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WHITE BOOK

about the language dispute between Bulgaria
and the Republic of North Macedonia



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WHITE BOOK
ABOUT
THE LANGUAGE DISPUTE
BETWEEN BULGARIA
AND THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

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On the cover: Caricature of the eminent Bulgarian painter, cartoonist and feuilletonist Raiko Alexiev (of Macedonian origin himself), killed by the Communist regime in 1944. Original text below the caricature: „The chauvinistic Belgrade “declared” both brothers Cyril and Methodius as “Serbians”, yet not a single character of the alphabet the brothers created could be “declared Serbian”, so the alphabet will shine in the dark Macedonian sky and will warm the hearts of the Bulgarians”.

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TO THE READERS OF THIS BOOK

On behalf of a significant part of the population of the Balkan Peninsula, we are humbly asking you to consider the attached study, revealing the pernicious attempts of a small group of people and a few organizations to hinder the EU integration of Republic of North Macedonia.

The full support that the Republic of Bulgaria has been giving the Republic of Macedonia (now the Republic of North Macedonia) since its founding 30 years ago has been more than noteworthy: Bulgaria was the first state to recognize the independence of the state of Macedonia in 1991 and has made serious efforts as an EU member country to accelerate the process of integration of Republic of North Macedonia to the EU.

This study contains irrevocable evidence of the malicious actions of the above-mentioned group that via outrageous falsifications, violence and oppression is still attempting to keep the discord which has existed in the Balkans by inspiring hatred between brothers and sisters – a long term operation that started in the mid-1940s.

It reveals the means used for achieving the goal of imposing hatred and perception of an enemy in the thoughts and hearts of the population of Republic of North Macedonia towards Bulgaria and its people. The study presents hard evidence about the falsity of all accusations, blatant racism and insults directed towards Bulgaria and Bulgarians on the part of the Republic of North Macedonia's officials.

The purpose of this book is to reasonably defend Bulgaria's firm position against the start of the negotiation process for the accession of Republic of North Macedonia to the EU, until the racist hate speech directed towards Bulgaria and Bulgarians ceases, the historical truth based on authentic historical documents and artefacts is acknowledged and all school textbooks are purged of historical falsifications and the Macedonian Archives corrected accordingly.

It is imperative for the political class in the Republic of North Macedonia to realise that the gross violations on its part of the fundamental values of the peoples of the European Union i.e., mutual respect, adherence to objective truth, respect for human rights and integrity, makes impossible even the start of negotiations of their country for joining the European Union.

The core subject of this White book is the clarification of the language dispute and the Bulgarian origins of the language that is nowadays used in the Republic of North Macedonia. The linguistic and historical proofs that we provide form the very basis of this study. We trust the study will be instrumental in building your informed opinion about the Bulgarian-Macedonian issue and in defending the just side.

Sincerely yours,



Erlin Ago



Dejan Tanchovski



Ilija Stojanovski



Ivan Nikolov



Metodiy Ivanov



Rumen Srebranov



Spas Tashev



Vlado Treneski

INTRODUCTION

Bulgaria obstructed the start of the negotiation process for accession of the Republic of North Macedonia to the European Union at the end of 2020 several times. The main argument is that Skopje has not complied with the terms of the Friendship Treaty signed by the two countries in 2017. As unsolved problems, Sofia points out the mass falsifications of the historical past, the repressions against people with preserved Bulgarian self-consciousness and the characteristics of the tone of the official language of Skopje.

Bulgaria's partners in the EU consider and accept this position. On December 16, 2020, the ambassadors of the EU member states have adopted Bulgarian requirements regarding „*the mistaken interpretation of history*“ and included the full name of the Republic of North Macedonia in its conclusions. However, for those unfamiliar with the Bulgarian history and language, the official position of Sofia remains to some extent incomprehensible.

The weakness of Bulgarian politics is that so far it has failed to explain to its foreign policy partners the true nature and magnitude of the offense committed in Communist Yugoslavia with respect to the linguistic divide and total falsification of existing documents. It has also not explicitly and clearly shown the actual theft of the Bulgarian cultural and historical heritage, it has failed to give adequate publicity to the systematic violation of human rights, including physical repression and killings of citizens dissenting with these government policies. And these facts are proofs of the way in which falsifications are reaffirmed, as well as confirmations of the continuity of totalitarian practices from the recent past and are posing very serious questions. The present analysis gives answers to these questions.

The terms used in the current publication are part of the vocabulary that denotes specific phenomena and facts related to cultural, historical, political, and linguistic issues in the relations between Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia.

Codification is a linguistic term used to denote the regulation of a literary language. Its establishment as a linguistic fact that is often associated with a particular political change. Often in Bulgarian history, the new political subjects, after gaining state power, try to codify the

language according to their views, e.g., changes in the language norm during the rule of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (known as the so-called Omarchev Orthographic Reform from 1921), as well as the spelling reform of 1945 (known as the Fatherland Front Orthographic Reform), which is used to this day, despite existing proposals for basic review of the norm every 50 years

The literary norm of Republic of North Macedonia was established in 1945 by a resolution of the Linguistic Commission, which makes the first and, of course, political codification based on central and northern Macedonian dialects with a strong admixture of Serbian and Latin elements so that the distance to Bulgarian literary language could be as wide as possible. In fact, the Vardar literary norm rests on the basis of Bulgarian dialects as it shares all the features that are characteristic of the entire Bulgarian language:

- the post-positive definite article, (the post-positive in Romanian only a definite article, as indefinite article does not exist), unlike any other Slavic language,
- The loss of the Slavonic case system and the development of an analytical grammar, unlike any other Slavic language,
- The unique formation of the superlative degree of adjectives degree with - *naj*, unlike any other Slavic language
- The loss of the infinitive and its replacement of the infinitive with the *da*-construction, unlike any other Slavic language,
- The preservation of the Old Bulgarian aorist and imperfect, unlike any other Slavic language.

