

«LETTERS FROM BULGARIA»: BULGARIAN PROBLEMS
ON THE PAGES
OF THE KYIV RADA MAGAZINE (1906–1914)

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Abstract: The article analyzes the publications in the Kyiv Rada magazine concerning the events in Bulgaria in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The magazine was published during 1906-1914. It published materials on a regular basis that addressed urgent issues of economic, social and cultural life of the Slavic peoples neighboring Ukraine. In the course of the research, it has been established that the history and features of the national revival of Bulgaria attracted the attention of the editors and readers. The pages of the magazine published correspondence about international relations in the Balkans, Ukrainian-Bulgarian cultural contacts, etc. The magazine focused on statehood and political system, freedoms, participation in self-government, high patriotism and self-awareness. It was a hint for Ukrainians of the need to cherish their native language, respect the past, consolidate in the struggle for their own future, and study the successful experience of the neighboring Slavic people.

Keywords: history of Bulgaria, Rada magazine, Balkan wars, L. Shishmanova-Drahomanova, Bulgarian-Turkish relations, national education, Bulgarian-Ukrainian cultural contacts.

In the early 20th century, due to the exacerbation of political and ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, Ukrainian society became very interested in Bulgaria and the lives of its people. One of the publications that covered in detail the relevant issues related to this country was the Kyiv Rada magazine. Thanks to its correspondents, namely Andriy Nikovskiy (cryptonym A. Vas-ko.), Serhiy Bardyaev, Olgerd Bochkovsky (H. B.), Leonid Pakharevsky (Chulyj L.), Serhiy Ivanytsky (S.H.), Svitozar Drahomanov (Zirka) and especially Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova¹,

¹ The eldest daughter of a Ukrainian scientist, Professor Mykhailo Drahomanov. She and her father first emigrated to Geneva. Later, she married Professor Ivan Shishmanov and moved

Ukrainians learned about the history of the country, the struggle of its people for independence and the course of the Balkan Wars.

The first lengthy articles on Bulgaria appeared in the magazine in 1908. At that time, Ukrainian society knew little about the country, but according to Ukrainian intelligentsia, the actions of the Bulgarian people could be an example of a successful struggle against imperial oppression and inspire Ukrainians in an effort to free itself from Russian enslavement. Therefore, F. Matushevskyy, editor of the Rada magazine, and S. Ivanytsky, active member of the Ukrainian “Enlightenment”, took a step back in its history, and described the economic and political life of this country in the early 20th century. Readers learned that this Balkan state had an area of 63,044 km², which was less than the Volhynia (Volyn) province. Together with Eastern Rumelia, it covered 99635 km². This territory corresponded, at that time, to the lands of Kyiv and Podillya. According to the 1905 census, there were 4,035,575 inhabitants in Bulgaria (population of Kyiv region). They were mostly concentrated in rural areas. Cities were small, and usually had up to 10–15 thousand inhabitants². The ethnic and religious affiliation of the population was quite diverse. The country was inhabited by Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Roma, Jews, Romanians, Tatars, Germans, French and others. According to religion, the vast majority of the population were Orthodox (about 3 million). At the same time, there were those who followed other religions, including Islam, Judaism, Catholicism³. That is, multi-ethnic and multi-religious Bulgaria resembled Ukraine.

According to the Rada magazine, the two countries were very similar economically. However, in Bulgaria, unlike in Ukraine, there was no large land-ownership and each peasant worked on his own or leased land⁴. This is what Ukrainian farmers had been striving for since the peasant reform of 1861.

Fedir Matushevskyy also made an extensive excursion into the history of medieval Bulgaria, from the great migration of peoples to Turkish rule. He acquainted readers with the reign of princes Asparuh, Krum, Semyon, and other famous rulers of these lands. Special attention in the historical overview was paid to the Bulgarian-Byzantine wars. Such a description was necessary to immerse the reader into the past, to explain why the powerful principality eventually came under Turkish rule, as well as to detail the causes of political and military tensions in the Balkans in the early 20th century⁵.

to his homeland, Bulgaria, where she became a well-known publicist, music critic and activist of the Bulgarian national movement.

² S.H., *Modern Bulgaria*, “Rada” 1912, № 261.

³ F. M-j., *Modern Bulgaria*, “Rada” 1908, № 242.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ F. M-j., *Something from the history of Bulgaria*, “Rada” 1908, № 243.

