

XI. BALKAN TARİHİ KONGRESİ

“BALKANLAR: SAVAŞ VE BARIŞ”

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ARAŞTIRMALARI DERNEĞİ KÜLTÜR YAYINLARI SERİSİ:13



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THE INTELLECTUAL AND WAR – THE ACTIVITIES OF LYUBOMIR MILETICH DURING WWI

Dalibor JOVANOVSKI*

Abstract

Lyubomir Miletich was one of the most renowned Bulgarian Slavists in the first half of the XX century. He was born in Shtip, Ottoman Macedonia. Besides his academic pursuits, he also exhibited a great interest in connection with the Macedonian issue. During the Balkan Wars, Miletich displayed great initiative in stating that Macedonia should either be autonomous or united with Bulgaria. The defeat suffered by the Bulgarian army during the Second Balkan War, as well as the division of Macedonia, played a significant role in Miletich's work. After the beginning of WWI, and especially once Bulgaria had entered the military conflict, Miletich became active in a number of spheres - politics, diplomacy, and propaganda. He attempted to share his knowledge about Macedonia, as well as that about Thrace and Dobruja, to Bulgaria's advantage, not only with diplomats and politicians, but also with the public, especially in the allied countries, and above all, in Germany. The activities of Lyubomir Miletich during WWI, as well as his efforts in making Macedonia, or most of Macedonia, a part of Bulgaria were not successful. In September 1918, the Serbian and the French troops managed at Dobro Pole to break through the Bulgarian defense of the Macedonian front. That was when the breakthrough of the said front began. Following this, the Bulgarian army began to retreat, and not long after the government in Sofia was forced to sign the Armistice of Salonica, which, in fact, meant a capitulation of Bulgaria, and a second defeat in five years, after the one in the Second Balkan War. On the field, things moved at lightning speed. There was a revolt among the Bulgarian troops, and there was an attempt to proclaim Bulgaria a republic. The military defeat, the revolt among the troops, the attempt to proclaim Bulgaria a republic, the unfavorable conditions set by the Armistice of Salonica all served to tighten the grip around Emperor Ferdinand. He became aware that his remaining on the Bulgarian throne could simply not continue. On October 2, Emperor Ferdinand announced his abdication in favour of his son Boris III. In such a situation, Miletich and the other renowned representatives of the Macedonian emigrant community in Bulgaria began carrying out activities which were to lead to new ideas as regards the fate of Macedonia. Miletich, who prior to the Balkan Wars stood for autonomy of Macedonia, was in that group of Macedonian emigrants who propagated Macedonia becoming a part of Bulgaria. The results from the Peace Conference were not to Bulgaria's advantage. This invariably influenced Miletich's behavior. Soon after, he joined those who were seeking complete independence for Macedonia, encompassing the parts from the region bearing the same name that were a part of Bulgaria, Greece and the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Key words: Lyubomir Miletich, Bulgaria, Macedonia, World War One, intellectual

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ENTELEKTÜEL VE SAVAŞ – I.DÜNYA SAVAŞINDA LYUBOMIR MILETICH'İN FAALİYETLERİ

