas Vulgaris,[328] an apologist of Balkan federalism,

[324] Lukács, Lajos: *Chapters on the Hungarian political emigration*. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1995: 17.
[325] Szabad György: *Kossuth Lajos üzenetei*. Budapest: IKVA Könyvkiadó, 1994: 277.
[326] Droulia, Loukia, Catherine Koumarianou, Roxane Argyropoulos, and Lucia Marcheselli-Loukas: "Deux siècles après : le projet révolutionnaire de Rigas Velestinlis et son impact dans le sud-est européen", *Annales Historiques De La Révolution Française,* no. 319 (2000): 127-40.
[327] Koutalis, Vangelis: *Internationalism as an Alternative Political Strategy in the Modern History of Balkans*, Thessaloniki, Greek Social Forum, 2003.
(http://www.okde.org/keimena/vag_kout_balkan_inter_0603_en.htm#_edn10)
[328] Todorov, Varban: "Greek federalism during the nineteenth century: ideas and projects", *East European Quarterly. East European Monographs no. 408*, (c)1995, c1994. Boulder and New York: Columbia University Press: [149]-181, 99.

was one of the prominent members of the association. The aims of the society encompassed familiar issues of regional cooperation and a possibility of a peaceful solution of the troublesome Macedonian dilemma.[329] The members of the society even reflected on a possibility of an Albanian-Macedonian state, which could prevent further territorial disputes among the Balkan nations. But the project did not bring fruit: after all, most non-core group elites primarily wished the emancipations of their nations, even in a federative context.

In the case of the following attempts of achieving regional cooperation, the 19th-century federalist ideas often translated into grand-scale nation-building projects. In 1844 lija Garasanin, Serbian Minister of Foreign affairs, created the 'Nacertanije', a doctrine elaborated partially under the influence of Adam Czartoryski.[330] His federative scheme had Serbia at the core of a sketched Balkan federation very much in the spirit of the other European federalist projects. Each of them inevitably had the author's nation at its centre. Yet, Garasanin's plans once again were motivated by his own nation's precarious position. While one can envision a prominent core-group ideologist advocating a federation for the sake of preserving status-quo, the mobile elites and even most of the Balkan statesmen in their later years sought national emancipation and had defensive aims. While the advocates of Balkan federalist ideas were certainly following general European trends, their nation-building plans had federative elements, but remained much more centred on their respective groups' survival (it was almost never purely 'expansion').[331]

Apart from a Balkan bond based on the cohabitation of the Christian subjects under the Byzantine and later, under the Ottoman Empire, the pan-Slavic idea rose following the revolutions of 1848. The sympathies of the Balkan Slavs were easily swayed away from the Greek cause. Stavrianos points out: "On the night of March 24, 1848, according to the consul, the club issued a proclamation calling on all South Slavs "to liberate themselves completely from the Ottoman Empire and to create, since Austria is in agony, a Yugoslav kingdom under the banner of prince Alexander Karageorgevich, consisting of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slavonia, Syrmia, Dalmatia and Southern Hungary".[332] Moreover, the Byzantine

[329] Roudometof, Victor: *Nationalism, Globalization and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001: 80.
[330] Stavrianos, Leften: *Balkan Federation. A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times.* Hamden Connecticut: Archon books, 1964: 51-52.
[331] Németh, István: *Európa-tervek.* Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2001: 3-8.
[332] Stavrianos, Leften: The Balkans since 1453, New York: Holt McDougal, 1958: 255.

Empire and its' legacy did not bear an equal appeal in the eyes of most of the non-core group elites in the region. During the turbulent 1848 (and also in the following decades) the situation became clear: "Byzantium and Rome" declared a Croatian spokesman, "Succeeded in separating the Serbs and the Croats, but the fraternal tie which unites them is so strong that henceforth nothing in the world will be able to sever it."[333] The Slavic congresses and associations that followed broadened the symbolic borders of the nation to include their Slavic brethren as kin.

That idea of kinship translated into the federalist strivings of the local public actors in the middle of the 19th century, following 1848 and preceding the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. A grand-scale federative project was usually used as an anti-imperial stance. Thus, the ideologist of the Vojvodina Serbs, Svetozar Miletić, reflected on the possibilities of a Balkan union and sought cooperation just like his Slavic peers. It should be noted that he was eager to search for a compromise with the Hungarians (non-Slavs, obviously), but his doubts in the ability of the Habsburgs to be the 'wardens' of the Slavs appeared and persisted in most of his articles.[334] That can be explained by Miletić's perception of the Hungarian elites: prior to the Ausgleich, they could be considered a fellow non-core group. Simultaneously, Miletić had great skepticism regarding Austria's relations with its Slavic population and looked up to Serbia.[335]

Austria, the Ottoman Empire and Russia could be included into the projects of the non-core group intellectuals, but, in some cases, they were conveniently left out. Pan-Slavism often presupposed Russian dominance in the region, but never became fully tied to it. Austro-Slavism, on the other hand, seemed as a viable compromise to the Habsburg Slavs, but never became their absolute and dominant ideology. Several Serbian and Croatian public actors (Ljudovit Gaj probably being the most prominent of them) would look up to a Pan-Slavic association and a possibility of an equal partnership with Austria as well as with independent Serbia.[336] They sought connections, and those connections were often reflected in the spreading

[333] Stavrianos, Lefteri: Op. cit.: 266.
[334] Miletić, Svetozar: *Izabrani članci Svetozara Miletića* edited by Miroslav Jerkov, Novi Sad: Štamparija Jovanović, 1939 :136-148.
[335] Miletić, Svetozar: *Izabrani članci Svetozara Miletića* edited by Miroslav Jerkov, Novi Sad: Štamparija Jovanović, 1939: 163.
[336] Gaj was arguably one of the most important representatives of the so-called Illyrian movement, a South-Slav campaign that sought to unite most of the Balkan Slavs under the umbrella notion of "Illyrian." The movement aspired to introduce a single language and orthography and, subsequently, political unity, of the Balkan Slavs. Ognjenović, Gorana; Jozelić, Jasna: *Politicization of Religion, the Power of State, Nation, and Faith: The Case of Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2014: 68.

Pan-Slavic ideology and its many branches. Partially that political idealism served as a way of escaping the dire economic situation that most of the Balkan states (including those in the making) found themselves in. Their industrialization attempts yielded much less impressive results than the Western examples they relied upon and their plans of European integration were often hindered by Greater Powers.[337]

The Slavic ideologists looked up not only to the Western thinkers, but to the prominent ideologies among their Slavic brethren.[338] The greater part of the Serbian, Slovak and other Slavic intellectuals promoted Pan-Slavic tendencies that in some cases, presupposed an association with Russia, while in other rejected it. Slovak writer and politician Ján Kollár was openly pan-Slavic and envisioned "the literary and cultural unity of Slav nations and the creation of a large single Slav Union headed by Russia"(including the Balkan Slavs).[339] Similarly, Ľudovít Štúr, a prominent activist of the Slovak revival, believed that an association with Russia "meant the happy future of the Slavs" (as opposed to Palacky's Austro-Slavism).[340] Similarly, a Croatian linguist and politician Ljudevit Gaj proposed an "Illyrian cooperation", searching for shared legacies and political aspirations with the Serbs and Bulgarians, Slavs living in an Empire other than the Habsburg.[341]

Referring to the variety of those cooperation ideas one may wonder whether they truly promoted cooperation or nationalism achieved through 'teamwork'. Besides, the place of the Bulgarian public actors in the European tapestry of ideas remains unclear. Reflecting on federalist political aspirations in the region, Iván Denes wonders: "Is it inevitable in Central and Eastern Europe to have to choose between binary forms of political discourses as modernity vs tradition, Western cosmopolitan civilization vs national identity? Are we bound to the false alternatives of artificial vs natural development, imitations vs uniqueness, adoption of the European model vs national self-centeredness...parts of the intellectual and emotional

[337] Calic, Marie-Janine: *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens. 1815-1941*. München: Oldenbourg 1994: 121-126.
[338] Bozhilova, Rumjana: *Episkop Josip Juraj Strossmayer I Evropa.* in Balcheva, Antoaneta (ed.) *Evropa v kulturnoto I politichesko bitije na Bulgari I hrvati.* Sofia: Institut za balkanistika I trakologija 2014: 141-154.
[339] Kirschbaum, Joseph: *Pan-Slavism in Slovak literature. Ján Kollár – Slovak poet of pan-Slavism*, Toronto: Slovak institute. 1966: 10.
[340] Stur, L'udovit: *A szlávok és a jövő világa – Válogatott írások*, Pozsony: Kalligram, 2002: 713.
[341] Balcheva, Antoaneta: "Ilirijskata ideologeme kato "kulturen tekst" v diskursa za Evropa" in Balcheva, Antoaneta (ed.) *Evropa v kulturnoto I politichesko bitije na Bulgari I hrvati.* Sofia: Institut za balkanistika I trakologija 2014:190-200.

heritage of enlightened absolutism bequeathed to its products, especially the „intelligentsia".[342] The binary choice may indeed be evitable, but, in the 19th century context, it may be so that the options of a 'cosmopolitan civilization' did not truly exist. In order to determine whether the Bulgarian public actors can be considered federalist one should address their strivings beginning from the middle of the 19th century.

The Bulgarian story: Federalists, nationalists, or mobile thinkers?

Before addressing the federalist ideas of the protagonists of the research, one should first explain the position these individuals were in and their social status. The Bulgarian intellectuals before the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 mostly lived, published, travelled and studied abroad, although the majority received their initial education within their Empire (usually in the Greek circles). Their connections to each other were tighter than it may seem, since they all remained the thin layer of the educated elite coming from a South Slavic background. One can determine the extends of their 'national' circle of communication by assessing the numbers of individuals interested in their literary and political activities. For example, 'Macedonia', the most read Bulgarian newspaper of the time published by Petko Slavejkov, had only around 3600 subscribers to support it.[343](See the following chapter for the analysis of the agents' publishing activities and connections) Compared to the many compatriots of Slavejkov, the number of those, interested in the issues of his newspaper, remained rather modest. The rest of the Bulgarian publications that appeared mostly abroad (including the many projects of Hristo Botev and Ljuben Karavelov),[344] had even less subscribers.

Beside the modest numbers of the Bulgarian intellectuals, one should point out that even among those literate and educated individuals, few were interested in pursuing the paths of ideologists, which made their circle even smaller. They were 'white crows' advocating interests of an overwhelmingly peasant population that was their actual nation. While addressing this

[342] Denes, Iván Zoltán: „Liberalism and nationalism: an ambiguous relationship," in Iván Zoltán Denes (ed.) *Liberty and the search for identity. Liberal nationalisms and the legacy of Empires.* Budapest: CEU Press 2006: (1-21), 3.
[343] Dinekov, Petur; Caneva, Mlena; Sarandev, Ivan (eds.): *Rechnik na bulgarskata literatura. Vol. II. Sofia:* Izdatelstvo BAN 1977: 324.
[344] Botev, Hristo: *Pulno subranie na suchineniyata. Vol. 3. Statii po politicheski i obshtestveni vuprosi.* Ed. By Mihail Dimitrov. Sofia: Knizharnica Nov svet, 1940: 499.

discrepancy, Miroslav Hroch points out: "They tried to import and transplant these ideas into their homeland as progressive ones, without regard to the very important differences in local conditions".[345] Moreover, the "substantial difference in social and cultural conditions at home and in the foreign cities where these young people studied" influenced their perceptions of their home-world, even if the realities in Romania or Russia could be considered less dramatically different than those in the Habsburg Empire. One may also point out that before the intellectuals could implement state-building ideas (following the formation of the Principality), they could not fully understand the local conditions in Bulgaria. Most of them (although notable Bulgarian public actors often worked as teachers educating the masses)[346] never left the confines of their circle once they entered it.

When identifying how the Bulgarian public actors with their federalism fit into the European idea landscape, one should first determine whether their ideas were any different from the ones expressed by Poles, Hungarians or other European intellectuals of the time. Therefore, it makes sense to address several things: plans proposed in letters and articles, actual strategies of unification and attempts at cooperation and the ideas the public actors expressed when in the position of perceived power. It is also essential to divide the ideas into those expressed by the emigrants before 1878 and the ones that followed the Treaty of Berlin. If federalist strivings surfaced after emigrants became state-builders, one should also see the conditions that facilitated such strivings.

The creation of the Bulgarian Principality influenced the changes in federalist perceptions of the Bulgarians. The chapter suggests that federalism proposed by a public actor in the position of weakness is fundamentally different from an imperial core-group elite member, building on Case's argument that does not discern the position of weakness of a core and non-core group public actor. The non-core group public actors focused exclusively on his own group, while the Imperial public actors could be truly federalist (even out of necessity). Imperial core-group elites tended to regard Empires as their domain, their group.[347] According to the previous analysis of federalism, a territorial autonomy of several units forming one whole was not too

[345] Hroch, Miroslav: "Is There a Southeast European Type of Nation-Formation*?"* Stamatopoulos, Dimitris (ed.) *Balkan Nationalism(s) and the Ottoman Empire* vol.3, edited by Dimitris. Istanbul: The Isis Press 2015: 13-29: 18.

[346] See the example of Arseni Kostencev. Kostencev, Arseni: *Spomeni na Arseni Kostencev.* Sofia: Durzhavna pechatnica 1916: 76.

[347] This is apparent in the case of Metternich, for example. He firmly believed that European interests coincided with the interests of Austria, but his ideas did not have a very marked national undertone to them. They were more about imperial balance than about the German nation. Miroslav Šedivý: *Metternich, the Great Powers and the Eastern Question*. Pilsen, Czech Republic: University of West Bohemia, 2013: 59-86.

far from the already existing multi-national frame of the Empires. What it lacked was the sovereignty of the units.

In this case, can the Bulgarians be considered federalists and why? This question can be answered using their publications and correspondence. Through their own words one can determine whether they shared federalist convictions or not. The cases taken for the analysis fulfil three criteria: they feature *non-core group public actors*, who left *abundant written legacy* to deal with and who *were not nationally indifferent.*

Before 1878

In the decade preceding the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878 most of the Bulgarian public actors dedicated their time and effort to the liberation plans that could create an emancipated Bulgarian nation. During the years of his exile, one of the first revolutionary leaders and ideologists, Georgi Rakovski kept swaying between his belief in a possibility of a Christian Union of the Balkan nations and his reliance exclusively on the Bulgarian forces. In the late 1850s, while living in Serbia, Rakovski propagated the creation of a coalition of the Balkan nation-states that was supposed to replace the Ottoman Empire. In 1857 he even considered a possibility of merging Bulgarian with other South-Slavic languages to create a common language that could facilitate the union of the Balkan nations. Responding to a question from a journalist of a Serbian newspaper, Rakovski wrote: "We watch with great joy and happiness how our Slavic brothers consider us part of their group with their true brotherly sentiment and wish to contribute to our wellbeing more than anything else."[348] Rakovski swayed between his ideas of the Bulgarian uniqueness and superiority and a dire need to cooperate with the other Balkan nations.

His emancipated nation together with its equally emancipated neighbours was destined to bring down the Ottoman Empire.[349] He was planning to replace one multi-national formation with a Balkan league, but he never managed to produce a comprehensive state-building plan that could suggest anything more, but the intention. Rakovski did know, what Empires were and how they functioned due to the circumstance of his life, but he had a very vague idea of how

[348] Rakovski, Georgi: *Vuzgledi, deinost i zhivot. Materialni dokumenti*. Vol. 2. Sofia: BAN, 1968: 349.
[349] Kinov, Ivan: *Vâoruzhenata borba na bâlgarskiia narod sreshtu Osmanskoto gospodstvo*. Sofia: Dârzhavno voenno izdatelstvo, 1961: 152-162.

he could bring about the emancipation of his nation and crash an Empire without external help. Rakovski did not aspire to create a federation. He aspired to create a Bulgarian nation-state and saw a confederative bond (or any other concession) as a necessary payment for the assistance of the non-Bulgarians in his quest. What he truly wanted was a chance for the Bulgarian nation.

Following Rakovski's example, another project saw light in the early 1860s. A lawyer, a revolutionary and one of the organizers of the first Bulgarian legion in Serbia in 1862,[350] Ivan Kasabov became one of the most prominent propagators of the Bulgarian national movement and the driving force behind the new plan. He, very much like Rakovski, attempted to bring foreign cooperation into his nationalistic discourse through the Bulgarian Secret Central Committee.

The society emerged in 1866 (when Rakovski's attempts to build a united Balkan military force failed)[351] as one of the important branches of Bulgarian revolutionary organizations in Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia. It was greatly inspired by the liberal Romanian intellectuals, who later forced Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the prince of the United Principalities out of the country, rapidly escalating Romanian-Ottoman relations.[352] Finding themselves in a difficult situation, the Romanian liberals turned to the Bulgarian emigrants to assure themselves with a potential support of a non-core group within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Bulgarians could provide them with a partner to face against a common threat. While Rakovski was less prone to ally himself with the ideologists, who had overthrown Cuza,[353] Ivan Kasabov viewed the tensions between newly-emerged Romania and the Ottoman Empire as an opportunity to organize a Bulgarian uprising in the Ottoman lands.[354]

Kasabov was arguably the mastermind behind the „Sacred coalition between Romanians and Bulgarians", a document prepared by the Romanian side and the Secret Central Bulgarian committee in Bucharest. It turned into a bond linking together the Bulgarian quest for national emancipation and the interests of the Romanian state. In his memoirs, Hristo Makedonski, a revolutionary involved in the project, would write that the aim of the enterprise was to forge

[350] Trajkov, Veselin: *Georgi Stojkov Rakovski. Biografija.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata akademija na naukite 1973: 245-255.
[351] Crampton, R. J.: *A Concise History of Bulgaria.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 137.
[352] Burmov, Alexander: *Tajen centralen bulgarski komitet. (Obrazuvane i purvi period na razvitijeto mu).* Izbrani proizvedenija v tri toma. Tom vtori. Sofia: Istoricheski pregled 1974: 58-81.
[353] According to Panajot Hitov Cuza took a linking in Rakovski and supported his activities, while Cuza's opponents, including the Bratianu brothers, regarded him and his ideas as a threat to the Romanian external politics. See Hitov, Panajot: *Kak stanah haidutin*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo Otechestvo, 1982: 196. It was possibly due to Rakovski's friendly relations with Cuza that he was unwilling to forge alliance with the Romanian liberals.
[354] Kasabov, Ivan: *Moite Spomeni ot Vazrazhdaneto na Balgariia s Revoliucioni Idei.* Sofia: Izdatelska kushta Sineva 2009: 50-54.

an understanding between the Romanian and Bulgarian state-builders.[355] Subsequently, the creation of a Bulgarian state either as a part of a Balkan confederation, or as a part of the Ottoman Empire was expected. The project itself was rather vague with no definite rules of application or even the determined ruling system that had to govern the two nations. And it was Bulgarian emancipation that remained the focus of the 'Sacred coalition'. Kasabov wrote that both an 'autonomous Bulgarian principality', a 'vassal state' under the Sultan or a federative union with other non-core groups could become an acceptable option for the Bulgarian nation.

Kasabov himself would recall his motivation as that of an instigation of an armed uprising in the Ottoman territory, a later union with the Romanians and/or, possibly, with other Ottoman minority elites. The intellectuals were supposed to bond through the plan of a prolonged cooperation and co-organize a military action.[356] The plan appeared due to the admitted inability of the Bulgarian public actors to produce a nation-state on their own. The Romanian side that consisted mainly of the former forty-eighters was interested in the participation due to their problematic relations with the Ottoman Empire following the expulsion of the Prince. Among the Romanian intellectuals involved in the projects were Eugeniu Carada, an editor of the leading political newspaper in the country, and Constantin Ciocarlan, the Bucharest police prefect.[357] Yet, when the dire political situation was resolved, the viable and close confederative plans faded into obscurity. The Romanian side withdrew its support as soon as the new Hohenzollern king was appointed and the tensions between Romania and its' menacing neighbour ceased.[358]

Similarly, the compromising side of the Bulgarian question manifested itself in Pandeli Kisimov's "Address to the Sultan" in 1867, a year following Kasabov's enterprise. The Address suggested a possibility of Bulgaria being incorporated into the Ottoman variation of a dual monarchy, an Austria-Hungary of the Balkans that could potentially assure the national emancipation of the Bulgarian elites.[359] Inspired by the recent example of the Habsburg Compromise, Kisimov saw the Bulgarians as the leading non-core group in the Empire (just

[355] Makedonski, Hristo: *Zapiski na Hristo Makedonski 1852-1877*. Sofia: Otechestven Front 1973: 25-32.
[356] Kasabov, Ivan: *Moite Spomeni ot Vazrazhdaneto na Balgariia s Revoliucioni Idei.* Sofia: Izdatelska kushta Sineva 2009: 57-59.
[357] Kellogg, Frederick: *The Road to Romanian Independence.* Purdue: Purdue University Press 1995: 116.
[358] Strashimirov, Dimitar: *Istoriia na Aprilskoto Vastanie.* Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo Prof. Marin Drinov 1996: 16-17.
[359] Jakimov, Georgi: *Pandeli Kisimov. Zhivot i dejnost.* Sofia: akademichnoto izdatelstvo Marin Drinov 2003: 175-204.

like the Hungarians were in the Habsburg case) and ignored the aspirations of other minority elites. It was rather a federalist compromise, but certainly not a confederative idea that included all the Imperial minorities into the picture.

In the same year of 1867 another federalist project appeared in the Bulgarian circles. The Benevolent Society (Добродетелна дружина), a conservative organization of the Bulgarian emigrants harboured its own plans for a Balkan union, discussing a possibility of a Serbian-Bulgarian state under the Obrenović dynasty.[360] The short-lived cooperation did not endure long enough to transform into a viable political union. Two outlaw leaders and revolutionaries, Panajot Hitov and Filip Totiu crossed the Danube in an attempt to provoke a revolt. Both participated in the creation of the Second Bulgarian Legion in Belgrade in 1867 and both actively recruited individuals for their cause. The legion received funding and support from the Russian as well as the Serbian side.[361] Nevertheless, the Serbian side (just like the Romanians before them) managed to settle the dispute with the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the failure of a possible Serbian-Bulgarian union.[362]

In the following couple of years, one usually comes across numerous nationalistic stances expressed by the Bulgarian elites, but very few federalist ideas. For example, Hadgi Dimitar, a prominent Bulgarian revolutionary leader, proclaimed himself a 'political hajduk', while addressing a Romanian Minister, stating that his focus centred solely on the Bulgarian liberation. In a letter to Panajot Hitov from March 5, 1868 he elaborated on his stance the following way: "In nothing else is there salvation except for agreement and stability, then will we put an end to the oppression and suffering of our tormented Bulgarian nation".[363] Neither he, nor Panajot Hitov considered a federalist plan without Bulgaria's emancipation. Yet both could accept it as a payment for their nation's liberation. It could be applied only and exclusively in the service of the Bulgarian nation.

[360] Stavrianos, Leften: *Balkan Federation. A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times.* Hamden Connecticut: Archon books, 1964: 92-94; Kosev, Konstantin, Žečev, Nikolaj, Dojnov, Dojno. *Istorija na Aprilskoto Văstanie 1876.* Sofia: Akademično Izdatelstvo 'Prof. Marin Drinov': 2006: 111-112.
[361] Peev, Vladimir: "Dobrodetelnata Druzhina i Pregovorite sas Sarbiia prez 1867-1868 g." in Mitev, Plamen (ed.) *Vremeto na Levski.* Sofia: Kulturno-prosvetno Druzhestvo 'Rodno Ludogorie', 2010: 88-145: 115.
[362] Genchev, Nikolaj: *Bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane.* Sofia: Iztok-Zapad 2008: 371-371.
[363] Slavov, Georgi: "Jedin zhivot - legenda", in Slavov, Georgi (ed.) *Hadji Dimitur. Jubilejen sbornik.* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo 1965: (11-77), 72-73.

In the same year of 1868 a book about the 'sufferings' of the Bulgarians under the Ottoman rule appeared in Moscow. The author was a Bulgarian intellectual and public actor Ljuben Karavelov, an acquaintance of Hitov and Hadji Dimitar. Apart from the 'horrors' of the Bulgarian life under the Ottomans, Karavelov included a biographical not dedicated to Vuk Karađič into his composition. Here, he used the Serbian intellectual as a unifying marker that could somehow strengthen the Slavic bond between the Balkan countries and lead to a South-Slavic Union. When writing about the life of Vuk Karađič, Karavelov would add the following: "Everyone, who is a Slav, knows the name 'Vuk Karađič' and is familiar with his scholarly and personal accomplishments".[364] Karavelov himself might have tried to determine whether that affirmation was a hopeful belief or a fact. In the idea space of Karavelov and his peers, Karađič did indeed play an important role, while most of the peasant masses hardly viewed him with the same respect since they were excluded from the web of ideas that connected the prominent public actors.

Even in the case of Karavelov, one should point out that his pan-Slavism appeared in the context of the book dedicated to the 'sufferings' of the Bulgarian nation. In the entire volume there is not a single mention of the 'troubles' of any other national group living under the Ottoman rule (Albanian, Greek or Slavic). Karavelov moved to Serbia from Russia in 1867, therefore, he was acquainted with many of the Serbian intellectuals and their aspirations. Yet his federalism always appeared in the context of the Bulgarian nation.[365] Similarly, his federalism was never more detailed and well-thought than that of Kollar. Karavelov claimed to be a federalist, but never produced a comprehensive project.[366]

Karavelov was not the only revolutionary to stay in Serbia at the time. Beside him, Panajot Hitov persisted in his attempts to rally the support of the Serbs. In 1870 Hitov received a letter from a fellow revolutionary Teodorovich, who invited him to Bucharest, while informing him of the beginning of the French-Prussian war.[367] What truly worried Teodorovich was Serbia's reaction to the war. He wrote: "I do not know how the Serbian politics will reflect the events

[364] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Stranici iz knigi stradanij bolgarskogo pelmeni. Povesti I rasskazy Ljubena Karavelova. Moskva: Universitetskaja tipografija Katkov i co*, 1868: 197-312.
[365] Alexieva, Elena: 'Memorandum of the Secret Central Bulgarian Committee', in: Trencsényi, Balázs/Kopeček, Michal (eds.) *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements.* Vol. II. Budapest CEU Press 2007: 380–388
[366] This may have to do with Karavelov's education. Unlike Kossuth, for example, Karavelov was not a lawyer and understood little of the ways the states functioned. He was a capable journalist and writer with an interest in folklore and linguistics, which made his federalism more of a cultural stance.
[367] БИА ф. № 87, Арх. Ед. IIA 8432

and what may follow. You need to be ready".[368] Among Hitov's letters such notes make up the vast majority of his correspondence. If pan-Slavic ideas ever animated Hitov, they never made it into his legacy. He undoubtedly was searching for allies, but his concerns remained centred on the Bulgarian nation. And even in his further publications (that are discussed later) Hitov never expressed a purely pan-Slavic sentiment. His aim was to recruit allies, and at that Hitov failed.

In 1872, while Hitov was again trying to recruit support for the Bulgarian cause in Serbia and the Romanian lands, Vasil Levski, an idealist, yet not a particularly fruitful ideologist, wrote a letter to Ljuben Karavelov, the publisher of the "Svoboda" journal at the time. He expressed his wish for unity in the following way: "We, Bulgarians, would be happy to acquire a truly independent journal, which would grant every nation a right to present its national opinion in front of the world, so that it would know that we are also people, who wish to live as such enjoying full freedom in our lands, where the Bulgarians live: in Bulgaria, in Thrace, in Macedonia. Each and every nation living in this land of ours should have equal right with us…. We also wish that our Serbian, Montenegrin, Romanian and other brothers do not remain lagged behind ".[369] Levski's intentions remained, undoubtedly, federalist. Although, again, he put the Bulgarian nation in the centre of the puzzle, it was a state of loosely organized units with territorial identity and equal rights of representation that he envisioned. Nevertheless, even acknowledging Levski's federalist strivings and his ideas of the incorporation of the non-Bulgarians into a state (an idea that he never rejected in his earlier or later writings), one should point out the vague nature of his ideas. It was by no means a federalist project.

It was most common for the members of the Bulgarian emigrant elites to express unifying ideas while abroad, but in most cases, it was armed cooperation that they sought rather than an open war to create a federative state. In 1875 Stefan Stambolov sent an interesting letter to the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Secret Committee in Bucharest. The future prime minister of Bulgaria transmitted a message to a Montenegrin captain in Constantinople from Cankov, recording the following passage in his letter: "I went to Constantinople to see him and we talked. He told me that he has at his disposal 2000 Montenegrins, who, if he orders them, will rise up and reduce Constantinople to dust".[370] Furthermore, Stambolov assured his fellow revolutionaries that for an amount of money enough to arm and supply his men the

[368] БИА ф. № 87, op. cit.
[369] Strashimirov, Dimitur: *Arhiv na Vuzrazhdanijeto. Vol. I. Dokumenti po politicheskoto vuzrazhdanije*. Sofia: Durzhavna pechatnica 1908: 82
[370] ЦДИА, Фонд 820 К, опис № 1, а. е. 4.

Montenegrin captain could "inflict great damage upon the Turks in Constantinople ".[371] Thereafter, a possible association based on rather vague common goals was slowly moulded into a unifying ideology. But it was a common threat that unified hajduks rather than a common idea that animated ideologists. One may wonder if Stambolov truly grasped the words of the captain seriously and whether this cooperation could mean any continuation of a Serbian-Bulgarian alliance. As is seen further in the case of Stanbolov, the only time when he would address federalism, would happen much later when he would already become Bulgaria's leading statesman. And then he would not consider Serbia an ally.

In the 1870s Hitov, remaining mostly in Belgrade, got in touch with many of the Bulgarian students, who turned nationalistic rather than federalist. In his "My travel in the Balkan Mountains" Hitov mentioned a certain professor Dragasevic, who taught military sciences in Belgrade and considered everything in the Balkans to be "Serbian land".[372] Dragasevic's assessments and the lack of overall support in their fight against the Ottomans led the young Bulgarian emigrants to believe that "the Serbian government did not think well of the Bulgarians".[373] Yet, arguably the most interesting part of Dragasevic`s story is Hitov's truly remarkable reaction to the complaints of his compatriots that reflect the fluidity of the seemingly closed national clubs of interest. Hitov wrote: "Do not listen to all sorts of fantasies and blabber but strive to study the military sciences so that you can become decent and capable men, who will free our Homeland. The words of Dragasevic are only a dream that has no meaning behind it. Neither I, nor you, nor Dragasevic will decide, who is Serbian and who is Bulgarian, but the people themselves, those, who live on this land. Besides, you have come here not to divide the Balkan peninsula, but to study".[374]

Paradoxically enough, during those studies and travels, most of the emigrants, who chose to become active public actors, got involved in exactly the "division of the Balkan peninsula" and all sorts of grand-scale political creativity. Furthermore, the fewer resources they thought they could count on,[375] the more prone they became to envisioning unions, fluid political units based on their extensive connections with one another from the days of their education in Russia or

[371] ЦДИА, Фонд 820 К, опис № 1, а. е. 4. Op. Cit.
[372] Hitov, Panajot: *Moeto putuvane po Stara Planina. Redakcija, uvod i belezhki ot Alexandar Burmov.* Sofia: Hemus 1940: 98.
[373] Hitov, Panajot: Op. Cit.: 98.
[374] Hitov, Panajot: Op. Cit.: 98.
[375] The "resources" in the current case include the perceived cultural and social capital of the migrants, who could trick themselves into believing that they were more influential than the state of affairs demonstrated.

the Romanian lands, or their life in Serbia. Therefore, the degree of acceptance of a possible ally depended not only on the shared goals but on the already existing networks of cooperation. Bulgarian revolutionary committees were scattered in the region.[376] Revolutionary societies became places, where ideas were perpetuated and spread by mobile individuals, searching for external and internal support for their cause. Those ideas mostly came from books and Western examples. Karavelov, for instance, remembered the revolutionary days of 1848-49 in the following way: "The Year 1848 awakened all the half-dead and half-asleep European nations, as well as us, the Bulgarians. From that moment on the Bulgarians rose up, and their future lit up with eye-pleasing and joyous rays, and a secretive, or, if I put it plainly, instinctive feeling told them that it was time to free themselves from the Turkish and Greek tyranny."[377]

The Bulgarian chance at revolutionary change came in 1878, when the Treaty of San-Stefano created the dream of a Greater Bulgaria and the Treaty of Berlin created the Bulgarian Principality. These events changed the perceptions and statuses of the public actors. Their state-building ideas, therefore, translated from the realm of defensive federalism into a competition with those, whom they previously considered allies. And the competition had several sides. Two letters from 1878 demonstrate the situation that marked the decline of the Balkan federalism and the start of the competition for the attention of the policy-makers among Greater Powers.

Following the Treaty of Berlin Serbian Metropolitan Michael sent a confidential letter to the Slavic Benevolent Committee in Russia. The message addressed a prominent Russian Slavophil Ivan Aksakov. The Metropolitan's grand ideas shared the scale of the federalists, yet, they were aimed at installing a powerful Serbian nation-state in the region that would go under the protectorate of the Russian Empire. The Metropolitan wrote: „It would be a just and simple solution if all of the old Serbia and Bosnia joined the Serbian Principality, Albania and Herzegovina went to Montenegro and Bulgaria remained independent in a way that general politics and the control over the military remained in the hands of Russia, while the local affairs came under internal authority."[378] Furthermore, the Metropolitan proposed that Bosnia and Bulgaria remain independent rather than join the Habsburgs. The Metropolitan's attitude towards the Romanians and the claims of their state was similar: "Why should we strengthen

[376] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukrajna i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto (1751-1878). Sofia*: Akademichnoto izdatelstvo Marin Drinov 2005: 151.
[377] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Hadzhi Nicho. Subrani suchinenija v 9 toma.* Sofia 1965: 290.
[378] ГАРФ. Фонд 1750, опись 2, дело 40.

the element that harbours negative sentiments towards the Slavs?"[379] While the Metropolitan could hardly expect Aksakov to be the most influential person in the Russian foreign policy, the mere idea of gaining a powerful ally created an illusion of a position of power in his mind. A Balkan union or a Slavic federation were not part of the discourse once a public actor began to perceive the favourable position of his group. And this 'fight for a powerful ally' is a trait equally shared by the Bulgarian side.

Around the same time in 1878 the Bulgarians of Adrianople wrote a letter to Russia's prominent statesman, Nikolay Ignatiev, begging him to protect them from the Greek emancipation. Referring to "orthodoxy and Slavism", they stressed their exaggerated fear of the "Chimeric Byzantine Empire".[380] Ignatiev, a man, whom many of the Bulgarian public actors saw as the architect of a favourable San-Stefano treaty that was eventually replaced with the Treaty of Berlin, received numerous such letters. Each of them omitted the interests of Bulgaria's neighbours. Regional cooperation did not seem to be profitable any longer. The mobile intellectuals desired the cooperation of Russia, believing that Count Ignatiev could exercise influence over Russia's foreign policy by tipping the scales in their favour. Their 'ties' with the count were certainly overstated. Such was also the case of many other Balkan intellectuals. While the reality of those imagined connections remains a topic for the next chapters, the intentions become valuable identifiers of their perceptions and emigrant statuses, including their position of weakness.

After 1878. State-builders and outcasts

Following the Russian-Turkish War the public actors acquired a principality that provided their nation-building plans with a way of applying them to practice. Predictably, in the position of power, federalist strivings almost disappeared. But not completely. Todor Ikonomov, a politician and publicist influenced by the Russian social democratic ideas[381] remained one of the few appologists of a possible union of the Balkan nations in the 1880s. Ikonomov's life represents a typical transnational paradigm that took him from a Bulgarian village to

[379] ГАРФ, Op. cit.
[380] GARF Ф. 730, № описи. 1. Ед. Хр. 79.
[381] Zhechev, Toncho: *Todor Ikonomov. Ocherk iz istorijata na bulgarskata obshtestvena misul,* Sofia: Otechestven front, 1975: 112.

Constantinople and to Kiev and than back to Bulgaria that by the time transformed into a principality.

In 1883 Ikonomov published his „Letters about Serbia", in which he presented his ideas about regional cooperation to a wider audience. Ikonomov wrote: „The governments may search for their interests elsewhere and forge other alliances. Yet, the two nations that share blood, faith and language, follow the laws of reciprocity and approach each other more and more, tying each other's fates together."[382] Yet, Ikonomov's accounts were a vision, an aspiration, rather than a reality. One may wonder why he remained a federalist in a principality where most public actors did not require an alliance with Serbia, Greece or Romania and, therefore, abandoned federalist ideals. The answer to this question is simple. Ikonomov did not perceive the position of his nation as that of 'political strength'. And he was himself not in the position of power, but in the position of weakness.

Ikonomov was an idealist inspired by the example of Austria-Hungary and not finding allies that shared his rather unorthodox views in the Bulgaria run by Stefan Stambolov, who was pronouncedly anti-Russian. In the aftermath of the Bulgarian-Serbian War of 1885 and the successful unification of the Principality with Eastern Rumelia most public actors and statesmen perceived their nation as being in the position of power. Ikonomov, on the other hand, remained in opposition to the political course followed by his state. In 1886 Ikonomov joined the Secret Revolutionary Committee in order to overthrow the Regency formed after Prince Alexander's abdication and to restore friendly relations with the Russian Empire.[383] Ikonomov's tensions with Bulgaria's Prime Minister Stambolov as well as his weak position in the newly-formed Principality forced him to take a defensive position. He searched for allies, propagating active regional networking.

He perceived regional cooperation as the only option that could allow Bulgaria to resist the influence of Greater Powers[384] A union of the Balkan Christian states could create a version of a Greater Power. Ikonomov believed that former non-core groups could assure each other's

[382] Ikonomov, Todor: *Pisma za Srbija.* Russe: Skoro-pechatnica na v. Slavjanin 1883: 7.
[383] Curakov, Angel: *Enciklopedija na pravitelstvata, narodnite subranija i atentatite v Bulgaria*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Trud. 2008: 535.
[384] Initially opposing the idea of an armed uprising, Ikonomov devised strategies that accepted dualism (an Ottoman version of Austria-Hungary) Zhechev, Toncho: *Todor Ikonomov. Ocherk iz istorijata na bulgarskata obshtestvena misul,* Sofia: Otechestven front, 1975: 111-112.

emancipation, while the Empires could not fulfil their aims completely. Todor Ikonomov expressed his ideas regarding the links bringing Serbia and Bulgaria together in the following way: "The talks about the friendship between Serbia and Bulgaria are common not only in Sofia and Belgrade but also in other towns of the two neighbouring countries. This thought and this wish are supported nowadays not only by a couple of statesmen but also by people of different classes of our societies."[385] While Ikonomov explained that both governments were according to him ignoring the vital connections between Serbia and Bulgaria, he stressed that "Mutual understanding and common interests" shared by the two nations were "obvious to everyone".[386] Among the factors that tied together Bulgaria and its neighbours were certainly the Rum-millet links and the religious bonds that came to be reshaped and reformulated by the 19th-century state-builders.[387] But even in the case of Todor Ikonomov, it was not the desire for peace or unity that brought him to his idea of federalism, but his concern about the future of the Bulgarian nation.

He did write that "Serbia is not foreign to Bulgaria as Bulgaria is not foreign to Serbia",[388] but his views remained centered on Bulgaria's territory, nation-state and its wellbeing. He pointed out that the apparent 'Bulgarianness' of the Serbs living around Nish was downplayed by the local authorities. He noticed that "the bigger part of inhabitants would have taken it as an offence if they had been told they had not possessed pure Serbian blood".[389] Yet according to Ikonomov, they were Bulgarian. And he found the fact particularly important.

Todor Ikonomov was not the only person inspired by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, who continued to uphold federalist convictions in Stambolov's Bulgaria. Pandeli Kisimov, who had proposed the creation of a Balkan version of Austria-Hungary with Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire as the two most essential parts, continued to support the same idea in the late 1880s. Kisimov's designs persisted, making him a persona non-grata in the political circles of the Principality. His openly expressed convictions eventually resulted in his second exile (this time not because of the Ottoman authorities) due to a conflict with a former fellow-revolutionary

[385] Ikonomov, Todor: *Pisma za Srbija.* Russe: Skoro-pechatnica na v. Slavjanin 1883: 1
[386] Ikonomov, Todor: Op. cit.: 1-2.
[387] Buchenau, Klaus: „Religionen auf dem Balkan" in: Uwe Hinrichs / Thede Kahl / Petra Himstedt-Vaid (Hgg.): *Der Balkan. Ein Handbuch*. Wiesbaden 2014: 191-214.
[388] Ikonomov, Todor: Op. Cit.: 10.
[389] Ikonomov, Todor: Op. Cit.: 18.

and now the leading statesman, Stefan Stambolov.[390] Kisimov was again, in the position of political weakness.

Yet even those in the position of power occasionally perceived the 'not fully emancipated' status of their core-group. Stefan Stambolov himself did express a federalist wish, when he saw his political position being threatened. The Romanian-Bulgarian relations in the 1880s were linked by the short-lived confederative project of Prince Alexander, proposed in 1886. Once again, it was a plan created from the position of insecurity that could assure the well-being of the two nations in the case of a war with the Ottomans. In the case of Stambolov the project was his way of assuring an ally against Russia's attempts at establishing their influence in Bulgaria. Ironically, the plan was also partially inspired by the Austro-Hungarian compromise. Its aim was to damage the lines of the Russian impact in the Balkans. King Charles of Romania favoured the idea, yet, was forced to give it up under the pressure from the Russian side on June 15, 1887.[391] The plan yielded no significant results.

As seen in the example of the two outcasts, Ikonomov and Kisimov, even after the Russian-Turkish War and the subsequent establishment of the Bulgarian Principality, the positions of the public actors were far less stable and secure than it might seem from the first glance (even in the case of Stambolov). Yet most of the figures in power continued to view their nation as the one in the position of strength and not in the need of allies. While the initiative of the Greek statesman Charilaos Trikoupis and his attempts to establish a Greek-Bulgarian alliance in 1891 were but a logical outcome of this sense of insecurity[392], it did not meet much appreciation among the Bulgarian politicians. There were simply not enough influential public actors among the opposition to support the plan. Neither were there among the Greek side.

The decades following the Russian-Turkish war marked the rapid decline of federalism in Bulgaria. In 1895 a book that mirrored these trends appeared in Bulgaria. A translation of a relatively short work of a Serbian diplomat and geographer Vladimir Karić into Bulgarian, it appeared with a foreword by Vishin, the book's translator, who expressed an ardent wish to follow in the footsteps of Karavelov, Levski and Botev and create a well-functioning Balkan

[390] Jakimov, Georgi: „Dualistichnite vuzgledi na P. Kisimov kato dejec na BTCK/БТЦК (1866-1868)." *Istoricheski pregled*, no. 3-4 (2002): 93-135.
[391] Stoenescu, Alexandru: *Istoria Lovitorilor de Stat în România*, vol. 2. București: Editura RAO 2001: 83.
[392] Villari, Luigi (ed.): *The Balkan question: the present condition of the Balkans and of European responsibilities*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1905: 88.

federation (which none of the mentioned above managed to accomplish). Yet, the translator had to admit that they "had abandoned the idea of a Balkan union" and that "nowadays it is in a more backward state than it was left by Karavelov, Botev, Ikonomov and our other important figures".[393] While the book reflected the reality, it did not elaborate on one very important factor. In the 1860s the federalist idea was propagated by the same intellectual outcasts in the position of political weakness. It was just that by 1890s the number of those outcasts diminished since most of the nationalist intellectuals (the elder and younger ones both) perceived their nation to be in the position of power.

Referring to the Bulgarian federalist projects one may wonder whether they occupy any distinct place in the European and Bulgarian political thought. And the conclusion that comes from their analysis does not view them as distinct in any way from the plans proposed by other 19th-century European thinkers. They are almost identical hopeful ideas that were motivated primarily by one's group emancipation, often juxtaposing it against other groups, even when such attitudes were only implied by the author, who simply stressed the importance of his nation and its role. There's nothing particularly Bulgarian in the Bulgarian federalist projects. Therefore, they cannot be separated from other ideas emerging in the same European public sphere. And one should not separate their authors from other European intellectuals.

Eventually, they took inspiration from a shared European idea space. Their federalism was a continuation of their Romanticist nationalism. Hristo Botev first read the poems of Mercantini in Herzen's translation.[394] Karavelov was inspired by the works of the Russian revolutionary thinkers as well as Mazzini and the revolution of 1848. Mazzini and Bakunin expressed their solidarity with the Bulgarian cause.[395] Even in confrontation with one another, the mobile ideologists continued to be agents transmitting travelling ideas, belonging to one shared epistemic community.[396] They were a community of potential state-builders, non-core group mobile actors, who turned to federalism to recruit allies and promote their nation. When their regarded their position as a stronger one, they chose other paths, still returning to the same European pool of ideas, where they found their sources of political creativity

[393] Karic, Vladimir: *Srbija i balkanski sujuz.* Prevel ot srbski L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica napreduk 1895: 4.
[394] Penev, Bojan*: Izkustvoto je nashata pamet.* Varna: Georgi Bakalov 1978: 112-117.
[395] Kellogg, Frederick: *The Road to Romanian Independence.* Purdue: Purdue University Press 1995: 115-117.
[396] The term "epistemic community" itself usually describes a set of networks of international public actors, who share certain ideas and therefore go beyond the space of their nation-state to share and propagate them. See Peter M. Haas: "Epistemic Communities and International-Policy Coordination", *International Organization, 46 (1) 1992*: 1-35.

While they were indeed part of the same community of letters and, as it is seen in the chapter, their federalism only appeared in the position of political weakness and was not motivated by initially federalist aims, they should still be divided from Imperial core-group public actors. Case does not divide the federalism of von Genz from that of Kossuth. However, one may claim that an Imperial public actor did not necessarily focus on one nation, one part of the supposed federation unlike their non-core group peers (neither von Genz, nor Metternich were exclusively motivated by promoting their nation's emancipation). Therefore, their ideas could have been closer to the core of federalism as a project politically uniting territorially identifiable units in a state.

In the case of the Bulgarian public actors in the 19th century nationalism remained the ultimate purpose of a federalist project if such an option was proposed. Moreover, federalism articulated by government representatives (like in the case of Stambolov) had the same nationalistic aims as the one articulated by Rakovski decades earlier. Besides that, none of the Bulgarian public actors managed to create a comprehensive federalist project (even something close to Kossuth's constitutional plans). What they expressed were wishes for cultural and political unity or revolutionary plans for action, but not viable projects for a constitution.

Can the Bulgarian 19th century public actors be called federalists then? Yes, in the sense of the 19th century European federalism. And exclusively in the context of their epistemic community. They should not be separated from the European context that had produced them. They were all inter-connected individuals, who shared one goal: the emancipation of their respective nation.[397] Therefore, the projects produced by the public actors resemble more their negotiations with one another about the destinies of their groups than comprehensive federalist schemes.

[397] One should also point out that often those connections bound individuals, who did not know they were connected. Hungarian general Klapka knew Alexandru Ioan Cuza, who knew Balcescu, who knew Constantin Roseti, who knew Hristo Botev, who was fond of Herzen, who knew Bakunin, who praised Kossuth's federative schemes. See: Billington, James H.: *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith.* (London, Transaction publishers, 1999): 329-330

Chapter III. The power of connections

The roles of the Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg Empires in the lives of the Balkan elites is not a new topic. Yet, an Empire's contribution to the creation of anti-Imperial connections remains a marginalized subject and is mostly ignored. The chapter investigates two issues: it asks whether the Empires suppressed their minorities as efficiently as the non-core group elites claimed they did, and if the states helped them establish links with each other. In order to track the impact of the states on their subjects' social networking, the chapter surveys the state policies and projects that aided in the creation of ties between various romanticist nationalists.