The magazine did not omit events of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries when Bulgaria gained independence. In this context, several events were important from the editorial point of view. In 1870, the Turkish sultan issued a firman, according to which the Bulgarian church became an independent exarchate⁶. Readers also learned that in 1878, as a result of the Treaty of Berlin, the country acquired the status of an autonomous principality under the protectorate of the Turkish sultan. This was the impetus to the development of the state system foundations of the future independent Bulgaria. The following year, a meeting of people's representatives took place in the city of Tarnovo. During its meetings, it was agreed that Bulgaria should be a constitutional monarchy, where the prince had executive power and shared the legislature with parliament. Parliamentarians were to be elected by direct vote on the basis of educational and age qualifications⁷. Their competence included: preparation of draft laws, approval of tax changes, development and approval of the budget, control over the activities of ministries. According to the Constitution, in some cases the so-called "Great Assembly" could be convened. It was to decide the most important issues of the country's life, in particular, the election of the prince or amendments to the Constitution⁸.

It took almost thirty years for Bulgaria to gain independence. It was proclaimed only in 1908. At that time, in order to improve local self-government, the country was divided into districts and communities, whose inhabitants elected district and "municipal" councils by general voting. Various spheres of Bulgarian life were governed by ministries: war, public education, internal affairs, roads and public works, finance, justice, trade and agriculture, foreign affairs and religion⁹. The description of the political system was not accidental. For stateless Ukraine at the time, Bulgaria was to become one of the possible examples of its own future.

In the context of exacerbation of military conflicts, the description of the structure and principles of the country's armed forces was important. Readers were told that armed forces consisted of the active army, the reserve and the people's militia. Men who reached the age of 20 joined the army. The actual service lasted for two years. Then, for 8 years, former soldiers had an inactive duty, for another 7 years, they were in reserve, and for 8 years, in the militia. Those unfit for military service paid a military tax for 10 years, the amount of which was set according to income. In peacetime, the Bulgarian army numbered 52,000 troops, and during the war it could increase to 190,000. The country did not have a navy¹⁰.

⁶ F. M-j., *National revival of Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1908, № 244.

⁷ F. M-j., *Modern Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1908, № 242.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ S.H., *Modern Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 261.

¹⁰ F. M-j., *Modern Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1908, № 242.

The Rada magazine paid considerable attention to the Bulgarian national revival. Its beginnings were derived from the second half of the 18th century, when in the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, Saint Paisios wrote the history of the Bulgarian people – “On the kings and saints of Bulgaria and all Bulgarian events”. The Rada magazine believed that it was this work that restored the memory of the historical past to the Bulgarians, gave impetus to the national revival and stimulated the development of national literature.

Correspondents of the Rada magazine also noted the influence of Taras Shevchenko’s work on Bulgarian literature and the national revival. In particular, Stilian Chilingirov’s thoughts expressed in the article *Shevchenko in Bulgarian*, which was published in the journal “Slavyanskyi Glas” were cited as an example. The author believed that Bulgarian writers sought motives, inspiration, forms of poetic works in Ukrainian’s works. He wrote: “In addition to form, Shevchenko became popular in our country thanks to the motives of his poetry. It is all subjective and so connected to his life that it is integrated with it. It is an expression of the collective soul of the Ukrainian people, its destiny and suffering”¹¹.

Rayko Zhinzifov was the first to introduce T. Shevchenko’s works to Bulgarian readers. He translated: *Message to Shafarik*, *The Servant Girl* (with foreword), *Days Pass*, *The Bewitched Woman*. At the same time, the Bulgarian patriot, revolutionary of the liberation era, Lyuben Karavelov, began his translations. He translated *Study, my brothers*, *Why do I need black eyebrows*, *My sorry mother gave me birth*, *Water flows in the blue sea*. D. Slaveykov published translations of *My Thoughts*, *Kobzar (The Wind is Blowing)*, *Orphan Girl*¹². Translations of Taras Shevchenko’s works were also used in Bulgaria at a later time. Finally, Stilian Chilingirov summed up that T. Shevchenko had such an influence on the poets of the old generation as no one else but O. Pushkin¹³.

The issue of national education development was an urgent issue for Ukrainians. That is why neighbouring nations’ tendencies in this field aroused interest. Sofia Rusova usually covered these issues in the magazine. Giving an overview, she reported: “Bulgarians were the first of all Slavic peoples to have their own national education, but while living under the Turks, they ruined their education, it was hidden only in monasteries. [...] There were no Bulgarian schools. But young Bulgarian men went to neighbouring lands to study and returned home to enlighten people”¹⁴.

Therefore, in a short time the situation had changed dramatically. As early as 1879, general education for children aged 6 to 12 was introduced.

¹¹ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Shevchenko in Bulgarian literature*, “Rada” 1911, № 246.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ S. Rusova, *National school for Finns and Bulgarians*, “Rada” 1909, № 276.

Students studied in national schools in their native language. In addition to primary schools, there were separate gymnasiums for boys and girls¹⁵. In the early 20th century, to meet the needs of secondary education, there were 20 gymnasiums, 199 primary classes (similar to four-grade city schools in the Naddnipryanshchyna), 85 special technical schools, and 86 mixed secondary schools. Education was compulsory and free for children between the ages of 8 and 12¹⁶. Russian language was studied in gymnasiums as one of the foreign ones. The important thing was that, unlike Ukraine, Russification was not mentioned at all.

