

**КУЛТУРНАТА И ДУХОВНАТА
МОБИЛИЗАЦИЈА НА БАЛКАНОТ**
(XVII – ПОЧЕТОК НА XX ВЕК)

КОМПАРАТИВЕН ПРИСТАП



MACEDONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

**CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL
MOBILIZATION OF THE BALKANS**
(17th – BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY)

COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Skopje, 2025

МАКЕДОНСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НА НАУКИТЕ И УМЕТНОСТИТЕ

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ВОВЕД

Овој зборник е резултат на билатералната соработка помеѓу Македонската академија на науките и уметностите (МАНУ) и Унгарската академија на науките (ХАС), во чии рамки во периодот 2019 – 2021 година се одвиваше работата на проектот „Културната и духовната мобилизација на Балканот (XVII – почеток на XX): компаративен пристап“. Раководители на проектот беа акад. Драги Ѓоргиев од македонска страна и проф. д-р Габор Деметер и проф. д-р Антал Молнар (директор на Институтот за историја при Истражувачкиот центар за хуманистички науки при Унгарската академија на науките) од унгарска страна. Учесници од македонска страна беа: Билјана Ристовска-Јосифовска (научен советник/редовен професор во Институтот за национална историја, раководител на Одделението за културна историја) и проф. д-р Лилјана Гушевска (научен советник/редовен професор во ИНИ, предавач на Државниот универзитет во Тетово), а од унгарска: Ласло Биро (научен советник во Институтот за историја при Истражувачкиот центар за хуманистички науки при Унгарската академија на науките), Кристијан Чаплар-Дегович (научен советник, раководител на Одделението за историја на Југоисточна Европа), Арпад Хорњак (редовен професор на Универзитетот во Печуј) и Денес Сокчевич (научен советник во Институтот за историја при Истражувачкиот центар за хуманистички науки при Унгарската академија на науките).

Иако времетраењето на проектот се совпадна со периодот на пандемијата на ковид-19, поради што еден дел од активностите беа спроведени онлајн, сепак во рамките на проектот беа остварени средби и истражувања во Скопје, Будимпешта и во Белград. Исто така, во организација на МАНУ и на Истражувачкиот центар за хуманистички науки – Институт за историја при Унгарската академија на науките, на 16 ноември 2021 година беше одржана онлајн работилница на тема „Културната и духовната мобилизација во контекст на образовните политики на големите империи на Балканот (XVII – почеток на XX век)“. Трудите презентирани на таа работилница се дел од овој зборник.

Текстовите опфаќаат теми што се однесуваат на културната и на просветната мобилизација на помалите заедници во рамките на Османлиската и на Австроунгарската Империја, како и во меѓувоенниот период. Тие се објавени на матичните јазици на учесниците, односно на македонски и на унгарски, како и на англиски јазик, со цел да бидат достапни за поголем број научници што работат на овие теми, како и до пошироката научна јавност.

Редакторите

ELŐSZÓ

A kötet a Macedón Tudományos és Művészeti Akadémia (MANU) és a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (MTA) kétoldalú együttműködésének eredményeként született, a „Kulturális és spirituális mobilizáció a Balkánon a 17–20. században – komparatív megközelítésben” című, 2019 és 2021 között megvalósuló projekt keretében, melyet macedón részről Dragi Ćorgiev akadémikus vezetett, magyar oldalról Demeter Gábor és Molnár Antal igazgató (MTA BTK TTI) irányított. A projekt résztvevői macedón részről Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (tudományos tanácsadó / professzor, a Kultúrtörténeti Osztály vezetője a Nemzeti Történeti Intézetben) és Prof. Dr. Liljana Guševska (tudományos tanácsadó / professzor a Nemzeti Történeti Intézetben és óraadó a Tetovói Állami Egyetemen), magyar részről pedig Bíró László (tudományos főmunkatárs, HUN-REN BTK Történettudományi Intézet), Csaplár-Degovics Krisztián (osztályvezető, tudományos főmunkatárs, Délkelet-Európa Története Osztály, HUN-REN BTK Történettudományi Intézet), Hornyák Árpád (professzor, Pécsi Tudományegyetem) és Sokcsevits Dénes (tudományos főmunkatárs, HUN-REN BTK Történettudományi Intézet).

Bár a projekt időtartama egybeesett a COVID-19 világjárvánnyal, ami szükségessé tette egyes tevékenységek online lebonyolítását, a találkozók és a kutatás sikeresen megvalósultak Szkopjében, Budapesten és Belgrádban. Emellett 2021. november 16-án a Macedón Tudományos és Művészeti Akadémia (MANU) és a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézete online workshopot szervezett *„Kulturális és szellemi mobilizáció a balkáni nagy birodalmak oktatáspolitikáján keresztül (17. század – 20. század eleje)”* címmel. A műhelybeszélgetésen elhangzott előadások bővített változatai szerepelnek ebben a kötetben.

Az írások az Oszmán Birodalmon és az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchián belüli, valamint a két világháború közötti időszak kisebb közösségeinek kulturális és oktatási mobilizációjával kapcsolatos témákat tárgyalnak. A tanulmányok bilingvisek, a résztvevők anyanyelvén – macedónul és magyarul –, valamint angolul jelentek meg, hogy a témákkal foglalkozó kutatók és a szélesebb tudományosság számára is hozzáférhetőek legyenek.

A Szerkesztők

INTRODUCTION

This volume is the result of bilateral cooperation between the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (MANU) and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, (HAS) within the framework of the project “Cultural and Spiritual Mobilization of the Balkans (17th – Beginning of the 20th Century): Comparative Approach” carried out between 2019 and 2021. The project was led by Acad. Dragi Gorgiev from the Macedonian side and Prof. Dr. Gábor Demeter and Prof. Dr. Antal Molnár (director of the HAS RCH Institute of History) from the Hungarian side. Participants from the Macedonian side were: Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (scientific advisor/full professor at the Institute of National History, head of the Department of Cultural History) and Prof. Dr. Liljana Guševska (scientific advisor/full professor at the INI, lecturer at the State University of Tetovo), and from the Hungarian side: László Bíró (senior research fellow at the Institute of History, RCH, HAS), Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics (senior research fellow, head of Department of Southeast European History), Árpád Hornyák (full professor at the University of Pécs) and Dénes Sokcsevits (senior research fellow at the Institute of History, RCH, HAS).

Although the project’s duration coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic, which necessitated conducting some activities online, meetings and research were successfully carried out in Skopje, Budapest, and Belgrade. Additionally, on November 16, 2021, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Research Centre for the Humanities – Institute of History at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized an online workshop titled “Cultural and Spiritual Mobilization in the Context of the Educational Policies of the Great Empires in the Balkans (17th – Beginning of the 20th Century)”. The papers presented at that workshop are included in this volume.