First, the chapter explains the shortcomings and advantages of social network analysis when evaluating historical networks. Second, the chapter surveys the influence of the Empire/s on the formation of revolutionary connection in four areas: imperial education, representation and self-representation of the imperial subjects and their communities, Imperial printing industry, the role of the Empires in the creation of various Bulgarian organizations. In the end, this section answers whether the Empires were efficient in suppressing their non-core group elites and whether they inadvertently aided them in establishing lasting links with like-minded individuals.

Approaching a network

The term 'network' has a wide range of meanings: "The phenomena described as networks range from the social interactions of human beings and the flow of goods between countries to gene regulation and railroad infrastructures."[398] Yet, networks in all their variety only exist as a concept within the context that makes them matter. An imperial setting (diverse population, extended borders, economic and political reforms, etc.) defines the background of social interactions between individuals and sets them apart from other cases. Thus, in order to trace the origins of individual ties in an Empire, one should analyse their background and communication opportunities.

[398] Hennig, Marina/Brandes, Ulrik/Pfeffer, Jürgen/Mergel, Ines: *Studying Social Networks: A Guide to Empirical Research.* Frankfurt: Campus Verlag 2012: 13.

All connections are subject to interpretation.[399] In the case of this research the interpretation relies on the assessments of the individuals themselves juxtaposed to their realities. Freeman points out that any study of networks becomes an analysis of a representation in social science context.[400] Thus, any changes in representation are inevitably reflected in the assessments of the individuals, who can act and introduce themselves as either imperial subjects or anti-imperial rebels. Theses assessments, however, do not necessary mirror their political realities.

The basic analytical methods of examining social networks remain the same even when approaching a historical network. They include the identification of groups (families, circles of friends, clans and organizations) and social categories (ethnic or national affiliations, gender, class and profession).[401] The network between identified groups is surveyed through the analysis of nodes (individuals in the current case) and ties (the nature of their interactions) that form a pattern.[402] While "data collection for network analysis, in whatever kind of study, has most typically involved survey and questionnaire methods,"[403] these approaches are impossible to apply when one deals with a cohort of deceased Imperial public actors. Thus, their written legacy and the circumstances of their lives become the starting point for the reconstruction of the state influences on their connections. It would not be possible, however, to create an accurate diagram representing their ties (especially given the fact that the protagonists would deliberately overstate certain connections and omit others).[404]

Charles Tilly points out that one should connect the documentation of large structural changes and reconstruct individual experiences, seeing how the two reflect each other.[405] This way, one can avoid the trap of ignoring individual agency (which is often the case in an analysis of a

[399] Hennig, Marina/Brandes, Ulrik/Pfeffer, Jürgen/Mergel, Ines: Op. Cit.: 14.
[400] Freeman, Linton C.: "Social Networks and the Structure Experiment," in: Linton C. Freeman/Douglas R. White/Kimball Romney (eds.): *Research methods in network analysis*. Fairfax, V.A.: George Mason University Press 1989: 11-40.
[401] Freeman, Linton: *The development of social network analysis: a study in the sociology of science.* Vancouver, B. C.: Empirical Press 2004: 166.
[402] "Social Network Analysis." The American Journal of Economics and Sociology 39, no. 1 (1980): 111.
[403] Carrington, Peter/John Scott, John/Wassermann, Stanley (eds.): *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005: 3.
[404] Bulgarian intellectuals, in most cases followed the patterns that their Hungarian, Polish or Romanian counterparts did following the revolution of 1848. Except for their tighter connections with the Russian Empire, these non-core group public actors do not differ significantly from their Western peers. They were, once again, a relatively narrow circle of nationalist intellectuals. See Hroch, Miroslav: *Social precognitions of national revival in Europe: a comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European Nations.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Trencsenyi, Balazs: *A nép lelke. Nemzetkarakterológiai viták Kelet-Európában.* Budapest: CEU Press, 2011: 14.
[405] Charles Tilly: "Retrieving European Lives," in: Zung, Olivier (ed.) *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of social history.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1985: 31; 11-49.

grand-scale social network in sociology),[406] but still acquire a glimpse of a wider picture that defines the choices of the public actors. While these agents were nods in a network, they also remained individuals with their biases and visions.

Beside the identification of nods and ties, the question of a network's density occupies a prominent place in social network analysis. Given the focus on individuals, the research represents the Bulgarian case as an egocentric design (focused on people) rather than a 'whole-network' (focused on bound communities).[407] The connections' intensity, however, is difficult to determine precisely: revolutionaries conducting illegal activities predictably concealed their plans and movements, but tended to exaggerate the importance of their actions and connections in hindsight.

In order to measure the density of the Bulgarian network, one may imitate the cognitive social structure design:[408] this approach allows to use letters and shared projects as connection markers. Thus, the recurring mentions of the same names and places signify a denser connection than one open letter written to a person, who is not featured in further correspondence, articles or published works. While this approach does not grant precision, it allows to trace the social dynamics among the deceased protagonists of the research.

The clubs formed by the non-core group elites can also be analysed as 'personal communities'.[409] They heavily relied on social support and informal ties[410] due to the relatively small number of their members – the few intellectuals among their predominantly illiterate compatriots. However, grand social structures that define regional politics and bind larger groups together arise from existing smaller groups.[411] And many of these small 'personal communities' lay foundation for influential projects and political institutions in the future Bulgarian Principality and beyond. Publications and mobile agents, thus, spread ideas formed in smaller circles to larger groups across borders.

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[406] Wetherell, Charles: "Historical Social Network Analysis." *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998): 125-44: 126

[407] Marsden, Peter: 'Recent developments in network measurement'. In: Carrington, Peter/John Scott, John/Wassermann, Stanley. (eds.): *Models and Methods in Social Network Analysis* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005: 8. (8-30)

[408] Krackhardt, David: 'Cognitive social structures' *Social Networks*, 9(2), 1987: 109-134.

[409] Wetherell, Charles: "Historical Social Network Analysis." International Review of Social History 43 (1998): 125-44: 130.

[410] Lambert, Maguire: *Understanding social networks*. London: Sage. 1983: 77

[411] Wellman, Barry: 'Structural Analysis: from method and metaphor to theory and substance' In Wellman, Barry/Stephen D. Berkowitz(eds.): *Social Structures: A Network Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988: 19-62.

When analysing different types of ties among writers, Anheier and Gerhards mention that they form an amorphous elite that is subject to mythologization due to their direct connection to social structures in modern societies.[412] And this is exactly the type of an epistemic community that the non-core group elites formed in the Empires.[413] What unites them is the Imperial framework and their Bulgarian nationalism since "individuals become integrated in groups through processes of recurrent social interaction and communication".[414] Partially, this recurrent social interaction and communication explains the impact of the non-core group elites on their peers and the policies of their states. These particularities also explain, why an epistemic community would be dependent on its' host-states.

Undoubtedly, a person expresses different identities under different conditions and may change views and allegiances, thus, the current inquiry is defined by the non-core status of the elites and it follows the connections of the Bulgarian public actors vis-à-vis the Empires.[415] The transformations of their network following 1878 remains a question to be addressed in the subsequent chapter. If one can suggest that the Empires unintentionally strengthened the networks of their subjects and created the circumstances, where revolutionary connections flourished, one can also conclude that those very connections were the products of Imperial policies and reforms.

The rise of the mobile elites and the expansion of their social network coincided with the rapid degradation of the existing social structures in the Ottoman Empire.[416] Similarly, the Russian and the Habsburg Empires were going through periods of reforms and transformations in the mid-19th century. All these states were aware of the presence of the various non-core group elites within their boundaries.[417] Yet, their attempts to disrupt the relations between potential revolutionaries or assure loyalty of a non-core group elite could bring both allegiance and radicalization of these individuals.

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[412] Anheier, Helmut/Gerhards, Jurgen: 'Literary Myths and Social Structure'. *Social Forces* 69 (3). Oxford University Press 1991: 811–30.
[413] Cross, Mai'a K. Davis: *Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks Are Transforming the European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011: 13-41
[414] Morgan, B. S.: 'Social Geography, Spatial Structure and Social Structure'. *Geojournal 9* (3). Springer, 1984: 302.
[415] Stryker, S.: "From Mead to a structural symbolic interactionism and beyond". *Annual review of sociology, 34(*1), 2008: 15-31.
[416] Gavrilova, Raina: *Bulgarian Urban Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press 1999: 132.
[417] Jianu, Angela: *A Circle of Friends: Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840-1859*. Leiden: Brill, 2011: 62-67; Velichi, Constantin N.: *La Roumanie Et Le Mouvement Révolutionnaire Bulgare De Libération Nationale (1850 - 1878).* Bucuresti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Socialiste România, 1979: 68-126

Imperial education and revolutionary connections

National emancipation began as an attempt of the few educated Balkan intellectuals to attract the attention of the authorities to their national causes. In 1845, Bulgarian Exarch Alexander Stojlović Boyoglu wrote a petition to the High Porte and five European Powers that included Prussia, Italy, Austria, Russia and Britain, where he claimed the vital importance of educating the large peasant masses of his compatriots. While presenting the Ottoman domination as a fact accepted by most of the Bulgarians, he viewed the 'enlightenment' of his kinsmen as essential for the security of the Porte and the maintenance of the status quo within the Imperial Orthodox Community. Furthermore, he wrote that proper education could prevent "a foreign activist or agent from disturbing the Bulgarians and sparking revolts".[418] However, every network of rebellious nationalists started with education. And Empires, due to their access to vast financial and human resources, were perfect places, where one could search for stipends, educational institutions or cultural support.

Educational opportunities granted by the Ottoman government facilitated the creation of nationalists among the rural and illiterate populations. The so-called public cell schools (килийна) appeared in the mid-19th century due to the Ottoman support. And, as Krassimira Daskalova points out, there were around 384 public cell schools that operated in Bulgaria prior to 1878.[419] As to the level of education offered by these establishments, one can find a citation from Ivan Kishelski, an intellectual, whose assessment does not praise the system. He wrote that "the teacher in the Ottoman Empire was degraded to a lower level than a cowherd."[420] Both the Rum-Millet and the Ottoman intellectuals imitated the Greek and the French model with varying degrees of efficiency. While the Bulgarians had more freedom in the management of elementary education, higher establishments were controlled by the Imperial government and the Greek elites. And those were the colleges and institutions that created the first cohort of Bulgarian revolutionary intellectuals.

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[418] Централен държавен исторически архив (ЦДИА), Фонд № 820 К оп. 1, а.е. 16 Прошение от Александър Екзарх до Високата порта и петте Велики сили (Италия, Англия, Русия, Прусия и Австрия) за просвета на българите (1845)/Proshenije ot Aleksandar Ekzarh do Visoka Porta I pette veliki sili (Italija, Anglija, Rusija, Prusija, Avstrija) za prosveta na bulgarite.

[419] Daskalova, Krassimira. (2017): 'Developments in Bulgarian Education: from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-State and beyond, 1800-1940s' *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 4(1) 2017, (1-29): 3.

[420] Quoted in: Gavrilova, Rajna: *Bulgarian Urban Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1999: 178.

The Ottoman Empire started opening new establishments during the Tanzimat era, and, for the first time, the Rum-Millet individuals were allowed into the circles outside the traditional Greek-dominated higher education. The aims of the education reforms were to "reinforce the power of central administration, rather than to raise the life standards of the public."[421] Increased participation of the Rum-Millet subjects in education, trade or administration could simultaneously improve imperial control over them. Following 1839, the non-Muslims could enter the Imperial Medical School, and their number greatly increased, because the education was in French and followed the European model.[422] The government tried to extend its' control further when "in 1845, the Temporary Council of Education (Meclis-i Ma'ârif-i Muvakkat)was established, and based on its proposal, in 1846, it was announced that the state educational system would be set up in three stages, namely mekteb-i sıbyân, mekteb-i-rüşdiyye, and Dârü'l-fünûn, which accepted "anyone who is a subject."[423] Partially, these measures proved to be effective in controlling the education of the Christians, but they did not prevent the Rum-Millet individuals from studying abroad or keeping to their religion-based circles.

The Ottoman government was well aware of the spreading Romanticist ideas and had the example of Greek nationalists carving an independent state form the imperial territories: "The Greek Orthodox Church received economic support from merchants to study in Padua and Bologna in Italy, Oxford in England, various universities in Germany, and other universities throughout Europe."[424] The Greek nationalists, who returned from these universities, became increasingly anti-Ottoman. Thus, the creation of effective and controlled educational establishment within the Empire was a priority for the government. However, this was a costly task, which was never carried out to its' fullest.

The spread of political romanticism and nationalist ideas among the non-Muslim individuals, who would later become anti-Imperial elites, coincided with the secularization of the Empire itself.[425] Those were not exclusively the Greek elites that had brought various Herderian ideas to the Empire, but also the Muslim intellectuals, who promoted Europeanization and found

[421] Karpat, Kemal: *Osmanlı Modernle[sc]edli mesi; Toplum, Kurumsal Deg[bevr] i[sc]edli im ve Nüfus [Ottoman Modernization: Society, Institutional Change and Population*. Ankara: [Id]ot mge Press, 2002: 81.
[422] Terjirian, Eleanor*: Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 162.
[423] Hasebe, Kiyohiko: "An Ottoman Attempt for the Control of Christian Education: Plan of Fünün Mektebi (School of Sciences) in the Early Tanzimat Period". *Osmanlı Araştırmaları 41 / 41 (June 2013)*: 231-251. 232.
[424] Hasebe, Kiyohiko: Op. cit.: 241.
[425] Berkes, Niyazi: *The Development of Secularism in Turkey.* Montreal: McGill University Press, 1969: 295.

their own state lacking a modern system of education. Thus, the Europeanization of education was only the logical result of the changing aspirations of all imperial subjects.

Most of the new institutions in the Empire focused on engineering and medicine, leaving humanist subjects aside. An attempt was made at opening a University in 1863 by the order of the grand Vizier Kececizade Fuad Pasha, where lectures were delivered on physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc.[426] But there were not enough professors to support the initiative. Thus, in the end, both Christian and Muslim subjects reverted to their circle or sought better educational opportunities abroad. In the Ottoman Empire, the Rum-Millet individuals most often fell under the Greek influence.

The Greek-speaking elites ran the educational institutions of the Rum-Millet in the mid-19th century.[427] Thus, one can trace the origins of the Bulgarian non-core group elites and their connections to the Greek circles of the Empire. In the 1840s and 50s the few prominent Bulgarian nationalists came from the *Great School of the Nation* or the *Phanar Orthodox Lyceum* in Constantinople, where they arrived from Greek schools in Bulgaria and Odessa. Among the individuals involved in the later administration and public life of the Bulgarian Principality, many were graduates of that institution - all were fluent in Greek and trained by the Greek professors.

Ivan Seliminski (1799-1866) can be considered one of the most obvious examples of such graduates. His education started within the Greek circles, where quickly fell under the influence of the Greek revolutionaries and later travelled through Europe to expand his knowledge as a professional medic. Seliminski's education determined his future path: he wrote almost exclusively in Greek, was unable to use literary Bulgarian,[428] yet, identified himself as a Bulgarian nationalist. In his later years, disappointed with the Greek revolutionary ideas, he sought a Slavic milieu to express his position and, thus, turned pro-Russian, becoming one of the people to recruit Bulgarian volunteers for the Crimean War in 1853. He would justify his pro-Russian views referring to the British anti-Russian politics and the Greek resentment toward his kinsmen: "All the liberal press in Britain has started a pro-Greek campaign. Lately,

[426] Mehrdad, Kia: *Daily life in the Ottoman Empire*. Denver: Greenwood: 154-155.
[427] Neofit Bozveli can be regarded as one of such individuals, who became part of the Balkan intellectual circle mostly due to his religious affiliations (he became a monk around 1810) and his Greek education. See Radev, Ivan: *Istorija na bulgarskata literature prez Vuzrazhdane.* Veliko Turnovo: Abagar 2007: 133-134
[428] Borisov, M.: Doktor Ivan Seliminski i fizikata.' Priroda № 5/1983: 79 – 86. See Also Racheva, Vanja: "Za memoarnoto nasledstvo na doctor Ivan Seliminski." In: Lachev et al.: *Istorija i knigite kato prijatelstvo: 424-438: 428.*

they have been labeled the most reliable power in the struggle against the overwhelming Slavic influence in the Balkans."[429] Seliminski chose a 'Slavic' Empire as a possible ally, although from his education in the Greek gymnasium in Anatolia and then in Athens, one can easily point out the start of his political ambitions. Seliminski could have easily accepted a Greek identity or worked as a politically indifferent medic in the Ottoman Empire. Instead, he took the ideas of the Greek revolutionaries, adopted them to the Bulgarian cause, and started recruiting fellow-Bulgarians. His example was not unique.

Another example of a Great School of the Nation student was Ivan Kishelski, born in 1826. It was there that he was introduced into the Greek circles of the Empire.[430] Following his studies, he travelled to the Russian Empire to enrol at the University in Kiev. Instead, he joined the Russian Army during the Crimean War (partially because of Seliminski's recruitment), reached the rank of a major-general and died being an appointed governor of Varna in 1881.[431]

Another graduate of the Great School of the Nation was Ivan Bogorov, who published the first Bulgarian journal in Leipzig in 1846,[432] and later became an orienteer for his younger peers. And, the same institution produced one of the most important beacons for the younger generations, a principal nod in the egocentric network - Najden Gerov, a man of letters and a philologist. His educational initiatives would send both young Karavelov and Botev to Odessa, where he himself had studied in the early 1840s.[433] Thus, the Great School of the Nation alone became a place, where, under the supervision of the Ottoman Empire and the influence of the Greek circles the basis for a Bulgarian nationalist network was created. The Great School of the Nation was supposed to produce Rum-Millet elites, and it succeeded in its' aims, but the Rum-Millet itself started to fracture.

The results of this Greek education were captured by the leader of the Bulgarian Secret Central Committee[434] Ivan Kasabov, who wrote about the Great School of the nation's student Georgi Rakovski. The story appeared in his memoirs published in 1905. He recollected his days in Ploiesti that were spent in the shadow of the Greek merchants and intellectuals running their

[429] Seliminski, Ivan: *Izbrani suchinenija*. Edited by Kochev, N./Buchvarov, M. Sofia: Nauka I izkustvo 1979: 160.
[430] *Godishnik na Sofiĭskiia universitet Istoricheski fakultet: Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia Faculté d'histoire, Volumes 66-68.* Sofiĭski universitet. Istoricheski fakultet 1975: 306.
[431] Stojchev, Ivan: *General Ivan K. Kishelski.* Voenno-istoricheski sbornik. XX, kniga 63. Sofia: BIA 1947: 114-124.
[432] Bozhkov, Stojko et al.: *Istorija na bulgarskata literatura: literatura na Vuzrazhdaneto*. Sofia BAN 1966: 18.
[433] Radev, Ivan: *Istorija na bulgarskata literatura prez Vuzrazhdaneto*. Veliko Turnovo: Abagar 2007: 208.
[434] Perry, Duncan M.: *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895*. Durham: Duke University Press: 8.

businesses in the city in the 1860s.[435] Most of these individuals despised or neglected the local Bulgarian emigrants, seeing them as inferior and less educated. Rakovski, however, was well schooled and, according to Kasabov, the only guest of the café in Ploiesti, who knew equally well modern and ancient Greek, Old Church Slavonic, Bulgarian and Romanian.[436]

Kasabov wrote: "Besides that, he possessed a gift of clear and convincing speech."[437] Rakovski's research methods were questionable, yet, Kasabov described the result of his debate with the Greek scholar in the following passages: "Then Rakovski found a piece of chalk and wrote a decent number of words from Ancient Greek with all the accents and diacritics on the table. He then explained what each of those accents meant and which letters disappeared with time. The Greek scholar nodded in approval. Then Rakovski wrote entire words including the vanished letters and received purely Bulgarian terms as a result, claiming that they had been borrowed from Bulgarian and that the Bulgarian language had existed before Greek and that the latter had been modelled on the basis of Bulgarian."[438] Rakovski's linguistic exploits stirred the otherwise mundane social life in Ploiesti, attracting the attention of the Romanian and Greek 'experts', each claiming their right.

The result of the debate, possibly, exaggerated, is captured by Kasabov: "Afterwards Romanians kept teasing the Greeks because of that accident and the local Bulgarians became so inspired that they switched places with the Greeks and started neglecting and despising them."[439] Thus, the quality of the Greek education partially contributed to the formation of the Bulgarian nationalist network. After all, many Slav intellectuals, who came from Greek background, used the skills and ideas adopted from the Greeks, against their mentors like Rakovski himself.

Apart from the Greek-dominated institutions and the newly opened Ottoman colleges, Bulgarian nationalists often met and exchanged ideas abroad. The Russian Empire became a desired destination for these non-core group agents, most of whom studied in multiple institutions during their lives. The Russian authorities saw an opportunity in attracting the

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[435] Kasabov, Ivan: *Moite spomeni ot Vuzrazhdaneto na Bulgarija cu revoljucionni idei*. Sofia: pechantica na P. M. Buzajtov 1905: 46-47.

[436] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 19

[437] Kasabov, Ivan: *Moite spomeni ot Vuzrazhdaneto na Bulgarija cu revoljucionni idei*. Sofia: pechantica na P. M. Buzajtov 1905: 46.

[438] Kasabov, Ivan: Op. Cit: 47.

[439] Kasabov, Ivan: Op. Cit: 47

Balkan Slavs, who could be moulded into a loyal pro-Russian elite.[440] Many Bulgarian agents started in cell schools and Greek gymnasiums, but could later travel to Russia, or to the Habsburg Empire to acquire scholarships. In the case of the Russian Empire, they mostly chose Odessa, Kiev and Moscow. In the Habsburg case, they often travelled to the Croatian and Czech lands and, subsequently, fell under the influence of the local Pan-Slavists.[441] Yet, the Ottoman lands, were inevitably the starting point of their journey.

The young Bulgarian agents became human assets, whose loyalty and identity could be used by one government against the other. Evered points out when addressing this aspect: "Accepting the equality of Muslims and non-Muslims, the state strove to pursue rapid centralization in its provinces, bringing what had been for centuries a distant state even more into the daily lives of its populations."[442] But the individuals, who had acquired the taste for European-style education, often turned against the Imperial rule since it did not answer their increased political aspirations and ambitions.[443] These were the cases of Bogorov, Seliminski, Kishelski and Gerov mentioned above. All these individuals brought their fellow-Bulgarians to the universities and schools that either they had once attended themselves or considered suitable for the promotion of their national cause. Thus, the Ottoman policies unintentionally created a source of trust between the members of the forming network, who started developing their nationalist stances because the state had offered them multiple educational opportunities.

Similarly, Russia's attempts to turn the Balkan elites against their Muslim sovereigns created opportunities for the young and bright Bulgarians to attend Russian educational establishments. Thus, Odessa, situated relatively close to Bulgaria on the coast of the Black sea, became a place, where nationalist connections were forged, and education was spread. That flourishing Bulgarian cultural life was sustained and organized by Najden Gerov. He keenly followed the destinies of his younger protegees and their political turns: Gerov would advise promising young people to come to Odessa and would keep in touch with them after they left. For example, the poet Hristo Botev and Gerov would exchange letters long after Botev left Odessa.

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[440] Gülseven, Aslı Yiğit: 'Rethinking Russian pan-Slavism in the Ottoman Balkans: N.P. Ignatiev and the Slavic Benevolent Committee (1856–77)' *Middle Eastern Studies, 53/3*, 2017: 332-348

[441] Aleksieva, Afrodita/Kirova, Lilija/Savov, Nikolaj et el.: *Bulgaro-balkanski kulturni vzaimootnoshenija 1878-1914*. Sofia: Prosveta 1986: 67- 73.

[442] Evered, Emine: *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan 1012: 38.

[443] One should point out that most pro-Ottoman examples come from nationally indifferent individuals. An intellectual inspired by political romanticism and with a suitable European-style education would in most cases end within various revolutionary circles, even if he was a doctor, a scientist, etc.

Although their correspondence is not abundant, it highlights their involvement in the common goal of the Bulgarian emancipation. In his letter to Najden Gerov from Bucharest on the eve of the April Uprising, Botev complained about the dire conditions he had to live in together with Vasil Levski, while both were preparing the national insurrection in their native Bulgaria.[444]

Botev (born in 1848) first left Bulgaria to study in Odessa, acquiring a stipend from the Russian Empire.[445] It was there that he met male as well as female nationalist agents, united in a cultural circle, cultivated by Gerov. Beside him, Elena Muteva and Dobri Chintulov, both poets, became the organizers of the literary circle in the city, contributing to the development of the Bulgarian literary language. Besides that, they supported and connected all the Bulgarian students in Odessa.[446] It was that educational opportunity that attracted Botev himself.

The Russian Empire, thus, contributed to the creation of a Bulgarian colony on its' territory. This strategy of producing loyal elites brought unexpected results: many young and bright Bulgarians found the ideology of the Russian revolutionaries more appealing than the political and economic realities of the Russian Empire. The examples of such anti-Imperial individuals are numerous, Hristo Botev and Ljuben Karavelov being, probably, the most prominent. Karavelov (born in 1834) began his studies in the Ottoman Empire and, later, travelled to Russia, where he was a student at Moscow State University.[447] Like Botev, he first travelled to Odessa due to Gerov's initiative. Like Botev, he also sustained a relationship with Gerov, although his cooperation with Botev was closer. Thus, educational connections were often supported by ties of kinship: Bulgarian students tended to attach themselves to their fellows form the Ottoman Empire.

As Slavic-speakers from the Ottoman Empire, they immediately had common backgrounds that facilitated their ties. The nationalist community was self-reproducing: Botev, for example, worked as a teacher in Bessarabia,[448] where he recruited younger Bulgarians to send them, in

[444] Arhivele Nationale ale Romaniei (ANR), dosar 2, nr. 431, f. 29
[445] Constantinescu-Iaşi, P.: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti*. Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 10.
[446] Nalbantova, Elena: 'Obrazut na Odesa i simvolikata na grada v bulgarskata literatura na 19 vek.' *Elektronno spisanije LiterNet* 15.10.2004, № 10 (59). See also Lekov, Docho: Odesa i purvite stupki na novobulgarskata poeziji/Bulgarski vuzrozhdenski literaturni i kulturni sredishta v chuzhbina. Sofia: UI Kliment Ohridski 1999: 34-64.
[447] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Izbrani tvorbi*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisateli 1959: 402-405.
[448] Dafinov, Zdravko: *Bezsmurten i genialen. Avtentichijat Hristo Botev.* Sofia: Iztok-Zapad 2007: 90-92.

his turn, to Gerov in Odessa. In this case, Imperial education was also used to broaden the network further, including the younger agents, who did not have Greek education.

These educational recruitment grounds lasted and evolved in the decades following the 1860s. Among the younger generations Raina Popgergieva (born in 1856) can serve as an example of a Russian-educated intellectual. The young revolutionary was arrested by the Ottoman authorities following the April Uprising of 1876, later liberated and allowed to study in Russia. She would eventually become involved in supporting the Bulgarian orphans and searching for ways to educate them in Moscow, while also publishing her autobiography in Russian.[449] All of these activities were the consequences of her Russian education, which she, in her turn, wanted to spread to younger generations.

The Bulgarian public actors mainly accepted their Imperial education as a norm that supported their communities. Moreover, they recognized the impact of Greater Powers on their education and the formation of their connections.[450] Neshto Bonchev, a literary critic and an emigrant, who died in Moscow in 1878, wrote on the eve of the Russian-Turkish War: "Our leaders today are foreign, but this should not scare us! Every nation experienced the same at the beginning".[451]

Partially, Imperial education was efficient at connecting these non-core group public actors because of their meagre numbers. Genchev, for example, provides the following data regarding the pre-1878 number of the Bulgarian students abroad (apparently, the ones that were categorized by the respective governments as 'Bulgarian'): around 220 young Bulgarians studied in the Russian Universities (again, mainly, Kiev, Moscow and Odessa), 149 acquired education in Constantinople (mostly they chose medical professions due to the newly-opened institutions in the Empire), 156 studied in the Habsburg Empire, 71 chose the Romanian lands, and Germany and France had a much lesser number of young Bulgarian students.[452] Thus, it is not difficult to deduct that out of these numbers of students only a percentage was politically active, and, among them, individuals, actively involved in national propaganda like Karavelov

[449] Alexandrova, Nadezhda: 'A queen of many kingdoms: the autobiography of Rayna Knyaginya.' In: Amelia Sanz, Amelia/Scott, Francesca et al. (eds.) *Women telling nations*. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi: 151-169.
[450] Atanasov, Dimitur: "Balkanite i ljubovta po turgenevski. Predvaritelni belezhki otnosno pozicijata na regiona v misloslovnata karta na Evropa." In Purvev, Ivan/Bagrumova, Maria.(eds.) *Dvuvekovnijat put na jedno ponjatije "Balkanskijat poluostrov"(1808-2008).* Sofia: UI Kliment Ohridski 2014: 187-201.
[451] Bonchev, Nesho: Klasichnite evropejski pisateli na bulgarski ezik i polzata ot izuchvanieto na suchinenijeto im: Poradi povestta "Taras Bulba" In: Bonchev, Nesho. *Literaturna kritika i publicistika*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1962: 152.
[452] Genchev, Nikolaj: *Bulgaro-ruski kulturni obshtuvanija prez Vuzrazhdaneto*. Sofia: Lik, 2002: 113-202.

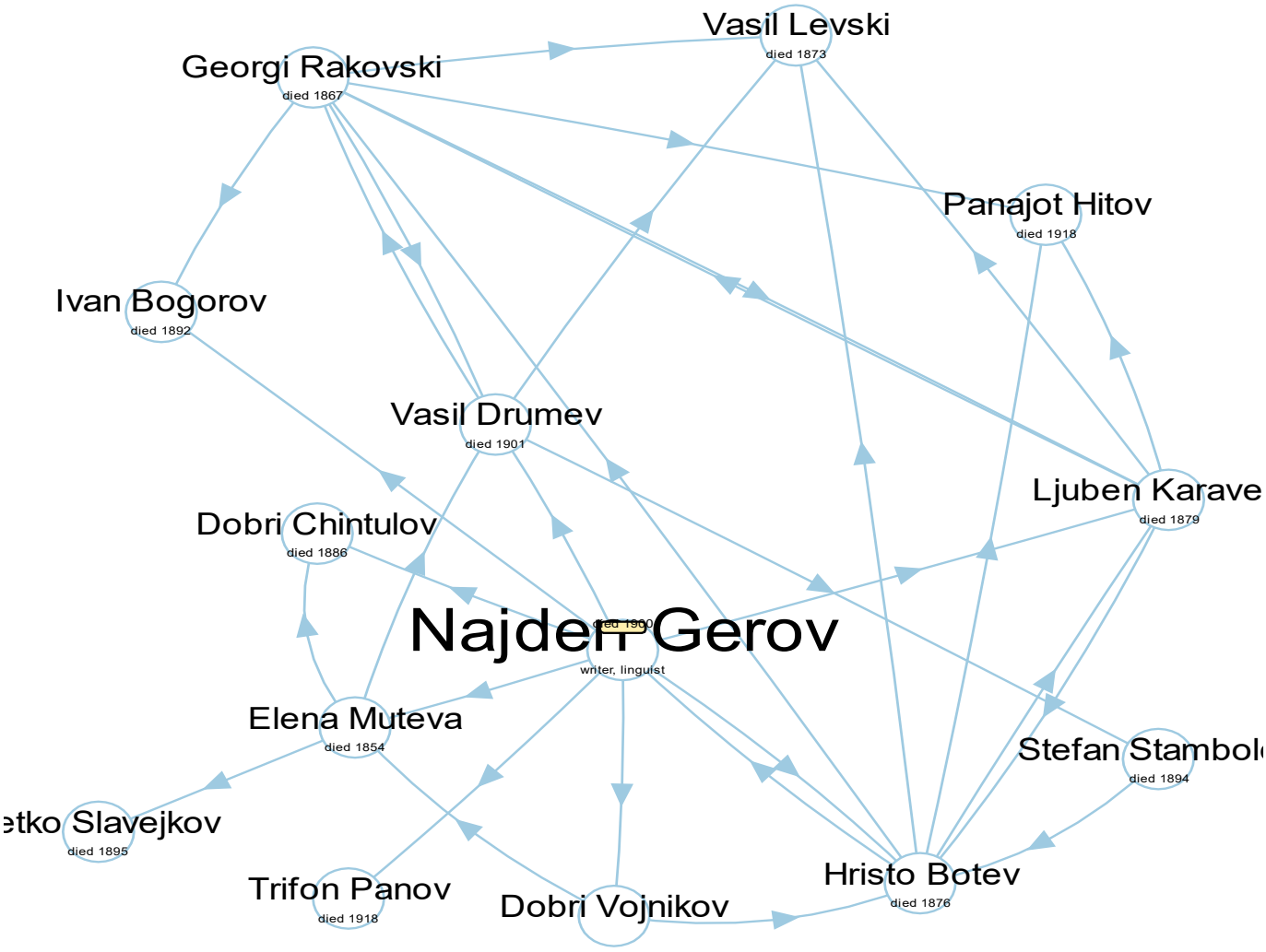
and Botev, could not be very numerous. These numbers certainly increased with the following decades that demonstrate the shift of the students from Russia to France, Germany and the Habsburg lands.[453] Yet, in the end one comes across a narrow circle of friends brought together by educational possibilities.

Due to a relatively small number of educated individuals, all the non-core group public actors were connected. This statement can be supported by a brief overview of the ties of individuals, who had little to no contact with each other or/and shared opposing political views. The two tentative sociograms bellow demonstrate the extents of Bulgarian revolutionary connections that evolved around important nods and their ties.[454] Since an egocentric network is based on individuals, one may see, for example, how two prominent public actors - Najden Gerov and Georgi Rakovski - are connected through other individuals despite their personal disagreements and no shared projects.

In the following schemes the lines symbolize the ties between individualsю

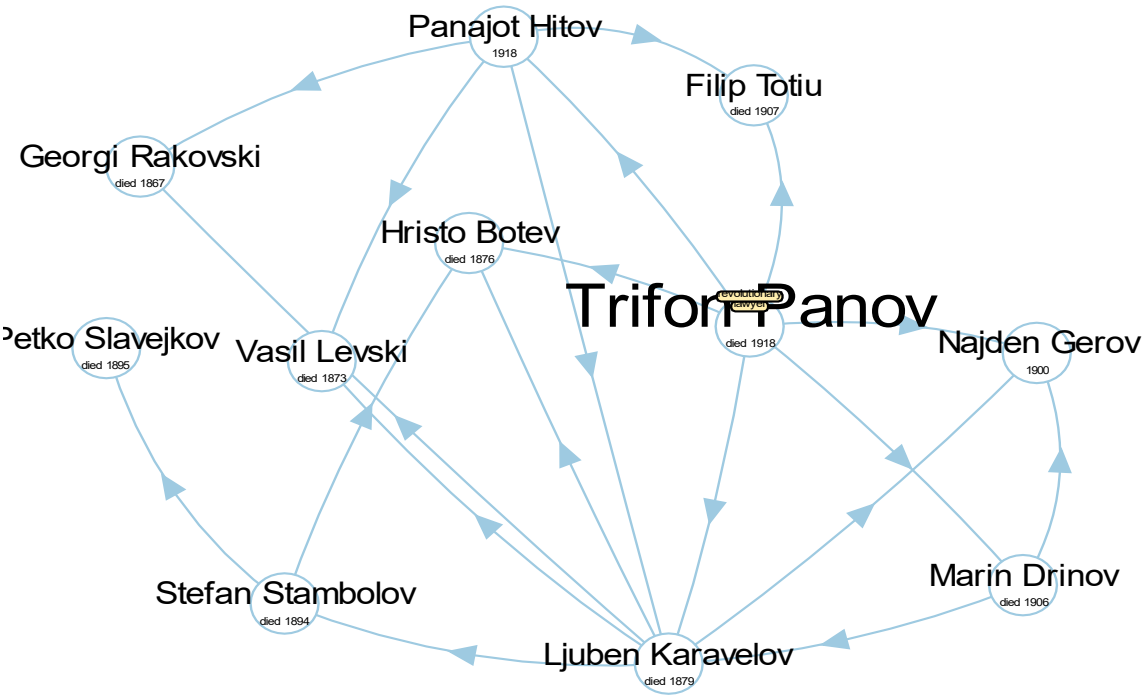
Najden Gerov can be viewed as a stabile nod in the network.[455] Gerov, a son of a teacher, started to build his circle of acquaintances in the Ottoman Empire, becoming a student of Neofit Rilski around 1839 in Plovdiv.[456] His later destiny took him to Odessa, where he started connecting the elder and the younger generations of intellectuals, meeting other emigrants like Vasil Aprilov, Elena Muteva, Dobri Chintulov, etc.[457] It should be, furthermore, noted that Najden Gerov never approved of Rakovski's activities and was, in fact, in opposition to his views and actions.[458] Yet the two different Bulgarian pubic actors were connected through other peers, as the sociogram demonstrates.

[453] Tanchev, Ivan: 'Bulgarski studenti v universitetite na Francija (1878 – 1914)' *Istoricheski Pregled. Kniga* 7/1992: 72, 75.
[454] Given the nature of the research, an exhaustive sociodiagram in Moreno's sense would not be possible. However, since the aim of the part is to demonstrate the approximate extent of connections from one individual's perspective, such an approach proves useful. See Moreno, J. L.: *Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations.* New York: Beacon House, 1934.
[455] Most of Gerov's correspondence and writings is available and published, thus his activities and connections are easy to follow. See Popruzhenko, M.G. (ed.): *Dokumenti za bulgarskata istorija.Vol. 1. Arhiv na Najden Gerov 1857-1876. Part 1. (1857-1870) and Part 2. (1871-1876)* Sofia: BAN, 1931.
[456] Georgiev, Emil: *Najden Gerov. Kniga za nego I negovoto vreme*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na OF, 1972: 10-25.
[457] Panchev, Todor: *Najden Gerov. Sto godini ot rozhdenije mu. 1823-1923. Kasi cherti ot zhivota i dejnostta mu.* Sofia: pechatnica Glushkov, 1923: 3-10.
[458] Geshov, Ivan: *Spomeni iz godini na borbi I pobedi.* Sofia: Sineva, 2008: 28-29.



Similarly, one can trace the connections of Rakovski's ardent supporter, a revolutionary and lawyer, Trifon Panov (one the volunteers in the Second Bulgarian legion of 1867) to Najden Gerov. His educational path went through Odessa. He, in his turn, strongly disliked Najden Gerov and did not have much contact with him.[459] But, once again, he met, cooperated and argued with the revolutionaries, who, in their turn, knew both Gerov and Rakovski. Thus, the two were still connected through others, meeting and befriending the same people.

[459] He went as far as to call him a 'scoundrel' See Jirecek, Konstantin: *Iz arhiva na Konstantin Jirecek. Vol. 1.* Sofia: BAN, 1953: 202.



Educational institutions like colleges and universities were not the only places, where the connections between the non-core group public actors were formed, and individuals like Gerov, Panov and Rakovski met. The tighter connections between higher-educated public actors resulted in shared educational projects. Thus, the so-called 'Reading rooms' (Читалище) were created, becoming an exclusively Bulgarian phenomenon.[460] Starting in the 1850s, the first Reading rooms appeared in Lom, Svishtov and Shumen – all on the Ottoman territories. Initially the enterprises were dedicated to cultural enlightenment of the Bulgarian population and served as milieus for the developing Bulgarian nationalism and press distribution. If revolutionary clubs often started abroad (usually out of safety precautions), the Reading Rooms existed within the Ottoman Empire and carried out their activities with relative ease.

[460] Velkov, Velizar; Vladislav Paskalev: *Volume 6. Istoriia na Bŭlgariia: v chetirinadeset toma*. Sofia: Institut za istoriia (Bŭlgarska akademiia na naukite) 1979: 116-118.

The goal of the reading rooms was to spread education further to the uneducated masses, creating an audience for the narrow circle of educated non-core group elites and recruiting potential allies. The Reading Rooms not only contributed to the growing Bulgarian publishing industry that included the 'Reading Room' journal established later, but served as harbours, where the young Bulgarian intellectuals could start a literary career. The enterprise yielded result. Literary boom and the increased number of students in the following decades created a situation, where everyone, who was educated enough to write in Bulgarian was welcome to join the forming public sphere. Alexander Kiossev stresses this point, connecting the appearance of "The History of the Bulgarian literature" of Alexander Teodorov-Balan, the later head of the Bulgarian Literary Society and the rector of Sofia University, to Ivan Vazov, who kept constantly warning the public that once 'a benefactor' would say that the Bulgarian nation did not exist if there was no memory and trace of its literary heritage.[461] Thus, imperial education created a space for the formation of the Bulgarian revolutionary network, but those were the internal policies of the Empires and publishing opportunities that they offered, that improved revolutionary connections.

Imperial identification and revolutionary connections

While the term 'imperial biography' is overwhelmingly used to describe the path of an individual within a multi-national formation, the typical examples are usually taken from various selections of Imperial careers pursued by people from different social strata.[462] Revolutionaries, emigrant outcasts and anti-imperial thinkers rarely make it to the list of 'Imperial Creations' since they do not necessarily follow the prescribed career guidelines. The

[461] Kiossev, Alexander: "Bulgarian textbooks of literary history and the construction of national identity." In: Todorova, Maria (ed.): *Balkan identities: nation and memory.* London: Hurst and co. 2004: 355-357.
[462] Norris, Stephen, Sunderland, Willard*: Russia's People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012, 8.

paths of such individuals are more often described as 'revolutionary'[463] or 'transnational'[464] biographies. But the individuals themselves tended to describe their connections and destinies very differently.[465] And so did the Imperial authorities that labelled their subjects as 'unbelievers', 'Rum-Millet', dangerous rebels, repressed 'Slavic brothers', or a 'perilous Slavic element'.

Imperial authorities always identified loyal and dangerous elements among their subjects as well as foreign populations. The states supported and marked certain agents to produce loyal elites or to promote a suitable political cause. Such was the case of the Russian anti-Western clerics in Serbia and the connections they created with the local religious circles.[466] Often, such policies yielded the intended results that turned out to be long-lasting as *'Auf russischen Spuren'* demonstrates. But these types of examples deal mostly with the connections promoted intentionally by the Imperial governments. The mechanisms behind the appearance of undesired connections, on the other hand, may share the same roots, but take a different direction.

The Ottoman Empire, for example, also supported its' Rum-Millet to preserve its' Orthodoxy against the Western influence. The emphasis on the accomplishments of the Ottoman state in the protection of the Rum-Milelt community was, probably, voiced most vocally by Halil Inalcik.[467] What Inalcik underlined in the Ottoman context was relevant for most of the European Empires, who struggled with incorporating their non-homogeneous populations into the state system, while still acknowledging their peculiarities. Since Joseph II's Edict of Toleration in 1781, the Habsburg Empire, for example, sought for ways to include non-Catholic

[463] A 'revolutionary' biography is usually a term used by following generations in retrospect. The notion has especially acquired its popularity among chroniclers and scholars of events that were later considered pivotal for a state or nation-building plan. A 'revolutionary biography' is also actively used as a commemoration tool. As an example of such a chronic, see Read Williams, Catherine: *Biography of revolutionary heroes: containing the life of Brigadier Gen. William Barton, and also, of Captain Stephen Olney.* New York: Wiley and Putnam 1839: 11. Kill, Susanne/Anneke, Mathilde Franziska: „Die Vernunft gebietet uns frei zu sein", in: Sabine Freitag (ed.): *Die Achtundvierziger. Lebensbilder aus der deutschen Revolution 1848*. München: C.H.Beck 1998: 214–224.

[464] Dahinden, Janine: ‚Wenn soziale Netzwerke transnational werden.' Migration, Transnationalität, Lokalität und soziale Ungleichheitsverhältnisse, in: Markus Gamper und Linda Reschke (eds.), *Knoten und Kanten. Soziale Netzwerkanalyse in Wirtschafts-und Migrationsforschung*. Bielefeld: Transcript 2010: 393–420; 413-14.

[465] Aust, Martin, Schenk, Frithjof Benjamin: "Einleitung. Autobiographische praxis und Imperienforschung," 11-39. In *Imperial Subjects. Autobiographische Praxis in den Vielvölkerreichen der Romanovs, Habsburger und Osmanen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Vol*. I. edited by Martin Aust and Benjamin Schenk. Köln: Böhlau 2015.

[466] Buchenau Klaus: *Auf russischen Spuren, Orthodoxe Antiwestler in Serbien 1850-1945*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011: 10-11

[467] Inalcik, Halil: T*he Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1993.

elites into a Catholic state.[468] And, all these tendencies that continued well into the second half of the 19th century determined the lives of the non-core group elites. These are the policies of identification and their consequences that shed light on the mechanisms of state control.

Prominent public actors (revolutionary or otherwise) often left accounts of their lives summarizing their experiences and, thus, explaining their paths and political choices.[469] And, in most cases, a Balkan nationalist revolutionary only identified the Ottoman Empire as a relentless enemy force. In an autobiographical poem, written approximately in 1871, the revolutionary Vasil Levski, for example, referred to the 'Turkish slavery', his travels, his ties with Panajot Hitov and his abstract striving for freedom:

"I, Vasil Levski, born in Karlovo,
A young man, born to a Bulgarian mother,
Will not be Turkish or anyone else's slave....
I rose and left to the Balkan mountains....
I roamed in Serbia and wandered in Wallachia,
Haven't found help in gaining our freedom anywhere,
Rose and left to the Balkans mountains
With the devoted unit of voivode Panajot".[470]

The Ottoman Empire with its policies is absent from Levski's account as it is from many others, unless it is used as a synonym for the 'Turkish yoke'. Yet, the Ottoman (and, subsequently, the Russian and even the Habsburg) Empires were one of the first to identify and label their non-core groups.

Firstly, the community of the Rum-Millet became an identification marker used and referenced not only by the Ottoman bureaucrats, but by the Christians of the Empire and foreigners alike. Even the Ruler of the United Danubian Principalities Alexandru Ioan Cuza was a product of his education in the Greek circles and his partially Phanariot origins.[471] In 1849, a Hungarian

[468] Fazekas, Csaba: 'Csorba László, A Vallásalap "jogi természete". Az egyházi vagyon problémája a polgári átalakulás korának Magyarországán.' *1782-1918. ELTE BTK Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék kiadványai*, 2. Budapest, 1999: 82-86.
[469] Erll, Astrid: ‚Biographie und Gedächtnis.' In: Christian Klein (ed.) *Handbuch Biographie*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler 2009: 79—86: 81
[470] Published in Strashimirov, Dimitur: *Arhiv na Vuzrazhdaneto. Vol. 1. Dokumenti po politicheskoto vuzrazhdane.* Edited by Dimitur Strashimirov. Sofia: Durzhavna pechatnica 1908: 83-85
[471] Bossy, Raoul: 'Romanian contributions to federalism in the XIXth century' *The Polish Review* 4, no. 1/2 (1959): 83-90

revolutionary László Berzencei left an interesting account regarding Cuza, who favored some of Berzencei's fellow revolutionaries (especially general György Klapka) as well as Georgi Rakovski. He wrote that "although Cuza is regarded as a patriot and not as a Phanariot", his pale complexion and light green eyes hid "Eastern languor in a definite Greek manner",[472] convincing Berzencei that Cuza's true nature was apparently Byzantine - "Romaean". Thus, it was only logical, in Berzencei's opinion, for Cuza to associate with other individuals, who shared his Rum-Millet background.