Higher education also developed. There was a university in Sofia. Its structure included three faculties: faculty of history and philology, faculty of physics and mathematics, law faculty. In the 1904–1905 academic year, 943 students (including 112 women) studied there. Educational functions were also performed by rural and urban reading rooms, public libraries (in Sofia, Varna and Ruse), and the State Theater (in Sofia)¹⁷.

In 1896, the State School of Painting was founded. Its first room was a brick barn. It was here that the first lectures on art were given. Later, according to the project of the Russian architect V. Smirnov, special pavilions were built for it in Sofia. Here, for the first time, public lectures on art history were organized, which were accompanied by a demonstration of masterpieces of world art. They became extremely popular among the people of Sofia. They were visited even by the tsar. He usually took a place in the first row among officials, students, the military and merchants. But educational activities were not limited to lectures. The School organized several exhibitions of southern Bulgarian artists in Plovdiv. An extraordinary event was also the vernissage which took place in the Bulgarian capital in 1911. The exhibition presented 1,500 exhibits ornamented in the Bulgarian style. Some of them repeated the archeological finds in Preslav, dating back to the 9th century during the reign of Tsar Boris. All these products were purchased by the public who attended the event¹⁸.

The Rada magazine also drew readers' attention to the fact that Bulgarians attached special importance to holidays that nurtured national pride. In particular, May 11 was the Feast of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. On this day, students organized processions and holiday games. Children came to schools with flowers and decorated portraits of enlighteners with them. Festive events

¹⁵ F. M-j., *Modern Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1908, № 242.

¹⁶ S.H., *Modern Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 261.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Bolhars'ka derzhavna shkola maliuvannia*, "Rada" 1912, № 159.

lasted until night. All the speeches on this day said that the educators taught other peoples to read, and Bulgarians should be proud of that.

Every year, on May 18, the memory of national hero, poet-revolutionary Hristo Botev, who was a participant in the Klisura Uprising, was honored. His cult was actively supported by Bulgarian youth¹⁹.

In 1912, the 150th anniversary of the monk Paisius was celebrated. All Bulgarian magazines published his biography. A big literary festival took place in Sofia at the People's Theater, where Professor I. Shishmanov read a monograph on the famous educator.

Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova noted: "When you see free Bulgarians celebrating the memory of their great people, and when you read about the hardship with the monument to Shevchenko, you feel very bitter. If I told people, they wouldn't believe it! Bulgarians would think that these are fabrications of "nihilists" to discredit the Russian government!..."²⁰.

At the same time, Bulgaria celebrated an anniversary important for Ukraine, the 100th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth. On March 9, 1914, the "Slavic Conversation" Society held a solemn morning at a Bulgarian university. First, a graduate of the Kyiv Theological Academy, President of the Society Stanimir Stanimirov read Taras Shevchenko's biography. After him, Professor of Sofia University I. Shishmanov made a report "Taras Shevchenko, his work and influence on Bulgarian writers before the liberation from the Turks". A portrait of the Ukrainian poet in a green wreath was placed above the lecturn. As a result of the event, the Society planned to publish a book about Taras Shevchenko with a translation of the *Testament*, as well as an essay by S. Stanimirov and a monograph by I. Shishmanov²¹. This message had to impress the reader, as such events to honor the memory of the poet were banned in Kyiv, and to awaken national identity.

Thus, in a short time, Bulgaria not only revived, gained independence but also became a European, civilized country. Sergei Bardyaev wrote: "When you go from the railway station to Sofia, it turns out that you got to the small German capital. You see big, wide, clean streets, luxurious modern houses, arched electric lamps [...] If it weren't the old churches, which by the law of antiquity did not allow themselves to be replaced by new times, I would hardly believe that the Balkan capital is in front of me, because it has a particular modern character"²².

¹⁹ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Anniversary month (Letters from Bulgaria)*, "Rada", 1912, № 130.

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Shevchenko's holiday in Sofia (Letters from Bulgaria)*, "Rada" 1914, № 70.

²² S. Bardiaev, *Current Bulgarians (Balkan Review)*, "Rada" 1912, № 226.

THE BALKAN WARS

Another question that was extensively covered and commented by Rada correspondents was the hostilities in the Balkans. The struggle of the Bulgarian people with Turkey evoked sympathy among the population of Naddnipyanshchyna, because for several centuries, the imperial ideological machine formed the image of the enemy-Busurman, the oppressor of the Orthodox peoples. At the same time, for the average Ukrainian, the Balkans remained a real "Terra Incognita". It was known that different peoples lived there, that there were several small states, and from large cities, only about Sofia and Belgorod were known. Therefore, the magazine tried to immerse the reader into the ethnographic mosaic of the region and detail the content of the "Macedonian Question", which became a catalyst for military action. Olgerd Bochkovsky reported that "real ethnographic chaos" reigned in Macedonia. Here lived: 410 thousand Bulgarian Christians, 46 thousand Bulgarian Muslims, 350 thousand Albanians, 28 thousand Turks, 145 thousand Greeks, 120 thousand Serbs, 48 thousand Spanish Jews and others²³.