Here, too, a distinction must be made between literary language and national language, since the relations between them are species-genus, ie. The literary language is part of the national language, which includes the literary norm and dialects (social and territorial).

In Republic of North Macedonia there is an attempt to show that the work of Cyril and Methodius is the first codification of „makedonskiot jazyk“ (the Macedonian language). However, it should be noted that codification includes rules under which a single language standard operates and is formalized. So, in addition to the standardization of the alphabet, it includes rules that affect all levels of linguistic analysis – phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicology i.e., spelling (orthography).

We can speak of a separate „Macedonian” language as a political phenomenon from its actual standardization in 1945. Before that, individual figures from Macedonia, e.g. Dimitria (Dimitar) Chupovski (Chuparov), Georgiya (Georgi) Pulevski, Kraste (Krastyu) Misirkov, Stefan Dedov, under the influence and in cooperation with the Serbian academics St. Novaković, Al. Belić, J. Cviić and others have tried to formulate a separate alphabet or even accept the Serbian alphabet altogether. By the way, the so-called Macedonian statements of Misirkov are quite controversial, since in his „Diary“ from 1916, which was published jointly by the Macedonian State Archives and the Bulgarian State Archives, he identified himself as a Bulgarian, and even at the end of his life, he was the director of the schools in Karlovo and Koprivshitsa, Bulgaria. As the director of the Macedonian Archives at that time, Prof. Z. Todorovski, noted, the ethics of historical truth should be sought in documents, not interpretations.

Incidentally, it is interesting that the Fatherland Front orthographic reforms and the codification of the Vardar norm were carried out at approximately the same time, which further raises questions about the intent in the distancing of the two norms. In fact, the Language Commission of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the People’s Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) carried out the order of L. Kolishevski, Chairman of the Communist Party of Macedonia, who in a letter dated May 6, 1945 ordered the alphabet to be accepted.

The relationship between the two norms is a relationship between two dialects of one language, i.e., their differences are lexical and phonetic, and grammatically there is an almost complete overlap. Until 1944, all world-famous Slavists regarded the dialects in Macedonia as an integral part of the Bulgarian language. Among them are the Russians A.M. Selishchev, V. Grigorovich, P. Lavrov, Al. Sobolevski, VI. Schepkin, T. Florinski, P.N. Milyukov and N.S. Derzhavin, the Czechs V. Vondrak, P. Schafarik and L. Niederle, the French A. Mazon, L. Leger and Velon, the Germans B. von Arnim and G. Weigand, the Slovenes V. Oblak and F. Miklosic, the Pole A. Kalina, the Dutch N. van Wieck and many others.

It is no coincidence that after 1945 the written norms in Bulgaria and today’s Republic of North Macedonia were placed in the same subgroup of the South Slavic languages – the East South Slavic Languages.

Even here these languages stand as one unit, which differ in grammatical structure from all other Slavic languages. The two norms still share the same features that distinguish them sharply from the other languages of the Slavic group. Therefore, modern scholars like J. Clark, O. Kronsteiner, H. Stamler, J. Babinotis and others reject the thesis of the existence of a „Macedonian“ language separate from the Bulgarian. It is worth noting too, that the leaders of the Macedonian Liberation Movement in exile also never accepted the separation of the Macedonian Bulgarian dialects into a separate language.

The Skopje codifiers, relying on Kr. Misirkov, chose a dialect that they considered far enough from the Bulgarian literary language and containing as few common phonetic and lexical features as possible, because the morphological features cannot be changed, because the norm would become completely incomprehensible to Macedonian citizens. With these arguments, the central Veles dialect, was chosen, with a strong influence by the northern Skopje dialect. Venko Markovski, a native of Veles, wrote a defense of the need for the letter “Љ” (which is considered a Bulgarian element, although it is part of the Cyrillic alphabet, which Macedonian scholars claim to be Macedonian), in the first Language Commission in his dispute with Blazhe Koneski, who was trying to impose the Serbian alphabet in its entirety. As early as December 28th, 1944, the philologist Vojislav Ilić, known for his pro-Serbian views, was sent from Belgrade by the Chairman of the Communist Party of Macedonia as a clerk to the Language Commission. He came to Skopje to support Blazhe Koneski. The same V. Ilyich later established the terminology of Macedonian grammar, borrowing it entirely from Serbian.