Cuza became one of the high-profile supporters of Rakovski, although one cannot claim that their connection was strong enough to make Cuza an important nod in the Bulgarian revolutionary network. Partially, it was Rakovski's good relations with Cuza that later resulted in his soured connections with his political successors following Cuza's expulsion. [473] For Rakovski, on the other hand, his Rum-Millet background and Greek education meant his already elevated position among the illiterate peasant masses in both the Danubian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire.[474]

The initial Romaean community consisted of an upper class and uneducated masses, just like the populations of the arising nation-states of Bulgaria, Romania or Serbia. The upper classes, including the clerics, spoke Greek and used it as a token of identity.[475] Situation started to shift slowly in the mid-19th century, when Balkan intellectuals acquired an ambition to create a club of their own, realizing how indifferent their kinsmen were to their nationalist plights. Coming from an Imperial scratch, those individuals first turned to the former Rum-Millet. Thus, Rakovski would promote the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchate in Serbia,[476] find a patron in the person of prince Cuza and Obrenović. In the end, the non-core group elites

[472] Borsi-Kalman, Bela: *Egyutt vagy kulon utakon, A Kossuth-emigracio es a roman nemzeti mozgalom kapcsolatanak tortenetehez.* Budapest Magveto Konyvkiado 1984: 82.
[473] Regarding Rakovski's relations with Cuza and his later misunderstandings with Brătianu, see Hitov, Panajot: *Kak stanah hajdutin.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo Otechestvo 1982: 196.
[474] Rakovki's notorious anti-Greek stances partially originated from his familiarity with the Greek cultural circles. The revolutionary perceived the Greek elites to be in a more fortunate political situation than his Bulgarian co-intellectuals, therefore, he resented an immediate Balkan union with the Greeks against the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, most of Rakovski's Bulgarian peers pointed out his extraordinary fluency in both modern and ancient Greek and his exceptional knowledge of Greek literature. Such reports can be found in Ivan Kasabov's memoirs, for example. See Kasabov, Ivan: *Moito spomeni ot vuzrazhdaneto na Bulgarija s revoljucionni idei.* Sofia 1905: 46-47.
[475] For further details see, Kitromilides, Paschalis: *An Orthodox Commonwealth: Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe.* Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate/Variorum, 2007: 161-219.
[476] Rakovski, Georgi Sava: *Bulgarski za nezavisimo im sveshtenstvo dnes vuzbuden vupros I nihna narodna cherkva v Carigrad.* Beograd: Otpechatano v Kn. Srubska knigopechatnja 1860, 1-2. Also see Petkov, Petko: *Idei za durzhavno ustrojstvo i upravlenije v bulgarskoto obshtestvo 1856-1879.* Veliko Turnovo: U.I. Kiril I Metodij 2003: 17.

embraced their identification as the 'Rum-Millet' in order to destroy it, carving their nation-states from the Empire.

While 'ethnic identification' could matter to certain individuals,[477] it was the idea of an Orthodox heritage that united the Balkan intellectuals against the Ottoman Empire. While Anthony Smith views the Rum-Millet as a sort of a proto-nation,[478] one may find reflections of such a unity in the late federalist projects and nation-building disputes in the mid-19th century Balkans. The Bulgarian elites, certainly, used their Rum-Millet heritage to spread federalist projects and forge connections with other Balkan Christians. It is not accidental that most members of the revolutionary committees and liberational organizations sought allies in the former Rum-Millet.[479]

In 1872 the representatives of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee in Bucharest sent a letter to Panajot Hitov, where they wrote the following: "Many share the opinion that we need to organize one meeting with many representatives, who can recruit people to travel to Wallachia, Bessarabia, Russia and Montenegro to find understanding and support, without which nothing can ever be accomplished. Regarding everything that refers to Serbia, you are there now, and we hope that you won't return empty-handed". [480] Despite Hitov's attempts to gather support, most of the Balkan Chetas and alliances failed. Yet the idea of collaboration did not disappear entirely from the minds of the Balkan intellectuals, most of whom tried both to break their connection to the Ottoman legacy as well as to rely on it.

Milos Obrenović's Serbia, where Hitov sought support, was a state, inspired by European experiences, but also defined by its' imperial past. As pointed out by Stavrianos, Obrenović preserved many functions of a Pasha, although he was a Prince, and even the constitution modelled on the European examples by Davidović did not prevent him from relying on the Ottoman experiences while governing his state and identifying his own subjects .[481] Similarly, the institutions and policies of the state were often run by Ottoman-raised or Habsburg-raised

[477] For further details see Gandev, Hristo: *Problemi na bulgarskoto Vuzrazhdane.* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo 1976: 28; 104 – 107. While the view is connected to the endurance of the "Bulgarian soul" through folk memories. Nevertheless, for the subsequent projects and intellectual debates developed by the public actors in the 19th century the interpretation mattered much more than the actual state of affairs.
[478] Smith, Anthony D.: *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1987: 73.
[479] the Orthodox and Slavic connections with the Russian Empire did play an important role, but most of the Bulgarian public actors did not envision Bulgarian becoming an integral part of the Russian Empire the way it was in the Ottoman case. Russia was mostly seen as an important Greater Power, but not as an equal partner in any sort of a Balkan political arrangement – federalist or unitarian.
[480] БИА, Фонд № 2, IIA 7992.
[481] Stavrianos, Leften Stavros: *The Balkans since 1453.* New York: Rinehart, 1958: 243-245.

elites. (at least prior to 1878)[482] They, on the other hand, took inspiration from their respective imperial experiences. Thus, shared experiences of imperial past were used to form bonds between the Bulgarian elites and their Serbian neighbours. Partially the shared resentment against the Ottoman Empire inspired Rakovski's connections with Obrenović, as well as Karavelov's later friendship with the Serbian federalists Vladimir Jovanović and Svetozar Miletić (the latter were skeptical about the Habsburgs as well).

Beside the bonds created by the Rum-Millet past, there were links that appeared due to the status of the non-core group elites, that the Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian intellectuals all shared. The idea of a lesser standing within an Empire brought together revolutionaries from more varied backgrounds than the Rum-Millet. For example, Marco Antonio Canini, an Italian revolutionary, a friend of Lajos Kossuth and a federalist, sought out Rakovski in Belgrade, unable to get financial support from Minister Ilija Garašanin.[483] Canini mentioned his thwarted aspirations when he met Rakovski and immediately bonded with him. He was also, as it is clear from his memoirs, aware of Rakovski's publishing activities in Serbia, his turbulent and mobile life and his fight against the Ottoman Empire, which Canini fully supported. While an important nod in the network, Canini still did not manage to connect Rakovski and Kossuth: both shared mutual friends and acquaintances, both seemed to be aware of each other's existence, but both never met. On the other hand, Canini pointed out that Rakovski was, apparently, an influential man in the intellectual circles of the Balkans and an inspiration for the Balkan Slavs.[484] His reputation was partially the reason for Canini's search for Rakovski's company.

Another important link that brought the non-core groups elites together was their lack of financial resources and imperial persecution. In 1853 Rakovski wrote to his friend, Anastasie Stojanović, informing his peer that his activities were thwarted by the poor state of his health as well as by the constant lack of money.[485] Most of these public actors were poor, often worked as teachers, sought the support of patrons like wealthier merchants or even rulers like Obrenović and, while struggling to survive, were promoting a national cause. Predictably, these

[482] Marinković, Mirjana: "The shaping of the modern Serbian nation and of its state under the Ottoman Rule" In Dogo, Marco (ed.) *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-building in the Balkans*. Ravenna: Longo, 2002: 40-41.
[483] Canini, Marco Antonio: *Vingt ans d'exil par Marco Antonio Canini, emigre venitien*. 2-e ed. Paris. Librairie Internationale A. Lacroix, Verboekhoven et C-cie Editeurs 1869: 234-236.
[484] Canini, Marco Antonio: *Vingt ans d'exil par Marco Antonio Canini, emigre venitien. 2-e ed. Paris. Librairie Internationale* A. Lacroix, Verboekhoven et C-cie Editeurs 1869: 236.
[485] ЦДИА Фонд № 820, опис 1, арх. Ед. Хр. 12.

financial troubles produced an asymmetric network, where the Bulgarian emigrants were more likely to settle for compromises to avoid persecution and secure allies.

The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, introduced other ways of identifying its' subjects than their simple division into Millets. The growing number of educated individuals and the urbanization of the state led to the increased mobility of its' subjects.[486] Muslims and non-Muslims began to travel actively both to the local urban centres and abroad. Sabri Ateş describes the Tanzimat era as an " Ottoman citizenship project, which included the making of the boundaries, the forceful replacement of local notables and interest groups with salaried appointees, the reorganization of regional administrative divisions, the reform of landholding patterns, the forced settlement of itinerant populations, the introduction of new taxes, and the conscription of hitherto unconscripted locals. These new standards, which were introduced by the centre to regulate the periphery, meant the introduction of travel documents, passports, new customhouses, and border patrols."[487] The Bulgarian non-core group elites needed passports and travel documents to support their revolutionary and business activities. And they acquired them with relative ease.

Beside travel documents, the Bulgarian intellectuals made use of the other changes happening in their Empire. Following the Tanzimat reforms, the Ottoman state introduced the European-style telegraph and public postal system[488] that significantly improved the circulation of letters between the public actors. Thus, the agents relied on the Imperial post and partial negligence of the Ottoman authorities when it came to their letter exchange, although they were often careful (thus, Levski, for example, would have a dozen of aliases). The Ottoman Empire, in its turn, predictably, had trouble targeting the revolutionaries, who were mobile, changed passports and travelled from one state to another, befriending other non-core public actors in the process. Thus, the introduction of better means of communication and travel document partially enabled the non-core group elites to travel and communicate with relative ease.

The failures of imperial persecution and the increased mobility of the Bulgarian public actors is reflected in the letters exchanged by the agents. From them, one can conclude that those individuals were mostly personally acquainted, often worked together and actively

[486] Jean-Luc Arnaud: 'Modernization of the Cities of the Ottoman Empire (1800-1920)' In: *The City in the Islamic World.* Edited by Raymond André; Petruccioli Attilio; Holod Renata. Leiden: Brill: 953-976
[487] Atmaca, Metin: 'Three Stages of Political Transformation in the 19th century Ottoman Kurdistan' *Anatoli*, 8/2017, (43-57): 46.
[488] Agoston, Gabor; Masters, Bruce, Alan: *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire.* New York: Infobase Publishing 2010: 375.

corresponded. They also used both their peers to transmit the letters as well as the post services of the Empire. Besides, they travelled a lot despite the border controls and any possible imperial interference. For example, in 1872, Ljuben Karavelov sent several letters to Vasil Levski, in one which he wrote: "Brother Vasil, I have sent two letters and this one is the copy of the former, since I do not know where you are".[489] In the same letter he would express his hopes regarding possible assistance from the side of Serbia and Montenegro.

The travels and activities of the Bulgarian non-core group elites stretched further, while the Imperial police seemed to be often oblivious to their forming connections within the Empire and abroad, where traces of these revolutionaries were even more difficult to find. For example, revolutionary Kiro Tuleshkov, when writing about Hristo Botev pointed out: "I was very much upset by his silence. I even asked about his whereabouts when corresponding with my friends: one replied that he saw him in Braila, another one allegedly came across him in Galati, the third one wrote that he left to Iasi".[490] One can find similar accounts in other documents. In a letter, sent by Stefan Stambolov to the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee in Bucharest on 29 August 1875, the revolutionary sketched a typical picture of the extensive communication web of an average Bulgarian public actor. He recorded his search for Petko Slavejkov in the following way: "I spent only two days hanging around in Constantinople. I travelled there to find Slavejkov, but did not find him in his house and after having waited for 4 hours straight, I went on my way, leaving him a letter, in which I have instructed him to go to Bucharest, where other Bulgarians will greet him as a father…..I have left a man in Constantinople, whom you may consult regarding the news from the Bulgarians".[491] The map of Stambolov's and Slavejkov's trajectories, according to one letter only, included half of the Balkan peninsula.[492] And almost everywhere they had a Bulgarian liaison that knew both individuals and guided them to one another.

Imperial persecution often yielded unintended results that the Ottoman as well as the Habsburg and the Russian authorities did not anticipate. The example of Ljuben Karavelov and his slow anti-imperial turn and the growth of his connections provides an excellent example of such unintended outcomes. During his stay in Serbia, Karavelov found understanding with the Serbian federalist Vladimir Jovanović due to their shared interest in the Swiss political model

[489] БИА, Фонд 85, Арх. Ед. IIA. 7994.
[490] ЦДИА, Фонд 820, опис № 1. Арх. Ед. № 14.
[491] ЦДИА, Фонд 820 К, опис № 1, Арх. Ед. № 4.
[492] Their trajectories and their implications are examined in detail in Chapter V.

and the pursuit of the Habsburg police.[493] The latter provoked Karavelov's definite anti-Imperial turn.

The Bulgarian intellectual was apprehended together with the Serbian federalist partially due to the Habsburg's increasing fear of the spreading pan-Slavic ideology. The Habsburg authorities believed him to be involved in a conspiracy. But instead of supressing Karavelov's pan-Slavic ideas and breaking his connections with the Serbs, his short time in a Budapest prison brought different results. It his memoirs, Karavelov wrote: "Above the cot there was a sketch of a gentleman with a huge nose with an inscription beneath: 'N.B. Éljen a szabadság!' Who was he? I thought… Maybe he suffered, loved his compatriots, protected his nation because he could not stand the people's tears and wanted to right the wrongs? Or, maybe, he was locked up because he dared to oppose the state laws and wanted reforms? And, if so, is he to blame that his opinions do not coincide with the views of Andrassy and Deák?"[494] If the Habsburg authorities saw Karavelov as a dangerous Slavic intellectual, he had no reason to prove them wrong. After all, his own federalist ideas did not coincide with the views of Andrassy and Deák. And following his imprisonment, his revolutionary resolve only strengthened.

In the Ottoman case, the introduction of passports and imperial persecution brought even more interesting outcomes and resulted in the formation of unexpected connections. In his "Notes about the Bulgarian uprisings" a fruitful writer and a dedicated chronicler of the Bulgarian struggle for national emancipation Stojan Zaimov captured a story of Georgi Benkovski, a prominent organizer of the April Uprising of 1876 and a future martyr of the Bulgarian insurrection. It is the tale of his name that offers a peculiar insight into the story of the Imperial documents' exchange.

The name initially belonged to a Polish revolutionary exiled to the far edges of the Russian Empire - Anton Benkowski. After having escaped from Russia to Japan and having obtained a passport from the French ambassador in Edo, Benkowski fled to the Ottoman Empire, where he met Stojan Zaimov. Zaimov was eager to disappear from the Ottoman authorities just as the Polish revolutionary was from the Russian pursuit. The Bulgarian exchanged documents with the Polish emigrant. In 1875 he successfully escaped to Romania, where he, in his turn, gave

[493] Armour, Ian: *Apple of Discord: The "Hungarian Factor" in Austro-Serbian Relations, 1867-1881*. Purdue: Purdue University Press 2014: 92-93.
[494] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Iz murtvija dom. Memoari. Moj konak.* Varna, 2002. https://liternet.bg/publish4/lkaravelov/dom/2.htm

the French passport to a fellow revolutionary Gavril Hlatev, who required a safe passage to Constantinople.[495] It was that year when Gavril Hlatev became Georgi Benkovski, a Bulgarian nationalist fighting for his nation's emancipation with a Polish surname.

And Benkovski was not the only individual, who successfully avoided Imperial persecution despite his subversive actions. Ivan Adzhenov, one of Rakovski's first biographers, when discussing the ideologist's turbulent life, introduces several stories of his exile that demonstrate how inefficient the Imperial police was in apprehending a dangerous non-core group individual. First, the Bulgarian ideologist managed to get himself expelled from Constantinople after having attacked a Greek professor, who had overheard Rakovski and his Bulgarian peers conversing in their native language and expressed his discontent. Rakovski was close to crushing the professor's skull, however, his compatriots were prompt enough to pull the revolutionary away.[496] Later on, Rakovski got involved in similar incidents in Romania (that time he supported the Slavic cause against a Romanian officer) that ended with his emigration to Russia and his acceptance of a Russian passport (at that moment Rakovski disguised himself as a pro-Russian and Slavic-oriented individual).[497] Quickly disappointed with the Russian Empire, Rakovski left it as well, still searching for allies and working on his idealistic state-building projects.[498]

Imperial persecution and identification of their non-core groups, thus, helped in the creation of the connection between them. The reason for these connections was the Empire's inability to suppress its' rebellious subjects. In 1870s Rakovski himself clarified the reasons for the inevitable fall of empires in the following way: "Every single state that is comprised of forcefully united different nations (especially if those nations have their own written language and literature, and the state does not succeed in melding it into one official dominant language and does not push them to forget their nationality and accept the one of the prevailing people) cannot preserve the peace within because of rebellions and insurrections and will, most certainly, sooner or later, perish. And each of the conquered nations will return to its initial

[495] Stojanov, Zahari: *Zapiski po bulgarskite vustanija. Razkaz na ochevidci, 1870–1876. Vol.* 1–3. Vol. 2. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1977: 104.
[496] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 19.
[497] Konstantinov, Georgi: *Revoljucionna romantika v bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane: G.S. Rakovski, Ljuben Karavelov, Vasil Levski i Hristo Botev.* Sofia: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshtenije 1944: 97-99.
[498] Nalbantova, Elena: Ideologut Rakovski I negovijat eksperiment 'Hindustan.' *Literaturna misul*. 2/2006: 9-22: 9-13.

state of independence."[499] The Ottoman authorities provided Rakovski with education to arrive to such conclusions but failed in suppress his revolutionary activities.

Yet, even when the Ottoman authorities did manage to exterminate an important non-core group public actor or supress a revolt, their actions brought very controversial results. While certain events like the failure of the April Uprising of 1876 and the execution of Levski definitely demonstrate the official attitudes towards the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, they also uncover one other particularity: the mere existence of Levski, who managed to lead subversive activities before being apprehended in a rather accidental manner[500] as well as the functioning network of revolutionaries, exchanging letters and building connections does not represent the Ottoman authorities as effective in supressing these nationalist movements.

In some cases, the imperial police suceeded. Its' network of informants provided information on the activities of the potential rebels. For example, in a letter written on March 21, 1876 an orthodox cleric expressed concerns about people dressed in Albanian and Turkish clothes that were propagating a revolt, alarming the local population and inspiring it to join the cause while spreading "horrifying and troubling rumors" that "bother your heart and soul".[501] Various Bulgarian revolutionary organizations and their activities did come under the scrutiny of the authorities in the Romanian lands, the Ottoman Empire, Serbia and Russia. (often due to the notes like the one mentioned above) Yet, in the mid-19th century the suppression of the non-core groups brought unexpected negative outcomes for the states even when they managed to target their rebels. The previously indifferent international audience started following the causes of, first, the Greek nationalists and then their Balkan peers. Thus, the bloody outcomes of the April Uprising, for example, found a reflection in the international press that damaged the reputation of the Ottoman authorities.[502]

Imperial identification of the non-core groups could improve the state's control over their elites, but it also resulted in their increased self-awareness and better organization. Since the Empires never managed to suppress their minorities, but never stopped pursuing them, the

[499] See "The preliminary reasons of the fall of the Byzantine Empire" in Rakovski, Georgi: *Bulgarskite hajduti*. Bukuresht: Narodnata pechatnica K.N. Radulescu 1867: 15.
[500] There's a debate regarding the matter. But, as Baleva points out, levski was partially recognized by the police due to his distributed phtographs. And, moreover, the Ottoman authorities did not initially see the execution of a person that they considered a criminal as a murder of the Apostle of the Bulgarian national revival. Baleva, Martina: "Revolution in the Darkroom: Nineteenth-Century Portrait Photography as a Visual Discourse of Authenticity in Historiography" *Hungarian Historical Review 3, no. 2 (2014):* 363–390.
[501] Български исторически архив (БИА) Ф. 46 IIA 6190
[502] Calic, Marie-Janine: *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region.* München: C.H. Beck, 2016: 328-333.

public actors turned against their states. Often revolutionary connections grew out of shared persecution: the Habsburgs identified the Slavic nations as dangerous and revolutionary, suppressing pan-Slavism and fearing the growing influence of the Russian Empire.[503] Yet, the Habsburg Slavs did not become less interested in pan-Slavism due to the Habsburg persecution. In fact, they only became better organized, as the Slovak case in the second half of the 19th century demonstrates.[504] Similarly, when the Empires did not pursue their minorities, but identified them instead, providing them with Reading Rooms, educational institutions, giving them passports and acknowledging their presence on a legal level, those subjects often used these policies against their state.

Imperial and anti-Imperial press and revolutionary connections

Publishing industry was another area under imperial control that played a role in cementing connections between the non-core group elites. In the mid-19th century, most Bulgarian newspapers appeared abroad and were published and supported by the emigrants and their foreign peers.[505] Therefore, one may suppose that connections were made, spread and supported largely within the typographies organized by the Bulgarians in Serbia, Romania and the Ottoman Empire. All these establishments served as voices for the various intellectuals, trying to gain an audience. One can loosely define two types of journals and newspapers that tied the network together – both within the Ottoman Empire and outside its' borders: mildly nationalistic, but not openly and exclusively political (often published legally in the Ottoman Empire) and acutely political and problematic (like Rakovski's 'Danubian Swan').

The modern Bulgarian press started with one imperially educated man. Ivan Bogorov, an emigrant and a propagandist of the national revival, published the 'Bulgarian eagle'(Български орел), the first Bulgarian journal, in Germany, in 1846 (at the time Bogorov studied in Leipzig).[506] The journal was printed in 500 copies and had three issues.[507] In an article

[503] Sked, Alan: *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire: 1815 – 1918***.** Harlow: Addison-Wesley Longman, Limited, 1989: 251.
[504] Babejová, Eleonóra*: Fin-de-siècle Pressburg: Conflict & Cultural Coexistence in Bratislava 1897-1914.* Boulder*:*East European Monographs, 2003: 95.
[505] Konstantinov, Zdravka: 'Iz geografijata na bulgarskata presa (1878-1944)'. *Medii i obshtestveni komunikacii*. 3/2008: 27-44.
[506] Radev, Ivan: *Enciklodedija na bulgarskata vuzrozhdenska literatura*. Sofia: Abagar 1996: 121-122; 312.
[507] *Enciklopedija Bulgarija*. Vol. I. Sofia: BAN, 1978: 541

"Convocation" the idea of social and political "change" was conveyed in the following way to the readers: "And we, Bulgarians, should begin to feel ourselves as a nation that has the same laws as all other European nations. We should preserve our language and our faith! We should demonstrate with constant persistence and persuasiveness of the mind that we are Christians, we are Slavs, brothers to the Muscovites, Serbs and other Slavic peoples." Later the author also promised to share news from everywhere, but especially from Constantinople, Romania, Greece and the Slavic lands.[508] Bogorov, a medic by profession, became an important nod in the network due to his constant travels and his education in Odessa, Istanbul and Paris.

Despite his mobile life, he did not seem to have fostered any extensive connections with the Western public actors. His Pan-Slavic ideas mixed with Bulgarian nationalism found their imprint in the lives and views of his younger peers. The impact of his publishing activities on the formation of the revolutionary network can be discovered in the remarks left by his younger peers, keeping up his work. Years later, Karavelov wrote about Bogorov and his unifying projects: "He advised us to create one literary codified Bulgarian language since the Serbs try to turn us into Serbs and Russians try to turn us into Russians."[509] Thus, individuals like Karavelov, organized their own newspapers and journals basing their enterprises on Bogorov's pioneering experience.

Following his first attempts at printing, Bogorov continued the pursuit. The 'Constantinople Herald' (Цариградски вестник), a moderate Bulgarian newspaper with mild political undertones (compared to Rakovski's or Botev's escapades in the later years) became Bogorov's next and arguably most successful project existing from 1848 to 1862. New issues appeared every week. And the very existence of the newspaper only stressed the meagre numbers of the non-core group elites: they not only met and studied at the same educational institutions, but also cooperated, while working on publishing projects. The 'Herald', thus, became a uniting factor for many prominent Bulgarian intellectuals. The names that one comes across would be Bogorov, Slavejkov, Rakovski, Karavelov, Kasabov, Botev, etc. All these intellectuals were involved in the journal's production, published their works their, or debated with the editors and publishers at one time or another.

[508] Bogorov, Ivan: *Svikvane/Vuzrozhdenski stranici: Antologija v 2 toma*. Edited by Dinekov, P. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1969: 136.
[509] Karavelov, Ljuben*: Sŭbrani sŭchinenija v dvanadeset toma: Kritika; Folkor.* Sofia: Bŭlgarski pisatel, 1985: 213.

The "Herald" also became an example of how an Ottoman setting brought greater popularity to the journal. It gained a larger audience compared to Bogorov's German-published "Bulgarian Eagle" that failed after three issues. From 1848 to 1862 (afterwards "Macedonia" took over the scene) the journal successfully introduced the audience to the works of modern fiction, including Mór Jokai and Defoe, but, more importantly, brought younger poets, publicists and writers like Petko Slavejkov and Dobri Chintulov into the public focus.[510] Both became part of the publishing network.

'Macedonia' (Македония), the most popular journal between 1866-1872, featured the people, who made their debuts already in Bogorov's "Constantinople Herald". It was again published in Constantinople, its subscription rate reaching 3600 copies and Petko Slavejko being its' editor-in-chief.[511] Thus, even the most popular milieu of the Bulgarian nationalism roughly numbered 3000 active participants (ready to renew their subscriptions), which is in stark contrast to the first issues of "The Bulgarian Eagle" with its' 500 copies.

The main difference in the journals' popularity also lay in the Imperial milieu, where both the 'Herald' and 'Macedonia' appeared. It was easier to promote a new publication in the Ottoman Empire than in Germany, where even the Bulgarian students were few in the 1840s. If compared to the approximate numbers of the foreign students provided in the previous sections, it won't be a stretch to point out that the whole network was rather limited to spectators and consumers and a dozen of active nods involved in journalism. For example, 'Macedonia', while certainly offering a place for the Bulgarian nationalist ideas to thrive, was not a radical and persecuted journal. One should also point out that 'Macedonia' just like its successful predecessor 'The Constantinople Herald' served not only as a subtle platform for nationalism, but also as a regular newspaper. It spread recent news in the Bulgarian and other South-Slavic circles, thus, it immediately attracted larger audiences.

Petko Slavejkov, 'Macedonia's' editor-in-chief, got involved with another Constantinople-based journal published between 1863-1865 - the 'Advisor' (Съветник). It was a 'moderate' enterprise like most of the Ottoman-based journals. While featuring individuals like Bogorov and Vasil Drumev, the journal was a relatively conservative one, engaging in polemics with the Bulgarians living in Odessa. The egocentric intellectual network, thus, did not represent a

[510] Radev, Ivan: *Istorija na bulgarskata literature prez Vuzrazhdane.* Veliko Turnovo: Abagar 2007: 201.
[511] *Rechnik na bulgarskata literatura.* Vol 2. Sofia: BAN 1977: 324.

unified group of people following the same political paths. It resembled a 'nationally-oriented' public sphere extended over the region, where ideas circulated, and opinions clashed.

In the archives of a Bulgarian cleric, a propagandist of the idea of the independent Bulgarian Church, one may find a letter from the representatives of the Bulgarian society in Odessa, who expressed their disagreement with the note published by their compatriots in Constantinople in the 12th issue of their journal 'Advisor' (Съветник) in 1863. Although the Bulgarian society in Constantinople assured their peers in Odessa that they disagreed with the negative assessment of their actions in the note, the Bulgarian society in Odessa still had to raise their objections.[512] Thus, the 'Advisor' turned into a discussion platform, flourishing in the heart of the Ottoman Empire.

Beside the 'Advisor' there existed literal journals that were used not exclusively as nationalism platforms, but also as stimulants for nationalist creativity. The 'Reading Room' (Читалище) was one of these relatively moderate journals published in Braila. Connected to the Bulgarian literary society (the future Science Academy), it attracted young Bulgarian authors and journalists, introducing them into the nationalist circles. Karamfila Stefanova, a Bulgarian public actor and poet educated in Prague in the Habsburg Empire, just like her many male peers was an emigrant in Romania in the1860s.[513] Stefanova first had her poetic works rejected by a publishing house in Constantinople in 1875.[514] Nevertheless, she did manage to publish her own contribution to the promotion of her national cause in the 'Reading room' that was less demanding. While a lot of Stefanova's creations remained either unpublished or obscured, she, nevertheless, hailed from Najden Gerov's literary network that united the public actors in Odessa, Braila and Constantinople.[515]

The 'Reading room' can be considered nationalistic, but not radical. The 'Advisor', on the other hand, was a conservative journal, promoting a moderate emancipation of the Bulgarian nation within the Ottoman Empire. It was followed in 1865 by another journal – the 'Time' (Время). The more radical intellectuals (many of whom were first introduced into the network through those moderate journals), however, did not support the restrained strategies propagated in 'Macedonia' and the 'Advisor' and, subsequently, sought other platforms to express their

[512] БИА Фонд № 46, Арх. Ед. IIA 6148
[513] Alexandrova, Nadezhda: 'The Public Presence of Bulgarian Women in Romanian Cities during the 60-70s of the 19th Century', *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*. Vol. 4. No. 1, 2014: 353-363.
[514] Tileva, Viktorija: *Bulgarskoto pechatarsko druzhestvo 'Promishlenije' v Carigrad.* Sofia: NBKM 1985: 367.
[515] Malinova, Ljudmila: 'Karamfila Stefanova i neizdadenata i stihosbirka' In: Aretov, Nikolaj/Gospodinov, Doncho (eds.) *Vuobrazenite tekstove na Bulgarskoto Vuzrazhdane*. Sofia: Bojan Penev 2005: 182-203. (For a shorter version of the text see Literaturna misul XLVIV, 2004, № 2: 83 – 94.)

views. Their search turned out to be difficult due to the persecution both in their host-states and in the Ottoman Empire. Rakovski was notoriously known for his misunderstandings with the authorities of every Empire, on whose soil he stepped.[516] Unlike Gerov, Slavejkov or Bogorov, he chose to spread his anti-Ottoman ideas more openly. Thus, he published much more controversial journals, and, predictably, had a smaller number of subscribers.

Rakovski's 'Danubian Swan' (Дунавски лебед) published in Belgrade was a 'popular' newspaper with 700 subscribers.[517] Compared to 'Macedonia' the number does not seem very impressive. Yet, considering the radical stance of the journal, 700 people represented a serious problem for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman authorities, for example, did detain one of the subscribers, which could not have happened to any avid reader of the 'Advisor' or 'Macedonia'. Dimitar Todorov from Tulcea was persecuted for being a subscriber of the "Danubian Swan".[518] This kind of complications made Rakovski's publishing activities difficult.

He moved to Belgrade in 1860s, where he found a patron in the person of Prince Michael Obrenović.[519] Pronouncedly anti-Ottoman, Obrenović was planning to liberate the Balkan lands with Christian presence from the Porte, approving of Rakovski's revolutionary activities and aware of the wish of the Bulgarian emigrants to join the Serbs in their battle against the common enemy.[520] Thus, Serbia became a suitable place for the Bulgarian ideologist to publish his journal with the support of the authorities.

Beside fueling anti-Ottoman sentiments, the journal addressed important political issues (such as the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchate) and simultaneously dealt with various aspects of culture and history in the region. Rakovski's journal, similarly to the newspapers of the Bulgarian emigrants a decade later,[521] reflected not only the editor's views, but his social connections and his position of a non-core group public actor. Published in Serbia, a former

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[516] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 19-20; 54-55.

[517] Borshukov, Georgi: *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata zhurnalistika ot zarazhdaneto na bŭlgarskiia pechat do osvobozhdenieto prez 1878 g: lekt͡sii*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1957: 209.

[518] Borshukov, Georgi: *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata zhurnalistika: 1844-1877, 1878-1885*. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976: 155.

[519]Konstantinov, Georgi: *Revoljucionna romantika v bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane: G.S. Rakovski, Ljuben Karavelov, Vasil Levski i Hristo Botev.* Sofia: Ministerstvo na narodnoto prosveshtenije 1944: 99.

[520]Hitov, Panajot: *Moeto putuvane po Stara Planina. Redakcija,* uvod in belezhki ot Aleksandar Burmov. Sofia: Hemus 1940: 95-100.

[521]Botev, Hristo: *Vestnicite na Hristo Botev – Duma, Budilnik, Zname, Nova Bulgarija.* Sofia: Nauka I izkustvo 1976.

part of the Rum-millet, the journal promoted Bulgarian nationalism, opposed the Greek dominance and drew inspiration from the Serbian and Romanian examples. Furthermore, the 'Danubian Swan' featured articles in French as well as in Bulgarian and aimed primarily at the narrow circle of Balkan intellectuals, who were interested in these political topics.

Rakovski's journal only existed for one year from 1860 to 1861, being only one of the ideologist's multiple projects that encompassed his fascination with philology and poetry through the lens of politics. Yet, none of Rakovski's journals endured for a decade like the non-persecuted moderate journals of his peers. Later, Rakovski published the Romanian-Bulgarian journal "Viitorul-Budushnost" (Будущност) in Bucharest that also existed for one year. The enterprise, in its turn, laid the foundation for the Bulgarian-Romanian journals published by his younger peers and followers - Botev and Karavelov. But even Botev first started publishing in the Ottoman Empire.

Botev's first poem was published in a satirical journal edited by Petko Slavejkov in Constantinople, 'Gajda' (Гайда) (it appeared between 1863-1867).[522] But Botev soon gained relative fame and connections to start his own projects, avoiding the vigilant presence of the Ottoman and the Russian Empires. Botev's projects were numerous. None of them existed too long or had more success than Rakovski's publishing enterprises. In the 1870s he was involved with the 'Banner' (Знаме), 'Awakener' (Будилник), 'Freedom' (Свобода) (together with Ljuben Karavelov) and other journals to name only a few. What they all have in common was their anti-imperial tone: the 'Freedom', for example, existed between 1869-1872, being banned in the Russian Empire in 1870 due to the conflicts between the radical and moderate wings of the Bulgarian emigration.[523]

While living together with Vasil Levski in a windmill on the outskirts of Bucharest,[524] Botev became connected to the circles of the Romanian intellectuals. By 1869 he worked for the 'Tapan' - a satiric journal, published by Radulescu's typography (the same one that published Rakovski's critique of the Russian policies toward the Bulgarians as well as his "Viitorul-Budushtnost"). Among the individuals involved in the production of the 'Tapan' (Тапан), were a Polish revolutionary and a refugee in the Romanian lands, Henryk Dembicki, a caricaturist and a friend of Botev, Ivan Mazov, a Bulgarian emigrant arrived from Braila, Dimitar

[522] Dafinov, Zdravko: *Bezsmurten i genialen. Avtentichnijat Hristo Botev.* Sofia: Iztok-Zapad 2007: 51.
[523] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto (1751-1878). Sofia*: Akademichno izdatelstvo Marin Drinov, 2005: 259.
[524] Constantinescu-Iaşi, P.: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti.* Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 14.

Cenovich, who served as an administrator. Thus, one journal created a whole club of non-core group elites, some of whom were not even Bulgarian.

Botev used the journals mainly as political platforms. In an article published in 'The word of the Bulgarian emigrants' in 1871, Botev reflected on the idea in the following way: "Our nation has its own specific life, specific character, specific physiognomy that discerns it as a nation – let it develop its national beginnings and you will see what part of social life it will advance".[525] Subsequently, language and identity did not necessarily coincide with the origins of an individual in the Balkans,[526] but were rather linked to his/her social status and his/her own self-identification as a Bulgarian, Greek, or Romanian, even in the mid-19th century. Thus, Botev himself was curious to see, where Bulgarian nation-building would lead if away from the Ottoman Empire, where his publishing life began.

Journals and newspapers served the non-core group elites as recruiting grounds, engaging potential sponsors and contributors. The 'Danubian Swan' was sponsored by the Serbian side, the 'Viitorul' attempted to attract the Romanian public to the Bulgarian cause, Botev's journals targeted nationally sensitive Bulgarian audience. Journals, thus, depended on their subscribers and strove to acquire more. And, predictably, the Russian and the Ottoman Empires could offer wider readership than, for example, the Danubian Principalities.

One can come to several major conclusions regarding the brief comparison of the Bulgarian journals published in the 1860s and 1870s. First, the most popular and long-lasting journals were published in the Empires and usually legally, under the supervision of Greater Powers (predictably, they had more subscribers). They served as settings for Bulgarian nationalism, but never propagated 'radical' anti-imperial ideas of independence. Second, the more radical newspapers had fewer subscribers, but a 'more' active and loyal audience that consisted of individuals, who could risk police supervision due to their reading habits. Besides, they brought together non-core group agents, who were not necessarily Bulgarian (like in the case of the above-mentioned Botev's circle of friends).

Thirdly, the same individuals circulated between newspapers, publishing their works, taking on editorial duties or transmitting information. The elder generation like Bogorov, for example, introduced younger individuals like Slavejkov into the circle. Slavejkov soon became a central

[525] Botev, Hristo: "Narodut – vchera, dnes i utre" *Duma na bulgarskite emigranti,* broj 1. July 1871.
[526] Detrez, Raymond/Pieter Plas: "Convergence and divergence in the development of Balkan cultural identity." In: Detrez, Raymond/Pieter Plas (ed.) *Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans: Convergence vs Divergence*. Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang 2005: 11-25.

nod in the network, who owed most of his connections exclusively to his activities as a publicist and editor. In his case, it was not imperial education or revolutionary ideology that helped him acquire connections, but his editorial work in the Ottoman Empire.

A most crude approximation of the circle of his significant friends may demonstrate the power of connections that originated in the typographies of Constantinople and Odessa. Publishing industry made a non-core group individual relatively famous: journals allowed one to spread his poems, work as a translator and meet like-minded individuals. While the current sociogram shows the extent of Slavejkov's connections. It does not feature his non-Bulgarian acquaintances.[527]

While Slavejkov cannot be considered a radical non-core group revolutionary compared to Rakovski or Hitov, even he once came under the Ottoman supervision. Slavejkov was arrested

[527] Similarly, the sociograms did not focus on Gerov's fascination with the linguist Juri Venelin, Botev's friendships with Russian and Romanian socialists, Rakovski's acquaintance with Canini, Cuza and Obrenović.

by the Ottoman authorities in 1872 because of his supposed ties to the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee in Bucharest.[528] Slavejkov was later released and returned to his activities as editor and publicist. He lived a relatively long life, had children, some of whom would eventually become important Bulgarian intellectuals. He started his career with publishing, reading and commenting Bulgarian press and eventually ended it in politics. Partially, those were the typographies and literary circles that helped him establish the connections with his allies and opponents shown above.

Publications opened greater possibilities for forging connections than education did. Since every publication requires cooperation, both financial support and personal management were important when preparing an issue of a journal or printing a book. The lengthy process of publishing a book or a newspaper started in the minds of the non-core group elites, but it continued in typographies. Most of these typographies were based in the Empires. They reveal patterns of sponsorships and post-Rum-Millet ties as much as the products that they printed. Radulescu's typography in Bucharest, for example, was responsible for a large number of Bulgarian works authored by the non-core group elites.[529] Pandeli Kisimov, a correspondence-friend of Rakovski and subsequently an opponent and a colleague of both Karavelov brothers (the younger politician Petko and the philologist and writer Ljuben) offers an interesting account of the Empire's inability to stop or properly regulate pro-Bulgarian activities. By only looking at the places, where his compositions and translations were published, one may identify the spaces, where most of the Bulgarian emigrants met and exchanges information: the typography of the 'Constantinople Herald' (Цариградски весник),[530] the Belgrade Gymnasium typography,[531] the national typography in Bucharest,[532] the typography of the 'Reading room' journal in Constantinople.[533] To add just a few others one may mention that Rakovski's 'Danubian Swan' was published in the Prince's typography in Belgrade.[534]

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[528] His arrest was instigated by the publication of the article "Two castes – two authorities" in *Macedonia.* See Borshukov, Georgi: *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata zhurnalistika: 1844-1877, 1878-1885.* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976: 238

[529] Kisimov, Pandeli*: Epizod ot hajdushkite narecheni cheti v Balkana na 1867.* Bucuresti: Pechatnica Rasulescu, 1868.

[530] Kisimov, Pandeli (translator): *Povesti i sravenenija: za prijatelstvoto na drevnite elini i slavjani.* Carigrad: Tipografijata Carigradskog vestnika 1853.

[531] Kisimov, Pandeli: *Narodno napomnjuvanije kum vestnicite 'Turcija' i 'Bulgarska pchela' ot edin besarabski bulgarin.* Beograd: Uchilishtnata tipografija 1864.

[532] Kisimov, Pandeli: *Bulgarija pred Evropa*. Bucuresti: Narodnata knigopechatnica: 1866.

[533] Kisimov, Pandeli (translator): *Varvara Ubrich, kalugerica v Krakow: istinska povest.* Carigrad: Pechantica na 'Chitalishte' 1873.

[534] Borshukov, Georgi: *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata zhurnalistika ot zarazhdaneto na bŭlgarskiia pechat do osvobozhdenieto prez 1878 godina*: lektsii. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1957: 209

While addressing these typographies, one may notice a specific trait that is usually omitted by the researches: Bulgarian publications indeed started flourishing abroad, but they also appeared in the Ottoman Empire during the whole of the 19th century, gradually growing in numbers. Besides, the Russian and Serbian sides supported the Bulgarian publishing industry. Thus, the royal typography in Kragujevac, for example, published all the volumes of Neofit Bozveli's children's textbook.[535] The work appeared with the approval of Prince Milos in 1835. Neofit Rilski's grammar was also published in Kragujevac in the same year.[536] Although Neofit Rilski taught in Gabrovo (the Ottoman territory) in the newly founded Bulgarian school, he still published his works in Serbia. Partially Serbia and Russia made for acceptable publishing places due to the Cyrillic script actively used in both states in the publishing industry. Therefore, one encounters a significant number of Bulgarian textbooks published in Moscow or Odessa.[537] The materials were used to teach in Bulgaria. And the Ottoman authorities did not prohibit their use.

Among the earlier works published in the Empire, Neofit Rilski, for example, printed one of his works in Smyrna in 1841 (in Old Church Slavonic).[538] Later generations adopted the same trend when it came to publishing in Belgrade, Odessa, or Bucharest.[539] And the Ottoman and even Habsburg territories had typographies that printed Bulgarian works that, as their turns out, were spread later in Bulgaria.[540] The presence of these typographies signifies two things. First, it defines the places, where connections between the non-core group elites were made (in all the towns mentioned above one could find a community either of Bulgarian students or traders). Second, the existence and spread of Bulgarian materials proves that it was possible to organize

[535] See Ganchev, Ivan (ed.): *Slavjano-bulgarskoto detevodstvo na Neofit Bozveli i Emanuil Vaskidović.* Svishtov: Akademicheskoto izdatelstvo D.A. Cenov, 1995.
[536] *Enciklopedija "Pirinski kraj". Vol. 1*. Blagoevgrad: Redakcija 'enciklopedija', 1995: 119.
[537] Vasil Aprilov's activities are a good illustration of those early works. See Aprilov, Vasil: *Dennica novo-bolgarskago obrazovanija.* Odessa: 1841: 90.
[538] Rilski, Neofit: *Novii zavet gospoda nashego Isusa Hrista. Sega novo prevedeni ot slavenskago na bolgarskii jazik ot Neofita ieromonaha P.P. Rilca.* V Smirne, v tipografii A. Damianova i sodruzhestva, 1840.
[539] As an example, see. Momchilov, Ivan Nikolov: *Pismenica na slavjanskija jazik.* Sostava Ivan Momchilov, elechanin. Izdanije purvo. Belgrad. V pravitelstvenata knigopechatnja, 1847. Bogorov, Ivan Andrejov: *Purvichka bulgarska gramatika.* Napisa Ivancho Andrejov. Bukuresht, V tipografijata na Serd. K. Pencović, 1844. Pavlović, Hristaki Georgiev: *Carstvenik ili istorija bolgarskaja, kojato uchi ot gdje sa bolgare proizishli, kako sa kralostvovali, kako zhe carstvovali i kako carstvo svoje pogubili i pod igo podpadnali*. Izdanije pervoje. Bolgarische Geschichte.U Budimu, pismeni Kr. Sveuchilishta Peshtannskoga, 1844. Hrulev, Todor: *Bulgarska gramatika.* Sustavi Todor Hrulev za rukovodstvo na bulgarskite junoshi I pechatisja s izhdivenijeto na Georgija Donchova, knigoprodavca. Izdanije purvo. Bukuresht, u tipografijata na Iosifa Romanova I sudruzhestvo, 1859.
[540] Mirković, doctor Georgi Vulkov: *Kratka i metodicheska bulgarska gramatika ot D. G. V. Mirković. Carigrad-Galata.* V knigopechatnicata na D. Cankova, 1860; Vojnikov, Dobri Popov: *Kratka bulgarska gramatika s uprazhnenija ot D.P. Vojnikova.* Izdavasja ot knizharnicata D.V. Mancheva v Plovdiv, 1864. (Braila, Romunsko-bulgarskata tipografija na Hr. Vaklidova); Momchilov, Ivan Nikolov: *Sbornik ot obrazci za izuchavanjeto na starobulgarskija jezik po sichkoto mu razvitije,* preveden I subran ot Ivan N. Momchilov. Purvo izdanije. Viena, v tipografijata na L. Somerova, 1865.

and sustain this literary traffic in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, while 'radical' anti-imperial agents were persecuted throughout the 1840s up to the post-1878 period, certain scholarly individuals managed to remain relatively accomplished on the territories of both the Ottoman and the Russian Empire. Historian Marin Drinov and publicist Najden Gerov would be only two of such examples. Both lived and published comfortably in Russia. Thus, abundant publishing opportunities did not appear only following 1878, but were, indeed, available to the public actors in earlier periods.

The Empires also provided the Bulgarian non-core group elites with larger audiences. Compositions that could not be published in the Ottoman Empire, could be accepted in Russia, where the authorities supported the anti-Ottoman sentiments of the Bulgarian intellectuals, strengthening their connections with the local pan-Slavists. Ljuben Karavelov, for example, published one of his significant works, a collection of stories, describing the lives of the Bulgarians under the Turkish rule, in the Russian Empire and in Russian. In the explanatory paragraph preceding the text, he wrote the following lines: "These insignificant notes about the gruesome fate of my unhappy motherland were written in Russia – and now I brotherly dedicate them to those Russian people, who take the great cause of the Slavic freedom close to their hearts. Ljuben Karavelov. 1867."[541] The most interesting aspect of this publication, however, is the place where it was printed – the Moscow State University typography, not an underground printing house supported by the revolutionaries.