In the early 20th century, Macedonia continued to be under Turkish rule. Although local Bulgarians had the right to develop national education and culture under Turkish law and international agreements, the administration strongly opposed these processes. Authorities used every pretext to limit the possibility of opening new schools. In addition, the principle "divide and rule" was applied. Schools were often handed over to the Greeks, which led to prolonged local interethnic confrontation sometimes developing into contradictions. For years, the Turkish administration also did not approve teachers' diplomas, school textbooks, banned the study of Bulgarian history and geography, and censored books. All this was reminiscent of the actions of the Russian imperial authorities in Naddnipyanshchyna.

The economic situation was not much better. Against the background of poverty and feudal oppression, the process of dispossession of peasants' land and emigration movements to Bulgaria unfolded. The Turks, evicted from the liberated provinces after the Russo-Turkish War, took land from the Christian population. Thousands of workers, gardeners and masons left their homes in search of work. The girls were abducted in harems²⁴.

In 1908, the Great Macedonian Uprising took place. This led to a massive influx of refugees to Bulgaria. More than 20,000 people left their homes. European diplomacy was forced to react to these events. The Great Powers organized police reform and sent officers to Macedonia to report on tensions in the region to their own governments. However, during the next three years

²³ H. B. *The Balkan Peninsula in terms of ethnography*, "Rada" 1913, № 15.

²⁴ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *On Bulgarian-Turkish relations*, "Rada", № 281.

no positive changes took place²⁵. In the future, interethnic contradictions only deepened. The crisis peaked in 1911.

Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova reported that 40 versts from the Bulgarian border, the Turks conducted a punitive operation and killed more than 200 people. The reason for such actions was an explosion in the market. The Bulgarian humanitarian mission was not admitted to the wounded. These events provoked a stormy reaction in Bulgarian society. A mass meeting was held in Sofia, on the Cathedral Square. Rada correspondent L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova also witnessed and participated in the events. She reported:

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon we went to this square [...] to the terrace under the monument to Tsar Alexander II, opposite the meeting. Flags of all Macedonian fraternities, covered with black crepe, and large posters with all sorts of inscriptions were solemnly brought there: "War" – "Russia once helped brothers on belief – we must help brothers on flesh and blood!". So many people were there. There were 30,000 people in front of our eyes [...] A bench was placed in front of the people's assembly and a speech began: "The Turks make fun of us; they themselves have all upside down, and they are not afraid to irritate the Bulgarians with these atrocities. Nothing more to suffer and hope for someone: "War!" – shouted the crowd around²⁶.

The mobilization began on September 17, 1912. The general upsurge extended to society. The volunteer movement gained momentum. Sergei Bardyev wrote:

Everyone wants to serve their homeland. For example, [...] one grandfather approached the barracks of the 6th Infantry Regiment with his four sons and son-in-law, as well as with his most valuable good, a pair of oxen. The sons had to serve their homeland as soldiers, and he himself, being incapable for the front, intended to transport ammunition with cattle²⁷.

Students also tried to join the army. They ran away from lessons and came to the assembly points. They despaired when they were denied and sent home²⁸. To get to the military unit as soon as possible reservists stormed trains. Only women, men over 50, and children remained in Sofia. 400,000 people joined the army instead of 300²⁹. One militia colonel said that he was frightened when he looked at the sea of people who came to his barracks: "Where will I place them?"³⁰.

²⁵ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *On Bulgarian-Turkish relations*, "Rada" 1911, № 282.

²⁶ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Letters from Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 185.

²⁷ S. Bardyev, *Current Bulgarians (Balkan Review)*, "Rada" 1912, № 226.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Letters from Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 235.

³⁰ Ibidem.

There was a lack of equipment, weapons, clothes, shoes, and food for the mobilized and volunteers.

The government has taken away all the cars that can be found all over the kingdom [...] Bicycles have also become state property. They are now ridden only by people in uniform. The government also controls all the bread. Bakers are told to work only for the army, selling very little to regular civilian buyers [...] ³¹.

In order to provide troops, the volunteer movement spread. At the same time, women enrolled in medical courses en masse, went to work for the Red Cross, raised funds, and so on.