The texts address topics related to the cultural and educational mobilization of smaller communities within the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, as well as during the interwar period. They are published in the native languages of the participants—Macedonian and Hungarian—as well as in English, to ensure broader accessibility for researchers working on these topics and the wider scholarly community.

The Editors

Gábor Demeter

SCHOOLS, MAPS AND STATISTICS. STUDENTS AS TOOLS OF SUPPORTING NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

Absztrakt

Az oszmánok uralta Balkánért folytatott, kisállamok és nagyhatalmak között dúló küzdelemben a tudományok fejlődésével párhuzamosan a nemzeti-politikai igények legitimációjának egyre fontosabb részét képezték – a történeti, jogi, kulturális érvek mellett – a statisztikai adatok, melyeket minden érintett úgy igyekezett megválasztani és manipulálni a rendelkezésre álló (nem is annyira csekély számú, mint amennyire megbízhatatlan) források segítségével, hogy saját törekvéseit alátámassza vele. Érvényes ez úgy a nyelvi nemzeti megközelítést ellenző, multidimenzionális identitást preferáló birodalmi térképészetre-statisztikára, miként a kisállamok egysíkú, nyelvi alapú (vagy vallási) megközelítést propagáló etnikai térképezésére. Mivel a birodalmi censzusok és az egyházi statisztikák nem egyeztek sem rovataikban, sem számszaki eredményeikben a rivális felek értelmezésében, felmerült annak lehetősége, hogy a fenntartott iskolák száma, elterjedése és a diákok száma alapján határozzák meg az egyes nemzetek létszámát és területi elterjedését. A görögök ezen ötlete – mivel sem a birodalmi census, sem a bolgár Exarchátus összeírása nem nekik kedvezett – hamar utánzásra került a többi kisállam oldaláról. Így Synvet és Vlakhosz statisztikáját hamarosan követte Brankové (Misev) majd Kancsové, immár nem görög, hanem bolgár (és véletlenül sem macedoszláv) többséget kimutatva. A diákságot nem a nemzeti propaganda célpontjaként,

hanem annak igénylegitimációs eszközeként bemutató tanulmányunkban ezen statisztikák hátulütőit és a többi, döntéshozás során használt iskolatérképek (Phocas-Cosmetatos és az osztrák levéltári anyag a műrzszege reformok idejéből) kritikáját adva (az oszmán állami iskolákat egyik sem tartalmazta, pedig az még színesebbé tette volna a képet) és adataikat helyesbítve megvizsgáljuk e térképek relevanciáját és szerepüket a politikai döntéshozásban.

Kulcsszavak: iskolarendszer, etnikai viszonyok, térképezés, Balkán, Ausztria-Magyarország

“*As the Turkish government forbids public meetings for political purposes,¹ the propaganda takes an ecclesiastical and linguistic form. Each „race” seeks to convert the people to its faith by the agency of schools and churches, which teach and use its own language*” – summarized Jacob Gould Schurman² the exacerbated situation in Ottoman Macedonia in his book among the reasons of the Balkan Wars. Table 1 on the rapid in rise in number of students and teachers and schools maintained or supported by neighboring small states in Ottoman Macedonia confirms these views.

Table 1. Schools in Ottoman Macedonia supported by small states³

1896	School	Teacher	Pupils	Pupil/teacher	Teacher/school
Greek					
Serbian	77	118	2873	37,31	1,53
Bulgarian	843	1306	43432	51,52	1,55

1901	School	Teacher	Pupils	Pupil/teacher	Teacher/school
Greek	927	1397	57607	41,24	1,51
Serbian	178	321	7200	22,43	1,80
Bulgarian, 1901	785	1250	39892	31,91	1,59
Bulgarian, 1910	1359	2203	78519	35,64	1,62

However, despite this remarkable phenomena, this short study will neither focus on the propaganda *at* school itself, nor on the *role* of schools in creating or deepening national identities,⁴ that way uniformising the traditional multidimensional identities, but rather on its instrumentalization – *how schools were used as tools to support politics of territorial aspirations*. It is evident that even numbers

¹ Quotation refers to years after the Young Turks came into power.

² Jacob, Gould Schurman: *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913*. <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/36192/pg36192.txt> 81.

³ Data from: Schurman, Vesselinovitsch, Misheff.

⁴ For a different approach to the role of schools see: Bernard Lory, “Schools for the Destruction of Society: School Propaganda in Bitola 1860–1912.” In: *Conflicting Loyalties in the Balkans*, eds. Hannes Grandits, Nathalie Clayser and Robert Pichler, London–New York, 2011, 46–63.

can legitimate political-territorial aspirations (as in the case of census data they did so, giving space to manipulations from all sides), despite the fact that (1) these numbers are unreliable, (2) and do not reflect one single phenomenon, but rather the interaction of many. In other words, the number of children attending school does not always represent the real consciousness of the population – it rather refers to the goals of the states or highlights the possible (and available) social and survival strategies of the local population. Macedonian Slavs did attend Bulgarian (properly: Exarchist) or Serbian schools, not because they deeply felt themselves Bulgarian or Serbian, but because there was a limited choice to study – the schools of the Patriarchate were initially expensive for rural masses. Maintaining a Bulgarian school in Macedonia and sending teachers did not always mean that the school was full of students – argues the Serbian M. V. Veselinović⁵ in 1896. However, on the other side, one may argue, that the smaller the number of students/teacher ratio, the greater the efficiency of transmitting the teacher's message (nationalist propaganda – from our aspect) is. It is also fairly true, that pupil/teacher ratio did improve in Bulgarian and Serbian schools even within 5 years (solving the problem mentioned by Veselinović), and teacher /school ratio also became favourable in the case of Serbs.

The relevance of statistics can be discussed, but what is unquestionable, is the power of maps:⁶ the spots indicating schools illustrated on maps – hide the real numbers, such as ethnic patch maps did the same in the case of censuses and conscriptions.⁷ In this study we will focus on the interpretation of schooling data in national propaganda, as proxies to census data, outlining the key problems of using schooling data instead of other conscriptions and censuses.

National movements in the Balkans, in order to make their argumentation more valuable in the eyes of the Powers, tried to grasp every kind of data that could support their point of view. However, this did not lead to some kind of generally accepted method in order to measure population in the absence of official censuses, but it rather created diverging and competing interpretations from the historical rights⁸ and expropriation of historical and ecclesiastic monu-

⁵ M. V. Veselinovich, *Statistika bulgarskih škola u Turskoj (za 1893–1894 školsku godinu)*, Beograd, 1898, 5–21.