This led to the second commission of February 15th, 1945, which consisted of five Serbian agents: Blazhe Koneski, Vojislav Ilic, Lazar Moisev (who personally tortured the fighter for and independent Macedonia Zhivko Iliev in 1948), Liljana Chalovska (wife of L. Kolish-evski) and V. Malinska. The theses of the Serbian ideologues for the complete imposition of the Serbian alphabet, promoted through Blazhe Koneski, also did not achieve final success. Frightened by the acceptance of the letter “Љ”, L. Kolishevsky, who at that time was President of the Government of Peoples Republic of Macedonia, asked the Belgrade leadership of Yugoslavia to assist in solving this problem. At

the same time Blazhe Koneski demanded the postponement of the decision. There was no one to object to him as he was a member of OZNA*, a predecessor of UDBA*.

In mid-March 1945, on the orders of Milovan Djilas, then head of Tito's Agitation and Propaganda, his deputy, Radovan Zogović, arrived in Skopje. His main goal was to strengthen B. Koneski's position. Radovan Zogović played a crucial role in the final adoption of the Serbian Karadžić alphabet as the Macedonian alphabet. The whole operation of imposing the Macedonian Karadžić alphabet was carried out by Belgrade under the leadership of Gen. Aleksandar Ranković, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, one of the closest associates of Tito, head of OZNA and its successor UDBA, and Blagoye Nesković, Prime Minister of Yugoslavia since April 9th, 1945.

On April 24th, 1945, Milovan Djilas in Belgrade summoned Bl. Koneski, V. Markovski and V. Malinska, on whom the party dictates of the Serbian positions on the orthography was imposed. Four Serbian professors, Radomir Aleksić, Radoslav Bosković, Mihailo Stevanović and Radovan Lalić attended the meeting with Djilas, with whose help Djilas finally resolved the issue of the Macedonian alphabet in the spirit of the Serbian doctrine for Macedonia and Bulgaria. The main goal was the separation of the Macedonians and the Macedonian codification as much as possible from the Bulgarian ethnolinguistic continuum. This led to the paradox that for a sound that cannot be ignored, instead of using a letter, one must use an apostrophe. So, following the decisions taken in Belgrade and passed through the third language commission, the date of birth of the Macedonian language codification was May 3rd, 1945. Later, according to the so-called „Law on Macedonian National Honor“ opponents of the Serbian alphabet and Serbian influence ended up in prison or a concentration camp, and others were isolated.

Today, officials in Skopje refer to the allegation of the existence of separate Croatian and Serbian languages and hence draw the analogy with the Bulgarian and Vardar norms. Such an understanding is not based on knowledge of the historical development of languages. Concerning the the Croatian language, for example, local and indefinite common names such as Slovene, Slovenian, Dalmatian, Illyrian, etc. are

* Tito's Yugoslavia Secret Services

often found in the past, which are now perceived as part of the Croatian language. At the beginning of the 19th century, all Croats were united by a common language and a graphic system different from the Serbian one. It was not until the end of the 19th century, after the spelling reform of Vuk Karadžić in Serbia, that attempts were made to bring Serbian and Croatian closer together and to unite them under the common name of “Serbo-Croatian“. The long tradition of the existence of Croatian literature is at the heart of today’s existence in an independent Croatian language. In contrast, until 1944, regional dialects in Macedonia were never considered an independent language, which is why Skopje lacks the factor of an „independent Macedonian literary tradition“. In addition, the Macedonian dialects themselves are very different. The Nevrokop dialect is much closer to the Tarnovo dialect in eastern Bulgaria than any other surrounding Bulgarian dialect. And we know that Tarnovo is the basis of the Bulgarian literary language. I.e., the Nevrokop dialect, which is considered by Skopje scholars to be Macedonian, is much closer to the literary Bulgarian language than any other dialect except for the Tarnovo dialect.

In practice, a separate language can be distinguished from each dialect based on political intervention. As well, a separate people can be separated from each ethnographic (regional unit). This applies not only to the diversity of dialects and regional entities of the Bulgarian language and people, but also to all other languages and peoples. For example, one of the symbolic personalities of Macedonianism, G. Pulevski, who had contradictory theories, writes about a “Miyak language”. The policy of differentiation of separate peoples and languages is not only a Balkan feature, but we will see it in the aspirations of the Comintern for the separation of minority languages and peoples, in the plans of Hitler’s Germany for the separation of a non-Polish Gural nation, and even in considering the satellite state of Macedonia in view of Bulgaria’s precarious position and participation in the alliance with Germany. Political engineering in the swarming of nations and languages, which underpins local separatism, is a tool for eliminating the state and ethnic consolidation of the opponent.

The codification of the Vardar norm is a natural continuation of the Serbian intervention in the Macedonian Question, which consists of the systematic assistance in the separation of language and people in

Vardar Macedonia from the Bulgarian language and people. Thus, thanks to this intervention, a circle of Macedonian activists emerged who were educated in Belgrade, where they collaborated with local professors and politicians from the end of the 19th century until the emergence of the Macedonian norm. During the Serbian occupation from 1913 to 1941, a process of Serbianization of the population of Vardar Macedonia was systematically carried out, which provided a solid basis for imposing a separate codification and identity of the language and people. With the political assistance of the Yugoslav political and repressive bodies, the modern Serbian codification of the Macedonian norm was carried out. This effort, which is pro-Serbian and anti-Bulgarian, managed to create a constellation of scholars who supports and repeats the Serbian theses about the existence of the so-called Macedonian language and nation.