Diplomatic efforts of European countries to prevent military conflict are described by the magazine's correspondents as weak and insufficient. European diplomacy reacted sharply to the actions of the Balkan states, at the same time advising Turkey to implement liberal reforms in Macedonia. Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova explained this state of affairs by the close economic cooperation between Turkey and the nine most developed countries of the world ³². The only thing that surprised the correspondent was how such a phenomenon as war was possible in the civilized world, which declared respect for human life.

The hostilities began on October 5, 1912. The Rada magazine published reports about their duration on a regular basis. Particular attention was paid to the assaults on the Turkish fortresses of Kirkclareli (Lozengrad) and Edirne (Adrianople). The first had fortifications built with the latest military equipment. Experts believed that it would take at least a few weeks to capture it. The fighting began on October 22, and on October 24 the fortress was taken by Bulgarian troops. The news of the victory reached Sofia like lightning. Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova wrote: "All of Sofia was already on the streets, snatching the bulletins of the Ministry of War, shouting, manifesting, kissing. A memorial service and a prayer service were held on the occasion of the victory near Lozengrad: they prayed for the Bulgarian, Serbian, Hellenic and Montenegrin peoples and for the whole army fighting against the common enemy" ³³.

The conquest of Lozengrad by the Bulgarians opened the way for them to both Adrianople and Constantinople. Later, the plan of the commander in chief of the Bulgarian army, General Mihail Savov, was to march south and besiege Adrianople. In the end, it was successfully implemented ³⁴. Psychological warfare became an important component of the military confrontation.

³¹ S. Bardiaiev, *Current Bulgarians (Balkan Review)*, "Rada" 1912, № 226.

³² L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Letters from Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 235.

³³ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Letters from Bulgaria*, "Rada" 1912, № 237.

³⁴ *Political review*, "Rada" 1912, № 240.

In particular, the Bulgarians published several thousand copies of leaflets in Turkish and sent them to Adrianople. These leaflets started as follows:

The Balkan war is not against Muslims, but against violence and disorder on the part of your government. The Bulgarians do not want to shed blood in vain and they only want to save you from such a government. Don't you see what your officials, who managed the treasury as if it was their own money, have done to Turkey? [...] The Bulgarian army is only two hours away from Constantinople. The Ottoman army was defeated near Lule Burgas. Only Adrianople still holds, but it is surrounded on all sides. Why do you shed blood for nothing? [...]. Is it to satisfy your pashas, which send you to a certain death? About a thousand Bulgarian guns stand around Adrianople. And if the city does not surrender of its own free will, it will burn down³⁵.

Some attention was paid to the events of the Second Balkan War. The magazine reported:

It has been two weeks since the second military operation in the Balkans. Adrianople is still in the hands of the Turks. All the continuous bombing of this fortress gave the Bulgarians only a few forts. The Adrianople garrison still holds firmly and motionlessly. The battles were not even heard of in Çatalca, and it is obvious that the Bulgarians had to leave this point until the end of the operations near Adrianople. In Gallipoli, the Bulgarians won a great victory over the Turks and killed them, according to some reports, up to 6 thousand people, and according to others – about 15 thousand people. The whole shore of the Sea of Marmara is thus in their hands, but [...] so far the conclusions are sad for both warring parties³⁶.

Once again, one of the key events, from the point of view of the journal's editorial board, was the military assault of Adrianople. Detailing its course, the Rada magazine wrote:

As a result of the fighting, the village of Marash was completely destroyed by artillery. To prevent the retreat of Turkish troops, the Bulgarians destroyed the bridges. Eventually, with the support of the Serb allies, the forts were captured after a brutal hand-to-hand combat. The Turks, while retreating, burned down warehouses and arsenals. In the narrow streets of Adrianople there was an unprecedented, brutal battle. Maritsa's shore was covered by the dead. The city was on fire. Shukri Pasha Commander surrendered to General Ivanov at 2 o'clock in the afternoon³⁷.

This victory caused a new wave of national upsurge.

³⁵ *Bulgarian proclamation to the people of Adrianople*, "Rada" 1912, № 259.

³⁶ *Political review*, "Rada" 1913, № 28.

³⁷ *The capitulation of Adrianople*, "Rada" 1913, № 62.

At the same time, against the background of the horrors of the war, Lidia Shyshmanova-Drahomanova was struck by the extremely tolerant attitude of the Bulgarian people towards the captured enemies. She wrote:

after the conquest of Edirne (Adrianople) [...] – 800 Turkish officers were brought to Sofia, in addition to the famous Shukri Pasha. Entire hotels have been hired for these prisoners. Here are the Turkish officers (living on the word of honor) – as the wonderful spring of this year has come – having nothing to do, they walk around the city and parks all day, so the city seems just flooded with them [...] These officers got acquainted with the Bulgarian Turks, deputies and others, and walk in small groups in their uniforms and fezzes. Do you think that someone is touching them, that someone has said a bad word to them?³⁸

Reports of hostilities in the Balkans continued to be published throughout 1913. But it was mostly a chronicle of events reprinted from other European and Russian newspapers. Usually, this information had no analysts and explanations and did not form a holistic picture of the war. Rather, it created chaos and confused the reader unfamiliar with the geography of the Balkans and the peculiarities of political relations.