Özet

Lyubomir Miletich XX yüzyılın ilk yarısında en ünlü Bulgar Slavlılardan biriydi. Osmanlı Makedonyasındaki Shtip'de doğdu. Akademik çalışmalarının yanı sıra Makedon meselesiyle de büyük bir ilgi duydu. Miletich, Balkan Savaşları sırasında Makedonya'nın özerk veya Bulgaristan ile birleşmesi gerektiğini söyleyerek büyük girişimlerde bulundu. Bulgar ordusu tarafından İkinci Balkan Savaşı sırasında yaşanan yenilgi ve Makedonya'nın bölünmesi Miletich'in çalışmalarında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın başlangıcından sonra ve özellikle Bulgaristan'ın askeri çatışmaya girmesinin ardından Miletich, siyaset, diplomasi ve propaganda olmak üzere birçok alanda faaliyete geçti. Makedonya hakkındaki bilgilerinin yanı sıra Trakya ve Dobruja hakkındaki bilgilerini sadece diplomatlar ve politikacılarla değil, aynı zamanda müttefik ülkelerde ve her şeyden önce Almanya'da kamuoyuyla Bulgaristan'ın lehine paylaşmaya çalıştı. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Lyubomir Miletich'in faaliyetleri ve Makedonya'yı ya da Makedonya'nın çoğunu Bulgaristan'ın bir parçası haline getirme çabaları başarılı olmadı. Eylül 1918'de Sırp ve Fransız birlikleri, Dobro Pole'da Makedonya cephesinin Bulgar savunmasını kırmak için yönettiler. O zaman, sözü edilen cephe atılımı başladı. Bunu takiben Bulgar ordusu geri çekilmeye başladı ve Sofya hükümetinin, aslında Bulgaristan'ın bir kapitülasyonu anlamına gelen Salonica Mütarekesi'ni imzalamaya zorlanmasından ve beş yıl sonra ikinci kez yenilgiye uğramasından uzun süre sonra İkinci Balkan Savaşı. Sahada, işler yıldırım hızıyla hareket etti. Bulgaristan birlikleri arasında bir ayaklanma vardı ve Bulgaristan'ı cumhuriyet ilan etmek için bir girişim vardı.

Askeri yenilgi, birliklerin isyanı, Bulgaristan'ı cumhuriyet ilan etme girişimi, Salonica Mütarekesi'nin elverişsiz şartları İmparator Ferdinand'ın etrafındaki tutunmayı sıkletti. Bulgar tahtında kalanının devam edemeyeceğinin farkına vardı. 2 Ekim'de İmparator Ferdinand, görevden alınmasını oğlu Boris III lehinde ilan etti. Böyle bir durumda, Miletich ve Bulgaristan'daki Makedon göçmen topluluğunun diğer tanınmış temsilcileri, Makedonya'nın kaderi ile ilgili yeni fikirlere yol açacak faaliyetlerde bulunmaya başladı. Balkan Savaşları öncesinde Makedonya'nın özerkliği için çalışan Miletich, Makedonya'yı Bulgaristan'ın bir parçası haline getirmek için yaymaya başlayan Makedon göçmen grubunda yer aldı. Barış Konferansı'nın sonuçları Bulgaristan'ın avantajı için değil. Bu daima Miletich'in davranışını etkiledi. Kısa süre sonra, Bulgaristan, Yunanistan ve Sırp, Hırvatlar ve Slovenya Krallığı'nın ardından Yugoslavya Krallığı'nın bir parçası olan bölgedeki aynı ismi taşıyan parçalardan oluşan Makedonya'ya tam bağımsızlık isteyenler katıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Lyubomir Miletich, Bulgaristan, Makedonya, 1. Dünya Savaşı, Entellektüel

Introduction

The start of WWI with the attack on Serbia launched by Austria-Hungary reintroduced the military hostilities on the Balkans, which had just one year previously marked the end of two wars that forever changed its political map. The defeat of Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War ignited a great desire for revenge among the public there. In 1914, Bulgaria was a part neither of the allied Central Powers, nor of the Entente. The two embattled blocs made Bulgaria offers so as to entice it to back them in the war. Thus, at the beginning of August 1915, British diplomatic circles informed the Bulgarian government that they were prepared to occupy Macedonia in order to offer assurance that "after the war was over, the territory that belonged to Bulgaria would be returned to them, on the condition that Bulgaria did not join the German bloc".¹ As opposed to the Entente, Berlin and Vienna made Sofia more concrete offers. On September 6, 1915, an Agreement of Friendship and Alliance was signed in Sofia, between Bulgaria and Germany, in which the latter was to aid the former in the event of foreign threat. In return for this, Bulgaria promised to make use of all its available resources against a neighboring country, should that country attack Germany.² Germany agreed to Bulgaria annexing the territories that Greece had received with the Treaty of Bucharest.³ A secret agreement was signed in Sofia between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary. In accordance with the acts of this agreement, Vienna, like Berlin previously, guaranteed Bulgaria that it would receive the territory of Macedonia which had become part of the Serbian kingdom under the resolutions brought by the Treaty of Bucharest.⁴ As was the case with the Bulgarian - German secret agreement, in this one, too, Sofia received approval from Vienna as regards the annexation of the territories which Greece had received with the resolutions passed by the Treaty of Bucharest.⁵ The Central Powers granted Bulgaria what it stipulated. The only thing that Bulgaria had to do was to attack Serbia. Vienna and Berlin took full advantage of the Bulgarians' trauma from the Second Balkan War, as well as the feeling of inferiority the Bulgarians experienced with the resolutions imposed by the Treaty of Bucharest.