⁶ See: Denis Wood and John Fels, *The Power of Maps*, London, 1992.

⁷ Gábor Demeter and Zsolt Bottlik, *Maps in the Service of the Nation: The Role of Ethnic Mapping in Nation-Building and Its Influence on Political Decision-Making Across the Balkan Peninsula (1840–1914)*. Regensburg, 2021.

⁸ The Tsardom of Samuil for example, or Sveti Kliment Ohridski.

ments⁹ (sanctuaries mainly) to linguistic arguments (both unquantifiable), from the quantifiable ecclesiastic statistics¹⁰ to official state censuses.

As numbers were getting more and more weight in this competition for land and souls, so did argumentation technics improve. Historical past was a question of interpretation, therefore claims overlapped in case of Serbian, Macedonian, Bulgarian and Greek realms. In order to overcome this, and to put an end to the practice of the Patriarchate, which focused on religion to define the identity (figure 1–2), from the 1870s the linguistic affiliation was often defined as the main (though not exclusive) dimension of identity. However, in the practice of the pro-Serbian Spiridon Gopčević, Belić or Jovan Cvijić linguistic argumentation was used to prove the preponderance of Serbian element. So, despite the scientific approach, the result was often biased or challengeable. Setting clear boundaries in a “continuum of dialects” as they depicted the situation, was almost impossible, therefore linguistics became a political instrument to quarrel more on the zones contested between the newborn states, instead of being an independent scientific method.¹¹

The British diplomats in 1889 distinguished four fundamental elements determining national affiliation¹² – *language, religion, consciousness, aspirations* – and these did not necessarily point in the same direction, so their approach rather complicated the situation.

These overlapping ideas and aspirations, and the spread of national idea that transformed the patterns of identity reducing its diverse dimensions, resulted in strange situations: it led to flexible identities and sophisticated strategies of adaptation. One example: “*The church is Greek, the school is Exarchist, the two priests are ‘Serbomans’ ... In the house of the priest Serbian books are hidden in a basement, periodicals from Sofia are on the table, one son is a student in Belgrade, the second son is the teacher of the Exarchate in Skopje, the third son is a former student of the Austrian Catholic mission, and two children are attending*

⁹ When erecting the statue of Samuil in Sofia, Bulgarian artists crowned him with the Hungarian Holy Crown...

¹⁰ Both the Patriarchate and the Exarchate had its own censuses – of course, they differed from each other. The Patriarchate submitted two statistics to the British in 1878 in order to underline the Greekness of Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia. The first indicated ‘Bulgarian orthodox’ in Macedonia (for example Veles), the second allowed another category “Graecophile Bulgarians” (Slav Patriarchists) in southern Macedonia (though both category of Slavs was underestimated). See figure 1–2.

¹¹ See further: G. Demeter – Zs. Bottlik, *Maps in the Service of the Nation...*, 43 and 229.

¹² İpek Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties. Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878–1908*, Ithaca–London, 2013, 141.



Figure 1-2. Two conscriptions of the Patriarchate submitted to London for the negotiations in 1878 illustrated on modern maps. Note that Muslims are neglected, Slavs are underrepresented.¹³

¹³ *Turkey, No. 31.* Correspondence respecting the Objections raised by Populations inhabiting Turkish Provinces against the territorial changes proposed in the Preliminary Treaty signed at San Stefano. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1878, London, 16–38. *Memorandum des Syllogues Grecs de Constantinople.* Jean D. Aristocles, 6 Avril, 1878. M.A.H. Layard, Ambassadeur de Sa Majeste Britannique a Constantinople

the elementary school of the Exarchate."¹⁴ This attitude of shifting (often originally unconsolidated, often driven by opportunism) or hidden identities (mimicry) was still more viable than national indifference, which became almost impossible by the frequent raids of *cheta* under different flags from 1903 on. Belonging to a nation certainly could expose threat, but at the same time it could mean protection too, while national indifference could attract only the first...¹⁵

The difference between the Ottoman approach, where the census focused on religion-based identities and the approach of the small states very often based on the primacy of language (mother tongue) made Greeks reconsider their possibilities in this race for Macedonia. Since linguistic data was not favorable for the Greeks, and the prevalence of old forms of loyalty and identity (i.e. denominational) was questioned even by the Western Powers, the Greeks – adding a new ingredient to the witches' cauldron, and thereby complicating the situation further – introduced ethnic maps based on schooling (instead of census) data.¹⁶ As such, the director of the Lycée in Constantinople, Alexandre Synvet¹⁷ managed to raise the number of 'Greeks' from 474,000 (the Patriarchate's religious data) to 587,000 within a year by considering anyone attending a Greek school to be Greek (the data of the Syllogos included schooling data).¹⁸ It gave a better outcome for them compared to the ecclesiastic conscription where vast masses of Patriarchist Slavs were categorized together with ethnic Greeks, until many seceded from the Patriarchate to choose the Bulgarian exarchate. However, this did not mean that their ethnic affiliation was necessarily Bulgarian, but it seemed a more familiar choice (because of the language).

This new level of "war of numbers" was favourable for the Greeks only until the turn of the century. Later this method, counting pupils, became also utilized by the Bulgarians, when the war of numbers turned in their favour – Künchov's famous ethnic map was also based on schooling data. One of the first Greeks, who used school schematisms to prove Greek predominance was N. Vlachos,

¹⁴ Slavenko Terzić, "Конзулат Кралјевине Србије у Битолју (1889–1897)", *Историјски часопис*, 57/2008, 338–39.

¹⁵ Gábor Demeter and Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, *A Study in the Theory and Practice of Destabilization: Violence and Strategies of Survival in Ottoman Macedonia (1903–1913)*. Istanbul, 2018.

¹⁶ İ. Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties...*, 141–143.

¹⁷ He is well-known of his map, Alexandre Synvet, *La Carte Ethnographique de la Turquie d'Europe et Denombrement de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1877; Kemal, H. Karpat, *Ottoman population, 1830–1914. Demographic and social characteristics*. Madison, WI, 1985, 49.