In the end, the warring parties came to the finalization of the conflict and making peace. As Rada correspondents were not involved in the negotiations, they tried to promptly inform the Ukrainian reader about their progress and results, based on articles in Bulgarian and European periodicals. In particular, using publications in German newspapers, it was stated that the Bulgarian government had addressed a note to the major powers asking them to support the Bulgarians in negotiations with Turkey. This document offered a Bulgarian vision of new borders that would consolidate the results of hostilities³⁹. In the end, during the negotiations, Bulgaria agreed to Turkey's proposals. Recording the results of the negotiations and the reaction of the Bulgarian society, the magazine wrote: "Modern Bulgarian feelings, full of insults and astonishment, are quite understandable. The only thing that the Bulgarians managed to bargain with the Turks was the neutrality of Turkey for 15 years in case of conflicts between Bulgaria and other states"⁴⁰.

The Rada magazine paid considerable attention to the political contradictions between the allies, which deepened against the background of hostilities. On May 15, 1913, he told readers in Athens: "Misunderstandings between Greeks and Bulgarians became a real war [...]. Armed clashes took place near Pangayon, according to official data, 8 officers, 56 soldiers were killed by

³⁸ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Serbo-Bulgarian relations*, "Rada" 1913, № 114.

³⁹ *Details of Bulgarian conditions*, "Rada" 1913, № 193.

⁴⁰ K., *Elimination of the Balkan Wars*, "Rada" 1913, № 201.

Greeks and 3 officers and 184 soldiers were wounded”⁴¹. According to correspondents, armed clashes between the Greek and Bulgarian military took place in Thessaloniki on the night of June 1. The Greeks used artillery against the Bulgarians who settled in their houses. The fighting lasted from 19.00 to morning. Eventually, the Bulgarians laid down their arms⁴².

At the same time, the Bulgarian-Serbian conflict broke out. The reason for the aggravation of relations was the lands of Macedonia. The Serbian government persecuted the Bulgarian school and church in lands inhabited by Bulgarians but brought under its control as a result of hostilities. The Bulgarian Archimandrite came to Sofia and was beaten for refusing to leave his eparchy⁴³. In the end, both passed to an armed attempt to clarify relations. One of the telegrams reported:

7,000 wounded were brought to Belgrade, most of them were stabbed, very dangerously. They say it was not a fight, but a massacre. The regiments rushed into the hand-to-hand combat without waiting for the command. The Serbs and the Bulgarians dumped each other in the river [...]”. The writer Leonid Andreev used the apt name for the events in the Balkans: “Balkan land laughs, going crazy with the “Red laughter”⁴⁴.

The Bulgarian press was full of sensations and rumors about the resolution of hostilities between the allies. M. Savov was considered the main culprit. These messages, as well as the public response, forced him to give an explanation. He stated that he had received an order to start hostilities from the tsar (and confirmed his words with a written order). Demands for the abdication of the ruler began to spread in Bulgaria. They were actively broadcast by Bulgarian magazines: “Balkan Tribune”, “Politics”, “Epoch”, and reprinted by “the Rada” magazine. In particular, the content of the article “Tsar’s Responsibility”, published in Politics, was given. It reported: “Every day brings new sensations and discovers a new culprit. However, all complaints are concentrated on one person, and that person is the tsar. The tsar is to blame. His name is associated with a number of mistakes that led to the catastrophe”⁴⁵.

What impressed the Ukrainian reader in this was that both the press and society openly and directly accused the ruling figure, and at the same time magazines that allowed themselves such publications were not closed and their circulations were not confiscated. Analyzing the course of events and the reports of the Bulgarian press, Olgerd Bochkovsky noted:

⁴¹ *War of the Greeks with the Bulgarians*, “Rada” 1913, № 111.

⁴² *What’s going on in Thessalonica*, “Rada” 1913, № 148.

⁴³ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Serbo-Bulgarian relations*, “Rada” 1913, № 114.

⁴⁴ L. Chulyj, *Pages of life*, “Rada” 1913, № 146.

⁴⁵ H. B., *Bulgarian state-political crisis*, “Rada” 1913, № 264.

It seems to us that not only the tsar himself, but also those around him who pursued pro-Austrian or Russophile policies are to blame. The Bulgarian people and political parties, which were fascinated by the successes in the wars and resorted to senseless policies, are partly to blame. The Bulgarian people must return to their national democracy and straight progress, give up unnecessary dreams of all kinds of imperialism and hegemony in the Balkans, and first of all renounce the Viennese and St. Petersburg advisers⁴⁶.