¹ Димитър Гоцев, Националосвободителната борба на македонските българи по време на Първата световна война, 1914-1918, *Македонски преглед*, XVIII/3, София, 1995, p. 12.

² Михајло Миноски, *Македонија во меѓународните договори 1913-1940 т. 1*, ДАРМ, Скопје, 2006, doc. 19, p. 130.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Idem, doc. 21, p. 133.

⁵ Idem, p. 134.

The agreements that Bulgaria entered into with Germany and with Austria-Hungary were sufficient motive for the government in Sofia to commence with preparations for war with its neighbor to the west – Serbia. The Bulgarian Prime Minister made the following statement: "Bulgaria cannot have its historical and ethnographic rights refuted. It cannot exist without Macedonia, for which it has shed so much blood".⁶ In the fall of 1915, Bulgaria attacked Serbia.

The activities of Lyubomir Miletich during WWI

The Macedonian emigrant community in Bulgaria closely followed the development of things after WWI began. Bearing in mind the fate of the Macedonian population in the Balkan Wars, the interest exhibited by the said community was not in the least surprising.

At the beginning of 1915 the emigrant community, as well as those who were representing the IMARO, decided to test the public opinion in the European capitals as regards the potential Bulgarian participation in the war. In January, the IMARO sent a five-member delegation to visit the European capitals. The delegation consisted of professor Georgov, professor Balabanov, d-r Petar Kushev, the Ohrid native d-r Dimitar Tochkov, and d-r Lyubomir Miletich.⁷ Their job was to see what the governments of the two warring blocs felt as regards solving the Macedonian issue. In the capitals of Austria-Hungary and Germany, the delegation was informed of the opinions of their hosts that the Macedonian issue would be resolved to Bulgaria's advantage only with the support of the Central Powers.⁸ In the capitals of the powers of the Entente – Saint Petersburg, London, and Paris, the delegation was informed that the territory which would be granted to Bulgaria would become known after the war ended, that is, after Serbia had been granted territory at the expense of the Danubian Monarchy, and Greece would expand into Asia Minor.⁹

The delegation returned to the capital of Bulgaria, having carried out its mission. It was Miletich who prepared the report as to the information it had garnered during its European tour.¹⁰ The report was signed by all the members of the delegation, and it was sent out

⁶ Richard C. Hall, Bulgaria in the First World War, *The Historian*, Phi Alpha Theta, 2011, p. 304.

⁷ Д. Гоцев, Националосвободителната борба на македонските българи, p. 11.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

to the Central Committee of the IMARO. Miletich had the most important role in presenting the delegation's report to the audience, that is, the same man who had previously prepared it. After he had presented the report, a discussion arose as to which side Bulgaria should take in the large-scale European conflict. Miletich had his own opinion as regards this question, which was the same opinion held by the delegation. In his view, it was best for Bulgaria to remain neutral, yet, should the need arise for it to enter the war, then there was no other option than to side with the Central Powers.¹¹ Obviously, what the delegation heard in Vienna and Berlin sounded more promising to them.