¹⁸ İ. Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties...*, 95.

who compared the Patriarchate's and Exarchate's statistics for the 1901–2 school-year. In the *kazas* of Drama, Zichna, Serres, Demirhisar (Siderokastro), Gevgeli, Vodena, Langaza and Saloniki the Greeks were in majority, but there were no Greek pupils in Tikvesh (Kavadartsi) and Razlog *kazas*. In Gorna Dzhoumaya, Melnik, Petrich, Doiran, Strumitsa and Avrethisar there were 40 Greek schools conscripted with 2007 pupils, while there were 185 Bulgarian schools with 6802 pupils. There were no Bulgarian schools in the south, in Ellassona, Kozani, Servia, Anaselitsa, Grevena, Starovo, Kolonia and Koritsa, while there were no Greek schools in the *kazas* of Kichevo, Debar and Dolna Reka. Bulgarian schools were in majority in Prilep, Ohrid and Kayalar (Ptolemaida) *kazas*, where there were 25 Greek schools with 778 pupils and 81 Bulgarian schools with 5914 pupils then.¹⁹

In 1899, and then in 1905, the Bulgarian Brankov applied small diagrams on his *kaza*-level map in order to illustrate not only the ethnic proportions in Macedonia (with Bulgarian dominance, of course), but absolute numbers too. From methodological aspect this is the main merit of this map, as former patch maps were unable to illustrate density or population numbers. The ethnic distribution of students in elementary schools was also illustrated on maps, using the same method. However, Brankov used only four categories and he did not indicate Muslims (constituting 33–50% of the population, according to different estimates) at all. The result was a more homogeneous map, despite the finer resolution. In other words, the sophisticated method could not veil the problems of data interpretation.²⁰

The problem with the method – estimating ethnic proportions based on the distribution of schools and the number of students – was the following:

1. identity should be based on self-determination according to the Western concept, while choosing school is not an individual decision (it reflects the customs of the societies or of the parents); The selection between Greek and Exarchist schools was also a social question, not purely an ethnic one, not to mention the limited number of available school-types at a certain place. On those territories where schools were mixed, the fight for souls was more fierce.

¹⁹ Konstantinos A. Vacalopoulos, *A Modern History of Macedonia, 1830–1912*, Thessaloniki, 1988, 178.

²⁰ For example, Brankov claimed that there were 500,000 Bulgarians, 400,000 Muslims and 150,000 Greeks in Saloniki vilayet. The Greeks claimed that there were 400,000 Greeks, 450,000 Muslims and less than 200,000 Bulgarians. The differences are so great, that no simple adjustment of numbers makes it possible to find out the truth. D. M. Brancoff, *Le Macédoine et sa population chrétienne*, Paris, 1905. (Dimitar Misheff is supposed to hide under the pseudonym *Brancoff*). For the Greek stance, see the *Justice for Greece Committee: The Hellenic Character of Northern Epirus* (Washington, n.d.).

2. Muslims and Muslim schools (for example of the undereducated Albanians') are not indicated in these maps, and therefore the visualized phenomena are distorted.

3. The symbols are not proportional (schools with more than 500 or fewer than 50 pupils had the same color and size) on figure 3.

In order to illustrate the above mentioned problems, especially the difference and similarities between ethnic patch maps based on extended (extrapolated) data of students and the distribution of schools, we have provided the original dot maps indicating non-Muslim ecclesiastic schools.

4. The school system was not stable: there were numerous changes within the space of a few years, if we compare the official reports of the consuls and the original manuscripts from 1903,²¹ or the numerous changes after 1910. During the ecclesiastic and school reform of the CUP, many empty schools were closed down, and many changed sides between the Exarchate and the Patriarchate.²²

Sometimes it took years to check, validate and aggregate sporadic and settlement-level data, as can be seen in the example of school statistics at the beginning of the 20th century (table 2). By the time the *sanjak*-level aggregated statistics had been ready for use in Vienna, they have already become obsolete due to the quickly changing situation. These documents below highlight how quickly and where these new schools were established to serve the national idea, and which nationalities remained undereducated (if we compare the number of schools to the total population). Secondly, they give insight into the manipulation methods as the original manuscripts of the consular reports often mentions Macedonian Slavs, while they were converted to Bulgarians in the last version before official publication.

5. Schools were underrepresented in the case of some ethnicities (Albanian Muslims attending Muslim schools were not indicated, while the number of Christian schools in Albania was disproportionally low), and this distorts the results illustrated on maps.

²¹ HHStA PA XII. Kt. 273. For Üsküp, also see: HHStA PA XII. Kt. 272. Consul Pára an Goluchowski Skopje, 1901, and HHStA, PA XII/272. 21.12.1902. Handschrift, Consul Pára an Goluchowski.

²² Centralen Dürzhaven Arhiv (hereinafter ЦДА), ф. 331к оп. 1. а.е. 309. л. 28–31. 35–38. and л. 74–75.

6. Finally, the pattern of schools was as mixed as in the case of other quantitative methods (figure 4) based either on the official census of population, or its manipulated-distorted versions utilized by the Powers and the neighboring countries, or the religion-based conscriptions of the Patriarchate and Exarchate that were transformed-translated into language-based statistics.

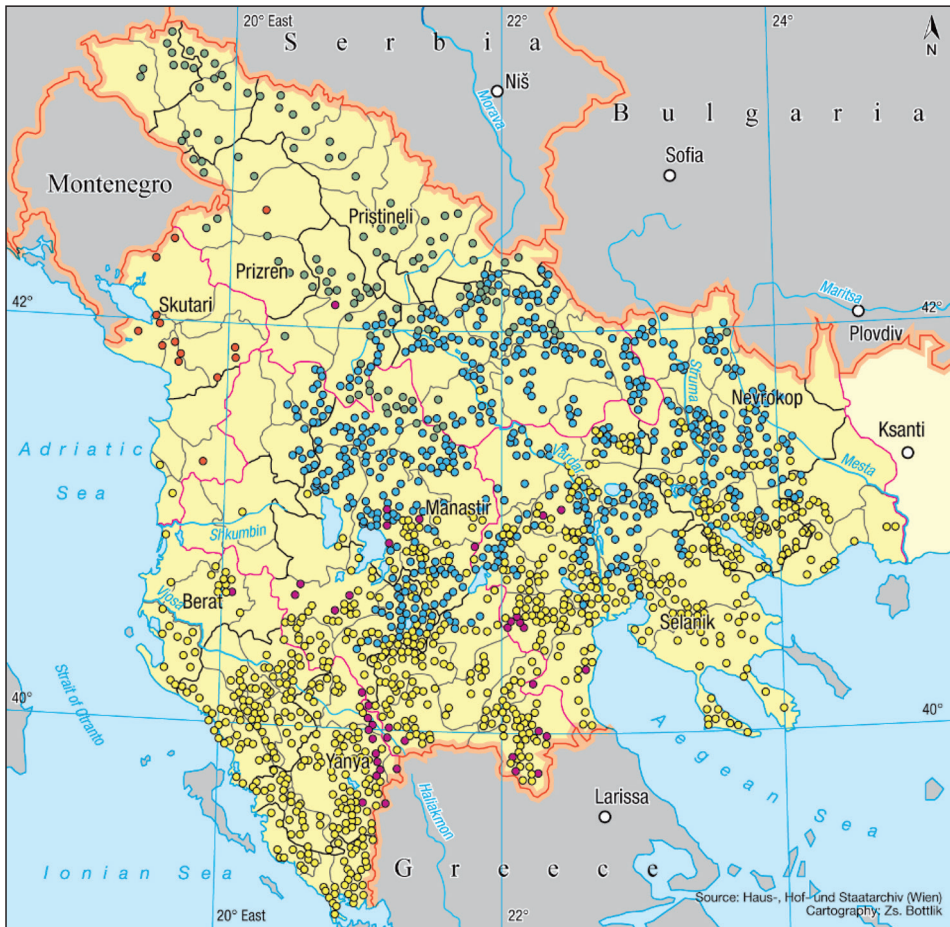


Figure 3. The distribution of Christian schools compiled by Austria-Hungary's diplomatic and consular corps in the 1900s.²³