Karavelov's volume addressed the Russian audience, but it used the state-sponsored channels to relay the message. The narratives stroke a potential reader with the vivid descriptions of various unfair trials, poverty, tax abuse and harassments, capturing varyingly dreadful events. One of them represents a particularly all-inclusive story of a Bulgarian emigrant, titled "One weeps silently over another man's grave".[542] In the story poor and honorable Tancho, after killing the people who had wronged him and kidnapped his daughter (chorbadji Halil and his Bulgarian accomplice), escaped to Bessarabia, where he was still living by the time Karavelov was narrating the tale. Interestingly enough, Karavelov pointed out, referring to the chorbadji that "Bulgarian urban chorbadji is something like a Jew, a Greek or an Armenian: greed and gluttony, ruthlessness and distaste for his brothers have filled his stomach".[543] Karavelov hoped to plant a heroic image of a Bulgarian emigrant in the heads of the foreign audience and

[541] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Stranicy iz knigi stradanij bolgarskogo plemeni. Povesti i rasskazy Ljubena Karavelova.* Moskva: Universitetskaja tipografija Katkov i co. na Strastnom Bulvare 1868: 1. See the dedication.
[542] Karavelov, Ljuben. Op. cit.: 159-180.
[543] Karavelov, Ljuben. Op. cit.: 163.

partially succeeded, although it is almost impossible to find out for certain how many people read Kravelov's work in Russia and exactly how popular it was.

But even if the printed works never reached the desired audience or did not have the intended effect, they managed to connect non-core group agents together. Often such places brought together Bulgarians and their foreign peers, who found out that they also shared their political orientation. Socialist views of Hristo Botev, for example, mirrored the attitudes of the many non-Bulgarian revolutionaries in the 80s and 90s.[544] During his exile in Romania, Botev befriended a Polish political refugee Henryk Dembicki and a Russian emigrant Nechaev due to his journalist projects.[545] They shared socialist views and all were Imperial outcasts trying to topple their states down.

One can hardly imagine a situation, where Botev would have met Dembicki and Nechaev and discovered their shared political views, had it not been for the Empires, who had exiled them. The Empires provided better opportunities for press circulation, and, even when restricting the activities of the public actors, they, paradoxically, contributed to the creation of new connections. Subsequently, those Empires also offered their subjects publishing opportunities that made their voices heard. Those opportunities often led to the public actors discovering anti-imperial ideologies. In the end, their publishing activities became a reflection of their mutual friendships and rivalries, defining their ties.

Organizations and Imperial support

Most non-core group elites tended to organize themselves, forming different societies, clubs and brotherhoods with various degrees of political radicalism. And one may wonder if the Empires contributed to the creation of the Bulgarian nationalist organizations. One cannot claim that the Ottoman or the Russian Empire supported the anti-imperial clubs of the Bulgarian revolutionaries. Yet, one may investigate the different organizations that brought the

[544] On the 20th of April 1871 in Galati, reacting to the rise of the Paris Commune, Hristo Botev allegedly wrote his "Faith symbol of the Bulgarian Commune", where he expressed openly socialist aspirations for global unity. Although the authorship of Botev remains a debated subject (for further details, check Todorov, Ilija. "Simbol-veruju na bulgarskata komuna" in: Letopisi, no.1 1991/Илия Тодоров *Символ-верую на българската комуна* в списание "Летописи", бр. 1, 1991), the more significant issue is the importance of the claim itself. Even if Botev had not written the "Faith symbol of the Bulgarian Commune", it was the weight of his name and ideas that led his successors to attribute the creation to him. See Constantinescu-Iaşi, P.: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti.* Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 16.
[545] Constantinescu-Iaşi. *Op. cit.:* 14-16

public actors together to see how exactly the multi-national states influenced the connections between the protagonists and the dynamics of their state-building ideas.

Among the groups present in the research two types of organizations can be identified: openly revolutionary and radical (usually operating off the radars of the imperial police), and nationalistic (literary societies and organizations supporting cultural Pan-Slavism).[546] All these societies were relatively small within the states that hosted them and harboured a vast array of different political and cultural clubs: "Small networks are nested in a hierarchy of social structures in which larger social structures provide boundaries".[547] Thus, the Bulgarian nationalist organizations in the 1850-70s adapted to the realities of Greater Powers, often concealing their purely state-building goals behind the disguises of education, information exchange, regional cooperation, literary enterprises, etc. This way, the authorities of multi-national states only saw or acknowledged certain aspects of these organizations, while ignoring others.

This ignorance of the local authorities (especially outside the Ottoman Empire) led to the existence of several openly revolutionary societies that the non-core group elites used to promote their state-building goals. It was initially Rakovski, who had succeeded in spreading his political ideology to his fellow countrymen.[548] In the Romanian lands, he collaborated and interacted with notable 'fourty-eighters' and prominent public actors like Constantin A. Rosetti, as well as younger radical intellectuals like Nicolae Zubcu-Petrovići and the Marxist theorist Dobrogeanu-Gherea. Following Rakovski's death, his supporters inherited his ideas and many of his organizational habits.[549] The legacy of the deceased Rakovski became an defining aspect of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee: it owed its' existence to the 'Young Bulgaria' (Млада България) group led by Rakovski's followers, Vasil Levski being one of the youngest.[550] He, like other non-core group individuals, accepted Rakovski's ideas of national liberation and fell under the influence of his publications that included

[546] Jelavich, Charles, and Barbara Jelavich: "The Danubian Principalities and Bulgaria under Russian Protectorship." *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge, 9,* no. 3 (1961): 349-66

[547] Merolla, David M., Richard T. Serpe, Sheldon Stryker, and P. Wesley Schultz: "Structural Precursors to Identity Processes: The Role of Proximate Social Structures". *Social Psychology Quarterly 75 (2).* [Sage Publications, Inc., American Sociological Association], 2012: 151.

[548] Constantinescu-Iaşi, Petre: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti*. Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 8-9.

[549] Undzhiev, Ivan/Undzhieva Cveta: *Hristo Botev - zhivot i delo.* Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo 1975: 441.

[550] Danov, Konstantin: *Rakovski i bulgarskata revoljucionna ideologija*. Sofia: Hristo Danov 1939: 24-25; 127-128.

‘Viitorul-Budustnost’ conceived together with the Romanian philologist and publicist Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu.

The Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (Българският революционен централен комитет) was established in the Romanian lands in 1869 (and active till the April Uprising of 1876) by Ljuben Karavelov and Vasil Levski with the ‘Svoboda’ (Свобода) as their principal journal. While Karavelov ran the ideological side of the organization, the more radical individuals like Panajot Hitov or Dimitar Obshti (both former devotees of Rakovski) acquired ammunition and necessary funds to sustain the society.[551] The Hitov-Levski-Karavelov trio was eventually weakened, Botev replacing Karavelov as the chairman. Constant personal debates and meagre financial support prevented the members of the committee from coordinating long-term successful anti-Ottoman operations.

Rakovski was one of the first Bulgarian revolutionaries, who actively tried to establish connections everywhere in the Balkans and abroad, finally settling in Romania. Thus, one can see the same people, who had been previously involved in Rakovski’s paramilitary units (chetas), enter the committee. Later, the same surviving people and their newly acquired friends would branch off to form other organizations on other territories. For example, the Committee shared similar, but less far-reaching goals with Levski’s Internal Revolutionary Organization (Вътрешната революционна организация) (1868-1872) that followed a more radical strategy of Bulgaria’s liberation and its transformation into a republic.[552] All of these societies focused on national emancipation: they could opt for a republic of nations in the case of the Internal Revolutionary Organization or propose to create a dualist state with the Ottoman Empire in the case of the Virtuous Society (Добродетелна Дружина), but it was the change of their non-core status that they all sought.

All the political organizations played important roles in bringing people together, but one can hardly assess the exact number of individuals involved in each of these enterprises. Those were usually the more charismatic leaders like Levski, who occupied the leading positions. The ‘secrecy’ of these organizations (like Levski’s Internal Revolutionary Organization) was also supported by the program itself that prohibited information disclosure and attempted to conceal

[551] Strashimirov, Dimitar: *Istorija na Aprilskoto vustanije. Vol. 1. Predistorija*. Plovdiv: 1907: 139-147.
[552] Pavlovska, Cvetana: *Vasil Levski i Vutreshnata revoljucionna organizacija.* Sofia: Georgi Podebonosec 1993: 19-20.

the names of the members from their peers.[553] The less radical committees, however, enjoyed relatively stable positions, often attracting the future radicals, Hristo Botev included.

Many of the less political organizations that were supported or ignored by the state were connected to the revolutionary societies through individual members. Botev's stay in Bucharest, for example, was founded by the Virtuous society - an emigrant organization following pro-Russian orienteers[554] and supported by the Russian authorities. Botev's political views, however, could not be further from those of the Virtuous society. Despite their ideological incompatibility, Botev and many of his peers became mediators between the various societies in Moscow, Odessa, Bucharest, Braila, Belgrade, Constantinople and, subsequently, although to a lesser extent, even the West.[555] Botev changed accommodations and professions, travelling between Bucharest and Braila, meeting his peers and prominent local public actors.[556] His whole life lay on the crossroads of states and organizations. Thus, the Russian Empire could support a seemingly pro-Russian society that, in its' turn, could lend support to the members of a revolutionary committee in Romania.

Revolutionary establishments often combined educational and political functions, like in the case of the Virtuous society (the one that issued financial support to Botev). It was first founded in 1853 by Russophile Bulgarian emigrants in Bucharest[557] and existed until 1897, which is impressive compared to the previously mentioned underground organizations. In the 1870s the young generations, including Botev and Karavelov fell out of the good graces of the merchant elites and the leaders of the organization, including Pandeli Kisimov. Thus, many of them joined the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee or opted for other societies.

In Romania, for example, the Bulgarian emigrants formed several organizations with varying degrees of radicalism. The 'chorbadjis' and the wealthier merchants founded the so-called 'Committee of the old' that published 'Motherland' (Отечество) on a regular basis (between 1860-1877), while the other wing of the emigration became tightly intertwined with the

[553] Undzhiev, Ivan; Kondarev, Nikola. (eds.): *Apostolut. Stranici ot pismata na Vasil Levski*. Sofia: Durzhavno-voenno izdatelstvo 1971: 199-203.
[554] Constantinescu-Iaşi, Petre: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti*. Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 10.
[555] Constantinescu-Iasi, op. cit.: 9-11.
[556] Burmov, Aleksandar: *Hristo Botev prez pogleda na suvremenicite si*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo Hr. Chochev 1945: 42.
[557] Konstantinov, Dimitur: *Rusiija, Frantsija i bŭlgarskoto osvoboditelno dvizhenie 1860-1869.* Sofia: BAN 1978: 106-109.

Romanian state-builders, former emigrants themselves,[558] the so-called 'fourty-eighters'. Ivan Kasabov, one of the prominent revolutionaries, spent a significant amount of time carefully moulding those Romanian-Bulgarian connections and publishing a journal titled 'Nationality' (Народност).[559]

The drift between the moderate and radical organizations reflected the mutual awareness of the public actors. When the Virtuous society tried to supress Rakovski's criticism of Russia's Bulgarian policies (in the form of a brochure published in 1861),[560] various clusters of emigrants took different sides. Botev, for example, took the side of Rakovski. Botev himself owed his early opportunity to study in Odessa to the Odessa Bulgarian Board (Одеското българско настоятелство) and his later financial support to the 'Virtuous society', which made him willingly or unwillingly caught in the debates regarding Imperial policies and his personal need for money that those state and merchant-sponsored clubs could offer. Predictably, underground revolutionary organizations had lesser financing opportunities.

The situation was dire not only for Botev.[561] He was not the only Bulgarian emigrant struggling to reconcile multiple viewpoints and trying to survive in the foreign lands. These personal controversies between various societies are reflected in the complains of the many Bulgarian emigrants – in Russia, Serbia or Romania. For example, the members of the Bulgarian charitable societies in Bucharest and Turnu Măgureli, wrote letters, expressing their concern in the late 1860s stating that: "The bad attitude of the Serbs to our Bulgarian volunteers in the recent time as well as the conditions themselves have contributed to the dissolution of the Bulgarians battalions in Serbia".[562]

In the case of the Bulgarian organizations, the pattern partially coincides with that of the journals. The more 'legal committees' existed longer and, subsequently drew and sponsored more people (who, in their turn, could drift away and support much radical measures of national struggle). They operated usually within the Empires, including the many educational 'Reading

[558] The Romanian once-emigrants, in their turn, were involved with the Hungarian emigrants and tried to reconcile their nation and state-building attempts while in exile. For further details, see, Jianu, Angela: *A circle of friends: Romanian revolutionaries and political exile, 1840-1859.* Leiden: Brill 2011: 115-164.
[559] Constantinescu-Iaşi, P.: *Din activitatea lui Hristo Botev şi a altor revoluţionari bulgari din Bucureşti.* Bucureşti: Ed. Acad. Republicii Populare Române, 1950: 7.
[560] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina I Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo Marin Drinov 2005: 151.
[561] One may refer to Botev partially due to him being a more famous person than many of his less celebrated peers. That particularity explains the easy accessibility of the sources related to the poet.
[562] ЦДИА Фонд № 820, опис 1, арх. Ед. Хр. 7.

Rooms', probably, the most subtle and influential milieus of Bulgarian nationalism and networking. In the program of the Constantinople Reading Room formed in 1866, one can find a strong organizational structure and clear educational aims that resulted in people like historian Marin Drinov, Petko Slavejkov, Todor Ikonomov and the rest associating them with the journal the club published.[563] Thus, educational purposes, even with political aims beneath them, provided covers for the networks of revolutionaries, bringing future state-builders into the spotlight. This aspect partially defines the Reading Rooms as peculiar cultural institutions mostly situated on the Ottoman territory and serving as organizations that connected non-core group elites. On the one hand, as investigated above, the Reading Rooms were places of education. On the other hand, they were organizations that produced important political elites.

The Bulgarian Science Academy is only one example of a cultural club that grew into an influential institution under imperial supervision. It was initially an educational initiative supported by imperially educated non-core group elites.[564] The enterprise developed from the Bulgarian literary society (similar to the above-mentioned Reading Rooms), founded by the emigrants in Braila in 1869. The three men behind the society were the historian Marin Drinov, who graduated from Moscow State University, Vasil Stojanov, who studied history and philology in Prague.[565] The third was Vasil Drumev, who studied in a seminary in Odessa, where he met Georgi Rakovski and fell under his influence.[566] While the society was initially small, supported mainly by these three individuals, it grew steadily, meeting both criticism and approval from the side of the Bulgarian public actors.

Ljuben Karavelov, for example would sway between appraisal and criticism of the society's position, voicing and debunking the opinion of several of his emigrant peers: „For what would we give money if nothing works at the Bulgarian Literary Society and one hears nothing from them?"[567] The society survived due to the donations of its members and the emigrant societies. It began in a modest house in Braila. Following the Russian-Turkish War, the society moved

[563] See *Ustav i pravilnik na bulgarskoto chitalishte v Carigrad.* V knigopechatnicata na A. Minasiana i sudruzhestvo. 1866.
[564] Zarev, Pantelej: *Sto godini Bulgarska akademija na naukite, 1869-1969: Akademici i chlenove-korespondenti. Vol. 1.* Sofia: BAN 1969: 5.
[565] Mijatev, Petar ; Dimov, Georgi. (eds.): D*okumenti za istorijata na bulgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Braila 1868–1876 godini.* Sofia: BAN, 1958: 10.
[566] Cacov, Boris: Arhiereite na Bulgarskata pravoslavna curkva: biografichen sbornik. Sofia: Princeps, 2003: 153.
[567] Karavelov, Ljuben: 'Nam trjabvat barut i kniga, pushki i chitalishta.' In Ljuben, Karavelov: *Subrani suchinenija*. Vol. 7. Sofia: bulgarski pisatel, 1984: 119-121. First published in the journal 'Svoboda', 1/no. 13, January 29, 1870.

out of Braila to Sofia, much with Todor Ikonomov's help, as pointed out by Vasil Stojanov in one of his letters.[568]

It gradually transformed from a club supported by three imperially educated scholars into a prominent Science Academy in the Bulgarian Principality. Thus, educational organizations were more valuable to the support of the network than their radical revolutionary counterparts since they enjoyed relative freedom of operation, even with their constant lack of funding. Often, cultural organizations also provided radical societies with members.

The Russian as well as the Ottoman authorities regarded educational initiatives favourably, while ignoring the political implications they caused. Ivan Ivanov, the head of the 'Bulgarian society for the spread of education among the Bulgarians', wrote to a prominent Russian Slavophile, Ivan Aksakov, on 22 December 1876 that "the ladies' department of the Slavic committee wanted to educate 50 future teachers for Bulgaria" and offered a girl named Roza Zhivkova, whose mother had no money and whose father was dead as a candidate.[569] In another letter to Aksakov (dated 28.01.1877), Ivanov would recommend another Bulgarian young lady, Anastasia Obretenova from Ruschuk, as a potential teacher. Anastasia Obretenova's family was predictably deeply involved in the cause of Bulgarian national emancipation, which resulted in the tragic death of the two of her brothers, the imprisonment of her third brother and the emigration of her fourth brother.[570]

If one addresses the later destiny of the above-mentioned Anastasia Obretenova, a different perspective opens. First, Anastasia Obretenova came from a family of Bulgarian revolutionaries and was sent to Russia to acquire education to promote the national cause. Second, following 1878, Obretenova married the chronicler of the Bulgarian revolutionary struggle Zahari Stojanov and became a close friend of another writer and publicist – Stojan Zaimov. In the end, she was an important nod in the network, supported partially by the Russian Empire, although she herself never became a Slavophile.

Most Russian public actors regarded the Bulgarian organizations (unless they were revolutionary) as important assets that could be used to increase Russia's influence in the Balkans. This attitude discerns them from the Ottoman or the Habsburg position, for example.

[568] БИА Фонд 111. I Б, a. e. 92, л. 142.
[569] ГАРФ, фонд 1750 оп. 2 ед. Хр. 36
[570] ГАРФ, Op. cit. (лист 32)

On 29 November 1876 Ivanov wrote to Aksakov that he would appreciate if Aksakov could recommend him to the Russian Army Staff as an intermediary regarding the relations with the Bulgarians.[571] While Ivanov's goals of national emancipation and personal ambition were clear, the Russian public actors and authorities could be driven by different impulses: their aims varied from visions of Pan-Slavism under the protectorate of the Russian Empire, a simple wish to acquire powerful allies in the Balkans to outbursts of sympathy for the exiled 'Slavic brothers'. In a letter to Aksakov sent during the Russian-Turkish War 1877-1878, the writer Rostislav Fadeev (a Russian subject) wrote that the support of the Bulgarians was important for the Russian foreign policy, however, to assure this support, the Russians had to "stretch a Bulgarian flag before the eyes of the Bulgarian nation".[572] Even the Slavic-oriented public actors realized the Bulgarian-centred goals of the emigrants and the potential that these Russian-Bulgarian connections could bring.

Most 'Russophile' Bulgarians were all connected and often financially supported by the organizations like Ivan Aksakov's Slavic Committee. But, similarly, their radical counterparts found allies among the Russian socialists, adopting their ideals. The geographical factor also played its role in the formation of connections. As Pascahlis Kitromilides puts it: "A way out may be offered by trying to map out the questions of loyalty and identity in space, to consider them within a geographical dimension in the broad region of Southeastern Europe as they come to the traveller's attention in specific environments".[573] Russia, for example, was an Empire, but had its number of revolutionary thinkers, and Serbia offered the Bulgarian public actors numerous possibilities to connect with its own forming intelligentsia. It was easier for a Bulgarian public actor to forge ties with the federalists Jovanović and Miletić, than to get access to a Russian nobleman like count Ignatiev.[574] It was also easier to find common ground with those, who were not in the position of power. But those in the position of power could offer greater opportunities to the non-core group elites.

[571] ГАРФ Фонд № 1750, оп.2. ед. Хр. 36.
[572] ГАРФ Фонд № 1750, оп.2. ед. Хр. 51.
[573] Kitromilides, Paschalis: "In the pre-modern Balkans: loyalities, identities, anachronisms." In: Tziovas, Dimitris (ed.). *Greece and the Balkans. Identities, perceptions and cultural encounters since the enlightenment.* Aldershot: Ashgate 2003: 19.
[574] However, it should be noted that Ignatiev did forge relations with certain Bulgarian public actors like Todor Burumov, for example. Besides, he also promoted the cause of the Bulgarian nation in the Russian public. Todev, Ivan: 'O zapiskah I donesenijah grafa Ignatjeva,'Ritta Grishina(eds.) Rossija-Bolgarija: vektory vzaimoponimanija XVIII-XXI vek. Moscow: RAN 2010: 115.

Unlike the Slavic Russian Empire, the Habsburg state was a less welcoming milieu for the establishment of various Bulgarian organizations. Orthodoxy and Pan-Slavism were very dubious aspects in the eyes of the West.[575] Thus, the Bulgarian revolutionary network in 1860-1870s did not spread as much in the Western lands as it did in the Balkans. That factor may partially explain the lack of Slavic Committees and Bulgarian Organizations in Britain, for example. A Bulgarian emigrant could hardly count on favours and career opportunities in Britain the way he/she could in Russia. Besides that, Odessa, Bucharest or Braila were relatively close to Bulgaria itself, which allowed the members of the organization to maintain their correspondence and activities. While both the Russian and the Ottoman authorities underestimated the political consequences of the cultural organizations, they persecuted the revolutionary committees, but were not always successful. Their police never supressed the cultural and literary societies that, as it turns out, were very connected to the radical organizations that consisted of individuals, who met regularly and knew each other.

As in the case of all egocentric networks, connections and individuals were never stable and constant. While Imperial governments unintentionally supported or connected certain individuals or were unable to exterminate their organizations, sometimes they succeeded. Ljuben Karavelov, for example, became a bitterly disillusioned and disappointed man after the death of Vasil Levski apprehended by the Ottoman police, leaving the political scene, secluding himself away from his peers and dying shortly afterwards.[576]

Similarly, sometimes the imperial attempts to organize the non-core groups failed. In a letter referring to the young lady Anastasia Obretenova, Ivanov wrote about the many Bulgarian volunteers in 1877 and their problems. While initially the volunteers were paid 15 rubbles a day, which could assure their well-being, after losing the income, they became a rather problematic group to accommodate. Ivanov pointed out: "Many of them are incapable of work".[577] They were primarily hajduks, outlaws, and their lifestyle preferences hardly coincided with the strategies harboured by any government. That similar thought was expressed by Panajot Hitov, when he referred to Bratianu's distrust of Rakovski and his Bulgarians peers, which Hitov himself associated with Rakovski's previous friendship with Alexandru Ioan

[575] Not only the West. The leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849 Lajos Kossuth had exaggerated fear of Pan-Slavism and so did Nicolae Balcescu, and Ferenc Deak. See Deak, Istvan: *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1979: 313.
[576] Canev, Stefan: *Bulgarski hroniki: 1453-1878. Vol. 2.* Sofia: Trud publishers, 2007: 186.
[577] ГАРФ, Фонд 1750 оп. 2 ед. Хр. 36

Cuza, whom Bratianu had opposed.[578] Yet, there was more to Bratianu's suspicion than personal reasons. If both the Russians and the Ottomans pursued Rakovski, the man and his circles of acquaintances could also pose a threat to the Romanian government, bringing the small state into a conflict with Greater Powers.

All Bulgarian organizations were interconnected and many, as it becomes clear from the analysis, were supported or functioned under the supervision of the Russian or Ottoman authorities. In the case of the persecuted revolutionary organizations, the authorities often failed because they never exterminated the roots of those connections that sprang from imperial education, policies and cultural organizations. Most non-core group intellectuals were also members of different Bulgarian clubs, all of which shared one aspect – they were organizations focused on national emancipation. However, certain individuals remained outside of the organizational network and were almost impossible to organize either by the Imperial governments or by the Bulgarian public actors themselves. They could be outlaws as well as sequestrated intellectuals.

Imperial connections?

Imperial background and policies allowed the non-core group elites to forge connections that proved effective in the long run. For example, most people involved in the creation of the Turnovo Constitution of 1879 came from the same imperially educated elites and literary circles supported or ignored by the Imperial authorities.[579] Similarly, the literary circles of friends and acquaintances scattered on the Imperial territories lay the foundation for the future Science Academy and political parties. Thus, Panajot Hitov, from a hajduk in the Balkan Mountains turned into a political figure, one of the supporters of the Unification with Eastern Rumelia and Stambolov's critic. And while the revolutionaries were indeed persecuted (which was not the case when it came to less radical subjects with imperial careers like Drinov and Gerov),[580] in the end, one can see that the Empires were unsuccessful in their pursuits. Even

[578] Hitov, Panajot: *Kak stanah hajdutin.* Sofia: Otechestvo 1982: 196-197.
[579] Drumeva, Emilija: *Konstitucionno parvo. 3.* Sofia: Siela, 2008: 102.
[580] Schenk, F. B.: "'Ich bin des Daseins eines Zugvogels müde.' Imperialer Raum und imperial Herrschaft in der Autobiographie einer russischen Adeligen", *L'Homme*. 23/2 2012: 49-64: Gerasimov, I. ‚Homo Imperii: povorot k biografii' *Ab Imperio*. 1/2009: 11—21.

the least radical Bulgarian public actors were connected to the most radical through mutual acquaintances and shared projects.

Also, imperial policies did forge both desired and undesired connections. In the case of Pan-Slavism, the Russian Empire did manage to influence a pro-Slavic elite that endured the anti-Russian policies of Stambolov and survived into the twentieth century. The activities of these pan-Slavic organizations could have long-lasting consequences. One of the examples of such an impact can be traced to 1900. In 1900 Ivan Kornilov, a Russian acting secret advisor sent a letter to a Bulgarian former revolutionary and, by that time, the head of the Slavic charitable society,[581] Ilija Kurtev, where he expressed his gratitude for Kurtev's attention and his message: "I thank you greatly from my Russian heart that loves the Western and the Southern Slavs as brothers and believes in the great and glorious future of the Slavic peoples. It is necessary, however, for the still separated Slavic peoples to understand that they are not alien to each other. All the modern leaders of the Slavic nations and all the Slavic societies, organizations and brotherhoods should serve the aim of awakening the Slavic solidarity."[582] Generally concerned about Russia's influence in the Balkans, Kurtev logically attempted to rely on the connections formed among the non-core group elites and their sponsors. Thus, while the Russian realities often turned certain public actors against the Empire, other enterprises brought both the desired and undesired connections.

The Empires, thus, indeed contributed to the formation of a network among the non-core group elites that appeared as a result of the identification of their subjects, their emancipation, the creation of typographies and educational institutions and partially inefficient persecution. Even legal cultural societies and journals printed within Empires had an immense impact on the Bulgarian nationalist thought, producing the radicals that the Ottoman, Russian and even Habsburg governments would later pursue.

Above all else, the Rum-Millet legacy served as a link between the Bulgarian non-core group elites and their Balkan peers, creating a basis for inter-Balkan cooperation. Similarly, Russia's attempts to establish its influence in the Balkans resulted in the bloom of various Slavic organizations that, yet again, became beacons for the young and able, who later occupied

[581] Initially founded in Russia, the society was known for publishing a vast amount of scholarly studies, dedicated to the Slavonic studies. Among the ones dedicated to Bulgaria, one may find. Sircu, Polihronie: *K istorii literatury vozrozhdenija bolgar. Izvestija slavjanskogo blagotvoritelnogo obshtestva Sankt-Peterburg* 1885 (Сырку, Полихроний. *К истории литературы возрождения болгар.Известия славянского благотворительного общества*.Санкт-Петербург, 1885.)

[582] Централен държавен исторически архив (ЦДИА), *Фонд 760Л, оп. 1. А.е. 7*

prominent positions in the political life of the Bulgarian Principality. Thus, the very existence of the nationalist network with the ideas circulating among these non-core group elites was very much dependent on the policies of the Empires, where these individuals navigated.

Chapter IV. Lost in interpretation. How long does a network last?

In 1882, poet and writer Ivan Vazov wrote the following lines about Georgi Rakovski: "What has not perished, oh, turbulent hero, is the large well of light, which you've opened in the dark past for us!"[583] Vazov, albeit being a writer rather than a politician, saw himself and his generation of nationalists as heirs to the goals and ideas of his predecessors. The spiritual link between different generations of intellectual elites is most often taken for granted by the agents themselves as well as the scholars studying their lives. But one may wonder if the public actors truly continued the pre-1879 endeavours as they claimed they did.[584] Did they understand the political creativity and connections of their predecessors? This chapter follows the political and personal transformations that followed the creation of the Bulgarian Principality, testing if the network formed by the pre-1878 intellectuals endured and if federalism and/or nationalism survived the individual shift of status from non-core to core group.

If the shift in status created a different basis for political creativity, it can be traced through the analysis of the agents' claims (e.g. federalism). The first part of the chapter deals with the political changes following the introduction of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 and their impact on the realities of the public actors. The second part turns to federalism and surveys whether the arguments and the basis for the same federalist claims changed. The third part asks how personal changes and individual life circumstances influence the network through its' participants. The Empires brought individuals together, but what happened to those non-core group elites when minorities started turning into majorities? In the end, two aspects – political changes and life circumstances - determine how the links between individuals are formed. Without understanding the correlation between a public actor's status and his connections, one cannot fully understand the roots of political creativity.

Changes in politics: the post-1878 Bulgaria

The creation of the Bulgarian Principality and the introduction of the Tŭrnovo Constitution in 1879 changed the political climate in the region, forming a space, where non-core group elites could carry out their political projects and realize their ambitions. While the constitution

[583] Vazov, Ivan*: Izbrano.* Vol. 2. Sofia: Trud publishers, 2008: 35.
[584] Most of the Balkan elites did indeed come from the same narrow circles, where they evolved. This situation did not seem to change much with the passing decades. See Stojanović, Dubravka: *Iza zavese: Ogledi iz društvene istorije Srbije 1890-1914.* Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2013: 15-32.

confirmed personal freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens, limited the Ottoman interference in their affairs and named a 'Prince' the new head of state, it also created a safer milieu for Bulgarian nationalism. The greatest impact of this change appears in the printing industry and the growing distribution of press.

The difference between the state of the publishing industry prior to 1878 and during the following decades is striking. Most Bulgarian newspapers before the Russian-Turkish War as well as most Bulgarian literary and revolutionary societies started out abroad, turning Russia, Romania and Serbia into places, where many institutions of the future Bulgarian state originated.[585] Only one permanent typography printing Bulgarian books was active in Ruse before the Russian-Turkish War. Thus, the overwhelming majority of Bulgarian books were printed and spread outside Bulgaria.[586] It was Ljuben Karavelov, who became one of the pioneers of Bularian publishing when he managed to transfer his printing activities over the Danube from Romania. His brother Petko and wife Natalija continued his activities following his death. All their enterprises originated and developed on the Bulgarian territory after 1879. Moreover, Natalija Karavelova left her native Belgrade and moved to Bulgaria to publish her husband's works and support the typographies in the Principality.[587]

All these new endevours were made possible by the laws of the Turnovo constitution. In 1879 it introduced unprecedented freedom of press, securing the right of literary expression that had remained inaccessible to the cohorts of travelling emigrants.[588] Quickly, Sofia became an intellectual centre, where most books, newspapers and pamphlets were published. Although the printing boom started in Plovdiv, Ruse and Veliko Turnovo, it was Sofia that dominated the scenery beginning from 1880. In the period between 1878 and 1944, 4940 journals under different titles were published in Sofia. Among them, 465 were one-leaf newspapers.[589] With each decade the number rose, proving the increase in both readership and book production. Together with the number of readers, the number of writers grew.

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[585] Duțu, Alexandru: *Studii istorice sud-est Europene. Academia de stiinte sociale si politice a republicii socialiste Romania. Institutul de studii sud-est Europene. II. Intelectuali din Balcani in Romania (sec. 17-19).* Editura academiei republicii socialiste Romania. Bucuresti 1984: 114,115.

[586] Barenbaum, Iosif; Shomrakova, Inga: *Vseobshchaja istorija knigi.* Vol. 2. Petersburg: Sankt-Petersburgskaja gosudarstvennaja akademija kultury 1996: 25

[587] Markovska, Milka: *Spomeni za P. K. Javorov.* Sofia: Kliment Ohridski: 1989: 417

[588] Boshurkov, G. Topencharov, Vl.: "Zarazhdane i razvoy na bulgarski periodichen pechat" In: *Bulgarski periodichen pechat 1844-1944. Anotiran bibliografski ukazatel.* Sustavitel: Dimitar Ivanchev. Vol. 1. Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo 1962: 18.

[589] Konstantinova, Zdravka: *Iz georgrafijata na bulgarskata presa. (1878-1944) // Medii i obshtestveni komunikacii.* Izd. UNSS/"Алма комуникация". 2008, № 3. Available from: [www.media-journal.info]

The side effects of the literary boom were the regulations set to control the developing printing industry. Although Article 79 of the Turnovo Constitution of 1879 banned all censorship in the Principality,[590] the freedom of press did not last long. In 1881, the Ottoman press regulations of 1864 were re-imposed.[591] Thus, the younger and older intellectuals had a brief period of two years to express their ideas and promote their projects without fear of retribution. This development brought publication control under the supervision of the authorities, limiting creative and political freedoms. However, these new regulations were, at least nominally, self-imposed.

Alongside many publishing houses and typographies, Bulgarian cultural and political organizations from abroad moved to the Principality following 1878. Those clubs and societies that originated outside Bulgaria now offered lasting carreer opportunities to the intellectuals, employing them in the service of the state. The newly established principality introduced political and academic promotions that required little to no mobility. Thus, the Bulgarian literary society transformed into the Academy of Science with historian Marin Drinov as its first head.[592] The Constituent Assembly Elections of 1879 created the Bulgarian Liberal Party with Petko Slavejkov and Petko Karavelov as full-fledged politicians. Similarly, Todor Burmov, a former emigrant and mobile intellectual, became a prominent figure in the newly-founded Conservative Party. Clubs of friends and revolutionaries from the 1870s lay foundations for political parties and cultural organizations in the Principality that were now recognized by the Principality and Greater Powers.

Following the elevation of friendly circles to political parties, their members gained unrestricted access to the minds of their countrymen. For example, the new government now used the 'Durzhaven Vesnik'(State Gazette) as the official state newspaper.[593] Thus, a new landscape of power came to life: now newspapers and journals were not international or joint enterprises supported from abroad, but local initiatives, means of influence and control spread through the Principality. The Conservative party (1879-1884) supported its' own journals – Vitosha, Bulgarski glas (the Bulgarian Voice), Otechestvo (Motherland).[594] Similarly, the Liberal Party (1879-1896) relied on its' own media to reach the population – Celokupna

[590] Kolev, Jordan: *Bŭlgarskata inteligentsi͡ia 1878-1912*. Sofia: Kl. Okhridski", 1992: 230.
[591] Gergova, Ani: *Bulgarska kniga. Encyclopaedia*. Sofia: Pensoft, 2004: 344.
[592] Gergova, Ani: *'Bulgarska kniga': enciklopedija.* Sofia: Pensoft, 2004: 102.
[593] The newspaper continued its' existence well into the 20th century onward. For example, the new press restrictions were made public through the State Gazette in 1883. See Tankova, Vasilka et al.: *Svobodata na pechata v Bulgaria 1879-1847. Dokumentalen sbornik.* Sofia: Kliment Ohridski University Press, 1992: 8, 31-33.
[594] Dojnov, Dojno*: Istorija na bulgarskija politicheski zhivot. Izvori.* Varna: Grafik, 2002: 532-533.

Bulgarija (The wholesome Bulgaria), Nezavisimost (Independence), etc.[595] Each of the off-shots of these two parties also acquired a newspaper or a journal that later promoted its' views – pro and anti-Russian, liberal and conservative. The circulations of individual newspapers, however, did not increase significantly. From 1879 to 1885, for example, an average nespaper produced 1000-2000 copies, which was not a great success compared to Slavejkov's earlier 'Macedonia' with roughly 3600 subscribers.[596] The Conservative party's most popular newspaper the Bulgarian Voice (Български глас) had the circulation of 1000-1200 copies during its' heyday.[597]

These pieces of media were, as the intellectuals themselves acknowledged, not very effective when addressing vast layers of population. Slavejkov lamented that his 'Celokupna Bulgarija' could not reach enough people and stopped existing only after one year and 14 issues.[598] This fact, however, does not reflect the rise of printing and the overall developments in the media. While one journal could fail individually (as it did in Slavejkov's case), it was their sheer number that produced the desired effect. Almost 5000 different titles circulated in the Principality during the next fifty years, supporting and stirring debates between various public actors. This access to media was unprecedented for an intellectual elite that was used to publish sparingly and mostly abroad.

Press regulations and literary boom demonstrate the impact of a dramatic power shift in the Principality. People, who managed censorship, now occupied all the prominent posts in the state – in politics, culture and education. The number of imposed limitations grew with each year beginning from 1883.[599] Anti-governmental stances now posed a threat to the Principality, and some of the former non-core group agents became reinforcers of law. Those, who did not, faced marginalization.

Where the press controlled by the elites could not reach, education extended. In the 1860s Mithat Pasha's project aimed at the integration of Bulgarian schools into the Ottoman state system failed, leaving the intellectuals free to design their own educational system a decade

[595] Dojnov, Dojno: Op. cit. 531.
[596] See the news bulletin *Bulgarski zhurnalist.* Vol. 12. December. 1970: 13.
[597] Borshukov, Georgi: *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata zhurnalistika: 1844-1877, 1878-188*5. Sofia: Nauka i izkusto 1976: 427.
[598] Atanasov, Teodosij: *Berkovska khronika: sluchki ot mladite godini na Ivan Vazov.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1978: 100.
[599] Tankova, Vasilka: "Bulgarskoto zakonodatelstvo po pechata 1879-1944." In: Nejkov, Stojan, Tankova, Vasilka, et al.: *Mezhdu tri veka. Sudbi, iljuzii I svidetelstva za chudoto, narecheno zhurnalistika.* Sofia: Sojuz na bulgarskite zhurnalisti: 2004: 151.

later.[600] In the following decade the intellectuals created the Bulgarian model. The first results of their actions are found in the Turnovo Constitution: free elementary education was introduced officially for all Bulgarians in 1879.[601] The ones to supervise its' efficiency were the former non-core group elites with their imperial background and upbringing. Thus, a new class of teachers and bureaucrats rose. A typical example of these officials was the first Minister of Education – Georgi Atanasovich, who was also a medicine professor in Bucharest.[602] Shortly after his ascendency he was replaced by Ivan Gjuzelev, who started working on a comprehensive educational reform and the introduction of the Bulgarian language into the curriculum.

The reform turned into a competition between the elites, many of whom made use of their international connections. It was Konstantin Jiracek, a Czech historian, friend and colleague of Marin Drinov, who travelled to the Principality to aide in the creation of the new Bulgarian Schools.[603] Devising the curriculum, he relied on the educational experience he had in the Habsburg Empire. The result was the standardization of the elementary and secondary education beginning from 1880. That innovative measure meant the creation of new 'Bulgarians' through the means of education. People, who could not be reached with newspapers, could be reached with education. Thus, it provided the public actors with means of elite production – they could now not only convert, but 'groom' co-nationals.[604] Furthermore, in 1888 Sofia University was established, allowing the intellectuals to produce not just co-nationals, but elites - all closer to home.

Educational reforms, however, could not solve the problems in the economic sector that suffered from the lack of investment and modernization. It was the nation-state that had to build modernity and not vice-versa.[605] Yet, the Principality remained overwhelmingly peasant and even its' achievements in the sphere of cultural nationalism could not improve its' economic stability. The new state was a project help together by the intellectuals, who copied both Ottoman and European experiences, trying to regulate their agriculture-based economy. It was

[600] Lilova 2003, 27-62 Lilova, Desislava (2003): "Balkanite kato Rodina? Versii za teritorialnata identichnost na bulgarite pod Osmanska vlast". Vacheva, Albena; Chobanov, Georgi (ed.): *Kultura i kritika, vol 3, Krajat na modernostta?* Varna: LiterNet: 27-62
[601] Vladikin, Ljubomir*: Istoija na Tanrnovska Konstitucija.* Sofia: Narodna Kultura, 1994: 136.
[602] Tashev, Tasho: *Ministrite na Bulgarija 1879-1999.* Sofia: Marin Drinov, 1999: 39-40.
[603] Jirecek, Konstantin: *Bulgarski dnevnik. Vol I.* Plovdiv: tipografija Hristo Danov, 1930: 110.
[604] Koulouri, Christina: "L'identité nationale grecque à travers les manuels scolaires. Métamorphoses (1830-1995)". *Internationale Schulbuchforschung 3 (1996)*: 323-349.
[605] Höpken, Wolfgang: "Zentralstaat und kommunale Sebstverwaltung in Bulgarien 1880–1910. Zur Anatomie eines Modernisierungskonfliktes," in: Zwetana Todorova (ed.): *Probleme der Modernisierung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Sofia: Kliment Ohridski: 1994: 24–39

an elitist system governed by a privileged minority. But in this aspect, the Principality did not differ much from most European states. Strath and Wagner point out: "By 1900 there were no exclusive democracies either but oligarchies that operated with restricted suffrage…. Even though industrial capitalism spread, market self-regulation had widely been found deficient and economic exchange remained highly regulated in Europe."[606]

Bulgaria following its' ascendancy to a Principality, managed a superficial adaptation of capitalist and state institutions in the 1880s. The elites now realized that they could not compete in a world, where early industrializers were ahead of them. Thus, they used their most recent institutional creation – the nation-state modular form – to create relevant preconditions of modernity itself.[607] Therefore, the foreign policies of the Bulgarian Principality were those of regional competition and blatant nationalism, not of consolidation.

It was Stefan Stambolov, who introduced most of these survival policies.[608] It was the Ottoman and, especially, the Russian Empire, whose influence in the Balkans Stambolov strove to undermine.[609] He became a leading politician already during the debates between Liberals and Conservatives at 'the Founding Great Assembly' in 1879. In 1880 he got a promotion, becoming first the Deputy Speaker and then - full Speaker of the Bulgarian Parliament. Stambolov served as Prime Minister from 1887 until 1894. He supported the 'Plovdiv Coup' and accomplished the Union of the Principality with Eastern Rumelia in 1885, assuring the territorial growth of his state. Stambolov, a former revolutionary, ran the state for almost a decade, and he chose to treat Bulgaria as a Greater Power. Moreover, he exhibited core-group attitudes, although the Principality's position (and that of its' elites) was not as stable as he presented it. The Princes were non-Bulgarians, the Ottoman sovereignty over the Principality continued to exist, all the political maneuvers and economic reforms had to be approved by Greater Powers. The situation was paradoxical: new opportunities appeared for the bright and able non-core group elites in politics, education and economics, but they still could not exercise independent foreign policies ignoring Greater Powers and their now distant sovereign.

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[606] Strath, Bo; Wagner, Peter: *European Modernity. A global approach.* Oxford: Bloomsbury 2017: 3.
[607] Todorova, Maria: "Modernism". In: Ersoy, Ahmet, et al.. *Modernism: The Creation of Nation-States: Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770–1945: Texts and Commentaries, volume III/1*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010: 4-22.
[608] Perry, Duncan M.: *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria: 1870-1895*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993: 102-124.
[609] Daskalov, Roumen: "Stambolov, the Russophiles, and the Russophobes in Bulgaria." In *Debating the Past: Modern Bulgarian Historiography—From Stambolov to Zhivkov*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011: 7-86.

These attempts to bring modernity to the Principality and ensure its' survival resulted in the waves of state irredentism. The short war with Serbia (1885), the subsequent unification with Eastern Rumelia and successful territorial growth,[610] brought new lands under the scrutiny of the elites. Now, many Bulgarian public actors aspired to 'liberate their fellow co-nationals in the Ottoman Macedonia.'[611] A non-core group could have irredentist aspirations, but its' elites mostly concentrated on self-defence and/or a search for allies. Their irredentism was theoretical and usually targeted a weaker opponent. Core-group elites, on the other hand, could aspire for greater territorial growth, often ignoring alliances. The Bulgarian Principality, however, officially supported these irredentist tendencies.

These official support marks the elite's transformation form a non-core group to a core-group. he elite became irredentist. This shift can be tracked through written sources left by the intellectuals. An analysis of accounts from the pre-1879 period and the later pro-state samples can offer an overview of these perceptions and their radical differences. Those were the reactions to Russia, Romania, Serbia, and Greater Powers, that reveal the shifts in the non-core group mentality of the many Bulgarian intellectuals.

Before the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish war, Bulgarian benevolent societies in Bucharest and Turnu Magureli published addresses to their nation, where the leaders expressed mostly Russian-oriented ideas: "There is no freedom without sacrifice! That hope has not left us even for a minute. It has always been the great and orthodox Russia".[612] Furthermore, the authors added: "The Russians as brothers, come selflessly to our aid so that they can do for us what they have done for the liberation of the Greeks, Romanians and Serbs".[613] While ocassional anti-Russian views did appear, they did not comprise the bulk of the accounts. Even if the authors were anti-Russian, they were usually anti-Imperial in general - much like Botev, who did not have a positive opinion about either the Ottoman, or the Habsburg Empire. However, following Stambolov's ascendancy, anti-Russian sentiments became a political norm in the Principality, where otherwise pro-Russian views were persecuted.[614]

[610] Calic, Marie-Janine: *Südosteuropa. Weltgeschichte einer Region.* C. H. Beck Verlag, München 2016: 345-359.
[611] Radev, Todor: *Vusstanijata v taktikata na bulgarskija iredentizam. 1894-1904*. Sofia: Paradigma: 9.
[612] CDIA [ЦДИА] Fond 820 opis 1, arh. ed. 7. Kum statiya na D. Gencheva "Dokumenti po vustaniyata," gr. 2. №1
[613] CDIA [ЦДИА], op. cit.
[614] Radev, Simeon: *Stroitelite na suvremenna Bulgarija Vol. 2*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1990: 256.

In the 1880s pro-Russian accounts rarely even reached their way into the media, which was pointed out by the many Russian pan-Slavic agents, including Bestuzhev-Riumin.[615] Probably, the most famous negative reaction to Russia's foreign policies in the Balkans was expressed by Zahari Stojanov publicly in 1886: "You [Russians], made bridges out of people so that you could walk upon them. Then you took those bridges away. How truthful this affirmation turned out to be! Following the words of one of our compatriots, I'd agree that you don't know grammar since you make no difference between 'yours' and 'mine'!".[616] In his open letter to the Russian Slavophile Aksakov, Stojanov summarized the essence of the official anti-Russian policies. Most public actors feared the Empire's influence that they had previously regarded as most useful for their goal of national emancipation.

The perceptions of the Romanian lands offer a similar picture. As early as in 1868 a number of Bulgarian intellectuals in Romania, wrote that since they were "living in free Romania, they could express through their writing and living voice the wishes of their co-nationals. At the same time, they could spread the awareness of the dire situation on the Southern bank of the Danube, where their brothers remained."[617] Prior to the Russian-Turkish War the Bulgarian intellectuals used the Danubian Principalities as a platform to gather support for their national cause among the Romanian public.

The positive accounts were numerous and came from different places. In July 1868 Kazakovich, a Bulgarian from Alexandria, wrote to one of the most prominent Bulgarians in Bucharest, Ivan Kasabov, that Romania offered the Bulgarian youth all the opportunities for education and that teacher Hristo Zlatovich was granted rights by the authorities to educate the local Bulgarian children to "feel Bulgarian even if they were born in Romania."[618] In 1869, Ljuben Karavelov called Romania "the Second Switzerland,"[619] a sort of a bastion of liberty and culture, in his article in the 'Svoboda' newspaper. Yet, a decade later, almost no chronicler or biographer wrote about these 'positive sides of the emigration.' The crack in the Bulgarian-Romanian relations was caused by the dispute over the territory of Dobruja and, furthermore, deteriorated by the beginning of the 20th century with the rise of both Bulgarian and Romanian irredentism.