Once Bulgaria entered the war on the side of the Central Powers, Lyubomir Miletich commenced carrying out a number of activities. In November, 1915, Miletich arrived in the German capital. There he met with the German Secretary of State, Zimmermann, as well as with Rosenberg. In the conversation with Zimmermann, Greece's claims to Bitola were looked at in more detail, as possible compensation for their participation in the war taking the side of the Central Powers.¹² Both agreed that it was important that the Greeks should at that time be made aware of the fact that they would not be getting Bitola. From Rosenberg Miletich discovered that the then Greek envoy often talked about Bitola. The German official emphasized to Miletich that it would be best, at that moment, to not raise the question concerning Serres and Kavala. Miletich agreed with him, stressing that Bulgaria would bear in mind the sound German advice. Nevertheless, the professor from Sofia pointed out that the moment Greece was granted large-scale territorial expansion in Albania, the issue concerning conceding Serres and Kavala to Bulgaria would rear to the surface on its own.¹³ Miletich felt that it was in Greece's best interest to resolve the issue as regards these two towns, which would result in a lasting peace between the two countries.

In Berlin, Miletich paid great attention to the operations of the Bulgarian troops against the Serbs in Macedonia. He was ecstatic when the Bulgarian troops overtook Prilep, anticipating that Bitola would soon fall in their hands.¹⁴ There was a reason as to why Miletich was rooting for such a rapid take-over of Bitola. The professor regularly followed the German printed media. In some of

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Цочо Билярски, *Архив Христо Матов*, Главно управление на архивите при министерския съвет, Сосфия, 2004, док. 421, р. 356.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

the German newspapers he had read that the Bulgarian troops were in no hurry to overtake Bitola, because Bitola was taxed to be given to Greece, and as such, the Bulgarian occupation of the town was of temporary character.¹⁵ Miletich was perplexed as to why the censorship allowed the appearance of such texts since the agreement that Bulgaria had reached with Germany, dated September, 1915, guaranteed their getting Bitola. By chance, he had the opportunity to express his opinion to an editor of an influential German newspaper, in which articles had appeared that Greece would get Bitola. The German Asiatic Society held a gathering in Berlin, on the occasion of which a number of people from public and political circles, as well as diplomats, attended. Miletich met with the editor of the newspaper *Vossische Zeitung*, with whom he conversed as regards the articles that had appeared in the paper concerning Bitola.¹⁶ Their discussion was joined by the Bulgarian envoy in Berlin, Dimitar Rizov, who had been born in that very Bitola. The editor of the German paper, after having listened to their arguments, especially the one that Bitola had not been promised to Greece, apologized for what had been published, and promised that he would make sure that no further information would be published on that topic.¹⁷

The meeting and discussion that Miletich had with the editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* proved to be of a very advantageous nature for him. He was afforded the opportunity to publish something in the said newspaper, something that would not be connected to philology, but rather to his preoccupation with Macedonia. Miletich came out with an article in the said paper, titled "Macedonia was always Bulgarian".¹⁸ He was pleased with the opportunity he had been given, because, as he himself told Hristo Matov, this daily newspaper was the most widely read German paper at the moment.¹⁹ The article published by Miletich was in fact something he had prepared together with Hristo Matov in Sofia, right before he had set off for the German capital.²⁰ As regards his stay in Berlin, what may be concluded is the fact that the professor also used his stay there to promote and protect the Bulgarian interests in Macedonia.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Idem, p. 357.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Idem, doc. 422, p. 358.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Цочо Билярски, Ива Борилкова, *Вътрешната Македоно – одринска революционна организация (1893-1919), Документи од централните ръководни органи*, т.1, ч. 2, Университетско издателство Св. Климент Охридски, София, 2007, doc. 402, p. 1106.