²³ ÖStA Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv (Wien, hereinafter HHStA), PA XII, Türkei, Liasse XXV, Kt. 272.

Table 2. The change in the number of schools within one year, 1901–02
(1902 values are in brackets)²⁴

	Kaza	Christian Albanian	Bulgarian	Serbian	Greek	Vlach	Osmanli	Remarks on secondary schools
Monastir	Monastir		57 (85)	6	60 (81)	13	58	2 rušdie, 3 Bulgarian, 2 Serb, 6 Greek, 2 Vlach secondary schools
	Perlepe		26 (30)	11	8	1	26	2 Bulgarian, 1 rušdie
	Ohrida		25 (33)	4	8	2	25	2 Bulgarian, 1 rušdie
	Krchova		21	10			18	1 rušdie
	Florina		28		42 (47)	3	33	1 Bulgarian, 1 Greek, 1 rušdie
Dibra	G. Dibra		14	2			26	1 Bulgarian, 1 rušdie
	Rekalär		10	2			4	
	D. Dibra						3	
	Mat						3	
Elbasan	Elbasan				4	1	8	1 Greek, 1 rušdie
	Grams						4	
	Pekin						5	
Korça	Korça	2			33 (41)	5	46	4 Greek, 2 rušdie
	Kolonia				9		13	1 rušdie
	Starovo				7	1	7	1 rušdie
	Kastoria		40 (43)		66 (74)	3	36	1 Bulgarian, 3 Greek, 1 Vlach, 2 rušdie
Serfidje	Serfidja				15		9	3 Greek, 1 rušdie
	Naslich				31		22	2 Greek, 1 rušdie
	Kozani				9 (49)		56	2 Greek
	Kajalar		6 (11)		10		45	1 Bulgarian, 2 rušdie
	Grevena				26 (67)	6	17	2 Greek
	Elasszóna				30 (51)	5	9	2 Greek
	Total	2	227	35	358	40	473	

The Powers and the small states neglected Ottoman schools intentionally, of course. And, though, some *kaza* with Muslim preponderance did exist where there weren't any Muslim schools (in Albania, see table 2 and Map 68b),²⁵ this did not mean that there wasn't any development on this field. The official Ottoman *salname* of Kosova Vilayet in 1896 gives an insight to the number of Ottoman schools run by the state. (However, they neglect the other

²⁴ Source: HHStA PA XII. Kt. 273. For Üsküp, also see: HHStA PA XII. Kt. 272. Consul Pára an Goluchowski, Skopje, 1901. and HHStA, PA XII/272. 21.12.1902. Handschrift, Consul Pára an Goluchowski.

²⁵ <https://balkanethnicsmaps.hu/originalmaps.html> (Map 68b on Aromun schools in Ottoman areas. See dotted *kazas*).

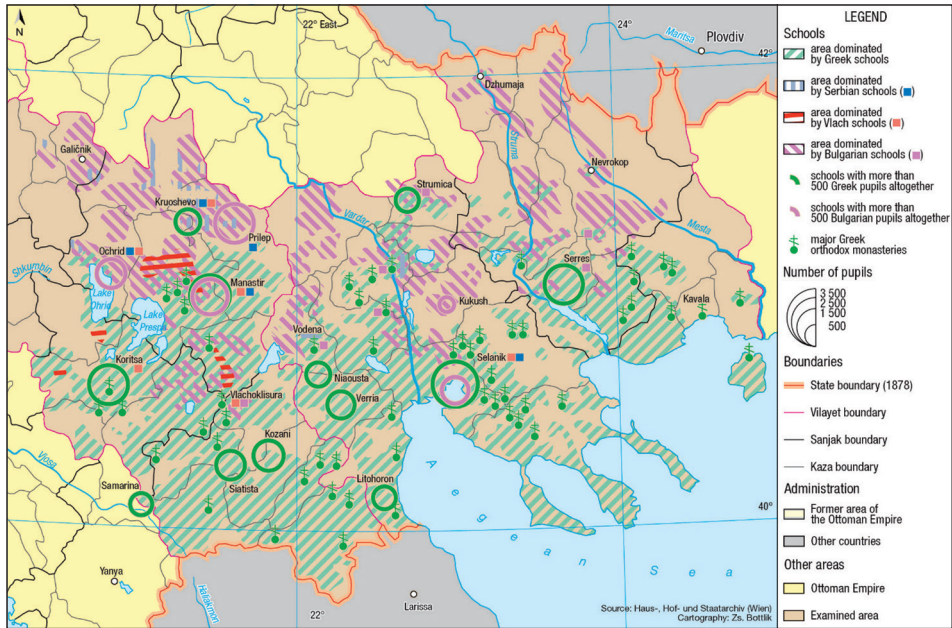


Figure 4. The distribution of Bulgarian and Greek schools in the Saloniki vilayet in the early 1900s. Note that Ottoman/Muslim schools are not indicated!²⁶

side, the Christian schools). In Ottoman state schools Muslim teachers were highly overrepresented, but there were also some Bulgarian²⁷ and Christian schools indicated (usually those Christian schools are conscripted that were run by the Ottoman state, private, foreign and religious Christian institutions are not mentioned!).²⁸ In order to reconcile the two contradictory approaches I provide a list from the Kosova Vilayet Salnamesi (1896) and compare it with the numbers and distribution of schools marked on the Austro-Hungarian maps of the era, in order to check their reliability. (This was not done by the above mentioned scholars and agents of the small states, while the Austrian Empire tried something similar in table 2).

²⁶ HHStA, PA XII, Türkei, Liasse XXV, Kt. 273.