Separately, attention was paid to the issues of Bulgarian-Romanian relations. As of 1910, the newspaper recorded significant tensions between the two states. Initially, it concerned exclusively humanitarian issues. The closure of a Romanian school in the city of Tutrakan on the Danube (near Bucharest) by the Bulgarian administration was the impetus for worsening diplomatic crisis. A student anti-Bulgarian rally was held in Bucharest on this occasion. The Romanian Foreign Minister demanded an explanation from the Bulgarian ambassador⁴⁷.

Subsequently, amid hostilities, Romania began to demand the redistribution of territories and claimed Silistra. Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova, working at the military hospital at the time and talking to the wounded, vividly described their reaction to the Romanian claims:

I was standing near the man wounded to the right arm. He showed me healthy hand and looked at me with inflamed eyes and said: do you see this left hand? I will go alone with it against the Romanians. And his neighbor stomped his healthy foot and shouted: "Let's go with one foot! We will not give Silistria to the Romanians!" These were ordinary men from southern Bulgaria⁴⁸.

In fact, similar sentiments prevailed throughout Bulgarian society.

The Berlin, London, Paris, Vienna and other stock exchanges reacted immediately to the aggravation of relations between the two neighboring countries. Securities began to lose quotations. The reaction of European diplomacy was immediate. In London, European states were unofficially invited to act as mediators in establishing Romanian-Bulgarian relations and preventing a new military conflict in the region. After all, against the background of aggravated relations between the countries of the Triple Alliance and the Entente, the Bulgarian-Romanian conflict could become a catalyst for world war⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ *Bulgarian-Romanian relations*, "Rada" 1910, № 240.

⁴⁸ L. Shyshmanova-Drahomanova, *Romanian claims (Letters from Bulgaria)*, "Rada" 1913, № 11.

⁴⁹ *Circle of the Bulgarian-Romanian conflict*, "Rada" 1913, № 31.

BULGARIAN-UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CONTACTS

Compared to political and military news, Rada paid much less attention to Bulgarian-Ukrainian cultural contacts. Reports published by the magazine told about the stay of Bulgarian youth delegations and groups of tourists in Naddnipryanshchyna. For example, Svitozar Drahomanov spoke about visits to Kyiv by students and teachers of Sofia gymnasiums. The program of the stay also included a tour of the Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr, during which Professor J. Kosonogov demonstrated several physical experiments⁵⁰.

The magazine covered in detail only one high-profile event that took place in Odessa on July 3, 1909. On this day, more than a thousand members of gymnastic societies from 30 cities in Bulgaria came to the city. The steamer from Varna was met by an official delegation led by General A. Kaulbars and Major I. Tolmachev⁵¹. On July 5, the performance by Bulgarians took place – there were physical exercises, national dances, ballet, etc. On the penultimate day, local Slavic societies hosted a banquet in honor of the guests. The magazine noted that the speeches during it were of imperial content. The speakers hardly spoke about physical culture or the unity of the Slavic peoples. Pretentious speeches were made about Russia's role in the liberation of Bulgaria: "Russian eagles crossed the Danube and since then you (Bulgarians) have become free eagles and falcons"⁵². The visit prompted the Rada magazine to reflect on the awakening of national self-consciousness and the spread of national education. Once again, Bulgaria was cited as a positive example of such progress. The magazine emphasized:

There is no town in Bulgaria, no cultural corner where there is no youth organization. Bulgarian falcon boys, organizing female and male young Bulgaria, from the age of 10 brought it up in the national spirit [...]. The organizations cared not only about physical education, but also about a broad education. After Czechs, Bulgarians are a second nation, the national development of which we, Ukrainians, must pay close attention to⁵³.

Ivan Lutsenko, an activist of the Ukrainian Enlightenment, also praised this visit. He was impressed by the communication with the Bulgarian youth and the views they expressed. In particular, I. Lutsenko wrote: "One Bulgarian even told me: "actually you, Ukrainians, and we, Bulgarians, are one people, you just stayed in your old places, and we moved to the Danube, and for a long time we became slightly different" [...]; "We Bulgarians differ from other

⁵⁰ Zirka, *Bulgarian tourists*, "Rada" 1911, № 80.

⁵¹ A. Vas-ko, *Bulgarian "young men" in Odessa. (Letters from Odessa)*, "Rada" 1909, № 160.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ *To the arrival of the Bulgarian youth*, "Rada" 1909, № 157.

Slavs in that we do not know the ‘whining’ usual among the Slavs”. Finally, he insisted on the need to deepen Ukrainian-Bulgarian contacts, study and learn from the experience of educating young people⁵⁴.