In the second half of 1915, that is, after Bulgaria entered WWI, a map by professor Ishirkov was published in the German magazine *Petermanns Mitteilungen*. The said map was called *Das Bulgarentum*, that is, Bulgarian ethnographic territory.²¹ Ishirkov's map, however, was not just his. Namely, he had help in the creation of that map from several renowned Bulgarian scholars. Even though Miletich had a reputation of being well-informed as regards Macedonian issues, professor Yordan Ivanov was put in charge of this map representing the ethnographic states in Macedonia, according to Bulgarian views.²² Nevertheless, the professor from Sofia, of Shtip origin, was not left without contribution in the creation of the map. Following the Balkan Wars, he visited Thrace, where he carried out research as to the fate of the Bulgarian population there. In Ishirkov's map, Miletich prepared the very section on Thrace.²³ According to Wilkinson, who published the renowned book on the politics and cartography of Macedonia, Ishirkov's map appeared to display the support for Bulgarian politicians' plans concerning the future of their state,²⁴ in this case, the future borders of their state, which were supposed to be wider than those drawn in Bucharest in 1913.

Several months after the annexation of the parts of Macedonia that were within the framework of the Kingdom of Serbia, the headquarters of the Bulgarian army decided to put together a scholarly – reconnaissance expedition composed of university professors.²⁵

In the headquarters of the active Bulgarian army, a project was prepared as regards the mission in which the renowned scholars were to be involved. The main objectives of the mission were the following: 1. To explore in a geographical sense the more important and less explored parts of the newly-conquered states; 2. To study the dialect and the ethnography, both of the Bulgarians, as well as of the other elements composing the population in Macedonia – (Albanian, Greek, Vlach, Turkish) and the states to the north. Concerning the

²¹ H.R. Wilkinson, *Maps and politics. A review of ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, University Press of Liverpool, 1951, p. 197.

²² *Idem*, p. 195.

²³ Dimitar Rizoff, *Die Bulgaren in ihren historischen, ethnographischen und politischen grenzen, (Atlas mit 40 Landkarten)*, Berlin, 1917, p. 53.

²⁴ H.R. Wilkinson, *Maps and politics. A review of ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, p. 198.

²⁵ Петър Петров, Академик Любомир Милетич по време на Първата световна война, Македонски преглед, *Македонски преглед*, година XIV/2, София, 1991, p. 90.

Bulgarians, apart from the language and the ethnography, there were to be studies conducted from a historical and a state - legal aspect. 3. To study the economic relations in the newly-conquered states.²⁶ In order to accomplish this, a list of 12 renowned intellectuals was composed, who were to go to the new territories. According to the plan, the military authorities were to facilitate the expedition members' travels, as well as to provide them with all the necessary help and protection they might need.

Professor Miletich was not in the country when the plan for this expedition was prepared. Upon his return to Bulgaria, he was immediately informed about the mission. On July 16, 1916, general Zhostov told Miletich about the expedition, informing him that he had not been invited in the first phase due to his absence from Bulgaria. However, as the general emphasized, he was nevertheless asked to participate in the expedition as a result of his numerous scholarly activities, as well as his significant patriotism, in order to study the Serbian population, the Serbian influence on the Bulgarians, as well as the consequences of such influences.²⁷ On July 22, Miletich expressed his agreement with the proposal put forward by general Zhostov. Miletich set out for Macedonia, where he remained from August 1 to September 15, 1916.²⁸ Following his lengthy stay in Macedonia, he submitted a report to the military command, in which he described his observations. The report was titled "A Journey from Macedonia",²⁹ and it contained 29 pages.³⁰ During the period of 1916 - 1917, professor Miletich was employed by Macedonian circles in Sofia to leave for Switzerland in order to do what he could among the young Macedonian emigrants there.³¹ He visited Geneva, where he mingled with the Macedonian students who were there at the time. Miletich was also tasked with the organization of three scholarly associations with the aim of working against the Greek and Serbian propaganda concerning Macedonia.³²

²⁶ Петров П. Хр *Научна експедиция в Македония и Поморавието 1916*, Военноиздателски комплекс „Свети Георги Победоносец“, Университетско издателство „Свети Климент Охридски“ Sofia, 1993, p. 16.