²⁷ The Kosova Vilayet Salnamesi uses this term! 1896 (*Hicri 1314*) *Kosova Vilayet Salnamesi*. Üsküb, 1314. (Reprint by Rumeli Türkleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Yayınları)

²⁸ Most of the Christian schools were maintained by the Patriarchate and the Exarchate, supported by Greece and Bulgaria.



Figure 5. Map indicating schools of diverse nationalities based on the proportional illustration of the number of pupils.²⁹

Table 3 clearly indicates that (1) there were numerous state-owned (Ottoman religious institutions are not included!) schools in these Ottoman areas which were omitted from the maps found in the HHStA or published by Phocas-Cosmetatos;³⁰ (2) state-run Christian schools were underrepresented in the region measured to the proportion of Christian population – so it is not surprising that foreign initiatives or religious institutions undertook the task of education; (3) the number of Christian schools increased rapidly by the turn of the century (and this increase remained dynamic, as proved by table 2); (4) the distribution of schools can be compared to that of the ethnic proportions in the *vilayet*, and the following conclusions can be made:

²⁹ Source: Spyridon Phocas-Cosmetatos, *La Macédoine. Son passé et son présent. Etude histor., ethnograph. et polit. de la Macédoine, avec considérations sur les pays limitrophes et l'Hellénisme*, Lausanne, 1919. See an earlier version from 1901. <https://balkanethnicsmaps.hu/originalmaps.html> Map 95. HHStA, PA XII Türkei Liasse XXV. Kt. 273.

³⁰ Phocas Cosmetatos, *La Macédoine. Son passé et son présent. Etude histor., ethnograph. et polit. de la Macédoine, avec considérations sur les pays limitrophes et l'Hellénisme*, Lausanne, 1919.

Table 3. The number of Ottoman state schools (Muslim and Christian – without religious institutions) in Kosova vilayet in 1896 measured to Christian schools conscripted on Austrian maps (1901)³¹

kaza	Muslim state schools in 1896 (elementary-sibyan, ruskiye and ibtidaiye)	Non-Muslim state schools in 1896 (Jewish, Rum, Serb, Catholic)	Bulgarian schools in 1896	Students in non Muslim schools	Students in Muslim schools	Muslims (including Muslim Slavs), Kral, % 1897	Bulgarian schools in Austrian maps, 1901	Serbian schools in Austrian maps, 1901	Total Muslim Schools, measured to all %	Total state schools, measured to all schools	Total Muslim state schools, measured to all state schools 1896	Proportion of Muslim schools measured to total schools conscripted by Ottoman authorities in 1896
Skopje	9	5	14	1867	1011	52	27	4	20	31	64	32
Istib	26	1	6	163	1148	60	25	2	48	50	96	79
Bereketli	1			40	43				100	100	100	100
Kumanova	4	2	2	544	401	40	16	10	13	19	67	50
Radoviste	3				162	51	5		38	38	100	100
Palanka	5	3		190	222	40	13		24	38	63	63
Kochana? Kachanik?	3				146	55-66			100	100	100	100
Kratova	2	1	1	240	249	20	11	4	11	17	67	50
Orhaniye (Malesh)	1				67	30	22		4	4	100	100
Pristina	9	3		278	811	75		8	45	60	75	75
Mitrovica	3	1		70	298	60		4	38	50	75	75
Vucitrn	3	1		90	291	75		1	60	80	75	75
Gilan	9	1		140	465	66		9	47	53	90	90
Preshevo	3				195	40		4	43	43	100	100
Novipazar-Sjenica	10	1		50	400 (855) ³²	60		5	63	69	91	91
Yenipazar	9				705	60		6	60	60	100	100
Bjelopolje	21	1		50	368	66		3	84	88	95	95
Nova Varosh	1				90	20		3	25	25	100	100
Kolashin	2				50	60		2	50	50	100	100
Prizren	33				2250	75		12	73	73	100	100
Rahovica	2	1		15	50				67	100	67	67
Tetovo	9				952	45	15	9	27	27	100	100
Gostivar	20				1018	25	22	9	39	39	100	100
Ljuma	7				450	95		1	88	88	100	100
Ipek	20					80		1	95	95	100	100
Djakova	19	2		100	1409	85		5	73	81	90	90
Berane	9	2			135	20		3	64	79	82	82
Tergoviste	7				396				100	100	100	100
Gusinje	6				585	85		2	75	75	100	100
Taslica-Plevlje	20	2		319	486	51		2	83	92	91	91
Prijepolje	4	4			154	40		6	29	57	50	50
Priboj	5				174	40		1	83	83	100	100

a. It is evident that most of the state schools in Kosovo vilayet in 1896 were of Muslim character, and in many *kaza*, these were overrep-

³¹ Data calculated from: *1896. Kosova Vilayet Salnamesi* and material found in HHStA, PA XII, Türkei, Liasse XXV, Kt. 272.

³² Numbers in tables and the written text contradict.

resented even compared to the proportion of Muslims (including Slavic-speaking Muslims).

- b. The situation barely changes if the proportion of Muslim schools is measured to all schools (including non-state sector) conscripted in 1896 – in this case, the situation becomes favourable for the Christians only in Kumanovo and Skopje.
- c. However, if all schools, indicated on the Austrian map in 1902, are included into the dataset, the situation completely changes. Ottoman state schools in many district constituted only half, one-third of the total number of schools and the proportion of Muslim schools also falls back. In the case of Skopje, Istip, Kumanovo, Radovish, Palanka, Kratovo and Malesh-Orhaniye, *the proportion of Muslim state schools was even lower than the share of Muslims in these districts* according to the Austrian consul, August Kral's data from 1897 (Map 25) or the 1881 enumeration.³³
- d. This situation, though to a lesser extent can be observable in Prishtina, Mitrovica and Gjilan, while in the sanjak of Novi Pazar, under Austro-Hungarian occupation then, the proportion of Muslim schools was, in fact, equal to their estimated proportion from the whole population. Thus *Austrian interference could hinder the amelioration of Serbian positions there*, while in the Skopje sanjak, the powerful penetration of neighboring countries was evident through education. *The rapid rise of schools was partly due to the Bulgarian-Serbian rivalry, and not only because of the original imbalance in the ratio of Muslim-Christian schools*. In the Prizren sanjak, with the exception of Kalkandelen-Tetovo (where, also due to the exacerbating Serbian-Bulgarian rivalry, the proportion of non-Muslim schools was much higher compared to the share of Christians from the total population), the % value of Muslim schools remained higher, than the share of Muslims from total population.³⁴ The situation was similar in the Ipek sanjak, and was a bit diverse in Taslica.

³³ Source: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereinafter BOA), Y. PRK. UM, 1/99. *Osmanlı Arşiv belgelerinde. Kosova Vilayeti*, Istanbul, 2007, 332–34. See: www.balkanethnicsmaps.hu, new and redrawn maps: Map 46.)