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[615] Vovchenko, Denis: *Containing Balkan Nationalism: Imperial Russia and Ottoman Christians, 1856-1914.* Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016: 265.
[616] Stojanov, Zahari: "Pismo osvoboditelju Aksakovu ili kto kak ponimajet panslavjanstvo." *Nezavisimost. 12.03.1886.*
[617] BIA [БИА], Fond 154, arh. Ed. 4, p. 37-38.
[618] BIA [БИА] Fond № 154, arh. ed. 6, list 8.
[619] The first issue of Karavelov's journal 'Svoboda' appeared in print in November 1869.

In 1900 the Central Defensive Militarized Society in Sofia (Централното поборническо опълченско дружество в София*)* issued a proclamation that addressed all its branches in entire Bulgaria. Appealing to their fellow-Bulgarian patriots, the authors drew their attention to an unfortunate accident that had recently taken place in Bucharest.[620] A young Bulgarian from Macedonia killed a man, whom, as the author assures the audience, they had already known to be a Turkish spy and a traitor to their Bulgarian brothers in the 'unfortunate Macedonia'. The author of the proclamation pointed out: "The Romanian government as well as all of the Romanian press, have declared a crusade against everything that is Bulgarian."[621] The author agitated the Bulgarians to rise in defence of the "Bulgarian brothers, arrested, beaten, tortured, robbed and expelled from Romania."[622] The author of the proclamation expressed typical core-group mentality, targeting 'the unfortunate Macedonia' rather than bothering about the survival of his nation-state. The account only mentioned mutual hostilities and did not bring the reader's attention to a peaceful solution. Furthermore, it only addressed the past in the purview of the current situation.

This trend reached its' peak in the two disputes, each featuring Bulgaria. The Dobrudjan and the Macedonian debates between Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece turned the Balkan elites against each other. In the Dobrujan case, the heated dispute between two prominent historians, Nicolae Iorga and Petar Mutafchiev, and mutual caricaturizing of each other in literature and press relied heavily on the public actors' familiarity with each other's public spheres.[623] Iorga and Mutafchiev knew each other, reflected upon similar ideas, were both scholars and nationalists. They, again, had more in common with each other than with the masses of their indifferent peasant compatriots. It was their perceived core-group position that turned them into opponents.

The debates between Iorga and Mutafchiev featured many historical arguments that were employed by their predecessors, when dividing the Balkans. Arguing with his Romanian colleague, the Bulgarian historian underlined the Slavic origin of the word 'Dobruja'.[624] He added that "after the Romans had left Dacia, everything that could have remained there fell

[620] CDIA [ЦДИА] Fond 720K opis № 2, arh. ed. 53
[621] CDIA [ЦДИА] Op cit.
[622] CDIA [ЦДИА] Op. cit.
[623] Nyagulov, Blagovest: "Les images de l'autre chez les bulgares et les roumaines (1878-1944)", *Etudes Balcaniques,* 31 (2), 1995: 3-25.
[624] Mutafchiev Petur: *Dobrudzha v minaloto: Bulgari i rumuni v istorijata na dunavskite zemi.* Sofia: Pechatnica Hudozhnik, 1927/1999: 68.

under the sword of the barbarians"[625] and explained that the few Romanian settlers came to Dobruja already when the Bulgarian Empire was ruling over the land.[626] Iorga's ideas regarding Dobrujan history were connected mainly to Romania's spiritual and cultural presence in the region during all the periods of its history and resistance to the Bulgarian "barbarians".[627] It was not the vocabulary that changed or the nationalist arguments that targeted different aspects of politics and culture. The debates of Rakovski with the Greeks featured in the previous chapter sounded remarkably like the political squabbles between different Balkan public actors almost forty years later. However, Iorga and Mutafchiev were no longer revolutionaries or exiles. They were successful academics. And the disputes of academics tended to have greater impact on both regional and local politics.

A Principality created a legally defined space for the Bulgarian intellectuals within the Ottoman Empire. The lives of the non-core group elites changed in three major ways: they acquired resources to impose their views upon peasant masses and efficient means of communication with each other. Finally, they acquired a political entity that they could shape – a practical outlet for their previously theoretical endeavours. Thus, they could no longer be viewed as a non-core group in the Principality, although they nominally remained under Imperial control. However, as the accounts above demonstrate, the new political circumstances either destroyed or transformed individual connections and perceptions.

Changes in ideology: Federalism and federalisms?

When political events and life experiences change people's realities, can their federalism and/or nationalism remain the same? Ideas travel through generations and societies,[628] remaining open to reinterpretation for both younger and older generations. Federalism is no exception to the rule. Numerous works on Balkan and European federalisms from different decades offer a comprehensive view of the idea and the way it captured the minds of individuals during

[626] Mutafchiev Petur: *Dobrudzha v minaloto: Bulgari i rumuni v istorijata na dunavskite zemi.* Sofia: Pechatnica Hudozhnik, 1927/1999: 83

[627] Iorga, Nicolae. "Ce represintăm in Dobrogea?" Idei din conferința ținuta în ziua de 11 ianuar 1910 ("What do we represent in Dobruja?" Ideas delivered at the conference on January 11, 1910), Valenii de munte, 1910: 10.

[628] Jiresh, Ester: "Marie-Elisabeth Belpaire and Dina Logeman-Van Der Willigen: two cultural transmitters in Flanders – in the same literary field?" (33-55). In: *In the Vanguard of Cultural Transfer: Cultural Transmitters and Authors in Peripheral Literary Fields*, Petra Broomans, Marta Ronne (eds.). Groningen: Barkhuis, 2010: 41-43.

different periods.[629] But most of these pieces never ask if the ideology itself meant the same thing in different epochs. Neither do they address the paradox of individuals, who claimed to understand their predecessors and their work and, yet, lived in a different reality described above.

The aspect of Balkan federalism that endured following 1879 is its' elitism. Federalism as an elitist expression remained common for almost all cohorts of European intellectuals during the long 19th century. When referring to the Polish 19th-century federalists, Malgorzata Morawiec points out: „Among the propagators of the Pan-European idea in Poland were – it could hardly be different with regard to the usual supporters of the Pan-European idea – nobles, artists, intellectuals and diplomats."[630] The situation was no different in the Bulgarian case: the first Bulgarian federalists came from the French colleges in Istanbul, Vienna, Kiev, Paris and Munich, even Zagreb and the academies of the Danubian Principalities.[631] Following 1879, this situation did not change: those were either the surviving well-educated and well-read agents or the new generations of well-educated and well-read intellectuals. Yet, during the transition from a non-core to a core-group federalism of the elites had to change: now intellectuals operated in a different space, where federalist ideas were not necessarily the most popular political choice.[632] Moreover, now a federalist way of thinking could become a very personal response to change.[633]

[629] Such works are numerous. From the classic Stavrianos, Leften: *Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement Toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times.* Northhampton The Dept. of history of Smith college, 1944 Theodore I. Geshkoff: *Balkan Union; a Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940) to the more recent analyses of the federalist strivings and nationalist statements in. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder: *Federalism Doomed?: European Federalism Between Integration and Separation* New York: Berghahn Books, 2002. Kovačević, Bojan: *Europe's Hidden Federalism: Federal Experiences of European Integration.* London: Routledge, 2017.

[630] Morawiec, Malgorzata: „Europavisionen in Ostmitteleuropa in der ersten Halfte des 20. Jahrhunders." In: Irene Dingel and Matthias Schnettger (eds.) *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2010: 209.

[631] Duțu, Alexandru: *Studii istorice sud-est Europene. Academia de stiinte sociale si politice a republicii socialiste Romania. Institutul de studii sud-est Europene. II. Intelectuali din Balcani in Romania (sec. 17-19).* Editura academiei republicii socialiste Romania. Bucuresti 1984: 120.

[632] Morawiec, Malgorzata: „Vom ewigen Bundnis der zivilisierten Volker"(1831) zur „Dammerung Europas" (1867). Der Wandel des Europa-Diskurses in der polonischen Publizistik des 19. Jahrhunderts. In Heinz Duchhardt, Malgorzata Morawiec (Hg.) Vision Europa. Deutsche und polnische Föderationspläne des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 2003: 37-55.

[633] Zloch, Stephanie: *Polnischer Nationalismus: Politik und Gesellschaft zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen*. *Koln*: Bohlau, 2010, p. 111. Bokajlo, Wieslaw: „Polnische Konzepte einer europäischen Föderation". In: Heinz Duchhardt und Malgorzata Morawiec (Hrsg.): *Vision Europa. Deutsche und polnische Föderationspläne des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts*, Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 2003: 87.

A typical example of personal marginalization that resulted in a federalist stance can be found in the life of Todor Ikonomov.[634] The intellectual started out as a prominent revolutionary and a member of a non-core group elite and ended as a marginalized and persecuted individual in Stambolov's Bulgaria, who was largely forgotten and ignored by his peers. Ikonomov's federalism developed following the formation of the Bulgarian Principality. It was during his travels in the region that he slowly began to shape his political manifest. Passing through Dunis and Deligrad in Serbia, Ikonomov pointed out: "How many tragic memories do these two names awaken in the heart of a sincere Serb? How many not just Serbian, but Slavic hopes were connected to these places in the beginning of the war, in 1876? What kind of unexpected disappointments replaced those hopes just a couple of months later?"[635] It was Ikonomov's personal marginalization and his disappointment with the Bulgarian state that he reflected upon in his "Letters about Serbia". He, thus, turned to federalism not in search of allies, but rather in search of a personal emancipation.

Ikonomov remained a nationalist, but he perceived himself as a member of a non-core group even after the creation of the Principality. Partially, his pro-Russian position contributed to his marginalization and his federalist turn.[636] Ikonomov claimed that Russia had facilitated the Serbian liberation from the Ottomans, yet, Serbian politicians turned away from Russia and their neighbours instead of forming a lasting alliance.[637] Simultaneously, Ikonomov admitted that the Russian interference with the Serbian internal affairs had caused a drift between regional powers.[638] He also addressed the consequences of the San-Stefano Treaty that left the Bulgarian public actors with a state-building ideal for the generations to come and their Serbian peers with a feeling of disappointment. He wrote: "They blame Russia for granting them too little through the San-Stefano peace treaty, where their dreams and hopes for a Serbian expansion without regard to Bulgaria were let down."[639] Ikonomov's solution to all Balkan territorial disputes was a union of nation-states supported by Russia. His motivations for choosing federalism, however, are at a stark contrast to those of his predecessors. His federalist

[634] Bluskov, Ilija: *Povestvovanija za vuzrozhdenskoto vreme. Gorchivi vuzpominanija za poslednite dni ot zhivota na T. Ikonomov.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BZNS, 1985: 469-487. Even Ikonomov's contemporaries all pointed out the correlation between his federalism and his personal marginalization.
[635] Ikonomov, Todor: Pisma za Surbija. Ruse: skoropechatnica na v. Slavjanin, 1883: 33.
[636] Ikonomov, Todor: Mojata biografija. Memoari. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1973: 592-95.
[637] Ikonomov: Op cit.: 34.
[638] Ikonomov: Op cit.: 34.
[639] Ikonomov: Op cit.: 35.

claims were expressed by a marginalized member of a core-group, who did not see himself as such. Many other elder Balkan federalists fit this description.

Another Balkan federalist, who found himself marginalized, was Svetozar Miletić.[640] His federalism developed as a reaction to personal persecution and the unfavourable politics of the state – it was Austria-Hungary in the case of Miletić. Yet, it was his overall disappointment with the Balkan politics of Serbia, Bulgaria, the Habsburgs and Russia that pressed him further toward federalism.[641] Svetozar Miletić reacted poorly to the Hungarian domination in the Empire, Serbia's inability to redeem her co-nationals, and the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia. In the 1880s he wrote: 'In Austria and Hungary such parties were in power, who did not even give us a chance to talk, who traded us as if we were objects, who decided our fate without us.'[642]

In 1881, under the pressure of the administrative authorities in Vojvodina, he secured his election to the Parliament of Budapest, and in a speech of the following year summoned the Monarchy to evacuate Bosnia and Herzegovina. His speech brought no desired results. But, in the end, it is not the speech that matters, but the motivations behind it. Before the Russian-Turkish War and the Ausgleich, most Balkan federalists only viewed their ideology as a tool for liberation. Now they used it as both a reaction to personal marginalization and as an opposition to the policies they did not agree with – often the policies of their former allies and compatriots, as well as Greater Powers. Balkan federalism, thus, became an ideology of political opposition. Ikonomov did not agree with the policies of the Bulgarian Principality and Serbia. Miletić wished to see an emancipated Serbian nation united with the Serbian kingdom and a prospective Balkan alliance, but did not approve of either Habsburg, or Serbian external politics.[643]

These attitudes of overall disappointment were characteristic not only for the surviving elder generations. The younger public actors often shared that scepticism regarding the policies of the rising Balkan nation-states. But there was another dimension to their federalism that most of the elder federalists lacked. It was associated with the rise of socialism. And one of the

[640] Karavelov's friendly relations with the Serbian ideologists also resulted in his arrest by the Habsburg authorities together with Miletić and Jovanović. McClellan, Woodford: *Svetozar Marković and the Origins of Balkan Socialism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015: 64.
[641] Keil, Soeren: *Multinational Federalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, London: Routledge, 2013: 28.
[642] Miletić, Svetozar: *Izabrani članci Svetozara Miletića* edited by Miroslav Jerkov, Novi Sad: Štamparija Jovanović, 1939: 2.
[643] Okey, Robin: *Taming Balkan Nationalism: The Habsburg 'Civilizing Mission' in Bosnia 1878-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007: 21.

examples of a socialist, adhering to federalism is Christian Rakovski. Christian (or Krastjo) Rakovski, a controversial revolutionary, later a Soviet politician and diplomat,[644] can be considered one of the most internationally connected members of the late Bolshevik government. Born in Kotel, he became a Romanian citizen, who used Turgenev's Bulgarian protagonist's name – Insarov – as his pen-name.[645] Rakovski (the son of Georgi Rakovski's sister) was an international revolutionary, but he was *not* a Bulgarian nationalist. His federalism came from his ideological strivings, but *not* from a wish for national emancipation.

He was part of the circles of socialist mobile ideologists, who created an all-European network themselves.[646] Christian Rakovski became a prominent figure among the Romanian socialists, then joined the Bolsheviks and made a political carreer in the Soviet Union.[647] His fast political ascend was followed by a brutal demise and his execution in 1941. While his destiny itself leaves a vast legacy for researchers, it is the basis of his federalism that is truly important in the current case. The younger Rakovski was a friend of Dobrogeanu-Gherea and met many of the Romanian socialists, who, in their turn, had known Hristo Botev.[648] But his position of political weakness and his reason for turning to federalism lay in his socialist views rather than his nationalism and any emancipation strategies that he could have proposed.

Apart from ideology, another federalist motivation for the younger generations lay in what they perceived as the failure of a nation-state. It was not personal marginalization or disappointment with the politics of their governments that caused such federalist turns, but rather a general reaction to the inefficiencies of the rising nation-states. In 1895, a translation of a Serbian book on federalism written by a diplomat and scholar Vladimir Karić, appeared in Bulgaria. In his foreword to Karić's book, his Bulgarian translator, Vishin, lamented that the „Disagreements between the Balkan nations have always been caused by a foreign power or a foreign conqueror on the peninsula. When Byzantium was weak, Serbia and Bulgaria prospered: when it became stronger, unhappy times came for both. Without Constantinople, no conqueror could assert himself anywhere on the peninsula for a longer time."[649] Repeating the ideas of the Serbian

[644] Bradley, J. F. N.: "France, Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1917—1918." *The English Historical Review, Vol*. 86, No. 341 (Oct., 1971): 783—789.
[645] Frunză, Victor: *Istoria stalinismului în România.* București: Humanitas, 1990: 93-95.
[646] Livezeanu, Irina: *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1995: 250.
[647] Tismăneanu, Vladimir: *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2003: 61-62.
[648] Iosif, Ştefan; Anghel, Dimitrie: "*Racovski", in Cireşul lui Lucullus. Teatru, proză, traduceri*. Editura Minerva, Bucharest, 1976: 256
[649] Karić, Vladimir: *Surbija i balkanski sujuz.* Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur i Petar Nencho Popovi. Svishtov-Pluven. Translated by L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica Napreduk 1895: 1.

diplomat, Vishin stressed the reasons behind a federalist choice as those of insecurity: to him the core-group status update was only momentary and illusionary. A functional federation had to appear to protect the Balkan nations, who believed themselves to be deceptively privileged when they were not. They were, in other words, a failure - with or without efficient governmental bodies to rule them.

In Karić's view, a 'nation-state' was a flawed idea that could not support regional modernization, solve territorial conflicts and create a prosperous sphere for its' citizens. And neither were Greater Powers suited for the task. Referring to one of the main reasons for a potential union of the Balkan nations, Karić wrote that it was almost impossible to discern whether it was "Russia or Austria, who is the best friend or the worst enemy of our people."[650] Relying on the works of Karavelov and Miletić, Karić sought a theoretical basis for a possible Balkan union. For example, he remembered that the Bulgarian detachments fought as volunteers in Easter Serbia during the Serbian resurrection.[651] Similarly to Todor Ikonomov, Karić believed that an alliance could assure the well-being of his nation satisfying both the Serbian and the Bulgarian nation-state ambitions without following the Western nation-state model.[652] But unlike his predecessors, he blamed that very Western model for the current failures of the Balkan nations.

Another important particularity shared by younger federalists was their idea of a wrong turn taken by their predecessors. They did not accept the works of earlier state-builder as gospel but chose to highlight their mistakes instead. Those criticizing attitudes turned federalism into a marginalized ideology in the 1880s and, especially, in the 1890s. That attitude was eloquently summarized by Karić and his enthusiastic translator: "The Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek nations…before they turned into the little states of today had been much closer to the ideal of liberation than they are now. In those days the peninsula, although supressed under the Turkish yoke, expressed greater unity in interests than it does now."[653] The nation-state did not work, but those were the state-builders of the 1870s that were to blame for those mishaps. Moreover, Karić would idealize as well as blame his predecessors. When addressing the complicated and

[650] Karić, Vladimir: *Surbija i balkanski sujuz*. Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur i Petar Nencho Popovi. Svishtov-Pluven. Translated by L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica Napreduk 1895: 16.
[651] Dimitrije Djordjević, Stephen Fischer-Galati: *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition*. Columbia University Press, 1981: 74
[652] Karić, Vladimir: *Surbija i balkanski sujuz. Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur i Petar Nencho Popovi. Svishtov*-Pluven. Translated by L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica Napreduk 1895: 16-20.
[653] Karić: Op.cit.: 12.

contested personality of Ilija Garasanin, he wrote: "He was the only Serbian statesman, who truly understood the Serbian idea and who had the "Nacertanije" to help him achieve his goal - the project of a Balkan union. Milicevic writes: "Garasanin supported the friendship with Romania, signed a treaty with Greece and Montenegro that should have been united with Serbia after a successful war."[654] Yet, none of the above happened because of the political miscalculations of the Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek state-builders.

But did the leaders themselves express federalist strivings? After all, federalism, despite its' decline, did not become a 'banned' ideology in either Serbia or Bulgaria in the 1880s. When leaders turned to unifying arguments, however, it was not the failure of the nation-state, inefficient policies, marginalization and ideology that motivated them. It was a question of security. They no longer strove to liberate their Slavic or Balkan countrymen, but to preserve the status-quo. Their attitudes were characteristic for a core-group. For example, a decade following the Russian-Turkish war, Prince Alexander of Battenberg wrote to Alexandru Sturdza: "Bulgaria will never forget that, in the hour of dire need, her sons found most brotherly hospitality in Romania, and that the efforts of the Bulgarian people to achieve liberty and progress have always been viewed with noble sympathy by the Romanians."[655] In the 1880s, before the Dobrudjan question divided the two states[656] the Prince did not know that he would abdicate following an unsuccessful coup, and eventually leave Bulgaria. The prince, very much an outsider, would remember the Romanian-Bulgarian 'friendly ties' in hopes to cement the status-quo and assure the continued existence of his domain.

But Alexander Battenberg was not alone in his search for an alliance with Romania. Stefan Stambolov pursued the same goals of preserving the status-quo and ensuring the security of his Principality. He, however, was not interested in the current Prince as the head of state. Stambolov negotiated a union with Romania under king Charles,[657] discarding the current Bulgarian Prince. Thus, unlike Karavelov motivated by the liberation of nations oppressed by Empires,[658] Stambolov acted in the position of political insecurity of a core-group leader. He

[654] Karić, Vladimir: *Surbija i balkanski sujuz.* Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur i Petar Nencho Popovi. Svishtov-Pluven. Translated by L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica Napreduk 1895: 14.
[655] Arhiva M.A.E. Vol. 198. Dosar 21. p.4.
[656] Iordachi, Constantin: *Citizenship, Nation- and State-building: The Integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania, 1873-1913.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, Centre for Russian & East European Studies, 2002.
[657] Tetevenski, Stojo: *Stambolov.* Sofia: Trud, 2010: 93.
[658] Nikolov, Ivan: *Bulgarite i susednite narodi v publicistikata na Rakovski, Karavelov, Botev i Javorov.* Sofia: Makedonija Press, 1996: 20.

did not write pamphlets or proclamations. Instead, he negotiated with the Romanian authorities directly. Stambolov was not a federalist, but he could resort to federalism to support his state's existence.

What unites all these federalist claims regardless of the motivation behind them, is their vagueness. Following 1879 almost none of the plans went into rigorous organizational details. Karić was, probably, one of the few people, who tried to outline the governmental system of a possible federation. He envisioned the political balance of the state in the following way: "In Ljubljana one would write in Slovenian, in Zagreb – in Croatian, in Belgrade – in Serbian, in Sofia – in Bulgarian, while literature, arts and sciences would be the property of all the South Slavs, independently of their Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian or Slovenian backgrounds."[659] That ideal state had to be supported by universal suffrage, personal freedoms and a confederative system. The vocabulary of federalists did not change following 1878. Karić used the same words and notions that Lajos Kossuth employed in the 1860s and that Karavelov and Miletić borrowed from him. The idea of fixing the existing situation united all these federalist strivings. Both marginalized intellectuals and wary politicians used federalism as an ideology to fix their position and that of their group. Federalism was no longer a tool to create a new society, but rather to fix an existing one.

That idea of fixing or remaking the existing system brought new possibilities for younger federalists. Several federalist initiatives slowly gained support from the state. Federalist initiatives could be discarded as wishful thinking, but they could also bring the attention of the public to the cultural sides of pan-Slavism and regional peace. For example, 'Pobratimstvo', a scholarly network of the Balkan public actors, was a federalist club, where unifying ideas were shared and the protectorate of the Russian Empire was often viewed with content and displeasure.[660] The organization arranged congresses, where both Serbian and Bulgarian students met in 1904 - in Sofia and Belgrade. The Greek and Romanian peers were neither excluded from the club, as the public actors hoped to broaden their Balkan horizons. Partially, the activities of the Pobratimstvo were related to the possibilities of finding a peaceful solution to the Macedonian dilemma that involved Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia.

[659] Karić: Op.cit.: 119.
[660] Milutinović, Kosta:"Skerlićeva južnoslavenska misao", Rijeka, *Riječka revija,* broj 10., 1964: 722.

During the two Congresses of the Pobratimstvo, the participants sketched a confederative plan of a union of independent nations, where Macedonia acquired an autonomous status. Among the participants were notable scholars and students, including the Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić and writer and lawyer Milutin Uskoković.[661] That outcome had to lead to a compromise accepted by the Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian nationalists.[662] The congress in Sofia adopted a resolution titled "*Macedonian question and Balkan confederation"* which stated that "the nationalistic tendencies of the neighbouring people are leading Macedonia towards nationalist, chauvinist and separatist tensions."[663]

Following these events, the rector of the University in Sofia, Boncho Boev published an article titled ''Balkan Federation as an Ideal for the Serbo-Bulgarian Youth" in 1904, which was also reprinted by the editorial board of the 'Slavic South' in Belgrade. In his work Boev pointed out: "Between 22nd and 24th February of this year the young people from the universities of the two neighbouring countries – Serbia and Bulgaria – in a very solemn manner supported the idea of a federation of the Balkan states, the plan long discussed and promoted in press".[664] It was, thus, a significant change from the projects discussed underground by people, who could never spread their pamphlets and plans with such efficiency. Now it was a federalism propagated by people, who had access to educational and governmental institutions.

A federalist idea remained a compromise with very vague notion of participation and obstacles it could face. When it was proposed by core-group elites, they saw it as a status-quo guarantee or as a fix for the existing troubles. But they often lacked unifying factors except for their political insecurity. The lack of an obvious common enemy was an aspect pointed out by Vladimir Karić.[665] The Ottomans remained an image with a high mobilizing power that could unite the former Rum-Millet.[666] However, the images of anti-Ottoman resistance faded in the minds of the younger public actors, who had very limited experience with the Ottoman Authorities. Following the creation of the Principality, the Ottoman Empire became a distant sovereign, who supervised the Bulgarian politics, but did not interfere as much with the press

[661] Stanković, Stevan: *Jovan Cvijić. Darovita i osečajna duša.* Beograd: Srpsko geografsko društvo, 2006: 208.
[662] Čolakova, Antoaneta*: Vrzki i vzaimootnošenija blgarskite i srbskite socijalisti do 1917* godina. Sofija, Institut po istorija na BKP, 1989: 266-267.
[663] Đambazovski, Kliment: „Makedonski autonomistički pokret u Srbiji" s.l. Naučno delo. Beograd: SANU, 1967: 1036.
[664] Boev, Boncho: *Balkanska federacija.* Izdanje Uredništva ''Slovenskog Juga'', Beograd, 1904: 3.
[665] Karić, Vladimir. *Surbija i balkanski sujuz.* Iz knigite na Ivan, Dimitur i Petar Nencho Popovi. Svishtov-Pluven. Translated by L. Vishin. Sofia: Pechatnica Napreduk 1895:12.
[666] Kallay, Benjamin. *Geschichte des Serbischen Aufstandes, 1807-1810*, Vienna, 1910: 132.

and education as it used to. As a result, the Bulgarian intellectuals also lost contact with Constantinople, as well as with Serbia and Romania, where they used to reside before 1879. The Rum-Millet was no longer a serious basis for federalism. Political agency replaced it.

The nation state enabled the non-core group intellectuals to gain core-group status, but it also dramatically narrowed down their mobility. Most intellectuals were no longer pushed out of the borders of their state. Thus, their social connections became more exclusive by default. Since it was the nation-state that provided them with stable jobs, career opportunities and honoured their achievements, they no longer sought foreign assistance with the same vigour. These shrinking networks led to the intellectuals' increasing lack of awareness of their foreign peers and the challenges they faced in their states. Before 1878 a Bulgarian intellectual could be introduced to imperial structures through the Rum-Millet bureaucracy and a variation of 'administrative pilgrimages', then opportunities shrunk following the formation of the Principality.[667] Thus, many of the intellectuals used to the cosmopolitan circles and a sense of heroic mission had to adapt to a peaceful and stable reality that, at the same time, lacked opportunities.

In 1909, before the eruption of the Balkan wars, the Serbian Ambassador in Bulgaria sent a message to captain Ilija Kurtev, a Bulgarian officer, who had previously expressed his wish to offer help to the Serbian side if the conflict between Serbia and Austria-Hungary arose. The topic they discussed was a possibility of a long-lasting union between the two states. Ambassador Šimić wrote: „Dear Sir, I would like to respond to your telegram, in which you have declared your readiness as well as the will of your many followers to sacrifice your lives for our just cause if the relations that exist between Serbia and Austria-Hungary deteriorate. You have greatly delighted the saddened hearts of the brotherly Serbian nation. I have the honour, respected Sir, to express with the following message our most sincere gratitude."[668] The attitudes of the Serbian diplomat corresponded with Stambolov's earlier attempts to unite Romania and Bulgaria. Yet, this time, there was no mention of the previous ties except for the customary reference to a Slavic bond.

[667] Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1991: 140.
[668] GARF [ГАРФ]. Fond 760 K. Opis. 1. Arh. Ed. 13

The same Slavic bond reappeared in many other federalist and non-federalists accounts. But now it was also accompanied by the legacy of the Russian-Turkish War. The basis for federalism, cooperation and cultural exchange lay now in the last periods of anti-Ottoman struggle. But it was not liberation that interested the younger public actors, but peace. In 1913 a book dedicated to Balkan federalism appeared in St. Petersburg, written by a Serb - Professor Belić from the University of Belgrade. He opted for peace among the Balkan nations without the interference of the Greater Powers. A confederative type of a Balkan union could facilitate the division of the lands obtained during the Balkan wars: "One may hope that the mutual accusations of insincerity and attacks on each other's territories will disappear if the territories are divided according to the principles listed above."[669] The arguments presented by the author were almost identical to those expressed by Karić. But the true aim of this book was to secure regional peace.

Following 1879, all Balkan federalists preserved the vocabulary of their predecessors and continued expressing their ideas from a position of political weakness. However, the basis for their federalism changed. It was no longer a quest for national emancipation and liberation, but a quest for fixing the existing institution and systems. Federalism remained an ideology based on compromise, but the motivation behind it shifted. Thus, these were no longer non-core group public actors, who propagated unifying ideas, but rather the marginalized core-group agents all over the Balkans. Such individuals usually turned to federalism since they themselves were either in opposition to the government or disapproved of the directions their nation-state took. Those were never successful activists at the height of their power and popularity enjoying overall approval from their peers and population. Moreover, one can use individual status as a marker determining ideological shifts in a person, when the background of the said agent is known.

Personal changes: the different lives of the post-1878 Bulgarian intellectuals

Following the formation of the Bulgarian Principality the private lives of the older as well as the younger generations changed. But it was the perception of the past and present that truly divided the generations that came from different backgrounds, The older generation consisted

[669] Belić, Aleksandar: *Serby i bolgary v balkanskom soyuze.* Petersburg: Tipografija A.S. Suvorina, 1913: 9.

of individuals, who were born in the Ottoman Empire and mostly chose anti-Imperial stances instead of typical imperial careers.[670] The new generation, however, although born in the Ottoman Empire, was often too young to remember the pre-1879 period in detail. Their later lives were also characterized by lesser mobility and lesser interest in the affairs of the Empires. They could still study abroad, but their mobility was no longer forced.

The post-1878 lives of the elder generation of the intellectuals had two levels: the 'real' lives lived by real people, and the lives and deeds imagined by their peers and successors. Often the younger generation that tried to make sense of the experiences of their predecessors, reinterpreted their destinies and actions without the understanding of the realities. Thus, the creation of biographies and the construction of legacies accompanies the lives of intellectuals, who lived in a nation-state that accepted them depending on their relevance in the current political climate.[671]

The pre-1878 intellectuals were united by their non-core group status and their overall small number. Since "bureaucrats pay attention to their careers and adapt themselves accordingly, the notables pay attention to whatever it is that makes them notable, partisans pay attention to their cause,"[672] the minority intellectuals chose the nation as their most defining category. While their trajectories in exile often coincided, they easily formed groups that united like-minded individuals (who were often at odds with each other, as was the case with Kasabov and Rakovski, for example), who read the same books, reflected on the same topics and propagated the same cause. Those intellectuals found it much easier to create social clusters abroad, where the foreign societies themselves labelled immigrants as 'Bulgarians'.

Beside their small number and inevitable acquaintance, it was political Romanticism that united them. The generation of Rakovski, Levski and Karavelov consisted of revolutionaries, who were inspired by Mazzini's international patriotism, Kantian ideas of world order and the idealization of a nation.[673] The Western ideas they picked, were a key to their emancipation as an elite and to the subsequent promotion of their nation.[674] They wanted to become a viable

[670] Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan: *The Anti-Imperial Choice: The Making of the Ukrainian Jew.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009: 237.
[671] The next chapter deals with the creation of 'legacies' and the mythologization of the nationalist struggle.
[672] George R. Goethals, James MacGregor Burns, Georgia Sorenson: *Encyclopedia of Leadership, Volume 3,* London: Sage, 2004: 425.
[673] Peckham, Morse: *Romanticism and ideology*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1995: 42.
[674] Isabella, Maurizio: *Risorgimento in exile. Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 96-99.

part of a larger international community, and the only way they could achieve it was through the creation of a nation-state.[675] Therefore, they presented themselves as parts of an international intellectual elite, speaking the same language of Romanticism. They highlighted the great achievements of their nation, their linguistic particularity, their status of victims that had to be saved for the general progress of humanity.[676] They were mobile elites much like their Hungarian, Polish or Romanian predecessors,[677] and their ties came from their status. These elites chose to forge connections with fellow-intellectuals.[678] In the end, those connections came to define them. Prior to 1878 the intellectuals were more international but did not have a state with international recognition. Following 1878, they acquired a state of their own, but lost many of their international connections and wider political focus.

Another notable feature defining the lives of these intellectuals was their lack of resources and their pioneering status. In many ways, one may argue, that those intellectuals saw themselves as the "engineers of the new intellectual technology."[679] They, certainly, had Western patterns to draw inspiration from and imperial experiences to rely on, but they remained the first non-core group elites to formulate state-building ideas and create a stable community. Following 1879, these people gained a chance to apply their knowledge and ideas. And it was that sudden access to resources and people that changed their personal lives and connections.

First, most surviving non-core group intellectuals changed their lifestyles. Statesmen and publicists, writers and lawyers returned to Bulgaria, opened practices and published their works in greater numbers. The transition of the intellectuals from a non-core to a core-group lasted approximately until 1908, Bulgaria's full independence.[680] But the perceptions of the elder intellectuals reflect a different picture. Following 1879, the Principality had two types of intellectuals: some of them continued to perceive themselves as non-core, while others fully embraced the idea of being an authority in the Principality. These different intellectuals were no longer simply nationalists and freedom fighters. They became political adversaries in a

[675] Judson, Pieter: *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006: 2-6.
[676] Isabella, Maurizio: *Risorgimento in exile. Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 75-82.
[677] Jianu, Angela: *A circle of friends: Romanian revolutionaries and political exile, 1840-1859*. Leiden: Brill, 2011:115.
[678] This aspect was especially prominent in the cases of the Romanian-Hungarian connections. See Borsi-Kálmán, Béla: *Nemzetfogalom és nemzetstratégiák. A Kossuth–emigráció és a román nemzeti törekvések kapcsolatának történetéhez*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1993.
[679] Putnam, Robert D.: *The Comparative Study of Political Elites*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1976: 384
[680] At that point, most of the pre-1878 generations were long dead, the new generations had time to formulate and promote their discourses, and the reality of full independence of the state dramatically shifted the goals of the new elites.

newly established state. Some, like Ikonomov, clung to their personal marginalization, while others, like Stambolov, never doubted their grasp of the politics of the state.

The career opportunities offered by the new state often eclipsed any ascendancy one could achieve in an Empire. In a new state all positions were open and competition was weak. The state system was a blank page to be filled with new lawyers, doctors, bureaucrats and politicians. Thus, all the people in the First Assembly of 1879 were former non-core group elites, including Petko Karavelov and Petko Slavejkov.[681] Similarly, among the people behind the Turnovo Constitution one found former emigrant peers, most of whom knew each other from before, printed their works in the same journals, were married to each other's relatives and acquaintances, worked in the same typographies, studied in the same institutions, etc.[682] But their connections changed: politicians, academics and bureaucrats played different roles than underground revolutionaries. Now all their debates, plans and aspirations became 'official' and had an impact on the state.

In order to adapt to these new conditions, the elder generation stopped acting like poor Romanticist intellectuals and emigrants. They still complained about insufficient resources, difficulties of reforming the state, but their personal security and access to state resources changed them.[683] Before 1878, the Bulgarians nationalists, both federalists and non-federalists, were typical "cultivators of culture."[684] They were voices for their less prominent and less vocal compatriots.[685] Following 1878, they resorted to oppressive means to promote their policies. Other opinions mattered no longer. This shift brought forth the political winners and left the losers marginalized.

The paradox of politicians coming from journalism is addressed by Dobrinka Parusheva, who explains how the state-builders initially relied on publishing when advocating for their national rights. When they acquired a state, it was the publishing industry that remained the outlet for these individuals, who now had more opportunities than ever before. Parusheva wrote:

[681] Parusheva, Dobrinka: "We Are All Members of the Same Club": Bulgarian Political Elite and the Union Club, *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 2012, 3-4: 62-72.
[682] Dimou, Augusta: *Entangled Paths Towards Modernity: Contextualizing Socialism and Nationalism in the Balkans.* Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009: 205-206.
[683] All Bulgarian emigrants were somewhat poor and unhappy. See Rakovski's letter to Anastasije Stojanović from 1865 CDIA [ЦДИА] Fond № 820 opis № 1. Arh. Ed. 11
[684] Leerssen, Joseph Theodoor: *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006: 186-204.
[685] Bottomore, Tom: *Elites and Society*. London: Routledge, 1993: 25.

"Following the Liberation many continue, or some even start their paths in journalism." [686] Todor Cankov, Petko Slavejkov and Petko Karavelov represented just the most prominent of such cases. Partially, it was Bulgaria's lack of traditional aristocracy that turned publications in the most successful measure of influencing the population. Those, who published more achieved greater publicity and, subsequently, greater influence.

The losers of the new regime experienced persecution. Before 1879, most Bulgarian intellectuals went through imperial police supervisions, arrests and detainments, but none of these oppressions were organized by fellow-Bulgarians. Yet, the story of Ikonomov's life and his eventual marginalization and suicide demonstrates another pattern.[687] Those were the views of the Stambolov government that Ikonomov did not share. Similarly, Vasil Drumev, another former emigrant in Russia and an active public actor, was persecuted by the same authorities for his pro-Russian views.[688] Such cases were not unique. The precedents they created were typical for emancipated states rather than for cohorts of emigrants and non-core group elites without executive power at their disposal.

Many of the successful intellectuals had more fortunate careers than Ikonomov or Drumev, but their promotion only highlighted the gap between their past and present. They often remained celebrated, but not necessarily relevant. Often, they were regarded as links to the past The letters addressed to Count Ignatiev in the 1880s and 1890s show an interesting shift in the perception of the national struggle by the Bulgarian public actors. The agents from the younger generation reference the struggle of their predecessors exclusively to reach their aims - 'free Macedonia', 'gain rights in other regions of the Ottoman Empire'. They no longer understood the difference between their reality and those of the elder generation. Whenever they referenced their predecessors, they regarded them as 'symbolic capital' – important, but, ultimately, belonging to the past and only seen from the perspective of its' relevance to the current situation.

Among the hundreds of letters that count Ignatiev received during the years of his political service to the Russian Empire, a great proportion came from the Bulgarian public actors. Bulgarian emigrants from Macedonia, scholars, writers and students all sent their messages to the former diplomat. In 1887, the Bulgarian students in St. Petersburg sent a letter to the count

[686] Parusheva, Dobrinka: *Pravitelstvenijat elit na Rumunija i Bulgaria vtorata polovina na XIX I nachaloto na XX vek. Socialna istorija.* Sofija: BAN 2008: 136
[687] Curakov, Angel: *Enciklopedija na pravitelstvata, narodni subranija i atentatite v Bulgarija.* Sofia: Trud, 2008: 535.
[688] Richard J. Crampton: *Bulgaria 1878–1918 A History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1983: 43.

that, from the first glance, does not stand out. It was another message, where the young intellectuals addressed their idol – the architect of the San-Stefano Treaty of 1878. One curious detail sets this document apart from the heap of Ignatiev's vast correspondence – a reference to Ignatiev's accomplishments and its impact.

The young Bulgarian students wrote: "Your Excellence has justly drawn the borders of the San-Stefano Bulgaria, creating an ideal for the current and future generations of our peoples."[689] Ignatiev not only sketched a peace treaty, but created a template that the generations of the Bulgarian public actors were destined to follow - a state-building ideal that captured minds and changed destinies. The younger generation of the public actors addressed Ignatiev as eagerly as did the elder one. But the younger generation no longer saw Ignatiev and his actions as the present. They did not know Ignatiev and did not understand the circumstance and political debates surrounding his figure. What truly mattered to them was the contemporary context.

It was the Macedonian dilemma that defined the politics of the Bulgarian Principality in the 1880s and 1890s. And, thus, all the letters to Ignatiev have the same references to the issue. The count's diplomatic accomplishments gave him credit, but it was the contemporary situation that mattered. Ignatiev himself was just another piece that could be used by debating intellectuals in their newly formed circles. His "ideal for the future generations of the Bulgarian nation" endured. In 1902 Ignatiev received a letter from the Macedonia-Odrin society of emigrants in the city of Ruse, where the public actors asked him "to raise once again his powerful voice and to proclaim that the Bulgarians from Odrin and Macedonia deserve support and political freedom, that time has come to put an end to the sufferings of the slaves."[690] Congratulating the count on the Anniversary of the signing of the San-Stefano treaty, the emigrants wrote: „And now, Your Excellency, when you step on the soil of the capital of the free Bulgarian Principality, the Macedonian-Odrin revolutionary organization that remembers your noble deeds, begs you to rip our homeland from the claws of slavery."[691] Among the individuals, who signed the address, was professor Ljubomir Miletić – the nephew of Svetozar Miletić.

[689] GARF [ГАРФ] Fond 730, opis. 1, ed. 75. (p. 15)
[690] GARF [ГАРФ] Fond 730, opis. 1, ed. 74.
[691] GARF [ГАРФ] Fond 730, opis. 1, ed. 74.

The Russian statesman attracted attention to his persona that was almost unprecedented.[692] Yet, the Count did not return to the Bulgarian Politics and did not get involved in the new territorial debates. The piles of letters addressed to him had no effect on the Bulgarian politics and networking. What it demonstrates is the creation of a new network with its' new agendas and ideas. Elder state-builder could run the state, they could have brilliant accomplishment or end up as marginalized outcasts, but those were the younger elites, who created a new network, who were real core-group elites. Old network died when the accomplishments of the previous generations turned into legacies. Younger individuals, as Dobrinka Parusheva points out, mostly came not from the middle-class merchant backgrounds, but were instead more akin to the elites in Romania – they were highly educated and, thus, justified their place among the elites with their knowledge. Unlike the elder generation, they could no longer appeal to glorious reputations of freedom fighters.[693] What they did was assessing the nationalist struggle in their own way.

Those were the younger chroniclers, who began documenting the lives of the non-core group intellectuals. A boom of memoir literature and chronicles brought more confusion regarding the revolutionary struggle and its' heroes, who now sought for a place in the national pantheon. The new accounts, however, were all written from their core-group perspectives. For example, Ivan Vazov did not remember a single instance of Bulgarian-Romanian cooperation in most of his works. In Vazov's 'Unloved, uncherished' this trend is especially clear. For example, the author briskly mentioned Panajot Hitov, the pitiful state of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee and the uncertain prospects that awaited his characters.[694] Vazov painted a gloomy picture of the Romanian hosts, almost exclusively depicting them as unwelcoming anti-Bulgarian elements.[695] His protagonists were poor and unfortunate, which was not too far from reality, but neither encompassed the whole picture. He purposefully omitted the important intellectual connections that existed between the non-core group elites and their foreign peers.

His retrospective accounts were written in a different state and from a different point of view. Yet, Vazov, like many of the other subsequent chroniclers of the Bulgarian Revival, projected the present into the past. The legacies of the "national awakeners" acquired a life of their

[692] GARF [ГАРФ] Fond 730, opis. 1, ed. 75.
[693] Parusheva, Dobrinka: *Pravitelstvenijat elit na Rumunija i Bulgaria vtorata polovina na XIX I nachaloto na XX vek. Socialna istorija.* Sofija: BAN 2008: 138.
[694] Vazov, Ivan: *Nemili, nedragi*. Introduction by Milena Cankova. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1974: 44-45.
[695] Vazov, Ivan: *Nemili, nedragi.* Introduction by Milena Cankova. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel 1974: 1-9.

own.[696] They no longer belonged to the set of circumstances and ideas that had initially spawned them. Vazov was primarily a writer, but he was also a nationalist, who did not care much about the Bulgarian-Romanian connections.[697]

The situation was identical when one addressed the records of the revivalists' lives. One of the first biographies of Georgi Sava Rakovski, published after the revolutionary's death, offers an insight into the mind of a core-group intellectual. This book is defined by its' notable anti-Russian tone, typical for the post-Stambolov era. The author began the story not with Rakovski, the main character of his book, but with Rakovski's uncle instead. Captain Georgi Mamachov, a volunteer in the Russian Army, was surrendered by the Russian commanders to his Ottoman enemies, betrayed by Greeks and despised by Romanians.[698] He was supposed to be the first national martyr in the family.

Adzhenov, as it becomes clear from the text, didn't understand either the idea of a non-core group elite or the possibilities of shifting opinions and multiple non-Bulgarian connections that were characteristic for Rakovski. Ivan Adzhenov wrote his account from the point of view of an emancipated public actor. He seemingly forgot the influence of Rakovski's status on his political choices and the reasons behind Rakovski's ideological shifts that perplexed the author decades later. Adzhenov repeated the revolutionary's the anti-Greek, anti-Turkish and subsequently even anti-Russian sentiments. However, he never mentioned that Rakovski's attitudes were in constant flux, and only his nationalism never faltered. Adzhenov purposefully missed the instances of Rakovski's federalism or simply discharged them as wishful thinking. He was interested not in the life of Georgi Rakovski, but rather in the image of Rakovski, who had to be an ideological father to the current generation of public actors. The context mattered little, and the needs of the new epoch decided the course of the narrative.[699]

Despite his younger age, Adzhenov was not a foreigner or an outsider. He met Rakovski, lived in the Romanian lands himself,[700] but he forgot to mention that Rakovski's nationalist was

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[696] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention: the living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2009: 203-237

[697] In the entire play Vazov does not show a single scene of Bulgarian-Romanian friendships.

[698] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 4-6

[699] Such were also the cases of the younger chroniclers like Stojan Zaimov and Zahari Stojanov.

[700] Adzhenov was also the founder of the first Bulgarian daily newspaper. See Avramova, Rumjana; Genchev, Nikolaĭ; Daskalova, Krasimira: *Bulgarskata vuzrozhdenska inteligencija: uchiteli, sveshtenit͡si, monasi, visshi dukhovnit͡si, khudozhnit͡si, lekari, aptekari, pisateli, izdateli, knizhari, tŭrgovt͡si, voenni: entsiklopediia.* Sofia: Dŭrzh. izd-vo "D-r Petŭr Beron", 1988: 30.

inspired by his Greek mentors in Constantinople and Athens. (to whom he owed his perfect Ancient and modern Greek). In the end, he claimed that the Greeks had always hated the Bulgarians, therefore their sources were not trustworthy, even if they revealed facts of Rakovski's life that remained unknown to the author.[701] What Adzhenov represented was a watered-down simplified version of the past.

The legacies of the nationalist pioneers were a burden for the younger generations, who could not avoid acknowledging them.[702] But they did not build their connections upon them. Furthermore, even family ties did not determine individual connections as much as personal circumstances and political realities.

Following the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish war, the brother of Svetozar Miletić joined Panajot Hitov, a hajduk and a fighter for the Bulgarian independence and sent his young son, Ljubomir, to study to a prominent Slavic centre - to Zagreb.[703] One could expect Ljubomir to become a Balkan federalist following in his uncle's footsteps. But his path differed significantly from his relatives' destinies.

He began his path as a typical non-core group intellectual studying in Zagreb and Prague.[704] Later, he chose an academic career and became a prominent Bulgarian historian and, simultaneously, a nationalist, whose views departed from pan-Slavism and federalism of his uncle. His mobile lifestyle, his vast regional and international connections, his own family history as well as his education should have made him a prominent federalist. Yet, he exhibited no unifying strivings. Born in Macedonia, educated in the Czech lands and Croatia, teaching in Sofia, Miletić's academic as well as personal interests only centred around Bulgaria. Becoming a professor in Sofia, Miletić got involved in two territorial disputes that dominated Bulgarian politics – the Dobrujan and the Macedonian debates.