Thus, publishing materials related to the events in Bulgaria in the early 20th century, the magazine presented several key topics to its readers: The Balkan Wars, international relations, in particular, Serbian-Bulgarian and Romanian-Bulgarian relations. To explain the course of events, the editorial board resorted to extensive excursions into the history of the country and the peculiarities of the national revival. The correspondents’ publications show a deep sympathy for the Bulgarian people, who managed to free themselves from imperial oppression and in a short time to build national state and educational institutions. Achievements of the Bulgarian people in the late 19th – early 20th century were to serve as an example for Ukrainians and inspire them in the struggle for their own future. The most thorough, analytical and emotional materials were provided by Lidia Shishmanova-Drahomanova, for whom Bulgaria became a second homeland. At the same time, despite a large number of articles and reprints from other periodicals, the Rada magazine failed to build a holistic picture of the Balkan Wars and explain to readers the root causes of the political and military crisis in the Balkans. The material was often presented without proper analysis and chaotically enough, which did not contribute to understanding of the problem.

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„LISTY Z BUŁGARIJ”: BUŁGARSKIE PROBLEMY NA
 ŁAMACH KIJOWSKIEGO MAGAZYNU „RADA” (1906–1914)

Streszczenie: Artykuł analizuje publikacje w kijowskim czasopiśmie «Rada» dotyczące wydarzeń w Bułgarii końca XIX i początku XX wieku. Pismo ukazywało się w latach 1906-1914. Na stałe publikował materiały dotyczące aktualnych problemów życia gospodarczego, społecznego i kulturalnego sąsiadujących z Ukrainą narodów słowiańskich. W trakcie badań ustalono, że uwagę redaktorów i czytelników przyciągnęła historia i osobliwości odrodzenia narodowego Bułgarii. Na łamach czasopisma drukowano korespondencję, która opowiadała o stosunkach międzynarodowych na Bałkanach, kontaktach kulturalnych ukraińsko-bułgarskich itp. Wydarzenia upamiętniające T. Szewczenkę były szeroko relacjonowane. Mówiąc szczegółowo o życiu gospodarczym, politycznym i kulturalnym Bułgarii w tym czasie, zagłębiając się w operacje wojskowe i przebieg wojen bałkańskich, czasopismo skupiono na państwowości i ustrój polityczny, wolności, udział ludności w samorządzie, wysoki poziom patriotyzmu i samoświadomości. Była to wskazówka dla Ukraińców, że trzeba pielęgnować swój język ojczysty, szanować przeszłość, umacniać się w walce o własną przyszłość, studiować i zapożyczać pomysły doświadczenia sąsiednich Słowian. Kwestie bułgarskie poruszało kilku korespondentów w swoich publikacjach: A. Nikovsky, S. Bardiaev, O. Bochkovsky, F. Matushevsky, L. Pakhaevsky, S. Dragomanov, L. Shishmanova-Dragomanova.

Słowa kluczowe: historia Bułgarii, gazeta Rada, wojny bałkańskie, L. Shishmanov-Dragomanova, stosunki bułgarsko-tureckie, edukacja narodowa, bułgarsko-ukraińskie kontakty kulturalne.

“ЛИСТИ З БОЛГАРИЇ”: БОЛГАРСЬКА ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА
 НА ШПАЛЬТАХ КИЇВСЬКОГО ЧАСОПISУ “РАДА” (1904–1916)

Анотація: У статті проаналізовано публікації у київській газеті “Рада” які стосувалися подій у Болгарії наприкінці XIX – на початку XX ст. Часопис виходив упродовж 1906-1914 рр. Він, на постійній основі оприлюднював матеріали які розглядали актуальні питання економічного, громадського і культурного життя сусідніх з Україною слов’янських народів. У процесі дослідження, встановлено, що увагу редакції та читачів привертала історія і особливості національного відродження Болгарії. На шпальтах часопису друкувалися кореспонденції які розповідали про міжнародні відносини на Балканах, україно-булгарські культурні контакти, тощо. Широко висвітлювалися заходи із вшанування пам’яті Т. Шевченка. Детально розповідаючи про економічне, політичне, культурне життя тогочасної Болгарії, заглиблюючись у військові дії і перебіг Балканських війн, часопис акцентував увагу на держаності і політичній системі, свободах, участі населення у самоврядуванні,

високому рівні патріотизму і самосвідомості. Це був натяк, для українців, на необхідність плекати рідну мову, шанувати минуле, консолідуватися у боротьбі за власне майбутнє і вивчати і запозичувати успішний досвід сусіднього слов'янського народу. Болгарську проблематику висвітлювали кілька кореспондентів видання А. Ніковський, С. Бардяєв, О. Бочковський, Ф. Матушевський, Л. Пахаревський, С. Драгоманов, Л. Шишманова-Драгоманова.

Ключові слова: історія Болгарії, газета “Рада”, Балканські війни, Л. Шишманова-Драгоманова, болгаро-турецькі відносини, національна освіта, болгаро-українські культурні контакти.