³⁴ This ratio can be a good indicator of measuring the influence of neighboring states.



And finally, two practical questions concerning the efficiency of national propaganda in schools have to be discussed:

(1) Was schooling efficient at all – from the aspect of national propaganda? Was it worth investing into? In the long run, definitely. But it required stable conditions (which were not given). And, under uncertain circumstances other solutions, such as propaganda material (newspapers, maps) or weapons were definitely cheaper. Just an example: 1,000 copies of a map or a brochure cost 2,200 francs,³⁵ and from this amount all Greek schools in Macedonia could be supplied with effective propaganda material. In comparison, the annual expenses of the Greek lycée in Salonica were 70,000 francs, while the Greek government supported the educational and other efforts of the Patriarchate altogether with 1.5 million francs per annum.³⁶ So, when the leader of the Syllogos, the leading Greek historian, Konstatinos Paparrigopoulos paid Heinrich Kiepert to revise his ideas (his linguistic map served as a basis of decision-making in 1878 Berlin, while it was the Exarchist statistics processed by the Russian Teplov that served as a basis for the decision made in San Stefano),³⁷ and distributed Kiepert's new ethnocentric map of the Balkans in all Greek schools (indicating Macedonia and Eastern Rumelia as areas under Greek cultural preponderance), including the Macedonian sanjaks, it was a financially effective decision.

(2) Were any decisions made based on school patterns – and what relevance did these have? Yes, there were, though not at international level. Besides their official censuses and local *salname*, even Ottoman authorities tended to use in their decision-making data series that were independent from state authorities and applied different methods of enumeration. For example, in 1910, during the last attempt done by the Ottoman government to secure peace in Macedonia by means of implementing religious reforms and the redistribution of ecclesiastic property between Exarchists and Patriarchists in order to decrease tensions, the

³⁵ *Ottoman Diplomatic Documents on the Origins of World War One*, IV. The Macedonian Issue, 1879–1912. Part 2. 1905–1912, ed. Gül Tokay and Sinan Küneralp, Istanbul, 2011, nr. 1426. 15, November 1906.

³⁶ İ. Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties...*, 66. and 71–78.

³⁷ Gábor Demeter – Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics and Zsolt Bottlik: “The role of ethnic mapping in nation-building and its influence on political decision-making across the Balkan Peninsula (1840s–1910s)”, *War, Peace and Nation-building (1853–1918)*, eds. Aleksandar Rastović et al., Belgrade, 2020, 57–80.

conscription of the Bulgarian Exarchate was (also) used. This implicitly means that the Ottoman government accepted the Exarchate's data as relatively reliable, at least to differentiate Exarchists from other Christians. It should also be noted that while one of the documents found in Sofia (among the material of the Bulgarian consulate in Skopje) speaks about Exarchist households, the other one – mentioning the results of the decision – uses the term Bulgarian, instead. This is another proof of how an ethno-religious category becomes an ethnic term.

Table 4. An example of the Ottoman use of Exarchist conscription: religious (ethnic) distribution in Kostursko kaza and the decision made by the authorities regarding the re-distribution of ecclesiastic property³⁸

Situation in 15.05.1910	Exarchist households	Patriarchist households	Muslim households	Total population	Year of secession from patriarchate	Number of churches	Number of schools
Gorjanci	161	170	175	2645	1909	2	2
Kumaničevo	86	24	42	755	1908	3	1
Starigiani	38	20	0	455	1903	2	1
Sničani	58	23	0	420	1903	2	1
G. Nestram	79	91	0	970	1908	3	1
D. Nestram	70	150		1320		2	2
Čuka	3	22	166	1909		1	1 (Patriarchist)
Breznica	110	10	655			1	1
Želevo	110	110	?	1406		2 (1 exarchist)	2

Table 5. Decision made by the Ottoman authorities in 1910 based on the data above (original entries)³⁹

Gorjen(c)i	the bigger church outside the village becomes Bulgarian ⁴⁰ property, the Grecoman majority possesses the main church in the centre of the settlement and the small one outside the village
Dolno Kumaničevo	problem remains unresolved: there is a bigger church in the village and a smaller outside the village, but there are only 3 Greek households
Gorno Kumaničevo	the church becomes Exarchist property; there are no Greek households
Breznica	the old church belongs to the Bulgarians; the 11 Greek households with 74 nufuz may erect a new building
Želevo	the newer church belongs to the Bulgarians and one of the schools also
Staričani	Bulgarians, constituting the majority, get the larger church, while Greeks get the smaller one outside the village
Sničani	the large church belongs to the Bulgarians; the Greeks are allowed to build a new church
Čuka	the Greek majority gets the church, the 2 exarchist household may build a new one
G. Nestram	the large church is given to the Bulgarians, the Greek possess the small one outside the village
D. Nestram	the church remains Greek; Bulgarians may establish a new one

³⁸ Settlements seceded from the Patriarchate after 1903, but prior to the redistribution of Christian ecclesiastic property in 1910. Source: ЦДА, ф. 331. оп. 1. а.е. 309. л. 74–75 and 35–38.

³⁹ ЦДА, ф. 331к оп. 1. а.е. 309. л. 28.

⁴⁰ The document found in Bulgarian archives uses this term and not 'exarchist'. This is another proof of how an ethno-religious category becomes an ethnic term.

Thus, it may be useful to add some words to the above mentioned about the terms referring to ethnicity, used in these documents and maps and their interpretation (see: Table 4 and 5). The Ottoman *salname* usually use the term *Sirb*, *Rum* and *Bulgar* (*Kibtî* in case of Jews), in case it differentiated schools. If it did not, it used *Hristiyan* as a common term or, in the written texts, the term *gayr-i Muslim* is mentioned frequently too.⁴¹ Bulgarian ecclesiastic documents (the Exarchate under Ottoman territory) wrote about Exarchists and Patriarchists, and used the term Bulgarian as a synonym for the former. The same approach is observable in the documents of the Bulgarian consulate in Skopje.⁴²

Austrian consular documents also mix terms referring to Bulgarians and Macedonian Slavs. One reason for this is purely political: Austrian maps tended to deny the existence of Bulgarian nation west of River Mesta when the political relations deteriorated between the two states (after 1897), and acknowledged the existence of the Macedonian nation for the same reasons, in order to keep Bulgaria away from the Vardar-axis and Salonica. Many of the Austrian plans, starting from the idea of Count Gyula Andrassy in 1878 to create a Bulgarian and a Macedonian principality, thus dismembering San Stefano Bulgaria from the beginning, or that of Prinz Konrad zu Hohenlohe-(Schillingfürst), or Friedrich Beck-(Rzikowsky) (chief of staff between 1881 and 1906) or Heinrich Calice (Austro-Hungarian ambassador to Constantinople in the 1880s-1890s (figures 6–7) accepted the division between Bulgaria and Vardar-Macedonia (rendering the former into Russian sphere of influence), and this had to be appear on aide-materials, like maps and statistics. However, the views on Macedonia as a political entity (which involves the propagation and creation of the Macedonian nation)⁴³ did not remain constant.