His nationalistic shifts can be partially explained by his core-group mentality. He did study abroad and have a mixed background, but none of these aspects mattered for his career. He

[701] Adzhenov, Ivan*: Svedenija i zapiski za zhivota na Goergi Sava Stojkov Rakovski. Pocherpnati iz ustmennite negovi raskazi, sushto I iz mnogobrojnite mu suchinenija, koito prigotviha pochvata za politicheskoto osvobozhdenije na Bulgarija*. Naredil i izdava Ivan. P. Adzhenov. Ruse: Tipo-Hromo Litografija na Drobnjak I Krustev 1896: 15.
[702] Trencsenyi Balázs: "Conceptualizations of Statehood and Nationhood: The Hungarian Reception of Reason of State and the Political Languages of National Identity in the Early Modern Period," in: *East-Central Europe*, vol 29. part 1-2., 2002 Autumn: 1-26; Calic, Marie-Janine: "Migration, Urbanisierung und Assimilation in der Vojvodina und der Slowakei im Vergleich (1880-1938)", in: *Südostdeutsches Arhiv 34/35* (1991/1992): 85-104.
[703] Romanski, Stojan: *Ljubomir Miletić.* Sofia: Durzhavna Pechatnica, 1940: 82 – 83; 85 – 86.
[704] Muradov, Vladko: *Ljubomir Miletić.* Sofia: Universitetskoto izdatelstvo Kliment Ohridski, 1987: 121.

became a professor in Bulgaria that was on its' road to independence, he also supported the official line of the government, enjoyed personal success and had, unlike the elder generation, no idea of what it meant to be a member of the non-core group elite. Ljubomir Miletić only addressed the connections between Bulgaria and its' neighbours to stress Bulgaria's dominant position in the region. For example, participating in the government-sponsored scholarly exhibition to Dobruja in 1917, Miletić wrote that the Romanians "appear in history as a separate nation with its own state organization only in the 13th century, when the Bulgarian nation had already passed six centuries of history with cultural and military deeds of international significance."[705] His Bulgarian nationalist vocabulary did not sound much different from that of his predecessors, who had claimed Bulgarian superiority over Greeks. But in his case, there is a personal stake that adds a different dimension to his political stance. It was now a Bulgarian state that sponsored expeditions to Dobruja and Macedonia. And Miletić was now a prominent academic in a functional state, not an exiled agent searching for allies. He had no need of foreign approval or connections to promote his views. He had knowledge and tools to elevate his group above all other.

Connections were fragile and not easily transmittable. Those were the political and personal circumstances of the individuals that mattered more than their kinship like the cases of Christian Rakovski and Ljubomir Miletić demonstrate. No ideology could be transferred from one agent to another without the political conditions framing their private and public lives. The younger generations claimed a legacy, but they readjusted it to suit their needs and accommodate their projects. They naturally relied on the rich heritage of the national revival left by their predecessors.[706] But they used it to promote national expansion and not national liberation.

The reasons for those expansionist views lay in the personal impact of the careers of the younger public actors. Like Miletić, for example, Vazov made his career in the Bulgarian Principality. He can be considered Bulgaria's most famous writer and first international star, whose talent gained admirers not only in the Principality, but abroad. This ascendancy was impossible for any of the elder generations, most of whom only enjoyed local fame. It was, partially, the new state that made Vazov into an international celebrity. And it was his opus-

[705] Miletić, Ljubomir: "Bulgari i rumuni v tehnite kulturno-istoricheski otnoshenija." In: Petrov, Petar. (ed.) *Nauchna ekspedicija v Dobrudzha, 1917: Dokladi na universitetski I drugi ucheni*. Sofia: Kliment ohridski, 1994: 107-134.
[706] Mishkova, Diana: *Prisposobljavane na svobodata. Modernost-legitimnost v Surbija i Rumunija prez XIX vek.* Sofia: Paradigma, 2001: *99-121*.

magna 'Under the yoke' that cemented the idea of the Ottoman oppression in the minds of his readers. But the novel also reveals Vazov's lack of understanding of the institutions of the Empire. It was filled with idealized Bulgarian images and irredeemable Turkish villains. The book reflected official state politics toward the Ottomans, while remaining a fiction novel rather than a documentary account.

"Under the Yoke" was inspired by the destinies of the many revolutionaries, freedom-fighters and mobile intellectuals, whose lives were connected to the Bulgarian independence struggle.[707] The novel also became the first Bulgarian international bestseller translated into a dozen of languages. Beside its' acknowledged literary qualities, the work was "a versatile text for the propaganda of nationalism."[708] The novel tells a vivid story of the sorrows and adventures of the Bulgarian revolutionaries in the aftermath of the ill-planned rebellion that resulted in the persecution of their compatriots by the Ottoman irregular forces (bashibazouks). It is the core-group position of Vazov that makes "Under the yoke" a potent nationalist narrative. However, it is not a Romanticist narrative like those produced by Botev and Karavelov a decade earlier. It is a piece of realist literature that the author presented as political truth.

These new realist and symbolist poets, politicians and publicists in the Principality founded literary circles. It was no longer Najden Gerov in Odessa, who connected these individuals. By the 1890s most of the young elites had their centres in Turnovo, Sofia and Plovdiv, where they created new Bulgarian literature and new Bulgarian art. Among those elites, Vazov himself occupied a prominent position.[709] When the circles of writers grew, debates appeared. While Vazov wanted to create an exclusively Bulgarian literature for the Bulgarian nation (despite his international acclaim), Krastjo Krastev, another famous Bulgarian writer and a member of the "Misal" literary society (like Vazov and many others)[710] wanted to integrate Bulgarian literature into the world. Those two men of letters offer a curious inside into the self-perceptions of the public actors. In the case of the previous generations this debate would have been

[707] Eser, Umit. "A versatile text for the propaganda of nationalism: Under the Yoke by Ivan Vazov". In *Balkan nationalisms and the Ottoman Empire. Vol. I. National movements and representations.* Ed. Dimitris Stamatopoulos. Istanbul: the ISIS Press, 2015: 211

[708] Eser, Umit: "A versatile text for the propaganda of nationalism: Under the Yoke by Ivan Vazov." In: *Balkan nationalisms and the Ottoman Empire. Vol. I. National movements and representations*. Ed. Dimitris Stamatopoulos. Istanbul: the ISIS Press, 2015: 211

[709] Eser: Op. cit.: 211-212.

[710] Bogdanov, Ivan: *Bulgarska literaturna periodika: prinosut na periodichnija pechat v razvitijeto na bulgarska literatura, 1878-1944*. Sofia: literature forum, 1995: 44,47.

impossible. There was no popular Bulgarian literature to integrate into the world. Vazov's reality and circle of friends, however, was that of a typical European intellectual of the period: there was nothing specifically 'Bulgarian' about it except for his ardent nationalism. His lifestyle and his activities mirrored the pastime of a popular writer in Bucharest or Paris.[711] But the circumstances of his life were very different from those of Najden Gerov in Odessa a decade earlier.

Partially the generational gap was exacerbated by the different education of the younger elites. Many of them also had their education abroad, however, it was their connection to the Empires that faded. As the previous chapter demonstrates, fewer students went to Russia, and, fewer attended Ottoman or Greek institutions. The younger generation could know Russian (which was easy to learn for a Slavic-speaking intellectual), but almost none of the new poets, publicists, scholars and politicians knew Turkish or Greek. Except for their different education, it was also the rising irredentism that shaped their destinies and connections.

Core-group intellectuals in the position of perceived political strength turned to irredentism and built their connections around territorial debates with the neighbouring states. Pejo Javorov's articles about the Macedonian question illustrate the point and add a different dimension to it. Javorov wrote: "Then the liberation movement began among our neighbouring nations, who slowly, one by one, sometimes with smaller, sometimes with greater difficulties managed to remove their heads from the loop and started living as they were supposed to."[712] Bulgaria, however, still remained formally dependent on the Empire, which made Javorov question the necessity of the arrangement. His irredentist views stretched out to Macedonia that had to be integrated into the state.[713] Instead of his nation's emancipation he chose to propagate "Macedonian freedom".[714] But, unlike Georgi Rakovski, Javorov did not know Greek, Serbian or Turkish while claiming his rights over the territory. He did not know his opponents either.

Partially, it was the illusionary idea of political success that defined the political creativity of such younger intellectuals. In one of his articles, Javorov wrote: "Russia, Austria, France and

[711] Dragov, Ivan: "Az osi bolgarok a bolgar tortenelmi irodalomban". In: *A nemzeti mitoszok szerkezete es funkcioja Kelet-Europaban,* ed. Szalai Laszlo, Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2013: 122-123.
[712] Javorov, Pejo: *Statii vurhu Makedonskija vupros* (edited by Vladimir Vasilev): Sofia, Hemus, 1935: 17
[713] Javorov: Op. Cit: 16, 18, 20, etc.
[714] Javorov: Op. Cit: 26.

Britain already believe in our strength and are afraid of a rebellion that we will provoke."[715] Javorov was still referring to his unfortunate compatriots, but this time it was a different type of misfortune. An active participant in the Macedonian revolutionary movement,[716] he viewed himself not just as a core-group individual, but as a representative of a nation that had impressed foreign political elites and Greater Powers. His nation was no longer an unknown community of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, but an emancipated group with a vibrant elite that had achieved its' state-building goals. Javorov still compared the Ottomans to a 'fanatical horde',[717] following in the footsteps of his predecessors, but while their nationalism and federalism came from failures, Javorov's nationalism had its' roots in perceived success.

Connections only mattered when they were acknowledged. Often, familial bonds had lesser influence than shared causes and life circumstances. Thus, Lora Karavelova's life, for example, was not shaped as much by her father's and uncle's revolutionary youth, but rather by the opportunities they had given her and her involvement with Pejo Javorov, whom she married.[718] While the short-lived marriage resulted in the suicide of both spouses, it demonstrates the small number of educated elites. They simply could not escape each other's company in most cases.

When the status of an individual changed, so did his connections. Since "leaders have the means and motivations to gain control over the avenues of power in the political system,"[719] it is the state that defines the roles of individuals and their political creativity. One can trace the creation of a different network through the many political shifts, but also through the many personal perceptions of that shift. No network survives a change in the status of its' participants. A status shift breaks and alters most ties.

The new generation of the Bulgarian public actors grew up under the influence of their predecessors – the first state-builders and nationalists, who lay the foundation of their community. However, the first state-builder did not recreate their group but brought another group to life. It consisted of individuals, who regarded them and their ideas as legacies and reference points. Due to the different life circumstances and political conditions, they rarely

[715] Javorov: Op. Cit: 11.
[716] Gocev, Dimitar: *Nacionalno-osvoboditelnata borba v Makedonija 1912-1915.* Sofia: BAN, 1981: 15.
[717] Javorov: Op. Cit: 16.
[718] Najdenova-Stoilova, Ganka: *Lora-Javorov. Pisma i dokumenti*. Sofia: Narodna Mladezh, 1983: 5.
[719] Woll, Peter: *Public policy.* New York: University Press of America, 1981: 46

understood their predecessors. Moreover, they also continuously re-evaluated the lives of their predecessors.[720]

Different networks and different nationalists

New political circumstances created core-group elites and changed the connections between individuals, some of whom became marginalized, while others reached personal and professional success. The creation of the Bulgarian principality turned the elder generation into politicians and academics, while also creating career opportunities for the newcomers. Those opportunities shaped the lives of the young elites. Petko Karavelov, for example, was a son of an insignificant tax-collector. Lora Karavelova, however, grew up to be the daughter of one of the Principality's most prominent politicians. Can anyone doubt that Lora's upbringing separated her from her father's?

Ideologies, including federalism, could never be fully transferred from one generation to another, since every cohort of public actors interpreted their political blueprints in the purview of their current situation and their personal positions. Federalism was still proposed by the public actors in the position of political weakness. It also shared the same vocabulary with the federalisms of Rakovski, Kossuth, or Karavelov.[721] But it had a different basis that could include newer political inspirations such as the rapidly spreading socialism or come from personal disappointment with the Balkan policies. All the newer Balkan federalists, while being parts of core-groups (for the most part), continued to perceive themselves excluded – either personally or as a nation. Thus, one cannot talk about one type of Balkan federalism without analysing the underlining reasons behind the ideological turns of its' propagators. The shift in the status of the public actors brought different federalisms to life. Realities and connections shaped individual ideologies. Neither could survive the change of status and be transferred as a heritage. But ideals remained.

[720] Maria Todorova developed this point further on the example of Levski. See Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention: the living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2009.
[721] Case, Holly: "The Strange Politics of Federative Ideas in East-Central Europe." *The Journal of Modern History 85, no. 4 (2013*): 833-66: 83-34

In 1908 Petr Agatev wrote to the prominent Bulgarian writer Stojan Zaimov, thanking him for his hospitality during Agatev's visit to Bulgaria.[722] Agatev expressed his wish to popularize the activities of the "Tsar-Liberator" Committee in Russia. During the Balkan Wars, those personal connections played a role of a potential link that could help in the recruitment of allies and powerful supporters of the Bulgarian cause. Agatev's correspondence with Zaimov endured throughout the Balkan Wars. He thanked Zaimov for "the commemoration of our warriors fallen in Bulgaria,"[723] invited him to Russia, shared remarks about the past. The legacies of the previous generations sometimes created unexpected associations and friendships between new elites despite their political differences and statuses.[724] A network did not last longer than one generation, but in some cases it's unexpected impact could resurface decades later, leaving its' marks on very different people in very different societies.

[722] CDIA [ЦДИА]. Fond № 1325 Op. № 1 Arh. ed. № 25
[723] CDIA [ЦДИА]. Fond № 1325K, opis. № 1, Arh. ed. 25
[724] Daskalov, Rumen: „Problematizacija na vuzrazhdaneto." In: Diana Mishkova (ed.) *Balkanskijat XIX vek. Drugi prochiti*. Sofia: Centar za akademichni izsledvanija. Riva, 2006: 159-164.

Chapter V. What they left behind. National heroes and national ideals

In his article dedicated to the cult of Lajos Kossuth in Hungary, Iván Dénes illustrates a heroic afterlife in the following way: "His [Kossuth's] cult started already in 1848/49, especially among the peasantry of the Great Plain. The paintings, prints, and sculptures along this line represented Kossuth as the personification of freedom, abolition of serfdom, and independence of Hungary".[725] One may wonder how much of that campaign was coordinated and led by Kossuth's peers and followers and how much it had to do with Kossuth himself - with his skills of a prominent public actor and his revolutionary choices. As Joanne Rappaport points out: "Chains of transmission of historical knowledge are only important insofar as they help their recipients to elicit powerful images of the past, images which move people to action."[726] This chapter asks if there are specific traits that make and/or break a national hero and if one's legacy and ideology matters in the process.

The first part elaborates on the concept of memory politics and deals with its' implication in the Bulgarian case. It investigates the place of a person's ideology in his/her later commemoration. The second part asks whether there is a connection between the itineraries of the non-core group elites and their later transformation into national heroes. It determines the specific requirements/points in their biographies that contributes to their chances of being commemorated. The third part suggests a model that defines a person's place among his peers and the possibility of his/her later ascendency to a status of a national hero.

Memory politics and national heroes

Scholarship that addresses political remembrance and its' implications covers most of the areas of social and cultural history, yet, it rarely tackles the issue of a hero's status. In some cases, the 'types' of heroes are acknowledged like in Graham Seal's work on the origins and specificities of outlaw heroes and their appeal to the public.[727] However, attempts to explain

[725] Dénes, Iván: "Reinterpreting a "Founding Father": Kossuth-Images and Their Contexts, 1848 – 2009". *East Central Europe* 37 (2010): 90-117): 91.
[726] Rappaport, Joanne: *The politics of memory. Native historical interpretation in the Colombian Andes.* London: Duke university Press, 1998: 23.
[727] Seal, Graham: *Outlaw heroes in myth and history*. London: Anthem Press, 2011: 49-63.

the mechanisms behind one's (often post-humous) heroic ascendency almost never focus on the status of a person and his/her legacy.

In the case of national heroes, it is their national affiliation itself that already defines them and their position in a state/states. One cannot fully understand the process of a national hero's canonization without analysing the background and career choices specific to him/her. Maria Todorova, for example, addressed the example of Vasil Levski as an uncontested Bulgarian national hero, surveying the correlation between the cultural articulation of nationalism and its practical goals and strength.[728] This chapter, in its turn, while relying on the many considerations presented by Todorova, scrutinizes the matter of a hero's selection and the influence of one's non-core status and ideology on the matter. While Levski is not the only commemorated hero in the Bulgarian nationalist pantheon, his image shares many aspects with other less venerated 'nationalists'. The traits ascribed to them are also, in many cases, universal. And they all become part of a nation's hero iconography and commemoration patterns.

The image of a hero as a 'history-maker' was first introduced in scholarly literature by Thomas Carlyle in the 1830s.[729] Borrowing parts of his theoretical framework from myths, literature and popular culture, Carlyle defined an image of a person that brought change and influenced politics, leaving his mark on society. However, even Carlyle acknowledged the many variations of heroes and their paths: a national hero may have a different 'rite of passage' than a character of an epos, he/she may not be a Christ-like figure or may lack a distinguished background and extraordinary parentage. In the context of Vasil Levski, Todorova finds most of the typical attributes of a hero fulfilled in Levski's journey from a small town of Karlovo to national martyrdom.[730] While Levski's image did become that of a 'history-maker', there was also one specific aspect to him that researchers rarely stress.

National heroes were a sub-product of the rising nation-states. Thus, they were not presented simply as 'history-makers' or 'pious knights' by their peers, but as nation-builders and protectors. Most non-core group elites turned to their creative peers inspiring them to create poems and hymns in accordance with the Romanticist trends flourishing in the mid-19th

[728] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention. The living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero.* Budapest: CEU Press, 2009: 139-153.
[729] Lehman, Benjamin Harrison: *Carlyle's Theory of the Hero*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1928: 132
[730] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention. The living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero.* Budapest: CEU Press, 2009: 192-193.

century.[731] Thus, a 'national hero', although similar to other types of heroes, is a relatively recent addition to the already existing variations. A 'national hero' preserved the characteristics of any other commemorated individual, but it was his national affiliation that defined him and his deeds above all else.

'National heroes'(like several other hero types) were always presented and described as role models.[732] They demonstrated supreme patriotic virtue and illustrated Romanticist ideals of a nation's importance.[733] Their images also inevitably diverted from their prototypes, the real people, since there was always a certain uniformity in an 'illustration' of perfect conduct and deeds. Thus, all acknowledged national heroes had matching image politics. For example, all commemorated revolutionaries from non-core group elites – Lajos Kossuth, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vasil Levski – had imagemakers, who presented them as daring heroes rising against an overwhelming and tyrannical power (the Empire).[734] Thus, most of the sources one discovers on the personalities of these individuals, come from their image-moulding peers, who promoted their deeds and spread their words. In some cases, however, the national heroes themselves engaged in the process like the example of Lajos Kossuth demonstrates.[735] Nevertheless, such instances remained rare.

The position of weakness was an important point in the representation and subsequent commemoration of a national hero. It was also a trait that discerned a national hero from several other types of heroes. Todorova connects the position of political weakness with the weak expression of Bulgarian nationalism. Radev, on the other hand, argues against this point, demonstrating how Bulgarian revolutionary organizations following 1878 exhibited mostly aggressive nationalism with few defensive characteristics.[736] Yet, both points may be rendered irrelevant when one addresses the Romanticist notion of a national hero. The position of

[731] See the Poles and their knowledge production. The so-called Polish "*Wielka Emigracja*", the Great Emigration of 1831-1870 can be viewed as an interesting example of an elite in exile. See Bade, Klaus J.: *Migration in European History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003: 134

[732] As modals of conduct, also models of resistance, depending on the dominant narrative. Seal, Graham: *Outlaw heroes in myth and history.* New York: Anthem, 2011: 25-35.

[733] Smith, Anthony D.: *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 65.

[734] Garribaldi and Kossuth. Image politics. Kontler, László: "The Need for Pride. Foundation Myths and the Reflection of History in Modern Hungary", *Hungarian Quarterly* 160 (Winter 2000): 54-74. Riall, Lucy: *Garibaldi: invention of a hero.* New Haven: Yale University Press: 12

[735] Hermann, Róbert: "Az 1848-1849-es forradalom és szabadságharc a magyar történetírásban", *Aetas 1/1999*: 62-85. One of the first English-language biographies of Kossuth filled with enthusiastic praises appeared as early as 1851. (Frost, *Kossuth and the Hungarian War*) Ever since Kossuth occupied the minds of researches as well as revolutionary admirers. His own prolific writing activities contributed to his popularity. See Kossuth, Lajos, Newman, William: *Select Speeches of Kossuth*. New York: C. S. Francis, 1854.

[736] Radev, Todor: *Vusstanijata v taktikata na bulgarskija iredentizam. 1894-1904*. Sofia: Paradigma: 11-19.

political weakness was not the discerning quality of Bulgarian nationalism. It was the discerning quality of a 'Romanticist national hero', who was in the process of constant resistance against authorities, against corrupt peers, against unjust world order, etc. His very position of political weakness resulted in greater public support and the eventual rise of his/her popularity. A hero presented as an 'underdog' tended to generate more public engagement and sympathy.[737]

A 'national hero' was created by the non-core groups as a recognizable template. Having its' roots in folklore, the tradition of producing relatable characters was adopted by the 19th-century intellectuals.[738] The relatability of a 'national hero' allowed the image to transcend borders, making it both a political and cultural act. Since "personal memory of one or other event often differs from what the official documents convey,"[739] most of descriptions and tales of 'national heroes' focused not on the veracity of their origins and deeds, but on their relatability. Thus, regardless of the hero's origins, he/she was recognized by international public as a 'noble freedom fighter resisting a superior power'. Any image of an acknowledged national hero from a non-core group fits this description. The narrative of a struggle against all odds united all national heroes in the Balkans and beyond.[740] Their survival in the matter was irrelevant, while their struggle was often mythologized on its' own.[741]

In order to be commemorated the stories of national heroes and events surrounding them needed to be recorded. A national hero did not exist without memory politics surrounding his image. And these were the elites, who promoted the deeds of their chosen ones. While shaping the politics of the state, they created an array of nationalist templates that fit their agenda: "The rigorous use of analogy is a starting point for understanding history as more than just a

[737] The sentiment of sympathy for the poor is also dubbed as 'the underdog effect.' See: Bradley, Alex, Claire Lawrence, and Eamonn Ferguson: "When the Relatively Poor Prosper: The Underdog Effect on Charitable Donations." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (February 2019): 108–27.
[738] Krstanović, Miroslava Lukić: "Political folklore on festival market: Power of paradigm and power of stage." *Český Lid* 98, no. 3 (2011): 261-80.
[739] Kostadinova, Maria: "Individualnite spomeni I putnata karta." In: Gruev, Mihail et al.: *Nasilie, politika I pamet.* Sofia: Kliment Ohridski, 2011: 180 (177-191).
[740] Čolović, Ivan: *Smrt na Kosovu Polju : Istorija kosovskog mita.* Beograd: XX Vek: 15-32. Kane, Anne: "Narratives of Nationalism: Constructing Irish National Identity during the Land War, 1879–82," *National Identities, 2:3*: 245-264. Filipowicz, Halina: "Taming a Transgressive National Hero: Tadeusz Kościuszko and Nineteenth-Century Polish Drama." In: Filipowicz Halina, Cherlin Michael, and Rudolph Richard L. et al. *The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theatre in Austria and Central Europe.* Brooklyn: Berghahn Books, 2004: 33-51.
[741] Dukić, Davor: "'A long dark night' as a national epic". In: Zimmermann, Tanja (eds.) *Balkan Memories: Media Constructions of National and Transnational History***.** Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag: 57-65.

repository of facts and comparisons"[742] Thus, the creation of relatable models for the current and future generations turned into a creative process that was led and coordinated by the elites.

Commemoration always evolves in direct correlation with political processes and individual agendas. Thus, memory politics is highly selective.[743] Since shared memories and ideals became a powerful uniting mechanism, the elites (core as well as non-core) were reasonably focused on choosing their heroes.[744] In contrast to the indifferent masses, who live out their history as the present, the elites opted for a different approach.[745] Nationalist intellectuals turned their present into the past, since it offered a chance of legitimizing their current position of power.

The images of national heroes can be used to support a privileged position. Since modern memory is archival, it requires physical proof and rituals that confirm the veracity of acts, events and individual lives.[746] The rise of national heroes, thus, coincided with the changing modes of communication in the Balkans: the non-core group public actors not only witnessed a shift in their status, but also saw the transfer from orality to a typographic culture.[747] Folklore as it was belonged to everyone, while 'typography culture' introduced different patterns.[748] It was controlled and guided by the privileged and educated with the means and the motivation to participate. Also, it offered the public actors greater publicity.

The elites used the 'typography culture' to perpetuate the knowledge about both individuals and places – heroic individuals and place. And there was little difference in their approach. While various monuments and former battlefields easily acquired the labels of lieu de memoire,[749] they were often treated the same way as individuals. As Todorova points out, places could aide the elites in both remembering and forgetting certain events and certain

[742] Brands, Hal, Suri, Jeremi: "Thinking about history and foreign policy." In: Brands, Hal, Suri, Jeremi (eds.): *The Power of the Past. History and statecraft.* Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2016: 14 (1-27).
[743] Gillis, John: *Commemorations. The politics of national identity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1996: 4.
[744] Hobsbawm, Eric: The invention of tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992: 263-307.
[745] Nora, Pierre: "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7-24, 7.
[746] Nora: Op cit: 13.
[747] Hutton, Patrick H.: *History as an Art of Memory*. London/Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993: 14.
[748] Danforth, Loring M.: "History, Folklore, Politics, and Science." In *Firewalking and Religious Healing: The Anastenaria of Greece and the American Firewalking Movement*. Princeton, New Jersey; Chichester, West Sussex: Princeton University Press, 1989: 132-67.
[749] Todorova writes about Dimitrov's mausoleum and its' turbulent history. See Todorova, Maria: "The Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov as Lieu De Mémoire." *The Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 2 (2006): 377-411.

people.[750] Besides, they served as creative basis for promoting new heroes, linking places and images.[751]

A national hero could not exist without a space – his idealist nation-state, a place that he/she promoted and defended. While a hero's identity was connected to his kin, culture and language, it was commemorated as almost exclusively territorial.[752] Every image of a national hero had a suitable background.[753] And this background carried both ideological and symbolic connotations that were perpetuated by the elites. Heroic commemoration, however, was never straight-forward, even in most prominent cases.

Where there was commemoration, the so-called 'contra-memories' appeared. 'Contra-memories' signified a battle or a competition for a place in the national pantheon.[754] Thus, those were not the winners, who wrote history, but the survivors. If they landed a prominent place on the political and cultural stage of their state, they acquired possibilities to spread their agendas and control the promotion of national myths and heroes. In order to start a successful promotion, they, in most cases, needed to survive long enough to transmit their agenda. An untimely death severely diminished their chances of engaging in the creation of national heroes and myths.

Education offered one of the most efficient ways a public actor could lead and decide the commemoration of a national hero or myth.[755] Curriculum was a powerful tool that allowed to spread agendas and views to the largest number of citizens of the youngest generations. It yielded effective results when it came to the distribution of any information. Education, however, was also subject to constant manipulation and changes from the sides of the authorities controlling it.[756] Thus, heroes and heroic events were always re-examined and re-evaluated following any grand political change in the state.[757] So, the formation of the

[750] Martínez, Francisco: "A Memory-constructing Space in Tartu." In *Remains of the Soviet Past in Estonia: An Anthropology of Forgetting, Repair and Urban Traces*. London: UCL Press, 2018: 182-200.
[751] Shackel, Paul: *Archaeology and created memory: Public history in a national park.* New York: Plenum Publishers, 2002: 35-37.
[752] Piveteau, Jean-Luc: "Le Territoire Est-il Un Lieu De Mémoire?" *L'Espace Géographique* 24, no. 2 (1995): 113-23.
[753] Schramm, Katharina: "Introduction: Landscapes of Violence: Memory and Sacred Space." *History and Memory* 23, no. 1 (2011): 5-22
[754] Friedmann, Rebekka: *Competing memories.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017: 150-155.
[755] For a specific representation case in the Bulgarian realities, see: Kalionski, Alexei: "Ottoman Macedonia in Bulgarian history textbooks for secondary school." In: Kolouri, Christina (ed.): *Clio in the Balkans. The politics of history education.* Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2002: 276-281.
[756] Van Der Leeuw-Roord, Joke: *History Changes: facts and figures about history education in Europe since 1989.* The Hague: Euroclio, 2004: 17-18
[757] Johnson, Dana N.: "Rewriting the Balkans: Memory, Historiography, and the Making of a European Citizenry" *CHESS Student Research Reports. 1*. 2012: 15.

Bulgarian Principality, predictably, created one type of curriculum that changed over the subsequent decades depending on the ruling parties. And while national myths and heroes as well as stereotypes tended to be long-lived,[758] they shifted focus. A national community created by schools tended to elevate certain heroes and myths above others in different periods of time.[759] Thus, the longer one elite survived and continued to promote its' agenda, the greater were its' chances to influence the curriculum and spread their ideas to the future generations.

National heroes, however, were not exclusively commemorated in schoolbooks. They were also featured in fiction that was, arguably, as influential as schoolbooks. And, similarly, fiction and chronicles tended to commemorate heroes grounding their reasons in the current politics.[760] A national hero's commemoration did not exist without the present. Works of fiction as well as chronicles created collective memory just as schoolbook did. Yet the presented individual accounts rather than collective memories. While the grand issues of state policies and nation-building addressed all the inhabitants of the state, they inevitably had personal angles in fiction. [761] Thus, fictional and memorial accounts tended to spread the same current agendas of the authors even when they departed from their described epoch and individuals. As Todorova points out: "There is, therefore, no clear-cut correlation between the reliability and authenticity of the source and its temporal closeness to the event it describes."[762]

When referring to commemorative publications, one always addresses the nature of the material that makes it to print. However, not all the memoirs were published and not all the schoolbooks endured long enough to influence several generations. While places and events could often be ignored as well as highlighted depending on the wishes of the authorities, they were not defined by interpersonal connections as much as individuals were.[763] National heroes,

[758] Höpken, Wolfgang: *Öl ins Feuer? Schulbucher, etnische Steriotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa.* Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996: 72.
[759] Kolouri, Christina: "Introduction: the theory of history." In: Kolouri, Christina (eds.) *Teaching history of Southeastern Europe.* Thessaloniki: Centre for democracy and reconciliation, 2001: 15-25; Murgescu, Mirela Luminita: "L'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles roumaines, 1831-1944", *Histoire de l'éducation*, vol. no 86, no. 2, 2000: 5-15.
[760] See the introduction to Karavelov in the memories of contemporaries. Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 3-9. A similar volume appeared featuring Karavelov's other renown peers. See Delchev Boris (ed.): *Petko Slvejkov, Ljuben Karavelov, Hristo Botev, Zahari Stojanov. V spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski Pisatel, 1967: 4-6.
[761] Gjevoli, Elvin: "Collective memory and institutional reform in Albania." In: Andersen, Tea Sindbæk, and Barbara Törnquist-Plewa (eds.) *Disputed Memory: Emotions and Memory Politics in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*. Vol. 24. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016: 319-351.
[762] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention. The living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero.* Budapest: CEU Press, 2009*:* 14.
[763] Hare, Laurence: *Excavating Nations: Archaeology, Museums, and the German-Danish Borderlands*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2015: 89-114.

on the other hand, became the products of their contemporaries. Their ascension to the national pantheon and their later place their depended on the visibility of destinies in the eyes of their contemporaries. If there was nobody to remember them, they could rarely be uncovered like an archaeological site could.[764]

National heroes were chosen by their peers and promoted by their societies. While their personal accomplishments were usually highlighted as defining heroic traits, they did not necessarily determine subsequent commemoration. A hero's circle of friends and admirers as well as the current political agendas influenced the process to a greater extent than personal deeds. In order to understand whether a person's ideology and accomplishments truly mattered for the policies of commemoration, one may address the image of Bulgaria's national hero Ljuben Karavelov. Just like Vasil Levski, Karavelov was a revolutionary, but he was also a convinced federalist. The most prominent accounts moulding Karavelov's image, thus, can reveal, what specific details of his biography allowed his contemporaries and followers to turn him into a national hero.

Karavelov led a revolutionary life, worked as a publicist and writer, kept contacts with many of his distinguished peers and was, by all accounts, a member of the non-core group elite. Yet, he never received any kind of commemoration during his lifetime. He was neither acknowledged as a hero while he was still actively involved in emigrant politics. Karavelov's scholarly biographies did not appear immediately following his death but took a decade to kindle scholarly interest.[765]

The publicist was by no means a marginal person in the circles of the Bulgarian mid-19th century intellectuals. He published abroad and in Bulgaria, met fellow revolutionaries and developed his federalist ideology under the vigilant supervision of the Imperial authorities in Russia, the Ottoman and the Habsburg states. But any accounts about Karavelov during his lifetime cannot be considered commemorative. His transformation into a national hero began with his funeral.

The first instance the 'legacy' of Karavelov emerged was his funeral that was captured by writer Ivan Vazov most vividly. Vazov remembered how during the ceremony in the Trinity Church a great number of prominent people assembled – political officials, Russian officers,

[764] Genchev, Nikolaj: *Vasil Levski,* Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 1987: 206–7.
[765] Levski's first biography, for example, appeared in 1884 and immediately labelled the protagonist as a national hero. Dinekov, Petar: *Literaturni obrazi.* Sofia: Narodnata kultura, 1968: 229.

writers and artists. The ritual was described as a national event. Vazov's account is, probably, one of the first testimonies about Karavelov, that mention him as a historic and national figure.[766] Such a historic figure warranted national mourning. And, most importantly, he was commemorated by a celebrated national writer, thus, there were two factors that influenced Karavelov's ascension to the national pantheon: his death was described as significant for the nation and the account was delivered by a famous Bulgarian writer.

In 1894, Petar Berkovski, a former revolutionary himself, published his memoirs, reflecting on the figures of the Bulgarian public actors. Karavelov did not occupy the most prominent place in his writings, but his appearance, is significant, nevertheless. Berkovski wrote: "In principle, his political ideals…did not differ much from those of Rakovski. This particularity, as well as his fame in Belgrade as a Bulgarian scholar and writer, especially his openness and sincerity, charmed every honest Bulgarian."[767] Berkovski presented Karavelov as a liberal and a social democrat at the same time, but never mentioned Karavelov's federalism. Among the traits highlighted by Berkovski, were Karavelov's nationalism, his dedication to the Bulgarian cause, honesty, literary talents and his ideological closeness to Rakovski - another prominent national hero.

Karavelov's recognition as a prominent literary star was the result of the efforts of Karavelov's wife Natalija Petrović. Together with Zahari Stojanov she invested time and money in publishing and promoting Karavelov's work. Natalija Karavelova spent most of her savings to spread her husband's opuses.[768] Thus, the accessibility of Karavelov's scholarly and publicist prose and its' popularity was partially the result of his wife's strategies.

While editing Karavelov's volumes, Zahari Stojanov attracted people to write prefaces and commentaries about Karavelov, promoting his nationalist image further. In volume 8 from 1887, for example, Dimitar Marinov dedicated pages to describing the Impact of Karavelov's article 'Jeli kriva sudbina?' (The fault in our destiny?) on the intellectuals in Belgrade, framing Karavelov as an international star.[769] As a linguist and ethnographer, Marinov understood many of Karavelov's strivings and approved of them. He was also a Bulgarian nationalist and, thus, highlighted Karavelov's Bulgarian affiliations. Yet, there is one important aspect that defines

[766] Vazov, Ivan: "Karavelova izgubihme," *Bulgarija, br. 120, ot. 2, I, 1879*.
[767] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 10
[768] The effort began in 1886. See the first volume: Karavelov, Ljuben: *Suchinenija na Ljuben Karavelov. Vol. I.* Edited by Zahari Stojanov. Ruse: Pechatnica N.L. Karavelova, 1886.
[769] Delchev Boris (ed.): *Petko Slvejkov, Ljuben Karavelov, Hristo Botev, Zahari Stojanov. V spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski Pisatel, 1967: 216.

Marinov's account. He was a friend of both Natalija Karavelova and Zahari Stojanov, thus, he gladly agreed to aide in their promotion of their publishing materials.

The popularity of Karavelov's works attracted further post-humous scholarly interest. It was Ivan Shishmanov, who produced a full scholarly biography of Karavelov in 1899 – one of the first scholarly account about the publicist.[770] This time, Karavelov was presented as a literary hero, who sustained the vitality of the Bulgarian nation and its' language under the Turkish rule. The image of a heroic scholar introduced by Vazov and cemented by Natalija Karavelova became canonical. And, again, Karavelov's federalist ideas did not seem to be the focus of Shishmanov's work. Karavelov's ideology as well as the intricacies of his life mattered little.

One of the people, who stressed Karavelov's heroism not based on his national affiliation or literary skill was Zamfir Arbore. A Romanian socialist and a friend of both Karavelov and Botev, he left his own accounts about the Bulgarian revolutionaries that became a popular source during communism due to Arbore's own Marxist orientation.[771] The Romanian revolutionary painted Karavelov as a Marxist, who convinced Vasil Levski to search for political and military support not among the petty bourgeoisie, but among the Balkan peasant masses. Arbore's own first connection to Karavelov was also of an ideological nature. While imprisoned in Petersburg, he met Sergei Nechaev, a Russian revolutionary and Karavelov's friend, who introduced him to Karavelov's proclamations and federalist ideas.[772] Zamfir Arbore published the first part of his memoirs in 1894 under the title 'Temniță și exil' (Prison and Exile).[773] And to him, Karavelov was rather a socialist hero than a national one. Predictably, it was an image cultivated following the Second World War in Bulgaria. Arbore's memoirs, however, offered a rare image of a socialist Karavelov.

Following Karavelov's death, most accounts continued to focus on the man's participation in the national struggle. By the 1890s, it was the idea of national martyrdom that defined

[770] It was Ivan Shishmanov was one of the first to study Karavelov's prose and its' origins and influences as a scholar – both in the field of history and literature. He also popularized Karavelov's works and presented them as versatile texts of nationalism. See his newspaper article on the topic: Shishmanov, Ivan: "Nachenki na ruskoto vlijanije v bulgarskata knizhina," *Bulgarski pregled, V. Kn IX-X, 1899.*

[771] Hurezeanu, Damian; Velichi, Constantin: "Date noi privind pătrunderea ideilor Internaționalei I in România și în rîndurile emigrației bulgare din țara noastră", *Romanoslavica*, Vol. XI, 1965: 18-22.

[772] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 41-42 First pointed out in Hristu, Vasile: *Zamfir Arbore za bulgarskite revoliutsioneri*. Sofiia: Ministerstvo za Informatsiia i Izkustvo. Bibliografska Niva no. 12, 1947: 3-15.

[773] Arbore menitons his Bulgarian and Russian connections regularly as inspiration in his memoirs. See: Arbore, Zamfir*: Din temniță și exil*. București: Brănișteanu, 1923: 15-20. (The original was published in 1894) His later works follow the same pattern. See: Arbore, Zamfir: *În exil. Din amintirile mele.* Craiova : Institutul de editură Ralian **și** Ignat Samitca, 1896.

Karavelov's image. In 1899 Vladimir Bluskov, a brother of two nationalist activists and a prominent public figure himself, published his account of the Bulgarian nationalist struggle in the form of 'The martyrs of our liberation'.[774] In Bluskov's account Karavelov was presented not as simply a valiant revolutionary, but as a literary and scholarly figure, who combined revolutionary vigour and nationalist affiliation, imitating the image moulded by Stojanov and Karavelova.[775]

It was the image of a literary nationalist that endured. In many of the later sources it remained practically unaltered. Among the most prominent accounts were, probably, the memoirs of Mihail Grekov. A revolutionary teacher and publicist, Grekov conceived and wrote his memoirs in the 1890s, however, they remained unpublished for a century.[776] Grekov's "How we liberated Bulgaria" appeared in print only in 1990. What discerned this account from others was not Grekov's attitude to Karavelov's linguistic nationalism, but rather his focus on Natalija Karavelova. It was one of the first accounts that mentioned Karavelov's dedicated and nationalist wife, while stressing her importance in supporting both Karavelov and his friend Botev and their initiatives.[777] Grekov also mentioned Natalija's own Serbian identity and her allegiance to the Bulgarian plight despite her origins.

While Karavelov's image of a literary nationalist endured, not all accounts featuring him can be considered positive. For example, Bulgaria's most prominent statesman Stefan Stambolov did not remember Karavelov and his friend Botev with special fondness. He described Botev as a man of daunting ambition, who "had he been alive, would have fought for a political career, so that he'd become a leader of a party of a minister or his extremities would have brought his death upon him."[778] He also blamed Karavelov for his apathy following Vasil Levski's tragic death. Stambolov did not present neither Botev, nor Karavelov as national heroes, but he never focused on the creation of the national pantheon in the first place.

Most of other accounts about Karavelov, however, remained positive and highlighted his valiant nationalism. Stefan Bobchev, a diplomat and medic, remembered how he was impressed by Karavelov's 'Svoboda' journal in 1905. He received the copies from a friend at

[774] D͡iugmedzhieva, Petja: *L͡iuben Karavelov, 1834-1879: bio-bibliografski ukazatel i opis na arkhivni dokumenti/* Sofia: Nar. biblioteka "Kiril i Metodiĭ", 1989: 439.
[775] Bluskov, Vladimir: *Muchenitsi na osvobozhdenijeto ni. Subral i naredil Vladimir Bluskov*. Shumen: Pechatnitsa Vl. Bluskov, 1899: 119.
[776] Grekov, Mihail: CDIA fond 250, op.1. a.e. 25
[777] Grekov, Mihail: *Kak nije osvobozhdavahme Bulgarija*. Vol. I. Sofia: Izd. OF, 1990: 313-335.
[778] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 55

the Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople, knowing that the Ottoman police never checked diplomatic post.[779]

The same man raised the idea of Karavelov's greatness and literary impact in1904. In his interview for Nauka he described Karavelov as one of the most prominent literary figures in Bulgarian history and a devoted nationalist.[780] While Bobchev himself made a career in diplomacy and administration, his opinion carried weight and, thus, contributed to the creation of Karavelov's heroic image. Yet, there was nothing new to that image.

In 1905, the heroism of Karavelov was questioned by Ivan Kasabov, who claimed that Karavelov was a Serbian agent, who supported chauvinist policies against Bulgaria.[781] The opinion was based on Karavelov's close ties with many Serbian intellectuals, including the federalists Miletić and Jovanović, his marriage to Natalija Petrović, and many of his Serbian publications. However, even Kasabov eventually acknowledged that Karavelov saw through the Serbian bias clouding his mind and returned to the Bulgarian cause. But the debates about Karavelov's nationalism and heroism continued.

It was Konstantin Velichkov, who defended Natalija Karavelova against the press, who doubted Karavelov's Bulgarian affiliation based on his marriage and connections. In his interview with Karavelova, he stressed her undying love for Bulgaria, her fluent Bulgarian, fervent dislike of the Obrenovićes. He also described her as a very unlikely Serb and a true supporter of Bulgarian nationalism, who promoted her husband's legacy long after he was gone. Similarly, it was that interview with Karavelova that revealed her attitude to Vasil Levski, whom she called the 'Bulgarian Christ'.[782]

Velichkov's interview, however, was in stark contrast with an account left by revolutionary Nikola Obretenov almost twenty years later. Obretenov, who, according to most accounts, did not know Karavelov and his wife well, claimed that Natalija disliked Levski and he disliked her back.[783] He also claimed that as a Serb she never supported Karavelov and his initiatives.

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[779] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 20

[780] First appeared in: Bobchev, Stefan: "Ljuben Karevelov, negov zhivot I knizhovna dejatelnost" *Nauka*, God. I/1904.

[781] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si*. Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 37-38

[782] The interview was published in 1904 and taken by Konstantin Velichkov. See, Konstantin Velichkov: "Jedin razgovor s gospozha Natalija Karavelova." *Letopisi.* II/1904.

[783] First appeared in an issue of the journal Prolom (Rupture), edited by Dimo Kuorchev. See Obretenov, Nikola, in Пролом/Prolom, vol. 2-3/1923: 68-70.

The claim, however, was, most probably, baseless, since it was Stojanov and Karavelova, who created Karavelov's image in the first place, while promoting his works and investing all their effort in publishing. What remained in Obretenov's account was Karavelov's cultural nationalism and the acknowledgement of his heroic status and friendship with Levski.

Now two personal accounts can overlap with perfect accuracy. For example, in 1923 Ivan Andonov, another younger revolutionary, claimed that Botev and Karavelov had a competing relationship and ended disapproving of each other.[784] Yet, both were dedicated nationalists in Andonov's case. Similarly, Cholakov painted Karavelov as a dedicated revolutionary and a literary nationalist in 1929, repeating the arguments presented first by Marinov decades earlier.[785] Cholakov did not offer a new perspective on Karavelov's image, but he neither try to challenge it. In the end, the complicated relations among the non-core group elites produced conflicting images of revolutionaries. Yet, they agreed on the template of an ideal Bulgarian nationalist, who placed the welfare of his nation above all else and was capable of sacrifice. Those were the qualities that one found in all the accounts featuring heroic public actors.

The accounts presented above uncover an interesting paradigm. Karavelov's ideological orientation mattered very little in his ascension to the national pantheon. The only people, who mentioned Karavelov's federalism and his views, either shared them or found them important in their current context. To Arbore, a Romanian Marxist, Karavelov was a Marxist, to many of his Bulgarian peers he was a dedicated nationalist, who approved of Rakovski's ideas (as they did themselves without even understanding them).

The commemoration of Karavelov, thus, was started by his peers, (including his wife Natalija) who were nationalists and chose him to promote their state-building agendas. Since federalism was largely irrelevant for a national hero, they never focused on this aspect of Karavelov's person (unless they themselves were federalists). The question that remains, addresses Karavelov's destiny. His image was the creation of his peers and followers. But he himself had a suitable life and a set of skills that made him into hero material.

[784] Velikov, Stefan (ed.): *Ljuben Karavelov v spomenite na suvremennicite si.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1960: 72
[785] Cholakov, Todor. Vuzpominanija. *Literaturen Glas,* br. 32, 1929.

The paths of the non-core group public actors: what's the difference?

Ivan Adzhenov, one of Georgi Rakovski's first biographers, claimed that his depiction of the revolutionary's turbulent life was the most accurate.[786] Yet, one may wonder if Rakovski's life was indeed as outstanding and extraordinary as Adzhenov and his followers stated. While Rakovski's path can be considered interesting, his biographers tended to overstate his connections and the extent of his travels and paint him as a unique individual unlike any of his followers or predecessors.[787] Rakovski's case, however, could not possibly be unique if he was a part of a mobile elite that was defined by its' international connections and mobile lifestyle. But how typical was he?

All chroniclers and biographers exaggerated the importance and uniqueness of their protagonists. This trait characterizes almost all memory literature of the so-called 'Bulgarian revival'.[788] Often this attempt to label the heroes as unique renders the idea of a cohort experience useless. However, one can follow the destinies of the commemorated national heroes, who died before 1878 as well as those, who lived on, to see whether there is a pattern in their biographies that defines them as 'national hero' material.