The emergence of a separate Macedonian identity, which necessarily includes the language, did not happen overnight, as claimed by Prime Minister Zoran Zaev and other politicians in Skopje, but also by Bulgarian scholars and politicians who say that until 1944 there were Bulgarians who afterwards became Macedonians. Today's realities are the result of a systematic and purposeful separation by Serbian nationalistic doctrine, which, following its plan, is trying to create not only a separate Macedonian but also a "Shop" nation. This practice is in accordance with the Russian plans for the differentiation of the "Dobruzha" and "Thracian" nations, coinciding with the Serbian theses for denying their Bulgarian identity and replacing it with new identities and languages based on regional forms of the Bulgarian language and people. A similar policy began in Belgrade with local pro-Serbian Macedonian assistance and Russian support (including the Russian consul in Bitola) from the late 19th century, was continued by the Kingdom of Serbians, Croats, and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), which included Vardar Macedonia and continues to the present day. It is no coincidence that the greatest defenders of Macedonianism are not all Macedonians, but also the Russian and Serbian elites and their protégés in the Republic of North Macedonia.

The specifics of this phenomenon are reinforced by the settlement of Serbian colonists in Vardar Macedonia, who have a serious influence in politics (including academia and journalism) today. The

negative Russian attitude towards Bulgaria was noticed as early as 1870, when the Russian diplomat Count Ignatiev protested Art. 10 of the Sultan's Decree for the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which provided for a plebiscite for the accession of the Macedonian dioceses to it. Russian anti-Bulgarianism developed its deepest roots since the Berlin Congress (1878), with the decisions of which the Russian government to prevent the formation of a unified Bulgaria within its ethnic borders. Later during the reign of St. Stambolov (1886 - 1894) Bulgaria began to pursue an independent policy and to oppose Moscow's interference in its internal affairs. Thus, the Serbian and Russian interests in the destruction of Bulgaria's independence coincided with the emergence of the Bulgarian principality.

As for the identity which is directly related to the language, as Prime Minister Z. Zaev notes, „we are Macedonians and speak Macedonian“, it is directly related to the processes of administration, consolidation, supra-regional awareness, and differentiation from other ethnic groups. Out of the three parts of geographic Macedonia, the smallest or Pirin Macedonia belongs to Bulgaria, although a large part of geographic Macedonia belonged to the Bulgarian Exarchate. On the other hand, the prolonged Serbian rule of Vardar Macedonia has provoked the formation of a separate consciousness, which must be compromised. It is the result of an alternative to the impending impossibility for Belgrade to quickly Serbianize the Macedonian population. In emancipating the Macedonian identity from the Bulgarian one, whatever unites them must be shown in a negative light and the insistence that there is a separate Macedonian consciousness, different from the Bulgarian with which it has its historical roots, must be fostered. In fact, this approach is not purely Macedonian; we see it in all the statements of Serbian scholars and politicians.

Thus, we come to the reality today that some Macedonians define themselves as a separate ethnic group that claims to speak a separate language. By no means, however, did the emergence of a separate identity and separate codification happen overnight, but was a systematic and gradual process resulting from several factors, the strongest of which was Serbia's consistent policy towards Macedonia's secession from the Bulgarian ethnolinguistic continuum.

In the period of Tito's Yugoslavia, and today, the Republic of

North Macedonia is desperately trying to present itself as a victim of Bulgarian national chauvinism and, while non-complying with historical, cultural and linguistic facts, to insist on its identity, but not limited to modern time, but also in historical terms, which dates back to the Middle Ages, and before the Prespa Treaty to antiquity. In Skopje, the roots of the „Macedonian“ language are sought in the early Middle Ages, in the era of Cyril and Methodius, and even earlier. To justify such a position, systematic falsification, destruction, and misinterpretation of existing sources began.

This policy continued to apply in today's Republic of North Macedonia, and after its secession from Yugoslavia in 1991. The Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts even issued another official statement advocating the „spatial and temporal continuity of the Macedonian language“, which is another direct encroachment on the Bulgarian cultural and historical heritage and on the dialectal diversity of the Bulgarian language. This widespread practice finds its place both in academic publications and in school textbooks, thus not only is the young generation deprived of access to objective information but using hate speech it continues to be educated in a spirit of contradiction regarding Bulgaria.

Such behavior is incompatible with the principles of the organization and functioning of the EU. It is a worrying fact that the desire of some government officials in Skopje to co-operate with Bulgaria and overcome inherited problems has been met with hostility by both the „deep state controlled“ parliamentary opposition and the media and the intra-party opposition. The co-ordination of the two groups from a center closely linked to the old Yugoslav communist regime is obvious. This dependence creates political instability and shows that at this stage Republic of North Macedonia does not meet the basic criteria of Copenhagen, namely institutional stability as a guarantee of democratic and legal order, protection of human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the possibility of taking on the obligations of membership, including the capacity to effectively implement the rules, standards and policies that make up the EU legislature (the „acquis communautaire“), and adhering to the objectives of the political, economic and monetary union.

It was with the Prespa Treaty that the Republic of North Macedonia tried to impose on Bulgaria a wording for the language, which was missing in the Declaration of February 22nd, 1999, signed by the then Prime Ministers L. Georgievski and Iv. Kostov and reaffirmed by the Joint Memorandum of January 22nd, 2008. According to these documents, which the Macedonian side has signed and which it is obliged to comply with, all documents between the two countries have been signed in the official languages according to their constitutions. The Prespa Agreement is an agreement between Republic of North Macedonia and Greece and in no way affects or binds Bulgaria. For this reason, the situation set out in the 1999 Declaration and the 2008 Memorandum must remain as established without exceeding the official limits.