²⁷ Idem, p. 31.

²⁸ П. Петров, Академик Любомир Милетич по време на Първата световна война, p. 90.

²⁹ Любомир Милетич, Пътешествие из Македония, во: Петров П. Хр *Научна експедиция в Македония и Поморавието 1916*, p. 119.

³⁰ П. Петров, Академик Любомир Милетич по време на Първата световна война, p. 90.

³¹ *Национално - освободителното движение на македонските и тракийските българи 1878 - 1944*, т. 3, МНИ, София, 1995 p. 347.

³² Idem, Д. Гоцев, Националосвободителната борба на македонските българи, p. 19

Miletich, besides exploring the new territories as the conquered states were known in Sofia, also took active participation in the activities carried out by the Bulgarian intellectuals in terms of protecting the state's interests around the world. One such group of renowned Bulgarian intellectuals, following the annexation of the territories of the pre-war Kingdom of Serbia and the occupation of parts of the Kingdom of Greece, commenced discussions as to how to involve well-known names from the fields of academia, culture, and art in protecting the advantages that would be gained from unifying the Bulgarian lands. That issue was looked at in more detail at the beginning of 1917, within a closed group of renowned Bulgarian intellectuals – Ivan Shishmanov, Mihail Arnaudov, Aleksandar Balabanov, Vladimir Molov, Lyubomir Miletich, Ivan Georgov, Aleksandar Tzankov, Angel Nikolov and others.³³ They were of the opinion that the scholars, writers and artists from the warring countries were coming in together so as to support the work of their people, and that was the reason why the leading Bulgarian intellectuals could not remain indifferent. For this reason, the influential Bulgarian intellectuals formed the Union of Bulgarian Scholars, Writers and Artists.

One of the first things the members of this association set out to do was to present their opinions and views to the allies and the neutral states concerning the future of the region. For this reason, a resolution was passed for delegates from the association to go to the neutral and allied states, so as to introduce the governments of the said states, as well as the general public, of the views and opinions held by the Bulgarians. Thus, the president Ivan Shishmanov was to pay a visit to the Scandinavian countries, Miletich was to go to Germany, Molov to Austria-Hungary, and Milev to Switzerland.³⁴ We can assume that the decision to send delegates to the Scandinavian countries and to Switzerland was with the intention of having the Bulgarian views reach the countries of the Entente, with which Bulgaria was at war, which made the task of sending delegates there impossible. In any case, Lyubomir was assigned a new task. He set out for Germany. In Berlin he met with well-known German figures, among who was Gustav Stresemann, the president of the German-Bulgarian Society. A gathering was organized in the German capital in

³³ Величко Георгиев, *Българската интелигенция и националната кауза в Първата световна война. Сюзот на българските учени, писатели и художници (1917 -1918)* Македонски Научен Институт - София, 2000 (www.promacedonia.org)

³⁴ Ibidem.

honor of Miletich, which was attended by a number of influential German political figures, and representatives from the German government and army.³⁵ The professor from Sofia delivered a speech in which he expressed his views on a number of topics, among which on Macedonia. His opinions and demands received Stresemann's support.³⁶ During his visit in this allied country, Miletich, like what he had done in 1915, published an article in the newspaper *Vossische Zeitung*, which had to do with the Bulgarian rights concerning Dobruja. Here, he stated that giving Dobruja back to Bulgaria was the wish of the whole population and that this region should never be given back to the Romanians.³⁷ The professor did not forget to mention Macedonia in his article. According to him, Bulgaria held the rights to Macedonia and the Morava valley.