When dealing with shared experiences of exile and revolutionary activities, a researcher usually regards the public actors as a single group connected by friendship, kinship, shared enterprises and arguments. Thus, the paths of individuals in a group remained somewhat similar, even if all the members of a revolutionary network were different individuals with their unique sets of traits and skills. As the previous chapter demonstrated, these people could rarely avoid each other's company since they often graduated from the same institutions and worked on the same projects once they became non-core group elites.

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[786] Arnaudov, Mihail: *Njakolko tumni epizoda ot zhivota na Rakovski v 1853-54 g.* // ГСУ - ИФФ, XXXIII, 1936, № 37. Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnica, 1937: 3-10.

[787] The revolutionary's life became a subject of vigorous research almost immediately after his death, and the interest of his biographies has not diminished with time. One can name over a dozen publication dedicated to his life. Among the most famous are Firkatian, Mari Agop: *The Forest Traveller: Georgi Stoikov Rakovski and Bulgarian Nationalism.* New York: Peter Lang, 1996, Traikov, Veselin: *Georgi Stoikov Rakovski.* Sofia: BAN, 1974.Traĭkov, Veselin, Mukherjee, G.: *Georgi Stoikov Rakovski, a Great Son of Bulgaria and a Great Friend of India.* New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1987. Vâlchev, Bojan: *Rakovski, knizhovnikât i filologât.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski, 1993, Arnaudov, Michail: *Georgi Stojkov Rakovski. Život, delo, idei*. Sofija 1969, etc.

[788] This attitude is most prominent even in memoirs and pamphlets that present the information in a different manner – from fiction to borderline scholarly chronicles. See Markov Hristo: *Kak Shtahme da povalim turskata imperija*. Burgas, 1924. Grekov, Mihail: *Kak nije osvobozhdavahme Bulgarija.* Vol. I-II. Sofia: Izd. OF, 1990.

One may argue that the only 'choice' a public actor had in the Balkans was the choice to join the non-core group elite. If one did not choose to be a part of their circle, he could theoretically make a career in the Ottoman Empire for himself. A representative of the Rum-millet could opt for a place within the state either through the Greek circles and the Patriarchate of Constantinople[789] or by converting to Islam and offering one's services to the state.[790] Mobility was common and origin mattered little unless it threatened the imperial authorities.[791] Theoretically, Rakovski could have become a prosperous merchant.[792] He had plenty of opportunities to adopt a profession in trade.[793] He could still be mobile and become a typical example of an imperial subject with a rather successful occupation, contributing to the list of the many imperial biographies of various professionals.[794] Yet, he never chose this path. Thus, a non-core group affiliation was truly one of the few choices a public actor could make for himself. His later destiny was almost entirely framed by his nationalist surroundings and other activists.

To some extent all revolutionary destinies were predetermined once they showed an interest in a national identity. If one graduated from a Greek gymnasium in Bulgaria, he most certainly came under the scrutiny of Najden Gerov and his circle, could be sent to Odessa, gain a stipend from the Russian Empire and engage in revolutionary activities through the Bulgarian and Russian peers he met abroad.[795] Certainly, one's strivings depended on personal skills and ambitions, yet, the places and circles, where those skills and ambitions developed, were always the same and included the same people.

A non-core group public actor could choose his profession, but even that decision was often influenced by his nationalist surroundings and the providers of his stipends. This particularity was stressed by Buchenau in the Serbian case, where "theologists were sent to Kiev and

[789] Stefan Bogoridi could serve as an excellent example of such an illustrious career within the Greek circle. Radev, Ivan: *Kniaz Stefan Bogoridi*. Veliko Turnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo, 1994.29-30.

[790] General Bem, a Polish and Hungarian revolutionary, for example, can be regarded as an example of a fairly fortunate convert in the service of the Ottomans. See Maier, Lothar A.: "General Józef Bems Plan Für Einen Polnischen Aufstand." *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, 25, no. 4 (1977): 513-24

[791] Eldem, Edhem: *The Story of the Little Greek Boy Who Became a Powerful Pasha. Myth and Reality in the Life of İbrahim Edhem Pasha, c. 1818–1893* http://www.panoreon.gr/files/items/1/163/the_story_of_the_little_greek_boy_who_became_a_powerful_pasha.pdf?rnd=1290775579 (accessed August 10, 2017).

[792] Firkatian, Mari Agop: *The Forest Traveller: Georgi Stoikov Rakovski and Bulgarian Nationalism.* New York: Peter Lang, 1996: 12-15.

[793] Crampton, Richard. J.: *A Concise History of Bulgaria.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 77

[794] Norris, Stephen, Sunderland, Willard: *Russia's People of Empire: Life Stories from Eurasia, 1500 to the Present.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012: 8

[795] These were the trajectories of Hristo Botev, Ljuben Karavelov, Trifon Panov and many others.

Moscow. Here they participated automatically in the movements of the Russian theology and quickly became involved with Slavophilia".[796] Eventually, these Russian scholarships led to two potential outcomes: the students either got acquainted with the Russian revolutionaries and turned nihilist (like in the case of Stambolov and many others), or became Russophile (like Seliminski, Ikonomov etc.).

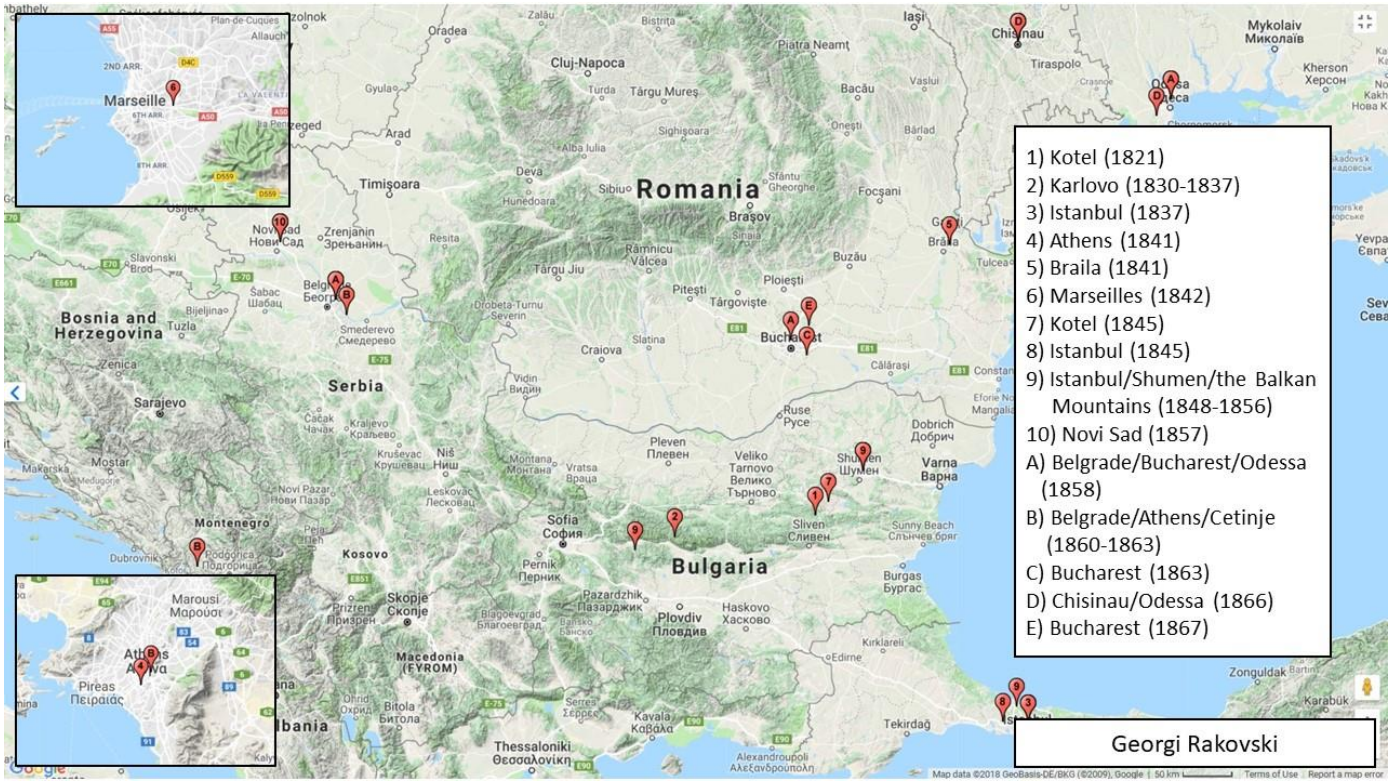
A similar destiny awaited scholars, who chose academic careers. Such was the case of the historian Marin Drinov. While involved in the Bulgarian state and nation-building debates, Drinov chose to stay in the Russian Empire to pursue an academic career. A Balkanist, a scholar and an emigrant, he was one of the people behind the Turnovo Constitution,[797] Drinov, however, had always retained one function that reigned over all the others – her was a historian of the Balkans. Educated in Kiev and Moscow State University, Drinov dedicated most of his life to Slavistics, eventually becoming a professor at Kharkiv University.[798] He, thus, became a product of the Russian Empire as much as a Bulgarian nationalist. Given the opportunities he had in front of him, he, probably, could not have made a different choice if he had wanted a scholarly career.

This observation presupposes certain uniformity. One may track the paths of the public actors to see if their physical movements contributed to their future heroic statuses and prominent careers that promised subsequent commemoration. If their ideologies (apart from nationalism) did not matter, then one may wonder if their travels did. Were they pre-determined and did they change following 1878? The section, thus, will present the itineraries of Georgi Rakovski, Ljuben Karavelov, Todor ikonomov and Stefan Stambolov (the last two lived long enough to see and influence the politics of the Principality).

[796] Buchenau, Klaus: *Kleines Serbien, Größe Welt: Serbiens Orthodoxie über Globalisierung und europäische Integration.* In Vasilios N. Makrides (edited): Religion, Staat und Konfliktkonstellationen im Orthodoxen Ost- und Sudosteuropa. Vergleichende Perspektiven. Frankfurt: Peter Lang 2005: 109. (85-115)

[797] Cholov, Petur; Vasileva, Evelina*: Marin Drinov: 1838-1906. Bio-bibliograficheski ukazatel i dokumentalno nasledstvo.* Sofia: Nar. Biblioteka 'Kiril I Metodij', 1990: 45.

[798] Gorina, Ljudmila V.: *Marin Drinov – istorik i obshchestvennyj dejatel.* Moskva: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1986: 112.



Rakovski's path through the Balkans started in the town of **Kotel** in 1821.[799] He was born into a family of a wealthy merchant, thus, his parents could afford his education.[800] In his early years, he attended a gymnasium in **Karlovo,** where he learnt Greek. Then he left for **Istanbul** with his father and continued his education within the Greek intellectual circles. Fascinated by the nationalist ideas of Neofit Bozveli and a number of other enlightened Bulgarians, he firmly adopted a Bulgarian identity and engaged in the fight for the independence of the Bulgarian Exarchate.[801] Rakovski's fervent ambitions pushed him away from the Greek intellectuals and the Turkish authorities, who had managed to provide him with a decent education and impressive linguistic skills that Rakovski would eventually develop further.

In 1841, after finishing his studies in Istanbul, Rakovski visited **Athens** together with the future Bishop Ilarion Makariopolski[802] and engaged into the formation of the Macedonian society (Македонско дружество). In August 1841, Rakovski settled in Romania, in **Braila**, where he opened a private school for the many Bulgarian emigrants in the city.[803] After his involvement

[799] Bakalov, Georgi: *G.S. Rakovski*. Sofia-Pleven: kooperativna pechatnica 'Izgrev', 1934: 2-5.
[800] Crampton, R. J.: *A Concise History of Bulgaria.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 77.
[801] Traikov, Veselin: *Georgi Stoikov Rakovski*. Sofia: BAN, 1974: 44-68.
[802] Arnaudov, Mihail: "Ilarion Makariopolski i bulgarskijat curkoven vupros*".* In: Arnaudov, Mihail (ed.) *Ilarion Makariopolski, mitropolit Turnovski*. Sofia: BAN, 1925: 3 – 15.
[803] Cvetkov, Andrej: *Georgi Stojkov Rakovski: 1821-1871 : biografichen ocherk.* Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1971: 25-27.

in the Braila Uprising, Rakovski was condemned to death by the authorities, but handed to the Greeks as a Greek citizen. Following his extradition, the revolutionary escaped from custody and travelled all the way to **Marseilles**, where he spent a year and a half.[804]

During his exile in France, Rakovski mostly invested time in cultivating relations with the Bulgarians studying in Greece, whom he wished to recruit into his revolutionary struggle due to their decent education, the experience of which he shared with them. When Rakovski returned to **Kotel**, his hometown, he was arrested. Shortly after he was sent to a prison in **Istanbul**. In 1848 he was released and, therefore, had a chance to continue his revolutionary activities, which he did not waste.

Settling in Istanbul, Rakovski eventually acquired enough connections to found the Secret Society that was meant to help the Russian Armies during the Crimean War of 1853-1856.[805] The Society's main quarters were situated in **Shumen**. Eventually, the revolutionary network was busted by the Ottoman Authorities. From 1854 to 1856, Rakovski formed unofficial military units – chetas – trying to provoke a revolt in Bulgaria. After spending time as an outlaw in the **Balkan mountains**, Rakovski emerged in **Novi Sad**, Serbia, in 1857.[806] The following years the revolutionary spent between **Belgrade and Bucharest**, eventually emigrating to **Odessa** in 1858 because of the pressure from the local authorities.

From 1860 to 1863 Rakovski lived in **Belgrade**, where he enjoyed relative stability despite his revolutionary activities. He published and wrote a lot, becoming a prolific author and an influential revolutionary leader. Harbouring ideas of a Balkan union against the Ottoman Empire, Rakovski received the blessing of the Serbian authorities to discuss the project in **Cetinije and Athens**. In 1863, he returned from Greece and Montenegro disappointed and decided to settle in **Bucharest.** In 1866 Rakovski travelled to the Russian Empire once again, but this time his journey crossed **Bessarabia**, where he visited the local Bulgarian colonies.[807] During his visit to the Russian Empire, Rakovski stayed in **Odessa** and spent some time in **Chisinau**.[808] In 1867 the military units of Filip Totiu and Panajot Hitov were defeated,

[804] Trajkov, Veselin: *Georgi Stojkov Rakovski.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1974: 44 – 68.
[805] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto. (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo ‚Marin Drinov', 2005: 250-252.
[806] Trajkov, Veselin: *Rakovski i balkanskite narodi.* Sofia: Nauka I izkustvo, 1971: 39.
[807] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto. (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo ‚Marin Drinov', 2005: 154-155.
[808] Dojnov, Stefan: *Bulgarite v Ukraina i Moldova prez Vuzrazhdaneto. (1751 – 1878).* Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo ‚Marin Drinov', 2005: 253.

destroying Rakovski's dream of instigating a successful military revolt. Already sick, the ideologist died of tuberculosis in **Bucharest** the same year at the age of 46.

The crude listing of Rakovski movements presented above does not even begin to cover the complexity of the influences and entanglements that accompanied the revolutionary. Most of Rakovski's initiatives did not yield immediate results for which the revolutionary had hoped himself. His trajectories, however, can be easily monitored, and, for a person, whose life came to an end after just 46 years, his mobility was striking. Yet, although remarkable, it was not unique. Ljuben Karavelov's life represents a similar example of a travelling public actor, who visited many of the same places that included Bucharest, Belgrade, Moscow, Odessa, etc (everything apart from Marseille).

Karavelov was born in 1835 in **Koprivshtica.** The future revolutionary left his hometown in 1850 in order to continue his education in **Plodvid,** in a Greek gymnasium. Between 1853 and 1856 Karavelov was first a student in **Odrin**, later a trader's assistant in **Istanbul,** who was more interested in history and folklore than in commerce.[809] In 1857 Karavelov visited **Odessa**,

[809] Karavelov, Ljuben: "Bulgarskata zhurnalistika (1862)" In: Karavelov, Ljuben. *Subrani suchinenija v dvanadeset toma.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1984-1988. Vol. VI: 15-16.

where he tried to continue his studies, eventually failing. From 1857 to 1862 he studied at Moscow State University.[810]

In **Moscow** Karavelov fell under the influence of the prominent Russian revolutionary democrats like Alexander Herzen and Nikolaj Chernyshevski.[811] In 1867 Karavelov moved to **Belgrade** as a correspondent of the Russian newspaper Golos. It was in Serbia that he formed relationships with the local Bulgarian revolutionaries and Serbian intelligentsia.[812] In Belgrade Karavelov met and married a Serbian revolutionary Natalija Petrović, with whom he would remain till the end of his life.[813]

Later, Karavelov moved to **Novi Sad**, and eventually settled in **Bucharest** in 1869.[814] Like every typical Bulgarian revolutionary-emigrant of the time, he organized and supported revolutionary societies, published journals with ever-changing success and led a half-underground lifestyle, doing his best to avoid the persecution of the local authorities. Yet, it is the map of his movements that is essential for the current analysis. In 1872 Karavelov was elected as the head of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee. Supporting his contacts with the Russian revolutionaries in Bucharest and actively building a career in journalism, Karavelov suffered a breakup with his comrade Hristo Botev and, following the tragic death of Vasil Levski, became disoriented.

In 1877 Karavelov actively assisted the Russian side in the war, founded "the Yugoslav enlightened charitable committee", and returned to Bulgaria with the Russian troops.[815] Later the same year, he met count Ignatiev, the man behind the San-Stefano treaty, and visited **Istanbul** with him. Finally, Karavelov decided to settle in **Ruse** in 1878, harbouring extensive plans regarding a pan-Slavic union and his dream of a Balkan Federation. Karavelov's hopes were destined to crash as his health quickly started to deteriorate. He died in Ruse in 1879 of tuberculosis at the age of 45.

Karavelov died young. Like Rakovski, he was a prolific writer and traveller before his death. While Karavelov travelled less than Rakovski, his itineraries coincide with those of his elder

[810] Karavelov, Ljuben: *Izbrani tvorbi.* Sofia: Izd. Bulgarski pisatel, 1959: 402–405

[811] Vorobjev, Lev*: Ljuben Karavelov: mirovozzrenije I tvorchestvo.* Moskva: Izdatelstvo hudozhestvennoj literatury, 1963: 202-203

[812] Konev, Ilija: *Beletristut Karavelov.* Sofia: BAN, 1970: 81-82

[813] Karanikolova, Marija: *Rodut na Karavelovi. Petro Karavelov 1843 – 1903. Mezhdu velichieto i zabravata.* Koprivshtica: Direkcija na muzeite – grad Koprivshtica, 2003: 3–7.

[814] Zhechev, Nikolaj: *Bukuresht – kulturno sredishte na bulgarite prez Vuzrazhdaneto.* Sofia: BAN, 1991: 92.

[815] Dimitrov, Mihail: *Ljuben Karavelov. Biografija.* Sofia: BAN, 1959: 343.

peer. He led a similar revolutionary lifestyle and often shared Rakovski's political views and aspirations. The pattern presented above changes in the paths of the younger peers of Karavelov and Rakovski and those, who lived long enough to see the rise of the Bulgarian Principality.

The examples of the publicist Todor Ikonomov and politician Stefan Stambolov demonstrate a decreasing level of mobility that can be seen on the map bellow. While Stambolov became a prominent politician and a controversial figure, he cannot be considered a national hero, although he was commemorated and featured in the memoirs and articles of his peers.[816] Ikonomov, on the other hand, is a lesser known figure, whose personality was almost entirely marginalized. While he did participate in the political life of the Principality, he ended his life marginalized and excluded.

Stefan Stambolov was born in **Turnovo** in 1854. His father sent him to **Odessa** in 1870 in a futile attempt to make him a priest. Stambolov became a nihilist instead and was expelled from the Seminary because of his connections to the Russian revolutionaries.[817] In 1873 the future statesman shortly worked as a teacher in **Turnovo** before leaving for **Braila and Bucharest** the same year. Involved in the Bulgarian struggle for national emancipation, Stambolov participated in the uprisings organized by the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee. In

[816] Ivanov, Dimitur: *Stefan Stambolov: ot peroto do jatagana*. Sofia: Trud, 2005: 17
[817] *Enciklopedija "Bulgarija".* Vol. 6. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1988: 397

1876 he was forced to emigrate to Romania once again after his brief engagement in revolutionary affairs in Bulgaria.[818]

During the Russian-Turkish war Stambolov worked as a journalist for the Russian newspaper "Novoe vremia". Disappointed with the results of the Treaty of Berlin, Stambolov changed his political tactics and chose to oppose Russia's foreign policies. By 1878 Stambolov had already become a key-figure connecting revolutionaries in Bulgaria and Macedonia,[819] therefore, he organized the supply transfer from the Committee in **Turnovo** to Macedonia. Subsequently, Stambolov concentrated his efforts on building a political career in Bulgaria, where he cultivated regional connections that stretched out to Russia, Romania, Macedonia and beyond. As a member of the liberal party Stambolov sketched a plan for Bulgaria's unification with Eastern Rumelia in 1880. Later he became Vice-Chairman and then Chairman of the Bulgarian parliament, finally accomplishing his goal of bringing Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia together in 1885. Next year, after Prince Alexander was overthrown by the opposition, backed by Russia, Stambolov organized another coup-d'état to bring him back, briefly becoming a regent.

After the new Prince, Ferdinand, was brought to Bulgaria, Stambolov continued his anti-Russian policies, still supporting close ties to Romania. These relations resulted also in a short-lived plan for a Romania-Bulgarian union under king Charles.[820] Stambolov, unlike many of his fellow revolutionaries felt an attachment to his native city of Turnovo, where he planned to retire, nevertheless, his political career required his presence in **Sofia**, where he stayed till his assassination in 1895.

While Stambolov was less travelled than his predecessors, his itineraries remained similar and ran through Odessa, Moscow, Braila and Bucharest – all centres of the Bulgarian emigration, where nationalists met and discussed their plans. But one may also argue that Stambolov's subsequent lack of mobility was determined by his status of a leading statesman. A minister could build different ties with his peers than a penniless emigrant. Also, a minister could rely on the policies of his state, while a member of a non-core group had much less resources at his disposal. Thus, a member of the non-core group elite travelled more extensively than a member of a core-group. Todor Ikonomov's life offers a pattern similar to that of Stambolov.

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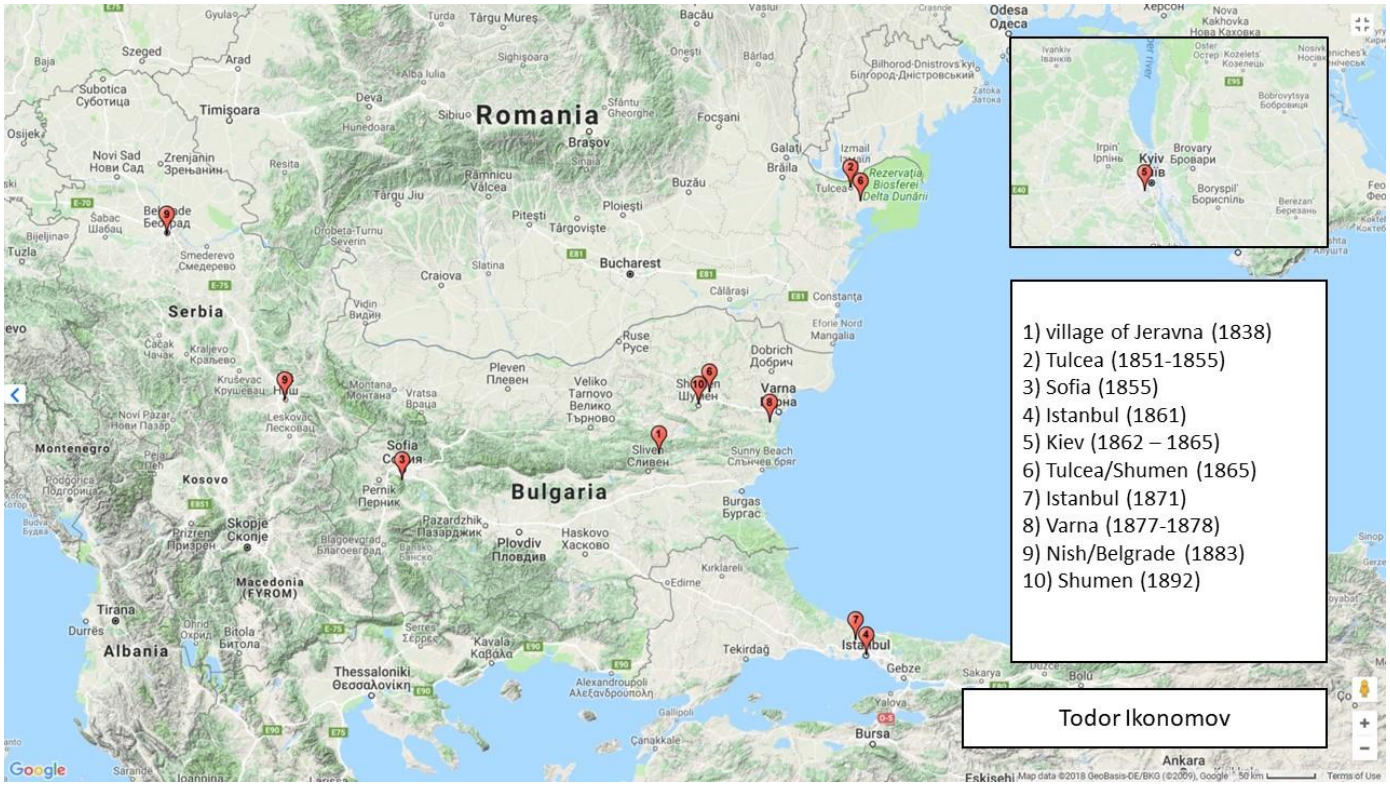
[818] Kosev, Konstantin et al.: *Istorija na Aprilskoto vustanije 1876*. Sofia: Universitetskoto izdatelstvo „Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1996: 202 – 203

[819] Statelova, Elena et al.: *Sujedinenijeto na Knjazhestvo Bulgarija i Iztochna Rumelija 1885 godina.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo "Prosveta", 1995: 16

[820] Alex Mihai Stoenescu: *Istoria Lovitorilor de Stat în România,* vol. 2, Editura RAO-București, 2001: 83



Ikonomov's destiny tells the story of a man, whose views happened to contradict Stambolov's anti-Russian sentiments. Although marginalized and not commemorated, he followed the same paths as the two national heroes and one controversial politician. Ikonomov was born in 1838 in a village of **Jeravna** close to Kotel in a family of a priest, who expected his son to follow in his footsteps. Receiving his primary education in **Razgrad and Ruse**, he worked for a short time in **Tulcea** in Northern Dobruja between 1851-1855. Later, he continued his education in **Sofia**, where he did not stay too long, leaving for **Istanbul** in 1861.

The following years Ikonomov travelled to the Russian Empire, where he finished the Seminary in **Kiev** in 1865.[821] From 1865 Ikonomov worked as a teacher **in Tulcea and Shumen**. Involved in the struggle for the independent Bulgarian Exarchate, Ikonomov spent time in **Istanbul** in 1871, where he actively engaged in publishing and journalism.[822] During the Russian-Turkish War, Ikonomov acted as a school inspector in **Varna** between 1877-1878.

[821] Curakov, Angel: Enciklopedija na pravitelstvata, narodnite subranija I atentatite v Bulgarija. Sofia: Trud, 2008: 14.

[822] Zhechev, Toncho. Todor Ikonomov: *Ocherk iz istorijata na bulgarskata obshtestvena misul*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na OF,1975: 111 – 112.

After the liberation, Ikonomov, just like Stambolov, followed a political career, staying in Bulgaria. In 1883 he travelled extensively in **Serbia**, publishing his "Letters from Serbia".[823] Yet, unlike Stambolov, he chose to side with the pro-Russian party and oppose the Regency of Stambolov in 1886.[824] Thereafter, his life turned into a series of unfortunate events that resulted in his demise. Poor and ridiculed for his federalist ideas, Ikonomov was forced to abandon his political career. He killed himself in **Shumen** in 1892.

As the four maps showed, all members of Bulgarian non-core group elites travelled extensively. Their subsequent commemoration was not related to their itineraries. Moreover, the most prominent national heroes and lesser known individuals often followed similar paths. They chose the same destinations and rarely ventured outside of the emigrant circles of the Balkans, Russia and Habsburg Empire. While they often sustained foreign connections (Botev and Karavelov are both notable examples in this respect), they picked their future heroes among their ranks. A foreign individual could be commemorated and appreciated by the non-core group elites like, for example, Nikolai Stoletov, a Russian general during the Russian-Turkish war, was.[825] Yet, neither Ignatiev, nor Stoletov (nor the Bulgarian-oriented historians and linguists) were ever presented as national heroes. These places remained reserved for the non-core group elites.

While one's itinerary did not label one as a national hero, one's choice of an occupation cannot be ignored in the matter. None of the non-core group elites had access to vast state resources before the formation of the principality.[826] However, they did concentrate on different types of activities during their years of nationalist struggles. They could be outlaw revolutionaries involved in illegal action, they could be scholars and publicist propagating their nationalist ideas in print, they could be organizers and professional lawyers and engineers, who supported the Bulgarian cause. And, as one may assume, the commemoration of heroic figures was started by those, who had access to media and used it effectively. While the paths of individuals could be very similar, even the trajectories of their careers in science or diplomacy could coincide, their impact in the public sphere was never the same.

[823] Ikonomov, Todor: *Pisma za Surbija. Russe*: Skoropechatnica na v. „Slavjznin", 1883.
[824] Ivanov, Dimitur: *Stefan Stambolov: ot peroto do jatagana*. Sofia: Trud, 2005: 26.
[825] Hristov, Ivan: *Bulgarskoto Opulchenije 1877-1878.* Tom 1. Kazanluk: Kazanlushka iskra, 1995: 13.
[826] Perry, Duncan M.: *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895*. Durham: Duke University Press: 234-243.

While trajectories of the non-core group elites can be easily traced and analysed, they do not reveal a pattern of commemoration behind. The most mobile and diligent public actors were not necessarily acknowledged national heroes. The least mobile were not necessarily marginalized by their peers. Moreover, the extraordinary destinies of the national heroes are a myth, since they shared a lot of their itineraries with their peers, while their career choices were often determined by their circumstances and scholarships opportunities. What discerns the commemorated national heroes from their lesser known peers, is their role in the revolutionary network.

People, who knew each other: primal nods, conduits and regulars

While "everyone could be connected, if only we knew how to reach out beyond our immediate horizons",[827] some connections eventually prove to be influential and shape state policies, while others turn to be less important. Individuals played different roles in their communities. The reasons behind an individual's potential impact could be numerous. But in certain cases, these were the roles of the public actors in a revolutionary network and the changing political and social circumstances that determined heroic commemoration.

The revolutionaries of the 1870s laid the foundation to the Bulgarian future public sphere and determined the paths the state took after they themselves transformed into a core-group.[828] Beneath this transformation, however, is a web of unofficial networks and competitions for being commemorated and celebrated. Unlike formal ties between associates and partners, informal links that include personal grudges and mutual sympathies, are almost impossible to follow.[829] Those are usually the tasks that individuals performed during their common struggle or their function in the network that can be defined with at least a matter of certainty. Thus, it makes sense to estimate one's chances for commemoration based on his principal role in the

[827] Kadushin, Charles: *Understanding social networks: Theories, concepts, and findings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012: 5.

[828] Parusheva, Dobrinka: *The Web of Power and Power of the Webs: Political Elites in Romania and Bulgaria in the Late Nineteenth Century and Their Networks,* in Nathalie Clayer and Tassos Anastassiadis (eds.), Society and Politics in South-Eastern Europe during the Nineteenth century, Alpha Bank Historical Archives, Athens 2011, 141-176

[829] Parusheva, Dobrinka: *L'élite politique en Bulgaire pendant le XIXe siècle: sans princes ni ezarques, a travers "L'Europe" jusqu'en Bulgarie. Parallèles balkaniques*, in Alexandre Exarh et les routes bulgares vers Europe, XIXe - début du XXe siècle, texte établi par Georgi Valchev, Dobrinka Parusheva et Pierre Voillery, Stara Zagora 2007, 112-121

group of his/her peers. A writer performed different tasks than an outlaw or a professional lawyer, thus, one can separate individual experiences depending on their function.

"Social networks may be used to interpret behaviour in a wide variety of social situations and clearly are not limited to the study of conjugal roles alone,"[830] but professional affiliation and skills demonstrate a person's ability to influence his peers. While "social movements can be understood as loose social networks rather than tightly organized associations or interest groups",[831] they still divide their members, delegating each a different task. Thus, labelling the people in a group is important for understanding not just the dynamics within the group, but the possible commemoration techniques the group may employ, the heroes and the chroniclers it may choose. A role division proposes to see a non-core group as a "web of interacting social forces from which have arisen the various modes of observing and thinking".[832]

When studying individual roles in a network one faces a challenge. Many prominent revolutionaries changed occupations and ideologies or combined them. A researcher, thus, can never have a complete and accurate scheme featuring all the representatives of the non-core group elites and will often come across exceptions when analysing the network data.[833] However, even considering the meandering itineraries and changing occupations of the protagonists, their functions mostly remained unaltered. Writers and publicists could become politicians, but they continued to write, while professional outlaws rarely turned into philosophers even provided with an opportunity.

Commemoration and ascendancy to a heroic status depended greatly on a person's function and the informal connections that he/she supported.[834] People tended to exaggerate their political impact and importance, but they usually acknowledged their functions and those of their peers correctly. A publicist was usually labelled as such, while a hajduk was rarely praised for his literary voice but was often commended for revolutionary vigour instead. Certainly, commemoration as well as legitimization of individuals and institutions often found nebulous explanations among the public actors, who claimed to have the expertise and connections they lacked. Bold claims and recycled arguments, thus, justified various national myths in all the

[830] Mitchell, James, Clyde: *Social networks in urban situations: Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns,* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969: 7.
[831] Scott, John (ed.*): Social Networks: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, Volume 1, London: Routledge, 2002: 16.
[832] Mannheim, Karl: *Ideology and utopia, L*ondon: Routledge 2013: 45
[833] Prell, Christina: *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory and Methodology*, London: Sage, 2012: 65.
[834] Stojanović, Dubravka*: Iza zavese: Ogledi iz društvene istorije Srbije,* 1890-1914, Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2013, 5-23.

Balkan states and beyond.[835] But these claims also make it easier to find those, who made and spread them, moulding the public sphere in the process.

Following the distinctions of individual functions, the current research proposes to split the individuals, forming a revolutionary network into three groups that define their principal roles. Since not all members of elites had the same impact when creating national memory and introducing heroes, it makes sense to target those, who became hero material most often and those, who promoted them.[836] The proposed model partially ignores personal qualities, since they would not allow to create a comprehensive pattern. It suggests analysing the people in a network as *regulars, conduits and primal nods.* This approach would allow to explain how one becomes a national hero and who promotes him/her as such. In order to illustrate the model, one should bring several examples from different generations of the Bulgarian public actors.

Conduits were the most crucial members of the revolutionary network that sustained it. Trifon Lozanov Panov, a lesser known Bulgarian revolutionary and public actor, offers an interesting illustration of a conduit. From the outset of his revolutionary activities, Trifon Panov was linked to his uncle, Dimitar Panov, a prominent Bulgarian activist, who served in the Russian Army, emigrated to Russia, became a citizen and organized a meeting place for the local Bulgarian refuges in his manor in the suburbs of Odessa.[837] Thus, Trifon Panov had an access point to the revolutionary network through his uncle.[838] Yet, his subsequent connections were his own.

Like most conduits, Panov sustained connections with a great number of individuals, while never being a leader of any project, organization or a creator of a movement or ideology. He mostly followed his nationalist peers. Inspired by the growing liberation movement, Panov sailed to Galati from Odessa. There he hoped to reach Belgrade following the Danube in order to join the liberation Legion. Panov described in detail how he met other young men during his voyage, one of whom was a Serbian revolutionary joining the cause.[839] From the same part of

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[835] Stojanović, Dubravka/Стојановић, Дубравка: *Уље на води: Политика и друштво у модерној историји Србије:* 115-149 In: Ljubodrag Dimić, Miroslav Jovanović i Dubravka Stojanović: *Moderna Srbija 1804-2004: tri viđenja ili poziv na dijalog.* Beograd: biblioteka Serbica: 131

[836] Weber, Claudia: *Auf der Suche nach der Nation. Erinnerungskultur in Bulgarien 1878-1944*, Berlin, Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2006, 53

[837] БИА (BIA), ф.367 - в историческата справка на фонда. 2 (Стенографски дневници на I обикновено Народно събрана): 79.

[838] Elena Nabantova's book might be one of the most insightful and multi-facet studies of the Bulgarian entanglements in the city, featuring the literary as well as the political side of the issue. See Nalbantova, Elena: *Odesa v bulgarskata istorija i literature na XIX vek.* Odesa: Druk, 2006.

[839] БИА (BIA) ф.367. а.е.3. л. 1.

Panov's memoirs one may also learn that he was fluent in Serbian, engaging in political disputes with a Serbian passenger, whom he confronted about the question of Serbia's seemingly anti-Bulgarian politics. (that did not prevent Panov from learning the man's name – Cvetko Pavlović – and later forming a short-lasting friendship with him) In the end, Panov lost two of his newly-found friends to the Ottoman police and continued the journey on his own.

Except for extended connections and a follower's status, a conduit is characterized by extreme involvement in whatever cause he supports. Thus, individuals like Panajot Hitov, Vasil Levski, Dimitar Obshti and many others were always involved greatly in their national cause, sacrificing effort and resources, while rarely defining its' ideological side. Often, conduits came under police supervision in several states. When Panov left Serbia, her travelled to Odessa, where he graduated from the university and formed connections with the most prominent revolutionary emigrants and their Russian sympathisers.[840] Panov spent the next years commuting between Belgrade and Braila,[841] where he actively communicated with the local Bulgarian emigrants, but also formed connections with the local revolutionary youth in Odessa. In 1872, Panov was described in the following way in a police report: "Trofim Panov (Bulgarian), Markov and Aleksiev are among those, who are actively involved in revolutionary propaganda and who regularly correspond with the students from Moscow State University."[842]

As a conduit, Panov was always a devoted supporter, but never an ideologist. His activities connected all other members of the non-core group elites. For example, one may follow Panov through his travels back to Bulgaria and Romania, where he got acquainted with Vasil Levski, commuting between Odessa, Bucharest, Braila and Belgrade. Later, Panov would use his background in law and mathematics to help craft the legal system in the autonomous Bulgarian Principality.[843] Panov was also instrumental in coordinating the activities of the branches of the Bulgarian revolutionary committees, establishing friendships and connections with Ivan Ivanov from Chisinau (the man, who would later have a flourishing correspondence with the Russian Slavophile Aksakov),[844] supporting his links to Hitov, Levski and Karavelov. Yet,

[840] Pogolubko, Konstantin A.: *Ocherki istorii bolgaro-russkih revoljucionnyh svjazej (60-70 gody XIX veka).* Chisinau: Stiinta, 1972: 94.
[841] ЦДИА (CDIA), ф.260, оп.1, дело 91, л.24.
[842] Pogolubko, Konstantin A.: *Ocherki istorii bolgaro-russkih revoljucionnyh svjazej (60-70 gody XIX veka).* Chisinau: Stiinta, 1972: 113.
[843] БИА(BIA) ф.369. а.е.1, л.1.
[844] ГАРФ [GARF], Fond 1750 op. 2 ed. hr. 36.

unlike Karavelov or Botev, he was not involved in publishing, caring more for the organizational and financial side of the quest for national emancipation.

Conduits also usually remained politically active unless they died before their time. For example, after 1878 Panov did not abandon the political and social scene of Bulgaria. He became a lawyer in Vidin, was elected several times as a national representative, was sceptical about the newly elected Prince and had misunderstandings with the Bulgarian conservatives.[845] He was also elected to the Bulgarian Parliament in 1886 together with Stefan Stambolov. Panov can hardly be considered marginal, however, one may wonder, why he never became a commemorated national hero like Vasil Levski.

Partially, such outcome was caused by bad publicity. While one cannot find a single negative Bulgarian account about Vasil Levski, this is not the case with Trifon Panov.[846] In 1900, in Ruse a biography of a famous national leader, a hajduk and a revolutionary Filip Totiu appeared in print. The book's author was Filip Simidov, who recorded the destiny of the voivode narrated by Totiu himself, adding his own creative liberties to the image of a man long gone.[847] Simidov documented the slightest details of the voivode's biography, yet, it was the narrative itself rather than the details that fascinated him most as he himself admitted.[848] It was partially Simidov, who ruined Trifon Panov's reputation by mentioning the rumours of Panov's infatuation with Totiu's wife and his dishonest behaviour towards the Bulgarian Societies in Odessa.[849] The publication had its effect, ruining the man's reputation. Few of his writings ever saw light, thus, cementing his marginalization. Panov, however, lived a relatively long life witnessing the First World War and dying in 1918.

What defines all conduits, including Panov, is their ambition and/or dedication to the cause. They wrote less than most primal nods, but they compensated their lack of publications with their active involvement in the activities of the revolutionary societies, committees and enterprises, etc. Conduits wrote letters to prominent foreign officials and agents.[850] They also transmitted those letters tp others.[851] And, finally, they demonstrated their political ambitions

[845] Jirecek, Konstantin: *Bulgarski dnevnik. Vol. 1*. Plovdiv-Sofia: Knigoizdatelstvo Hristo Danov, 1930: 384-386.
[846] Unless one counts the Ottoman reports.
[847] Simidov, Filip: *Prochutijat Filip Vojvoda.* Sofia: Otechestven front, 1972.
[848] БИА (BIA), ф. 98, II А 8617 Д, л.1.
[849] Simidov, Filip: *Prochutijat Filip Vojvoda.* Sofia: Otechestven front, 1972: 391
[850] Count Ignatiev, just like Aksakov, received hundreds of letters from various Bulgarian public actors. See ГАРФ Фонд 730. Опись 1, ед хранения. 75-79.
[851] Curakov, Angel: Enciklopedija na pravitelstvata, narodnite subranija I atentatite v Bulgarija. Sofia: Trud, 2008: 424.

more than regulars, but never truly became primal nods. The function of the conduits did not change much even in the subsequent generations. Also, the shift of their status from core to non-core did not affect their personal roles.

Naum Tufekchiev, a chemist and a revolutionary, would be an example of a conduit from the later generation.[852] The pattern established with Panov suited his path well enough. The future revolutionary was born in Resne, Ottoman Macedonia, in 1864. In the 1870s Tufekchiev and his brothers resettled to the Bulgarian Principality.[853] Due to the policies of Alexander Battenberg, Bulgaria's new Prince, Tufekchiev was selected as one of the students to study abroad, therefore, he travelled to Liege, where he started his path in chemistry. It granted him a professional edge when he got involved in the production of bombs to support his revolutionary activities later in life.[854]

Similarly to Panov, Levski or Hitov, the young chemist supported active connections with his peers. One may also argue that he considered himself part of a non-core group elite since he had been involved in the Macedonian revolutionary struggles and opposed the ruling party in the 1880s and 1890s. Tufekchiev gradually became involved with the fellow Christian emigrants from Macedonia, searching for a way to liberate the region from the Ottoman domination. His later path took him from Istanbul to Belgrade and Odessa, where his Macedonian and Bulgarian allegiances mixed with the radical ideas of the Russian socialist revolutionaries that he had absorbed on his way. In 1891 Tufekchiev conspired to kill the anti-Russian Stambolov, but the assassination attempt ended in a failure with the Finance Minister being killed instead.[855] Tufeckchiev did not stop at that. He started manufacturing bombs on a grand scale, supported the Russian socialist and even the Young Turks.[856]

Without its' focus on Macedonia, Tufekchiev's path could be easily compared to those of the many elder revolutionaries in the 1870s – regulars, primal nods and conduits. What defines him as a conduit, is his lack of a personal ideological project. The revolutionary chemist was

[852] The most intricate details of Tufekchiev's colourful biography I owe to Ramazan Hakki Öztan and his conference paper „The Chemist of Revolution: Naum A. Tufekchiev (1864-1916) and the Networks of Revolutionary Violence in the Late Ottoman Europe". For brief information, see Nikolov, Boris: *VMORO – vojvodi i rukovoditeli.* Sofia: Zvezdi, 2001: 173.

[853] Nikolov: Op. Cit: 173-174

[854] Nikolov: Op. Cit: 174

[855] Duncan M. Perry: *The Politics of Terror: The Macedonian Liberation Movements, 1893–1903*. Durham, NC: Durham University Press, 1988: 32-4.

[856] Stambolov, Stefan; Kumanov, Milen; Ivanov, Dimitur: *Stefan Stambolov: Pisma, telegrami, statii, suobshtenija*. Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Kliment Ohridski", 2002: 459-460.

involved in most of the subterfuge happening in the 1890s Bulgarian state, including the assassination of Stambolov and illegal weapons export. Tufekchiev's revolutionary activities were not exclusively linked to the Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organization or Bulgarian liberals. Subsequently, he even had contacts with the Bolsheviks, and socialists in Paris.[857] Eventually, he settled in Sofia and even occupied a place at the Ministry of the Public Works. However, he never created an ideology or a following of his own, never even left memoirs (unlike Hitov or Panov) and wrote little. He died in 1916. Tufekchiev can be considered more active than most conduits, but his role in the revolutionary network was still the same – he connected individuals and helped them organize their societies and debates.

Like the two men mentioned above, women could also be conduits in the revolutionary network, although they ended as regulars more often. Moreover, their place in the social network of the revolutionaries differs from that of their male peers. Krassimira Daskalova points out that „the developpment of the Bulgarian national intelligentsia and the birth of the Bulgarian periodical press in the 1840s also stimulated the development of a sort of 'literary feminism' among some men of letters".[858] Nevertheless, few women managed to publish their works as widely as men did.

The case of Karamfila Stefanova illustrates this struggle perfectly. Ljudmila Malinova goes as far as claims, that this woman-poet could have never existed in the first place.[859] While facing constant rejections from publishing houses in Constantinople, she managed to break through and make her work known among her nationalist-oriented peers. However, it is her absence from the memoirs of her many male peers that raises the question of her existence as such.

Malinova claims, that Stefanova could be, in reality, the poet Anton Frangja since he was the only person, who has left any account dealing with her personality and connections.[860] For the current topic, however, it is this lack of voice that demonstrates how the situation of women-nationalists differed from that of their male peers. Most of the sources related to women-revolutionaries are the memoirs of their male colleagues, friends, brothers and husbands. Few of their own letters and writings remain, and among them, almost none address the questions

[857] Sereda, Alexej: *Pervyj shturm samoderzhavija, 1905-1907.* Moskva: Politizdat,1989: 172-173.
[858] Daskalova, Krassimira: "Bulgarian Women's Movement (1850s-1940s)." In: Edith Saurer/ Margareth Lanzinger/ Elisabeth Frysak (Hg.): *Women's Movements. Networks and Debates in post-communist Countries in the 19th and 20th Centuries.* Boehlau Verlag: Koeln-Weimar-Wien, 2006, 413-437: 414
[859] Malinova, Ljudmila. "Karamfila Stefanova. Ssjankata na mistifikacijata" *Literaturna Misal.* 2/2004: 83-94.
[860] Malinova, Ljudmila. Op. cit: 86.

of state-building.[861] One rarely comes across their political statements, even in their memoirs or poems. Women became prominent followers, who were important for the thin layer of the educated Bulgarian nationalists. But one never encounters them among the political idelogists like Rakovski or Karavelov (whose wife Natalija remained in the shadow of her federalist husband, even while contributing to the creation of his legacy).[862]

Many female representatives of the intelligentsia, like Anastasia Obretenova, became teachers or got involved with various organizations focusing on education. Obretenova was one of the examples of the conduits that spawned personal interconnections and helped to support them later. For example, two prolific writers - Stojan Zaimov and Zahari Stojanov (allegedly, Stojan Zaimov's love for Anastasia Obretenova resulted in a bitter breakup between the two friends)[863] – were both initially connected by Obretenova and her brothers. She herself subsequently withdrew from the Bulgarian political scene and even cultural life after her husband's tragic death.