The President of Republic of North Macedonia, Stevo Pendarovski, came up with the idea of stating that the Macedonian codification dates to 1945, without mentioning that this codification lies on a dialectal basis, which is linguistically Bulgarian. If a codification of a Macedonian norm is considered in a bilateral document, it will be necessary to determine what the dialect base is. However, the Skopje politicians, relying on Blazekonev's theses, have no intention of considering the linguistic facts, but their interpretation. That is why the situation set out in the Declaration of 1999 is the final limit to which a compromise can be reached on the part of Bulgaria. It is time for the Macedonian side to make its compromise, as it is trying to fully impose its positions, which are in fact based on Serbian ideologues, politicians, and scholars.

It is understandable in Western societies that everyone has the right to an identity, to their own language and history, and this is a fundamental right, but not at the cost of replacing them, of an interpretation that replaces the facts. It is absurd to enter endless interpretations, and this must be left to the individual reader. In addition, the modern wide audience easily uses texts from the second half of the 19th century to the present day. This applies not only to historical facts, but also to linguistic ones, as in this field subjective interpretations are also made by academics with a claim to objective truth. These facts, of course, should not be arranged in such a way as to suggest a particular opinion, but should be as comprehensive as possible and presented in an original form.

If the listed problems in the domestic political life of Republic of North Macedonia are not overcome in time, the inherited from the totalitarian past and currently applied approach in dealing with anyone who dares to present objectively the facts of the distant and recent past, raises (at least in regional aspect), the question of the unity of EU, NATO and their universal values. Skopje's refusal to break with Yugoslav dependence reached its apogee at the end of 2020, when the government of Zoran Zaev and President Stevo Pendarovski proposed Colonel Zoran Sekulovski as the North Macedonian military representative to NATO. In this action, „the Macedonian side ignored the advice of certain friendly services“, which know the Macedonian military has close contacts with Serbia. During the same period NATO denied access to classified information to ten more North Macedonian government officials. This example shows how Skopje's old dependencies on unreformed Belgrade masters make it difficult to coordinate and consolidate on NATO's southern flank.

The current text aims to show the Bulgarian and foreign public, which does not know the Bulgarian language, and the society in the Republic of North Macedonia, which has been subjected for decades to a distorted image of its own language, the following:

- The total falsification and manipulative interpretation in Skopje of documents related to the past in the language on the territory of the geographical area of Macedonia.
- The systematic violation of human rights in the construction and affirmation of the Skopje written norm and the modern Macedonian identity.
- To reveal the current state of the language situation in Republic of North Macedonia.
- To propose practical solutions for overcoming the language dispute.
- To show visually what are the similarities and differences both within the dialect richness and the different written norms of the Bulgarian language, as well as in relation to other languages of the Slavic group.

When examining the falsifications distributed today in Republic of North Macedonia and comparing them with the originals or presenting other documents certifying the persecution of persons with Bulgarian

identity, for greater clarity in the attached copies, the words Bulgarian, Bulgarian and Bulgarian are enclosed.

All authors of this text are originally related to the geographical area of Macedonia and are directly affected by historical and contemporary processes in it. Three of them were born in and are citizens of the Republic of North Macedonia, three of Bulgaria, one of Albania and one of Serbia.

I. THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PAST AND TODAY

1. The Bulgarian language during the First Bulgarian Kingdom (681 - 1018)

With the establishment of the Bulgarian state on the Balkan Peninsula south of the Danube River in 681 and the emergence of an accelerated process of ethnic consolidation, covering all population groups on its territory, the rapid development of the Bulgarian national language began. It is assumed that prior to the enlightening activity of the brothers Cyril and Methodius, the Bulgarian language was not written. According to the Old Bulgarian writer Chernorizets Hrabar (end of 9th - beginning of 10th century), before the adoption of Christianity, the Bulgarians „*read and foretold with lines and cuts*“. It is assumed that these are the so-called „Runes“, which are found at many places in northeastern Bulgaria like the buildings of Pliska, Preslav, as well as in the region of the Northern Black Sea coast and are associated with the Bulgarians who crossed the Danube river from the north after the year of 680. Similar „runes“ were found on the territory of Republic of North Macedonia, e.g., around Matka, 17 km. from Skopje, and were probably left by the Bulgarians ruled by Khan Kuber. The historical continuity was so powerful that the pagan stone with the „runes“ was built into the structure of the church „Assumption of the Blessed Virgin“ constructed in the XIV century and preserved to this day.

For various reasons, the prevailing opinion is that the first „Slavic“ alphabet - the Glagolitic alphabet - was created by Cyril and Methodius to respond to the needs of the Moravian mission. This view derives from the fact that in the year of 862 a delegation from Great Moravia passed through Bulgaria and reached Byzantium, where it requested that Christian missionaries be sent to preach in a language understood by the population. Byzantium agreed and decided to send the brothers Cyril and Methodius. The accepted opinion is that in the same year the alphabet was created, the translations were made and in the spring of 863 the brothers Cyril and Methodius along with their students, passing through Bulgaria, arrived in Great Moravia, where they took the new literature.