Representing the Bulgarian views also included the publication of books which proved the Bulgarian character of Macedonia, Thrace, Dobruja, as well as the lands along the Morava. Miletich played a significant role in this, and bearing in mind his lengthy experiences in scholastics, as well as his views in proving the Bulgarian character of, say, Macedonia, his presence was of great value. Thus, in the collection of papers dedicated to Dobruja, Miletich was assigned a topic concerning the cultural history.³⁸

This association, as part of its activities, decided to also publish a booklet on Macedonia. Miletich was put in charge of writing it. Before the end of WWI, the Union of Bulgarian Scholars managed to publish professor Miletich's booklet, bearing the title "On Macedonia. A cultural – historical account (on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Ilinden Uprising)".³⁹ The said booklet was not very long, and, without a doubt, that was not its aim. It contained 35 pages, which held brief explanations concerning some issues which were connected to the history of the region of Macedonia.⁴⁰ Miletich described the region of Macedonia as a Bulgarian region.⁴¹ In this way, Miletich expanded his contribution as to the objectives of the association in which he played a prominent role. We should mention here that Todor Aleksandrov aided the publication of Miletich's

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ *Добруджа*, no. 44, 5 октомврий 1917.

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

booklet.⁴² The booklet appeared in French as well, with a slightly modified title. Namely, the French edition, which was published in Sofia, bore the title "La Macedoine Bulgare", i.e. "Bulgarian Macedonia".⁴³ In this edition, too, the introduction highlighted that Macedonia was Bulgarian, as was the Ilinden Uprising.⁴⁴ The French edition was intended for the international public.

As to how influential Miletich was in the association, this is best revealed through the fact that once Ivan Shishmanov became Bulgarian envoy to the Ukraine, his position as president of the Union of Bulgarian Scholars, Writers and Artists was filled by that very professor from Sofia, of Shtip origin.

When discussing the activities carried out by Lyubomir Miletich on an academic, social, and political level, we tend to make reference to Macedonia. However, it was also noted above that he was also active concerning the issue as to where Dobruja belonged. As an expert on this issue, he was invaluable to Bulgaria's foreign policy. As part of the union of the Central Powers, Bulgaria took part in the negotiations held in Brest-Litovsk in the attempt to achieve a peace agreement with Russia. On December 27, 1917, the Bulgarian Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs minister, Vasil Radoslavov, passed a resolution which named Lyubomir Miletich, A. Ishirkov, Yordan Ivanov and Nikola Milev advisors-experts in the Bulgarian delegation, which had been instructed to sign the peace agreement with Russia.⁴⁵ Making Miletich an advisor in the Bulgarian delegation in Brest-Litovsk was preceded by foreplay. In his diary, Todor Aleksandrov noted that on December 25 he had met with the Bulgarian Prime Minister Radoslavov. During that time, the Prime Minister complained to him that the negotiations in Brest-Litovsk were not at all moving in favour of the Bulgarian interests.⁴⁶ The Bulgarian negotiator Popov was seeking advice from Sofia as to how to proceed. One of the issues up for negotiation was the issue of uniting with Bulgaria the regions which had been until then under the control of the Bulgarian army, such as parts of Macedonia, Dobruja and the lands along the Morava. The following

⁴² Зоран Тодоровски, *Тодор Александров*, ДАРМ, Македонска литература, Скопје, 2014, p. 60.

⁴³ Dr. L. Miletich, *La Macedoine Bulgare*, Union des savants, gens de lettres et artistes Bulgares, Sofia, 1918.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁵ Цочо Билярски, *Никола Милев. Дневници, спомени, пътеписи, писма*, Синева, София p. 237.