Women supported and enhanced the literary networks of the emigrants, publishing their works and translations, like Irina Ekzarh and Elena Muteva.[864] Yet, they did not become primal nods, remaining mostly on the margins of the state-building creativity taking place prior and after 1878. Their activities, however, resembled those of their male peers: they connected others, transported letters, accomplished feats of resistance (like the national heroine Raina Popgeorgieva, for example) and supported the revolutionary network. Nationalism allowed them to publish and study, since any contribution to the network was appreciated by their male peers. These opportunities provided to otherwise marginalized individuals came with the focus on creating national literatures and nation languages in the Balkans.[865] Yet, even Raina Popgeorgieva, who had her biography published in Russian and later made a career as a teacher in the Principality, never had a chance to rise to politics.[866]

[861] Daskalova, Krassimira: "Die Entwicklung der Frauengeschichte in Bul-garien" (The development of women's history in Bulgaria*), L'Homme.. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaf* 12, no. 2 (2001): 364–374.
[862] Natalija's contribution is discussed in Chapter V.
[863] Tashev, Todor: *Zhivotut na letopiseca.* Sofia: Izdatelstvo Hristo G. Danov, 1984: 90.
[864] Radev, I.: *Bulgarska literatura na XIX vek. Ot anonumnost kum avtorstvo.* Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2002: 63.
[865] Detrez, Raymond. "Sta Je Prvo Nastalo: Jezik Ili Nacija? (What Came First: Language or Nation?)." Ed. Aleksandra Djuric-Bosnic. *Interkulturnalnost (4),* 2012: 322–331.
[866] Raina Popgeorgieva was celebrated enough to have essays about her translated into English in 1913. See, Stoyanoff, Zachary. *Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent* Translated by Potter, M.W. London: Edward Arnold. 1913.

When analysing the position of women in this social network, one comes across a paradox. On the one hand, women-revolutionaries were important and celebrated like Tonka Obretenova in the older generation and Raina Popgeorgieva in the younger. Also, their background (peasant or low-middle class) did not matter, while they shared nationalist ideas and contributed to the network, as Nadezhda Alexandrova points out.[867] On the other hand, there are no notable women-ideologists (who could be considered primal nods) among the Bulgarian mid-19th century revolutionaries. Thus, one may conclude that while nationalism provided them with a platform for expression and career opportunities, it was their gender that prevented them from taking part in politics rather than their nationalist affiliation like in the case of men-revolutionaries. Men-revolutionaries could be conduits, regulars or primal nods, while women-revolutionaries, in practice, never became primal nods. And their nationalist stances had little to do with their marginalization. It came with their gender. As conduits, however, women could still gain a place in the nationalist pantheon.

Conduits, both women and men, are perfect revolutionaries and almost ideal templates for national heroes and heroines. They combine dedication to the cause with vast connections that create large clusters of people, who remember them.[868] Also, their function does not change depending on the generation. In most cases, they are very well known to their peers and their role is acknowledged.

Not all well-connected active promoters were conduits, however. Some notable exceptions also included various primal nods, engaged in the promotion of their cause – Lajos Kossuth and Georgi Rakovski can both be considered such examples in the Bulgarian and Hungarian nationalist struggles respectively. Both were extremely well connected, but both remained ideologists rather than supporters, both were pushed out of their comfort zone and forced to assume the management of their revolutionary connections.[869] Despite his adventurous life, Rakovski, for example, did not start out as a hajduk like Obshti, Hitov, Benkovski – all heroes of the April Uprising. He started out as an ideologist and remained such till the end of his life. Conduits, unlike Rakovski, never produced independent political projects. They could equally support federalists or socialists, but they were never scholars and producers of knowledge. This

[867] Alexandrova, Nadezhda: 'A queen of many kingdoms: the autobiography of Rayna Knyaginya.' In: Sanz, Amelia; Scott, Francesca et al. (eds.) *Women telling nations*. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2014: 151-169.
[868] Hobsbawm, Eric: *Revolutionaries. Contemporary Essays.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973: 3-11.
[869] Kossuth himself would even point out his reluctance to become a revolutionary. He saw himself as a lawyer and politician rather than an outlaw. Kossuth, Lajos: *Hungary and its revolutions from the earliest period to the nineteenth century. Memoir of Louis Kossuth*. London 1854: 401 Similarly, Rakovski's revolutionary turn was a reaction to the Greek and Ottoman domination that he understood due to his high level of education.

role was reserved for primal nods, many of whom were crucial in starting the cults of national heroes.

Most primal nods are defined by their scholarly nature. They are ideologists and producers of state and nation-building projects. Their activities and theories do not necessarily yield tangible results and often fail, but they rarely relinquish their ideological creativity. Among primal nods one would usually find those engaged in knowledge production and political creativity. Rakovski, Karavelov, Drinov and Botev can be considered primal nods since all of them were focused on the ideological side of the nationalist struggle. In most cases, the primal nods were the instigators of reforms and revolutions.

A primal nod could be well connected but could also have a relatively small number of followers depending on his surroundings and position. Most primal nods were rarely universally accepted by other members of the network since their ideology inevitably provoked debates. They could be and often were mobile but they could also travel little, relying on the conduits to spread and transmit their ideas. In the end, primal nods were usually defined by their ability to propagate and shape political ideology.

One of the typical examples of a primal nod would be historian Marin Drinov. Drinov led a life of a typical mobile intellectual, while pursuing a career in academia. While Levski actively participated in the revolutionary underground around 1872, Drinov defended his dissertation and continued an academic career in Russia. His greatest accomplishments in shaping the political and cultural landscape of the Principality were ideological. He coined the term 'national revival' and laid the foundation for the understanding and interpretation of history in the Bulgarian state. He started his political interference, becoming the supporter of the independent Bulgarian Exarchate.[870]

As most primal nods, Drinov became the creator of what can be defined as a 'national pantheon'. It was through his scholarly works and popularization of history that Drinov started the sacralization of nationalism.[871] Already in 1869, in his "History of the Bulgarian church", Drinov presented Tsar Boris not as a sacred, but rather as a secular ruler and church founder. In this role Boris held a function similar to that of Sava in the Serbian case. Of course, the final

[870] Gorina, Ljudmila V.: *Marin Drinov – istorik i obshchestvennyj dejatel.* Moskva: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1986: 81-98.

[871] The effort was, certainly, supported by the later chronicles and writers such as Zahari Stojanov and Stojan Zaimov.

product of Drinov's strivings was the creation of a link between the 19th century Bulgarian nation and the multiple legacies of Medieval Bulgaria. His scholarly success outstripped reality by far.

In Drinov's interpretation of the millennial event, in his "Thousand Years of the Bulgarian National Church 1870" in the newspaper "Macedonia" referencing Boris, he wrote that facing a competition between Byzantium and Rome, a 'national', purely national (čisto narodna) church, "free of any foreign folkish (čuždo-narodno) influence" had to be established.[872]. Thus, the creation of a long-lived Bulgarian scholarly tradition with its' heroes and myths was designed by Drinov to a great extent. It was the task of the primal nods to create a framework that could be filled in with their revolutionary peers, and Drinov accomplished the task. As a primal nod, he justified the rights of his nation on territories and political freedoms, while defining vitally important events and individuals that supported the existence of his group.

Drinov became the mastermind behind the Bulgarian national narrative, establishing a scholarly tradition that stretched out to the future generations, who eagerly adopted his approaches and broadened them.[873] And, while Drinov certainly supported nationalist propaganda, he was a revolutionary of letters rather than that of arms - an ideologist in a very broad sense of the word. As a result, he achieved the heights of an academic career in the Russian Empire and contributed to the public and political life of the young Bulgarian state. However, he himself never became a national hero.

Primal nods like Karavelov, Botev and Rakovski (Ivan Vazov and Ljubomir Miletić in the later generations) all had well documented destinies, since they themselves tended to record their experiences and influence the public sphere through their ideological actions. They were also, in most cases, creative professionals – writers, publicists, journalists. They were the easiest to identify together with the conduits, however, the regulars in the revolutionary network remained the most difficult type of individuals to describe when it comes to assessing their abilities and tracing their impact. However, no revolutionary network could exist without them.

Connected by the conduits to all other members of the revolutionary network, regulars remained the least documented individuals among them. They were the subscribers of

872 Drinov, Marin: *Tiseshteletijeto na narodnata bulgarska cherkva.* Makedonija, IV, 26, 17 February, 1869: 22-25.

873 Rohdewald, Stefan. *Götter der Nationen. Religiöse Erinnerungsfiguren in Serbien, Bulgarien und Makedonien bis 1944 (Visuelle Geschichtskultur).* Wien Köln Weimar: Böhlau, 2014: 252.

Rakovski's, Botev's and Karavelov's journals, the supporters of their initiatives. They were interested in the nationalist activities of the primal nods and conduits. They were the audience, but rarely the executioners of the revolutionary plans and the masterminds behind uprisings. While regulars are often featured in the accounts of the conduits and the primal nods, their own motivations and stories are mostly obscured.[874] They rarely left memoirs and political pamphlets behind. If any of the regulars deserved a mention in the writings of their more active peers, they usually appeared as part of the context, but rarely deserved a special place in a narrative or a personal story. (unless they became part of a writer's story) It was their receptive function that mattered in the revolutionary network.

A regular, however, could still become a prominent individual, widely appreciated and celebrated for his accomplishment. He/she could reach such a status via association or a notable contribution to the cause. For example, Evlogi Georgiev, a rich trader, invested enormous resources in sustaining the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, while never engaging in revolutionary action. Georgiev himself was a businessman and an emigrant, who eventually died in Bucharest. Yet, he was most famous for his charitable gestures of extreme magnitude. He was the one to pay for the construction of the building of the University in Sofia, he also donated money to various Bulgarian nationalist projects as well as to the Bulgarian emigrants in Romania, the University of Bucharest, and many other Bulgarian and Romanian enlightened enterprises.[875] His path as a Bulgarian emigrant coincided with that of a very successful businessman, who eventually connected a lot of young Bulgarian revolutionaries scattered all over the Balkans and beyond.

If one surveys the primal nods, conduits and regulars, he is usually left wondering how one is chosen for a heroic status. If ideological impact had been the most defining feature, then every primal nod would have achieved the fame of Mazzini, while had personal connections and charisma played the most important role, most conduits would have become commemorated figures like Vasil Levski. However, one faces a mixture of factors when achieving subsequent recognition. A national pantheon rarely reflects the impact or the ideological side of the struggle, but it does reflect connections, thus, conduits usually make the most versatile national

[874] Ljuben Karavelov's novel 'Bulgarians from the old times' demonstrates the issue. While Karavleov records the voices of the many regulars, who supported the nationalist network, he never mentioned any of the memoirs left by these individuals. See Karavelov, Ljuben: *Bulgari ot staroto vreme.* Sofia: Bulgarski Pisatel, 1867.

[875] *Nasledstvoto na Evlogi Georgiev. Pismen otgovor s dokumenti. аследството на Евлогий Георгиев. Писмен отговор с документи.* Konsultacii na g. Doctor I. Fadenchecht, Marcel Planiol i Andre Weiss. Sofia: Pechatnica na P.M. Bezajtov, 1907.

heroes. Occasionally, a primal nod can take his place in the national pantheon, but a conduit would be a first choice. A primal nod like Mazzini, Kossuth or Rakovski could occupy an important place in the commemoration practices, but 'perfect revolutionaries' were usually the conduits – they represented the ideal revolutionary sacrifice, ideological vigour and served as models for others.[876] These perceptions also changed little from the 1870s to the 1910.

All national heroes receive their promotion from media. Thus, those, who were featured more often in the accounts of their peers and followers acquired greater chances when it came to commemoration. A national hero was usually a non-core group public actor, however, the media promoting the hero could be led by non-core as well as core-group agents. Vazov's 'Unloved, uncherished' (Nemili, nedragi) was one of the novels that popularized the image of heroic emigrants and national heros that later was applied to Levski and most of those, who were commemorated.[877] Such individuals owed their ascendency to the popular media, where their stories were told usually by influential and talented primal nods, whose own status did not matter much. Those primal nods created narratives, and if a narrative was compelling enough, it enticed the public into supporting it.

Not every enticing story made it to the media, however. Many individuals left memoirs that were never published or only appeared in print a hundred years later.[878] Thus, not all creative primal nods and active conduits had equal opportunities to spread their ideas. In some cases, when an individual was involved in politics, it was hard to ignore his personality. Stambolov, for example, was not largely commemorated as a 'national hero' but was regarded as the "Bismarck of the Balkans".[879] He also remained a prominent figure in the history of his state partially because the outcomes of his political actions were impossible to ignore.

In the case of national heroes, the contribution did not have to be decisive. In fact, a radical stance could hinder one's chances for commemorations. In "The bones of contention", Maria Todorova points out that real Levski was far from being the most outstanding poet, philosopher,

[876] Polly Jones: "'Life as Big as the Ocean': Bolshevik Biography and the Problem of Personality from Late Stalinism to Late Socialism." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 96, no. 1 (2018): 144-73.
[877] Vazov, Ivan: *Nemili, nedragi.* Sofia: Bulgaski pisatel, 1962; Stojanov, Zahari: *Vasil Levski. Cherti iz zhivota mu.* Plovdiv: Nov Sviat, 1883.
[878] Grekov's 'How we liberated Bulgaria', for example, only appeared in print in 1990. Similarly, Trifon Panov's memoirs can only be discovered in the archives. Zahari Stojanov's works, however, are accessible. They lived on to become part of the curriculum in the Bulgarian state despite the regime changes.
[879] Vovchenko, Denis: *Containing Balkan Nationalism: Imperial Russia and Ottoman Christians, 1856-1914.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016: 244.

or ideologist among his peers.[880] Hristo Botev was unarguably a better poet, Rakovski was an equally devoted revolutionary, Karavelov was a more prolific publicist, and Hitov was a more practical organizer. Levski might have been outstandingly charismatic, idealistic and devoted to the national cause (and most of the evidence show that that was the case).[881] But he was still a rather typical, albeit charismatic, conduit.

He combined three features that aided in his ascendancy. First, as a conduit, Levski supported many connections, especially with primal nods like Karavelov and Botev. Both would eventually leave their opinions of the man, starting the process of his image-creation. Since Levski's peers were themselves prolific writers, they mentioned his name and story enough for him to become a household name first in their narrow circle. Later, they spread the myth to the younger peers, who acquired their own interpretations.[882] Among them, few ever met Levski, but all relied on his connections that created and replaced memories.

Second, Levski died early and tragically. He was not only a conduit, but he was a revolutionary, who died before the formation of the Bulgarian Principality and had no chance to get involved in the subsequent political struggles. His early death and many connections made him a compromise figure for the debating politicians in the 1880s. The same was the reason why an unlikely primal nod – Ljuben Karavelov – acquired a heroic status following his death. Like Levski, he disappeared from the political scene of the forming Bulgarian State before getting involved in all the subsequent political debates. Similarly, most heroes of the April Uprising were conduits, whose lives were tragically cut short by the Ottoman authorities or destiny.[883] While the political context could explain the elevation of one national hero over the other, it was the untimely death that greatly simplified the process of mythologization.[884] A tragic death was, in most cases, such a relatable and easily exploitable trait that together with connections

[880] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention: the living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero*. Budapest: CEU press, 2009: 185-203.
[881] Daskalov, Rumen: *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans: Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004:183.
[882] Weber, Claudia. „Levskis Traum. Die kommunistische Geschichtspolitik in Bulgarien 1944–1948", in: Barbara Beyer, Angela Richter (Hrsg.): *Geschichte (ge-)brauchen. Literatur und Geschichtskultur im Staatssozialismus: Jugoslavien und Bulgarien.* Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur 2006, S. 77-90.
[883] Such was also the path of Georgi Benkovski, for example.
[884] Dahinden, Janine: „*Wenn soziale Netzwerke transnational werden."* Migration, Transnationalität, Lokalität und soziale Ungleichheitsverhältnisse, in: Markus Gamper und Linda Reschke (edited), Knoten und Kanten. Soziale Netzwerkanalyse in Wirtschafts-und Migrationsforschung, Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010: 393–420.

it created a template for a national hero that could also be referenced under multiple political circumstances and by multiple individuals.[885]

Finally, the third trait mostly present in the national heroes is a vague and interpretable legacy. This point illustrates why primal nods do not become national heroes as often as conduits do. Since they are usually focused on a dominant doctrine and/or view, the primal nods achieve post-humous ascendency only if their predictions come true or their views are shared by the new ruling elites and/or oppositions. Conduits, however, do not create ideologies of their own. They also can be defined by their overarching nationalism if they were part of a non-core group elite. Thus, their ideological stances often appear to be vague and unclear. If they are very defined, however, the successors and peers often find it easier to reinterpret them depending on the political climate in the region. Thus, for example, Karavelov's federalism made him a hero only in the eyes of other federalists. For the general public in the 1880s -1810s he was a Bulgarian nationalist, who contributed to the development of their literary tongue. Simialrly, Levski's ideas about a 'sacred and pure republic' do not come in the version of a state-building project. He died too young to become an ideologist and leave an impressive political legacy behind. Stambolov, on the other hand, demonstrates an opposite example. The man's political legacy and views were too controversial for some of his peers and opponents to agree upon his figure as a template of a national hero.

When a primal nod like Karavelov was commemorated, it was usually his legacy that suffered most from the multiple interpretations. All creative ideologists are complex and controversial people – such were Rakovski, Botev, Karavelov and Stambolov. A national hero, however, cannot be complex and controversial since contradictory personalities do not make one's promotion easy. The longer the public actor lives, the more complex his relations with his peers become. Similarly, one can also change ideologies given enough time. Such was the case of Lajos Kossuth, whose heroic image was cultivated without the references to his own shifting perceptions, mistakes and controversial opinions. The Hungarian revolutionary was a republican, yet, he easily offered the crown of Hungary to the royal bidders in order to support his stance against the Habsburgs.[886] Explaining a person's difficult choices and compromises, however, becomes a challenge in the context of heroic promotion. Thus, even if Kossuth was

[885] Hausberger, Bernd: *Globalgeschichte als Lebensgeschichte*(n), in: Hausberger (edited), Globale Lebensläufe. Menschen als Akteure im weltgeschichtlichen Geschehen, Wien, Mandelbaum, 2006: 9–27; Paulmann, Johannes: *Regionen und Welten. Arenen und Akteure globaler Weltbeziehungen seit dem 19. Jahrhundert,* in: Historische Zeitschrift 296 (2013): 660–699.

[886] Arány, László: *A magyar emigráció mozgalmai.* Budapest: MEK, 1983: 4-5.

widely regarded as a national symbol, his image was supplemented by individuals like Sándor Petőfi, who had many connections, died young enough and did not create or support any particularly controversial ideology.[887] Such individuals were much easier commemoration targets than long-lived politicians like Stambolov and Kossuth with their controversial projects and difficult relations with their peers.[888] Thus, a national hero's ascendancy is, in most cases determined by three points: multiple and effective connections, early death (a brutal and tragic death is desirable), a vague legacy/ideology open to interpretation. Most of the revolutionaries, who fit the template are conduits in their network, although one can also discover primal nods and regulars as popular heroes.

A path to immortality?

Personal accomplishments of the public actors did not matter as much as their connections did when it came to their commemoration. However, different individuals played different roles in a revolutionary network, thus, status defined the extent and endurance of their connections. While ideology mattered little for the non-core and subsequently core-group elites, it was an individual's nationalism that became an irreplaceable attribute of a national hero. Nationalism also coincided with the position of weakness. While political weakness was an obstacle for the non-core group elites, it was considered a most desirable factor for a perspective national hero, who is usually presented as a struggling and courageous fighter. Thus, non-core group elites produced the most accessible templates for national heroes, but the core-group elites created them out of the inherited materials.

While one can suggest that most national heroes are produced by creative primal nods, who choose dedicated revolutionaries with (preferably) tragic destinies, multiple connections and an ardent nationalistic spirit, certain aspects of heroic representation are difficult to consider. Personal grudges and informal connections remain extremely important when it comes to

[887] Rév, István: "Parallel Autopsies." *Representations*, no. 49 (1995): 15-39.
[888] Marinov, Dimitur: *Stefan Stambolov i novejshata ni istorija. Chast purva.* Sofia: Bulgarski pisatel, 1992: 12-15.

leaving a legacy behind. Nevertheless, the mechanisms behind them are impossible to systematise.

Just like the legacies of the national revivals were chosen,[889] so were the heroes. There was, in fact, not much difference in the commemoration of an individual or a monument/event. If certain aspects of one's bibliography could be reinterpreted and revised, he/she could fit a heroic template. Moreover, in most cases, the destinies of individuals were reinterpreted and re-examined just like events and monuments were.[890] This particularity allowed vague destinies to remain vague since political circumstances changed all too often, and the creation of a new pantheon of national heroes required time and effort.[891] Thus, it was easier to shift and reinterpret the existing heroes with a few additions instead of creating a totally new framework.[892]

The current loosely sketched framework explores the likelihood of one's heroic ascension, providing a researcher with the individuals roles that define a revolutionary network's development. The public actors, despite their different personalities, were defined by their connections, their political and cultural visions more than many of them were prepared to admit. An emigrant's path, status and background to a large extent determined the eventual legacy of an individual, presenting a revolutionary as a part of a greater structure that brought together very unlikely characters. It may be through this structure that one sought his way to remembrance.

[889] Millas, Hercules: "*Ethnic identity and nation building. On the Byzantine and Ottoman historical legacies"*. In: Detrez, Raymond (ed.) Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans. Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2008: pp. 17-33.

[890] Stojanović, Dubravka. *Уље на води: Политика и друштво у модерној историји Србије/Ulje na vodi : ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti Srbije, 115-149.* In: Ljubodrag Dimić, Miroslav Jovanović i Dubravka Stojanović. Moderna Srbija 1804-2004: tri viđenja ili poziv na dijalog, Beograd: biblioteka Serbica, 119-122.

[891] The memories of recent events and heroes often exhibit these kind of fluid attitudes. See, Brunnbauer, Ulf, Troebst, Stefan, *Zwischen Amnesie und Nostalgie. Die Erinnerung an den Kommunismus in Südosteuropa.* Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau, 2007: 10-12

[892] Tragic death of Benkovski and Levski, for example, were failures from a practical point of view, but truly priceless victories for the nation-building program. See the idea of heroic defeat explored in: Horel, Catherine (dir.): *Les guerres balkaniques 1912-1913. Conflits, enjeux, mémoires, Actes de colloque, Peter Lang (collection Enjeux internationaux), parution prévue courant.* Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2014.

Conclusions. Legacies, Statuses, Individuals and the ever-changing political Landscape

In January 2016 a scandal broke out in the Bulgarian press, when a new term was introduced into the sixth-grade history books. The authors of the schoolbooks called the centuries of Bulgaria's inclusion into the Ottoman Empire 'cohabitation' (съжителство), replacing the popular expressions like the 'Turkish yoke' (иго) or the "Turkish Slavery" (робство).[893] The latter terms, coined by the mid-19th century ideologists, outlived their creators by more than a century. Political opinions introduced by Rakovski and his cohort of mobile intellectuals endured regime transformations in Bulgaria and, yet, never lost their relevance. Intellectuals and politicians estranged temporally and physically from the Romanticist nationalists of the 19th century still connected their ideological stance to those of their predecessors despite the dissimilarities in their destinies, statuses and backgrounds. The Ottoman Empire and the Bulgarian Principality are both gone. But why do the ideas, political images and works of those non-core group elites still capture the minds of their compatriots?

[893] https://www.dnevnik.bg/bulgaria/2016/01/30/2695540_istorici_osmansko_vladichestvo_e_nai-tochniiat_termin/?fbclid=IwAR2DrDT8pVUozLDWz6es7xb0OulfLq7PkFMkNdl4CxNw7AxvdLdjbsJjT9U

The 19th-century state-builders managed to turn their ideas into reference points for the generations to come. And while multiple factors contributed to their impact, social status remains a defining aspect of their destinies. A non-core group position combined with an imperial biography played a prominent role in the subsequent political ascendency of an individual, amplifying the impact of his/her arguments and giving him/her opportunities to be commemorated. While such factors as economic developments in the region and personal qualities cannot be disregarded, the correlation between the non-core group status of the imperial elites and their political creativity is often easier to trace due to the state's attempts to integrate the non-core groups and their leaders into the system. In most cases, the Empire itself defined the destinies of these intellectuals and the longevity of their ideas.

The case of the Bulgarian elites addressed in this research is an Ottoman example of a larger European trend. Multi-national Empires served as excellent transmitters for political ideas and controversial legacies already in the mid-19th century. Romanticist state-builders negotiated the rights of their groups with Empires and greater powers starting a political movement that sent ripples through the public sphere in Europe. Since Imperial politics stirred the minds of all European intellectuals, those, who opposed the Empires, attracted similar consideration. And the effect lasted long after the dissolutions of Empires. One may still find disputes about the Ottoman Empire and the rhetoric of the Bulgarian revolutionaries in the media even in the 21st century.

When seen through the lens of Imperial politics and status, the ideologies of the public actors acquire a different understanding. Nationalist and federalist ideas resurface as a means to an end rather than a goal. In his article "Legacy or legacies. Competition and conflicts", Kiossev notes that "European identity belongs to the future, it is a project rather than a "legacy" of the past".[894] Balkan federalism is, similarly, a project in constant fluxion. This research presents it as the means the non-core groups elites used to obtain their political goals of national emancipation. But federalism, in many cases, remains a convenient ideology disguising a position of political insecurity. As do many attempts to build a common identity among the smaller nations.

[894] Kiossev, Alexander: "Legacy or legacies. Competition and conflicts" In: Detrez, Raymond, Segaert, Barbara: (eds.) *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans.* Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008: 49

The widely discussed idea of a possible Balkan identity bloomed in the minds of the 19th-century intellectuals, who transferred it to their successors.[895] The kind of common inter-Balkan identity widely shared by the entire populace did not exist: "At best there has been the occasionally romantic, occasionally reluctant recognition of cultural similarities accumulated over the centuries, which, at times, assume the form of a defensive common response to an astrictive identity from the outside."[896] But isolated mobile elites clung to the idea because of their status, limited resources and revolutionary connections. Thus, their personal circumstances and relations reflected the politics they later introduced and followed.

The Romanticist elites were few. Yet, they strove to choose and decide the fates of the many. When their group grew with the creation of the Principality, they relied on the experiences of their predecessors claiming cultural continuation, which did not necessarily exist. One can wonder if the analysis of cohort experiences can foresee what kind of political blueprints may be relevant in the future. Partially, it can. Political and cultural references create a context, where all elites develop. Certain prevalent ideas as a confederation of nations tend to appear, when the elites propagating them perceive their political weakness. Similarly, an ambitious non-core group elite may turn federalist when seeking a compromise with a stronger host-state.

While dealing with the Bulgarian mid-19th century public actors and the origins of their ideologies, this research remains limited. One may suggest that an isolated, well-connected non-core group elite will contribute to the downfall of an Empire unless the state suppresses or integrates it by any means necessary. Furthermore, the more the state attempts to grant rights to its' non-core group elites and ignore their connections, the greater becomes the likelihood of their revolutionary turn and a subsequent rebellion. In this case, if the elites consider themselves in the position of political weakness and see no allies, they will (most likely) turn to a federalist project/projects. But how does this model translate into the present and/or future?

When referring to the Bulgarian case, one may point out that the post-1878 generations of political elites were mostly connected to their predecessors – by blood or by common friends and colleagues.[897] Yet the new public actors did not continue the previous network as the fourth

[895] The possible "common links" are thoroughly studied by Kitromilides. For futher details see Kitromilides, Paschalis: *An Orthodox Commonwealth: Symbolic Legacies and Cultural Encounters in Southeastern Europe.* Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate/Variorum, 2007.
[896] Todorova, Maria: *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory.* Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 2004: 9.
[897] Parusheva, Dobrinka: *Pravitelstvenijat elit na Rumunija i Bulgaria vtorata polovina na XIX I nachaloto na XX vek. Socialna istorija.* Sofija: BAN 2008: 137

chapter of this research demonstrates. They used their connections as a basis for creating a new community and often reinterpreting the legacies of the elder generations.

The tight connections between elites can be explained by the limitations of their narrow circle.[898] They inevitably knew each other and transferred their experiences to younger generations that, although more numerous, were still a narrow stratum of the population. Following the collapse of the European Empires, both the younger and the elder public actors became disappointed by the results of their state-building creativity. In John Bell's article, one may find a citation that illustrates this point. The writer and political activist Mikhalaki Georgiev expressed his disappointment almost two decades after the liberation of his country in the following way: "We stained like eagles high above the clouds, and now we roll in the dust in the swamp…! If this is the life a free people leads, then such freedom is in vain. We sowed roses, but only thorns have come forth."[899] Hindered by the disappointments, the self-reciprocating elites tried to reassess the ideas of their predecessors. Even when they followed political trends, they still could not escape their background and their connection to the elder generations.

Nationalist and/or federalist stances did not change much over the course of several decades despite the generational gap. Federalist ideas, thus, frequently resurfaced even among the younger nationalists, mentioned in memoirs and introduced into the public discourse. They were already part of the upbringing of the new intellectuals, who carried them further. As Stojan Zaimov would put it years following 1878: "The Balkan beauties decorate the banner: one is wearing a Serbian traditional costume, the other one – a Bulgarian one. Bulgaria, restrained with chains, pleads her Serbian sister to free her from the humiliating slavery; Serbia with a banner in her hand points out to the peaks of the Balkan mountains."[900] If the pre-1878

[898] Latinka Perović's study, for example, offers an opportunity to remark differences and similarities while following several biographies of the representatives of the Serbian political elite. After all, a collective experience is revealed through the study of several cohorts. See: Perović, Latinka: *Dominantna i neželjena elita. Beleške o intelektualnoj i političkoj eliti u Srbiji (XX-XXI vek). Beograd, 2015. The connections and parallels in the Romanian and Bulgarian cases are, in their turn, studied by Dobrinka Parusheva. See: "The Web of Power and Power of the Webs: Political Elites in Romania and Bulgaria in the Late Nineteenth Century and Their Networks", in Nathalie Clayer and Tassos Anastassiadis (eds), Society and Politics in South-Eastern Europe during the 19th Century,* Alpha Bank Historical Archives: Athens 2011; 141-176. Similarly, Dubravka Stojanović connects individual destinies and social changes in her works. See Stojanović, Dubravka*: Iza zavese: Ogledi iz društvene istorije Srbije,* 1890-1914, Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2013.

[899] Bell, John: "Modernization through secularization in Bulgaria": 15-33. In: Gerasimos Augustinos (ed.). *Diverse paths to modernity in Southeastern Europe. Essays in national development*. New York: Greenwood Press: 16-17

[900] Заимов, С, Васил Левски. Дякона. Кратка биография, написана по повод откриване на паметник/Zaimov, Stojan, Vasil Levski. Djakona. Kratka biografija, napisana po povod na otkrivane na pametnik. Sofia: Knigopechatnica na Janko Kovachev, 1895: 37.

generations were bound to search for allies due to their small numbers and limited resources, later generations simply could not escape their legacies: as long as their nation-state existed, the public actors had to justify its' legitimacy. But if the nation-state and the Romanticist understanding of nationalism collapses, the elites may choose paths and ideologies that may be difficult to foresee.

If one cannot predict the ideological turns of the future generations with certainty, one can estimate their involvement in the politics of the state. Certain families, for example, produced generations of intellectuals, diplomats and/or politicians.[901] Their ideological turns were influenced by their status and the same circumstances that had determined the links between their predecessors. Younger public actors also met during their studies and participated in the production of media. Many of them were mobile and studied abroad, many became scholars and journalists. And many saw themselves as perpetrators of the state-building ideas of their predecessors despite the changing context. Thus, it is not surprising that Bulgarians are still seen by certain prominent public figures as an underprivileged group, although this time in a very different political formation that is closer to the federalist projects of Karavelov than the realities of the 1880s.[902]

Political legacies are often determined by connections and statuses of the public actors, even if they live in very different states. Politics of commemoration as well as ideological turns still coincide with the scheme proposed by Marco Dogo for the context of the 19th century Balkans.[903] The official and unofficial connections and backgrounds of people determine the course of their policies. And these patterns survive among the changing cohorts of the public actors. Thus, 'Greater Bulgarias' and the 'Byzantine Commonwealth' are inevitably part of the

[901] For an example of a family's chronicle that reflects state-changes, see Firkatian, Mari Agop: *Diplomats and Dreamers: The Stancioff Family in Bulgarian History.* Boulder-New York: University Press of America, 2008: 5-8. Besides that, the Karavelovs produced not only politicians and linguists, but a number of other active conduits to support the network, among whom women were most prominent. See Drenkova, Fani. *Kato antichna tragediia: sŭdbata na Ekaterina Karavelova i neĭnoto semeĭstvo v pisma, dnevnitsi, fotografii.* Sofia: Nauka I izkustvo, 1984.

[902] Bulgaria's introduction into the European Union, for example, inspired several scholarly and publicist articles and debates regarding the state's place in the formation – the equality of its' position vis-à-vis other member-state and the expectations of its' citizens. After all, this discussion does not seem to be very different from others a century ago that also debated the role of the Bulgarian nation within another multi-national formation. See Stalev, Stoyan: "Bulgaria and the EU: The Integration Process." *Insight Turkey* 3, no. 2 (2001): 75-80. The question of the elites remains especially relevant in the text of Dobrinka Kostova. See: Kostova, Dobrinka: "Report on Bulgaria: Elites' Europeanness and Their Trust in Institutions." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 41, no. 4 (158) (2016): 239-53. Mitropolitski, Simeon: "EU Integration: An Enforcement of or an Impediment to National Identity in Bulgaria and Macedonia." *Region* 3, no. 2 (2014): 309-26.

[903] Marco D Dogo, Marco: "Before and outside the nation" in Dogo, Marco. *Disrupting and Reshaping: Early Stages of Nation-building in the Balkans*. Ravenna: Longo, 2002: 30-32

modern discourse, even if researchers address them in hindsight.[904] The same debates resurface and stir controversies since the statuses and self-perceptions of the public actors often remain similar.[905] The pattern based on the example of the 19th-century agents has wider applications. Modern public actors still search for enemies and allies among the groups and individuals that surround them or turn to influential global powers. This pattern has not changed in centuries.

Intellectuals rally support for their causes, where their positions and personal circumstances allow them to do so: the Hungarian case of the post-1848 emigrants, for example, demonstrates another example of an adoptive elite adjusting their ideological stance to reach the national emancipation goals.[906] Their adjustments can be, of course, explained by personal choices, but a simpler explanation comes from their lack of resources, non-core status and links with certain peers abroad. The Polish and Bulgarian cases become remarkably similar since all these intellectual elites used the same political references and inspirations. These social links assured political continuity.

Continuity is rooted in justification: referencing someone's experience even without having the same background, status and aims, creates a point of understanding. A familiar aspect is easier to explain. This factor partially clarifies the overuse of Levski's image in Bulgaria more than a century after his death. While Todorova has thoroughly investigated the myths and realities surrounding it, there's one aspect that makes a national hero endure – the versatility of the example. Images and political legacies of national heroes are supported by their successors.[907] They can be transferred and reinterpreted since they become universal – recognizable by every

[904] See Stamatopoulos, Dimitris: "From Vyzantism of K. Leont'ev to Vyzantinism of I. I. Sokolov: The Byzantine Orthodox East as a Motif of Russian Orientalism" In: Olivier Delouis and Petre Guran (eds): *Héritages de Byzance en Europe du Sud-Est à l'époque moderne et contemporaine.* Athens, 2013: 321–40. Mishkova, Diana: "The Afterlife of a Commonwealth: Narratives of Byzantium in the National Historiographies of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania" In: Roumen Daskalov and Tchavadar Marinov (eds): *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, Leiden, 2015: 118–273.

[905] The interwar period, for example, started a boom of Balkan federalist projects, creating a vast array of books and essays about the topic. One of the most influential was, arguably, that of Theodore Geshkoff. Geshkoff, Theodore*: Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. The collapse of Yugoslavia, the last Balkan federation, started a whole discussion about Balkanism and the viability of federalist projects in the region, partially inspiring Maria Todorova's Balkanism. See Todorova, Maria: *Imagining the Balkans.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009

[906] As an example, see the impactful stay of the Hungarian Revolutionaries in the US. Szilassy, Sándor: "America and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 44, no. 102 (1966): 180-96. See also Tóth, Helena: *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 167-172.

[907] Todorova, Maria: *Bones of contention: the living archive of Vasil Levski and the making of Bulgaria's national hero*. Budapest: CEU press, 2009: 185-203.

member of the group. And as long as the group (a nation-state, for example) exists, the images and the political ideas behind them persevere.

Levski, Botev, Rakovski and Karavelov all acquired lives of their own and became symbols of the new state. They are still parts of the popular culture that gains attention not only from the 19th-century chroniclers, but from writers and scholars from much younger generations. So, if Ivan Vazov wrote most of his epics on the turn of the 19th and 20th century, Milen Ruskov returned to the familiar tropes a hundred years later. In 2011 he published a novel that soon became an international bestseller – the 'Summit'.[908] After a series of translations and adaptations, the 'Summit' remains a story about the Bulgarian mid-19th century nationalists, revolutionary networks and the roles of individuals. It references the 'national heroes', scrutinizing them as controversial characters. Interestingly enough, the protagonists of Ruskov express the ideas and share the political stances of those, who served as templates for their characterization. One of his protagonists says the following: „With struggle and might! That is what a revolution means. Only then you do become a revolutionary if you believe in it. Wasn't it Rakovski, who said that?"[909] That statement is suspiciously close to what most of Rakovski's successors believed.

'The Summit' may not reflect the political discourse in the Bulgaria of the 21 century, but it demonstrates the importance of the Romanticist intellectuals and their ideas in the state that officially views them as state-builders. It also references the long tradition of Bulgarian intellectuals expressing their political views in fiction. It was Vazov, who propagated the idea of rescuing Macedonia, and it was the poetic skill of Javorov that gave power to the Macedonian question. Considering the importance of schoolbooks and the creation of historical, cultural and political narratives,[910] one may suggest that the ideologies transmitted through them cannot be understood without the background of their creators. State-building is not a relic of the past, but a reflection of the present state of people against their background. Without the background, it fades. Without the individuals and their connections, it cannot be transmitted. Thus, neither nationalism, nor federalism can be understood without an analysis of those, who propose them.

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[908] Ruskov, Milen: *Vuzvishenije.* Sofia: Zhanet 45, 2011. The book is translated as 'Summit' into English.
[909] Ruskov, Milen: *Vuzvishenije*. Sofia: Zhanet 45, 2011: 400.
[910] The importance of school education and textbooks has been studied by several authors in the Balkan case. See Koulouri, Christina: "Introduction: The Tyranny of History," in Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Teaching The History of Southeastern Europe*. Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2001): 15–25; Stojanović, Dubravka: "History Textbooks and Creation of National Identity," In: Koulouri (ed.), *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*: 27–32.

‘Federalism’ always introduces a grand-scale project. However, plans labelled as ‘federalist’ are not necessarily what they seem. Federalist project can have a compromise at their basis or they may be parts of long-winded strategies of politicians aiming to reach a different goal (national emancipation in the case of the current research). Certainly, true federalists and federalist projects also existed. Even Karavelov occasionally was driven by most sincere urges to unite all the Slavs that came from his early infatuation with Slavic languages.[911] Similarly, Jan Kollar would be another idealistic pan-Slavist, who, most certainly, saw beyond his Slovak nation.[912] But even if Karavelov comes as the ‘purest’ Bulgarian federalist, his initial quest for Bulgarian emancipation remained his beacon for years to come. And his inspirations came not only from Kossuth, Mazzini and the rest of the European 19th-century revolutionaries, but from the successes and failures of the Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Empires. Thus, federalism is only one example of an ideology that is very much influenced by the position of a public actor. And one should not label a project as ‘federalist’ without scrutinizing the background of its’ propagator and its’ essence.

The same would be true for the nature of Empires – states that moulded the public actors. They transformed and with them transformed the political elites of the non-core groups. A century following the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, researchers started reassessing its’ role.[913] In all cases, the aspiring states, who managed to gain a privileged position, became perpetuators of suppressive policies vis-à-vis their own non-core groups and/or neighbouring states. In some ways, the Empires were indeed an inspiration for the state-builders among their minorities.

Referring to the Hungarian case following the Ausgleich of 1868, László Kontler, points out :“From the 1880s on, Magyarisation was no longer merely ‘encouraged with all legally permissible means’, but also enforced with some that evaded or violated the law of 1868.”[914] Later, the author adds: “The political parties were in fact to a great extent gentlemanly

[911] Vrinat-Nikolov, Marie: “Litteratures etrangeres/litterature nationale: la rennaissance Bulgare et les debats autour de la traduction litteraire” *Revue Des études Slaves* 74, no. 2/3 (2002): 363-70.
[912] “Jan Kollár and Literary Panslavism." *The Slavonic Review* 6, no. 17 (1927): 336-43.
[913] Pieter Judson was one of the people to start the process with the Habsburg case. See Judson, Pieter: *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996; Judson, Pieter: *The Habsburg Empire. A New History.* Cambridge, Massachusetts. Harvard University Press: 2016. Ronald Suny, then, turned to study of Russia through the lens of an Empire. See Valerie Ann Kivelson, Ronald Grigor Suny: *Russia’s Empires.* Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2016: 10-23. And new trends in studying Imperial biographies added to the picture. See Rolf, Malte: “Grenzgänger in Vielvölkerreichen: Grenzziehungen und -überschreitungen in Russland und Österreich-Ungarn (1840-1918)“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 59 (November2010): 449–462. Happel, Jörn, Rolf, Malte: “Grenzgänger in Vielvölkerreichen: Grenzziehungen und -überschreitungen in Russland und Österreich-Ungarn (1840-1918).“ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 59 (November2010): 449–462.
[914] Kontler, László: *A history of Hungary*. London: Macmillan Education, 2002: 293.

associations, bound together by personal loyalties."[915] Thus, the newly-emancipated core-groups tended to create their own grand-scale projects within the limits of their possibilities. Some succeeded and some failed. But the trend remains. And in the end, those were the nationalist elites that imitated the Empires. The Bulgarian intellectuals and their later turns to irredentism follow the same pattern.

When one turns to statuses and background of those first nationalist elites and the inspirations of their successors, one may truly discover the reasons for this imitation: "…once the Habsburg Empire and its political institutions had collapsed, local elites and ordinary citizens, although their role in state affairs had grown markedly in the preceding decades, were confronted with daunting tasks that previously had been left to the state, and for which they had little, if any, experience."[916] The elites were influenced by their nationalist predecessors, their former sovereigns and the political ideals as well as their actual past experiences. Federalism with all its' different contexts and versatility is a perfect marker of a shift in status.

With globalization and the collapse of the previously significant European Empires, one sees very different contexts for nationalism and federalism. Thus, it is through status and interconnections that one can explain these ideological shifts in the Europe of Empires and imperial non-core groups. But one would need to readjust the approach for the more recent developments, including the new mobility opportunities.

Mobility extended the limits of polity, and mobile elites continued to play an important role in the lives and political views of their peers. Those roles did not change much decades later, although Greater Powers and states transformed. The once mobile public actors became reference points for the public actors with shifting status in the globalized world. But nowadays one cannot track the mobility of the public actors with such ease (although even the Ottoman Empire did not always succeed at supervising its' revolutionaries, as the dissertation shows).

Tendencies are not set in stone. Established networks provide support for newcomers, and the reassessment of familiar ideas. Federalism is still an idea for the future, and it is still caused by the politics of insecurity. The networks and statuses of the agents still influence their views, but mobility has acquired a different meaning (due to globalization, primarily), and one should certainly redefine the term 'imperial biographies'. Both 'imperial' and 'anti-imperial' paths do

[915] Kontler, László: Op cit.
[916] Egry, Gábor: "Negotiating post-imperial transitions. Local societies and nationalizing states in East Central Europe" In: Paul Miller, Claire Morelon (eds.), 15-43. *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States after 1918.* Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018: 16.

not seem to offer the same theoretical value to the cases of modern individuals that never had any viable connections with the Empires long gone.

Grand-scale political ideas, federalism, the statuses of the post-Rum-Millet elites and mobile intellectuals are still debated. But as this project conveys, all these topics are interconnected and should not be grasped without their necessary context. It is only through the combination of status, mobility and imperial conditions that one can explain seemingly paradoxical ideas and contradictory personalities: how can a nationalist be a federalist, how can an Empire create its' anti-imperial revolutionaries, how can the seemingly same 'nation-building' ideas be very different because of a different network supporting them? Finally, even political legacies can have very little in common with their initial state-building blueprints.

These contradictions become perfectly acceptable if one puts them into the frame of the current thesis. Nationalist revolutionaries are often, indeed, doomed to search for cooperation. And a federalist choice, thus, becomes logical because of their minority status and the lack of resources. After all, it is the interaction of a person and a system that forms the basis for so many research projects.

Even though the attempted classification of the webs of connections and revolutionary emigrants works in the case of the mid-19th century Bulgarians,[917] an attempt of a sociological survey among the dead cannot be fully reliable. The project is based on publications and archival materials that only occasionally include statistical data, thus it is impossible to reconstruct a perfect social network analysis with exhaustive sociograms. Besides, the project does not touch upon the importance of social capital and ways one can address it in any detail. It also omits the destinies of the nationally-indifferent and those, who were influenced by the global events around them, but never took part in them. It also barely touches upon the shifts in the scholarly communities. More research is also required in order to understand how mobility changes with the overall modernization of the Balkan states.

The topics of migration, federalism, and minority statuses of the public actors are still relevant, although the circumstances surrounding them have changed. One may still refer to the statuses of the public actors and their connections and see how they generate ideas. Active public actors play their role in forming political opinions. Often nationalist impulses create transnational

[917] It will most certainly work with the Hungarian and Polish mobile elites that have been mentioned extensively in the study.

connections, while inability of a public actor to adapt causes marginalization. These are not only individual, but cohort experiences that should be considered when talking about political shifts. Thus, mobile public actors can still become an influential group that brings grand-scale projects to life and influences regional politics, leaving their imprints on the world.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

CDIA/ ЦДИА Централен държавен исторически архив/Central State Historical Archive. Sofia, Bulgaria.

Arhiva M.A.E. Arhiva Ministerul Afacerilor Externe/The Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bucharest, Romania.

ANR Arhivele Nationale ale Romaniei/The National Archives of Romania. Bucharest, Romania.

GARF/ГАРФ Государственный архив Российской Федерации/State Archive of the Russian Federation. Moscow, Russia.

BIA/БИА Български исторически архив/Bulgarian Historical Archive. Sofia, Bulgaria.

IMRO/ВМРО Вътрешна Македонска Революционна Организация/ Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

VRO/ВРО Вътрешна революционна организация/Internal Revolutionary Organization.

BRCC/БРЦК Български революционен централен комитет/Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee.

MSRC/МТРК Македонски Таен Революционен Комитет/Macedonian Secret Revolutionary Committee.

BAN/БАН Българската академия на науките/Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.