However, there is still controversy in academia as to whether the Glagolitic alphabet was really created for the needs of the Moravian mission or earlier. There are several arguments denying the former. According to several written sources, as „The Extensive Biography of Konstantin-Cyril“ and „The Short Biography of Konstantin-Cyril“, the two brothers, although they are Byzantine missionaries, are of Bulgarian origin. For example, in „The Short Biography of Konstantin-Cyril“ the author wrote: „*The homeland of this Venerable Father Cyril was the thrice-glorified and great city of Thessaloniki, where he was born. A Bulgarian by birth, he was born of pious and pious parents.*“

The analysis of the facts surrounding the Moravian mission shows that it is not possible to create a new alphabet, to establish vocabulary, to train the required number of students and to translate such a complex text as the Gospels in a period of one year, in a language that is now understood to have previously not existed in writing. At the same time, there are documents such as „Life and Feats of our Venerable Father Cyril the Philosopher“, authored by Clement of Ohrid or one of the other close students, which describes the mission among the Bulgarians before leaving for Great Moravia. We find a similar statement in „A Word from Cyril the Philosopher: How He Baptized the Bulgarians“, in which it is reported that Cyril the Philosopher himself heard from God the words: „*Cyril, Cyril, go to the vast land where those (speaking) Slavic languages have called themselves Bulgarians because God has ordained for you to give them a law*“.

Similar statements about the mission in Bulgaria before the Moravian period can be found in the „Praise for Cyril by Clement of Ohrid“, in the „Liturgy for St. Methodius“ by Konstantin Preslavski, in the „Extensive Life of St. Clement“, as well as in „Moravian Legend“, „Czech Legend“, „Italian Legend“ and other sources that mention the preaching of Christianity and the conversion of some of the Bulgarians before the departure of the two brothers to Great Moravia. For example, in the „Moravian Legend“ it is announced: „*When he left (Cyril together with Methodius, author's note), he first arrived in the land of the Bulgarians, who with God's help he converted through his sermon on the faith. Continuing from there, he arrived in the country of Moravia.*“ The significance of these documents is great, because they are not composed by Bulgarians and there is no „patriotic“ motive for misinterpretation of the facts retrospectively.

патриархи илѣксе нрѣн и кистѣ гла мнѣ. изъ са-
тара гла, кыриле кыриле, иди въ земаи, пространу,
и въ азики словинскыѣ се рекше **кыргарѣ**, тере коре-
че гъ увѣрити хъ и законъ датимъ, азъ шскръкѣхъ

*From „Word of Cyril a Thessalonian Slav and a Bulgarian philosopher“:
„There was a voice coming to me from the altar, which said: Cyril, Cyril, go
to the vast land, where (speaking) Slavic languages were called Bulgarians,
because God is determined that you give them a law.” (1856).*

In view of the subject of this presentation, it is important that the Moravian Mission fails because it fails to permanently overcome the practice of preaching Christianity in only the three languages as was the position of the Roman Church at the time: Latin, Greek and Hebrew. After the deaths of Cyril (869) and Methodius (885), their students were persecuted and some of them managed to go back, finding salvation and support in Bulgaria. In the spring of 886 they were welcomed personally by Prince Boris with honors in the then Bulgarian capital Pliska. Boris provided them with all the necessary conditions to continue their activities. In the same year, Cyril and Methodius were proclaimed as equals of the apostles and great Christian teachers in Bulgaria.

The Preslav Church-People’s Assembly was held in Bulgaria by the end of 893 or the beginning of 894. One of the decisions of this Assembly was that the Slavic language* of Cyril and Methodius must replace the Greek language in worship. During this period, the language began to be considered as Bulgarian, as it became official and began to be used not only for the needs of the state administration, but also literary works were written in it. Although in terms of terminology this Old Bulgarian language is a complete synonym of the term Old Church Slavonic language, which is used by some foreign scholars, Old Bulgarian has some characteristic features which link it exclusively to today’s Bulgarian language. It is based on the Thessaloniki Bulgarian dialect and its phonetic characteristics are specific only to it, they are not present in

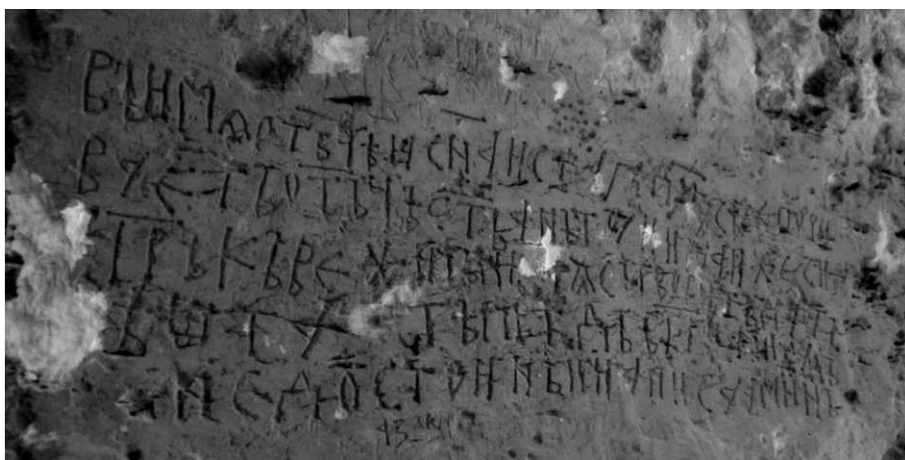
* The original name of the language is *Slovenski* (Slavonic), and a number of researchers derive its etymological origin from the word *slovo*, meaning “word”. The name „Slavic“ is a late ethnonym that originated under Russian influence in the 17th century.

any of the other Slavic languages, such as the combinations ШТ, ЖД in place of the Proto-Slavic *tj* and *dj*, the broad pronunciation of the vowel *jat* (Ѣ) and the use of the dative case for possession (dative of possession) instead of the old genitive case.