While the Hungarian statistician, Elek Fényes in the 1850s, or later, the Austrian statistician, Czoernig considers Macedonian Slavs as Bulgarians (Map 17 and Map 17b),⁴⁴ and even Sax did the same in 1877 contrary to Andrassy's

⁴¹ 1896. *Kosova vilayeti salnamesi*.

⁴² Compare the documents listing the same villages in the same case: ЦДИА, ф. 331. оп. 1. а.е. 309. л. 74–75. 35–38. and ЦДИА, ф. 331к оп. 1. а.е. 309. л. 28.

⁴³ The idea was not new. In Bosnia it failed (however, the birth of Bosniaks as a nation of Muslim Slavs was the result of this failure), but in Albania, in the long run, the unification of people of different religion but speaking similar dialects was more successful, and this also started in the 1890s, when Goluchowski came into power. Splitting nations, in fact, was an intentional tactics of the imperial mapping, which considered identity as multidimensional (see the map of Sax with its more than 20 categories in 1877 compared to Kiepert's view, representing the nation states' nationalism and the primordial importance of language – www.balkanethnicmaps.hu Map 18.). See details on the differences between imperial and national cartography in: G. Demeter and Zs. Bottlik, *Maps in the Service of the Nation*.

⁴⁴ See: www.balkanethnicmaps.hu (original maps)

political aim (to hinder the creation of any greater Slavic state at any cost) (Map 18), by 1897 (when Prince Ferdinand made his pro-Russian turn to be acknowledged) the Pallas Lexicon in Hungary depicted Macedonian Slavs as a separate nation (Map 19) and Hungarian military circles considered this approach as valid even in 1913, during the Balkan Wars (Map 20). However, another map created by an Austrian engineer working in Bulgaria still considered the region of Macedonia as inhabited by Bulgarians (Map 21),⁴⁵ whereas the Austrian maps created prior to and during the Mürzsteg reform process (1902,⁴⁶ 1905) used the term Makedo-Slaven (Map 93) again to hinder Bulgarian claims.⁴⁷ Even the data collection in Bitola ordered by Count Agenor Goluchowski as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1897 uses originally the terms Exarchist Slavs, Muslim Slavs, Patriarchist Slavs⁴⁸ in the Macedonian areas, refraining from identifying any of the groups with the term “Bulgarian” because of the different political connotations

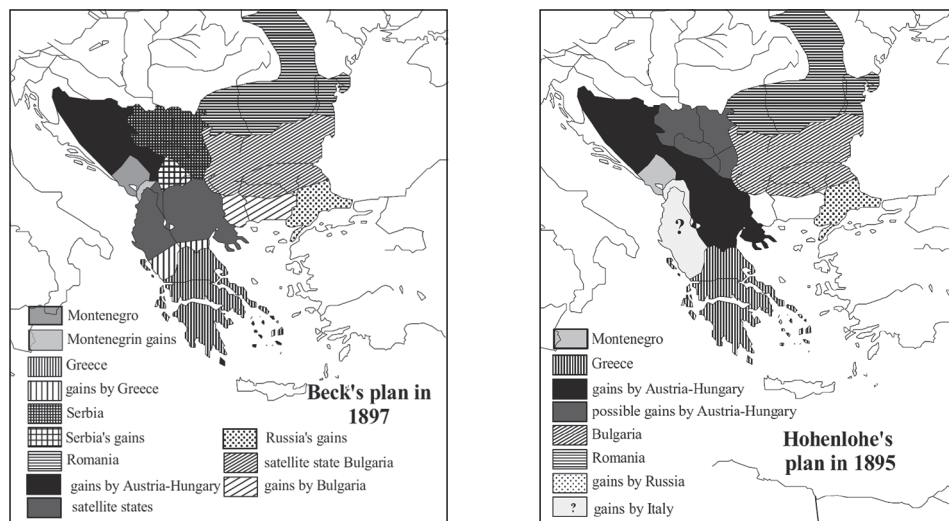


Figure 6. Austria-Hungary's plans to control the West-Balkans and the Vardar region

⁴⁵ *Deutsche Rundschau für Geographie*, XXI (1899). See: www.balkanethnicsmaps.hu (original maps, Map 21.).

⁴⁶ See map: HHStA, PA XII, Türkei, Liasse XXV, Kt. 272. Map 22: www.balkanethnicsmaps.hu (new and redrawn maps);

⁴⁷ Original maps: www.balkanethnicsmaps.hu HHStA, PA XII Türkei Liasse XXV. Kt. 272. Zur Detailbeschreibung von Makedonien. Beilage 4.

⁴⁸ See details in: Tomo Tomoski, *Naselenieto na Bitolskiot sanjak vo 1897 spored statistichkiot pregled na Avstro-Ungarskiot vicekonsul A. Kral. Skopje 1969.*

of the two terms. The term Macedo-Slav, was finally put on the map⁴⁹ on higher command, Consul Kral himself in his data collections originally did not use it.⁵⁰

So, despite of not having any national schools, the Macedonian nation did exist in political terms, and it would have existed, even if there had not been any Macedonians – because of Power interest. And though the rapid spread of Bulgarian-Exarchist and Serbian schools created tensions not only between these two states, but within the Slavic-speaking population of Macedonian *kazas* too, these schools were still more popular than Ottoman or Greek facilities.



Figure 7. Calice's plan in 1896. (Macedonia and Albania + Serbia as "Einfluss-sphaere")⁵¹

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⁴⁹ The mentioned Map 22.

⁵⁰ For the latter see also Tomoski, referring to : Detailbeschreibung von Makedonien 1905; Statistische Daten über Nationalitäten und Religionen, p. 80. Unofficially, Kral also used the term Macedonian Slavs: HHStA, PA XII, Türkei, Liasse XXV, 1897–1902. Kt. 272. Letter to consul Mateja Murko in March 1901.

⁵¹ Gábor Demeter: "Expansionism or self-defence? The plans of Austro-Hungarian diplomatic circles against Serbia (1913–1915)", *Bulgaria and Hungary in the First World War: a view from the 21st century*, eds. Gábor Demeter et al., Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest–Sofia, 2020. 101–132.