⁴⁶ Тодор Александров, *Дневник и кореспонденция от Първата световна война 1915-1918 г.*, Съставители: Цочо Билярски и Тодор Петров, София, 1994, p. 34.

day, Aleksandrov once again met with the Bulgarian Prime Minister. He was then made aware of the request put forth by the Bulgarian negotiator in Brest-Litovsk to have sent over several professors who would bring with them materials proving that Macedonia, Dobruja and the lands along the Morava were Bulgarian.⁴⁷ Radoslavov asked Aleksandrov who could be sent over to provide the Bulgarian negotiation delegation support concerning this. The latter, as he himself wrote in one of his letters to Hristo Matov, recommended "people who studied those issues – the professors Miletich, Milev, Yordan Ivanov and Ishirkov".⁴⁸ Thus, this was how Miletich became a part of a process which, as the future showed, played a significant role in history. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between Soviet Russia, on one side, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman State and Bulgaria, on the other, was concluded on March 3, 1918.

The professor's participation as an advisor to the Bulgarian delegation taking part in the negotiations in Brest-Litovsk did not mean an end to his activities in Bulgarian diplomacy. Namely, in the spring of 1918, in Bucharest, the Central Powers were involved in peace negotiations with a defeated Romania. As part of the union of the Central Powers, Bulgaria also had its own negotiators in the Romanian capital. Miletich also published works which were connected to the region of Dobruja, which became an issue of dispute between the two neighboring countries, which, following the conflict in the Second Balkan War, also found themselves fighting on opposing sides in WWI. As opposed to the advisory role Miletich had in Brest-Litovsk, in the Romanian capital he was involved in the negotiations with Romania, as well as in the creation of the Peace Treaty. Thus, in the preamble of the text of the Peace Treaty between the Central Powers, on one side, and Romania, on the other, as part of the Bulgarian negotiators led by Radoslavov, we also come across the name of Lyubomir Miletich.⁴⁹ The same can be seen among the signees of the Peace Treaty. His knowledge as regards the Dobrujan question enable the Shtip-born professor to become a part of an international agreement, which was soon after annulled by the victorious powers of the Entente, yet what remains is the fact that he was a part of the creation and the signing of the Treaty in Bucharest on May 7, 1918. Otherwise, this agreement allowed Bulgaria to regain control over the territory that had been previously given to Romania

⁴⁷ Ц. Билярски, *Архив Христо Матов*, doc. 448, p. 381.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ *Texts of the Romanian "peace" (with maps)*, Government printing office, Washington, 1918, doc. 3, p. 8.

with the Treaty of Bucharest, but the one dated August 10, 1913. Not long after, this peace agreement was annulled, and the acts it contained could not be carried out.

Conclusion

The activities of Lyubomir Miletich during WWI, as well as his efforts in making Macedonia, or most of Macedonia, a part of Bulgaria were not successful. In September 1918, the Serbian and the French troops managed at Dobro Pole to break through the Bulgarian defense of the Macedonian front. That was when the breakthrough of the said front began. Following this, the Bulgarian army began to retreat, and not long after the government in Sofia was forced to sign the Armistice of Salonica, which, in fact, meant a capitulation of Bulgaria, and a second defeat in five years, after the one in the Second Balkan War. On the field, things moved at lightning speed. There was a revolt among the Bulgarian troops, and there was an attempt to proclaim Bulgaria a republic.

The military defeat, the revolt among the troops, the attempt to proclaim Bulgaria a republic, the unfavorable conditions set by the Armistice of Salonica all served to tighten the grip around Emperor Ferdinand. He became aware that his remaining on the Bulgarian throne could simply not continue. On October 2, Emperor Ferdinand announced his abdication in favour of his son Boris III. In such a situation, Miletich and the other renowned representatives of the Macedonian emigrant community in Bulgaria began carrying out activities which were to lead to new ideas as regards the fate of Macedonia. Miletich, who prior to the Balkan Wars stood for autonomy of Macedonia, was in that group of Macedonian emigrants who propagated Macedonia becoming a part of Bulgaria. The results from the Peace Conference were not to Bulgaria's advantage. This invariably influenced Miletich's behavior. Soon after, he joined those who were seeking complete independence for Macedonia, encompassing the parts from the region bearing the same name that were a part of Bulgaria, Greece and the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.