At the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century, a new alphabet was created in the Preslav Literary School on the initiative of Tsar Simeon - the Cyrillic alphabet, which is a simpler and more convenient to use graphic system. It has been established that the only Slavic alphabet used in the world today - the Cyrillic alphabet, was created in today's Northeastern Bulgaria, and not in the geographical area of Macedonia (which at that time was part of the Bulgarian state). The oldest surviving Cyrillic inscriptions in the world are located in Northern Bulgaria. For example, the inscription in Cyrillic in the rock monastery near the village of Krepcha in Targovishte district is from 921.

Another Cyrillic inscription on a ceramic vessel, found in the old Bulgarian capital Veliki Preslav, dates from 931.

The Cyrillic alphabet was gradually introduced in the second lit-



The oldest surviving inscription in Cyrillic in the world is in the Krepchanski rock monastery in Bulgaria and dates from 921.

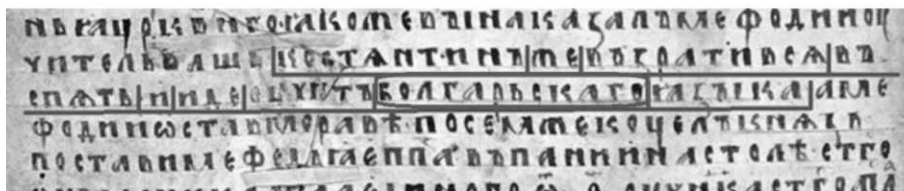
erary school in Bulgaria - the Ohrid School, and thus the Glagolitic alphabet created by Cyril and Methodius was replaced. The numerous scribes in the Bulgarian scriptoria wrote, translated, edited, and exchanged books in which show features of the then Bulgarian dialects throughout the territory of the whole country. This is how the supra-dialectal Old Bulgarian literary language was formed.

This process also influenced the political name of all the subjects of the Bulgarian king, as the name „Bulgarians“ gradually became national. Its use has deep traditions and was subsequently used during periods when Bulgarian statehood did not exist. During the period under review, no sources were known in which the presence or use of a „Macedonian“ language was mentioned.

It should be borne in mind that it was from Bulgaria that the Bulgarian alphabet (alphabet and language) spread to other countries belonging to the Slavic language group. For example, the Russian historian Vasily Tatishchev (1686 - 1750) describes the era of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon (893 - 927) and Princess Olga of Kiev (ca. 890 - 969) as follows: *“The Bulgarian Tsar Simeon sent to Kievan Rus, priests, scholars and books in sufficient quantities... She (Princess Olga, author’s note) accepted baptism through the Bulgarians and approved the Slavic church books.”* Later, after Russian Prince Vladimir converted to Christianity, he petitioned the Byzantine emperor and patriarch in Constantinople for an archbishop. Bulgarian missionaries were also sent from Byzantium. Tatishchev writes: *“Vladimir sent a request to the tsar and the patriarch in Constantinople to send him a metropolitan, they were very happy and sent metropolitan Michael, a man very learned and pious, a Bulgarian, together with him four bishops and many bishops, deacons and Slavic singers”*. In this way, it was the Old Bulgarian language, and not some non-existent common Old Slavonic language, that spread in ancient Russia and the other Slavic states.

The documents discussed above, claiming that Cyril and Methodius carried out an educational mission in Bulgaria before their departure to Great Moravia, do not fit into the Russian concept of Pan-Slavism created in the early nineteenth century. This essentially hegemonic ideology assumes that the only leader in the „Slavic“ world should be Russia, which necessitates the erasure of the memory of Bulgaria’s role in the formation of Slavic culture. Therefore, these documents are declared as „legends“, while others are subjected to tampering. For example, the original “A Tale of Years Bygone”, the first complete written source of information about the rise and early history of Russia, written by the chronicler Nestor in 1117, states that Methodius remained in Great Moravia, and *„Constantine returned and went to teach in Bulgarian language”*.

A careful analysis of the original leaves the impression that in some places there are attempts to delete the words „Bulgarian“ and „Bulgarians“. Most likely this happened during the era of the Pan-Slavism policy. However, this Russian practice continues today. In the 2014 edition of “A Tale of Years Bygone” by the Institute of Russian Civilization in Moscow, this text is presented as follows: „Constantine went back to teach the Bulgarian people.“ The goal of such modern falsification, replacing „Bulgarian language“ with „Bulgarian people“, is to affirm the understanding that in the times of Cyril and Methodius, the Bulgarian language did not exist, that there was some common Old Slavonic language, and Constantine-Cyril became a Bulgarian educator only after the Moravian mission. Such a repetitive unscientific approach demonstrates the great political importance of the work of the brothers Cyril and Methodius today, and the pattern of destroying or falsifying documents is only one of the extremes in the pursuit of problematic political goals.



отвергните церковного поучения, которому наставлял вас учитель ваш Мефодий». Константин же вернулся назад и отправился учить болгарский народ, а Мефодий остался в Моравии. Затем князь Коцел поставил Мефодия епископом в Паннонии* на столе святого Андрони-

*Top - The original text of the chronicler Nestor: Константи́нь же вѣрну́лся назадъ и иде оучи́ть болгарскаго ѡзъка (Constantine turned back and went to teach in Bulgarian language). Transcript from 1377
Below - a modern forgery of the same text (Moscow, 2014).*

In view of the historical facts, some intellectuals on the territory of today’s Republic of North Macedonia, even during the most severe Yugoslav terror, understood the leading role of Bulgaria in the Slavic world in the Middle Ages. For example, in the only edition that during

the time of royal Yugoslavia tried to defend the interests of the local population - the Skopje magazine „Luch“, in its 5th issue from 1937 it was written: „*Bulgarian Prince Boris, accepting Christianity, has outlined the guidelines for the future of the whole South Slavic people ... During the time of Tsar Simeon Bulgaria became a spiritual hearth for all Slavs*”. These findings fit neither in Pan-Slavism, nor in the „Yugoslavian“ concept aimed to achieve Serb domination in the region. It is important to point out that some of the associates to the magazine „Luch“ after 1944 were repressed or killed in Tito’s Yugoslavia.

Another example of the Yugoslav policy of this type on the territory of today’s Republic of North Macedonia is the discovery in 1956 of a stone inscription in the Old Bulgarian language in the town of Bitola. A local citizen, Pande Eftimov, went to a construction site and took several photos with his camera. Despite the Yugoslav secret services which were after him, he managed to take the photos to the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade. The following year he was sentenced to 7 years in prison for this act. The Yugoslav authorities tried to destroy the stone inscription, but once the information about its discovery became internationally known, it became impossible.



The broken inscription in Old Bulgarian of Tsar Ioan Vladislav from 1015, preserved today in the municipal museum in Bitola. The inscription certifies that Ioan Vladislav is a Bulgarian king, that he is of Bulgarian descent and that his subjects are Bulgarians.

When reading the inscription from Bitola, it turns out that it is from the last Bulgarian king of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, Ioan Vladislav (1015 - 1018). It says that „in 1015“ *this fortress was renovated and built by Ioan, the Bulgarian autocrat. „This fortress was built as a refuge and the salvation of the lives of the Bulgarians. The [construction of] the fortress of Bitola was started in October, on the 20th day ... This autocrat was a Bulgarian by birth, grandson of Nicholas and Ripsimia the faithful, son of Aaron, who is the brother of Samuel, the autocrat king.*”

The above example concerning the inscription of Tsar Ioan Vladislav shows that the authorities in Tito's Yugoslavia not only have no hesitation in destroying old Bulgarian monuments, which confirm the Bulgarian past of the geographical area of Macedonia, but also repress those who do not agree with such a policy.

The subsequent fate of the slab from Bitola is also interesting. Initially, it was exhibited in the local museum, but when the news about it became internationally known, and especially after translation of the inscription, it was placed in the yard under the external staircase of the museum. In 1968, when Bulgarian scientists visited the museum, they managed to make a copy of the plaque, due to which the director of the museum was fired, The inscription was then hidden in the basement for many years. The plaque was put on display after the break-up of Yugoslavia. In 2016, a team of the Bulgarian National Television was not allowed to film it. Today, the Bitola inscription is again on display for visitors, but it remains without an explanatory text. A few years ago, the French Consulate in Bitola printed a tourist catalog for the city, on the cover of which it put a photo of the plaque. The local authorities caused a scandal, and the catalog was stopped from printing only because of the word „Bulgarian“ on the cover.

2. The Bulgarian language during Byzantine rule (1018 - 1185) and the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185 - 1396)

In 1018 Bulgaria was conquered by Byzantium and lost its independence for 167 years. After the emperor's victory, which crowned the ten-year long bloody confrontation with the Bulgarian kingdom, the Byzantine emperor Basil II was nicknamed „Slayer of the Bulgarians“. During this period, the geographical area of Macedonia was located in the administrative unit (*theme*) Bulgaria, today's Northern Bulgaria was in the *theme* of Paristrion, and most of the Upper Thracian lowland was in the *theme* of Macedonia with center Adrianople (now Edirne or Edirne in Turkey).

During Byzantine rule, relative ecclesiastical independence was granted to the Bulgarian lands within their political borders from the



Diocese of the Bulgarian Autocephalous Archbishopric based in Ohrid in 1020 (map of Dimitar Rizov. Berlin, 1917).

time of Tsar Samuil. The then existing Bulgarian Patriarchate was demoted and declared the Bulgarian Autocephalous Archbishopric with its seat in Ohrid - the last capital of the First Bulgarian Kingdom and the seat of its last Bulgarian patriarch.

Initially, the official title of the Ohrid Archbishops was “Archbishop of all Bulgaria” (Αρχιεπίσκοπος της πάσης Βουλγαρίας), and from the middle of the XII century “Archbishop of First Justiniana and Bulgaria” (Αρχιεπίσκοπος της πρώτης Ίουστινιανης και πάσης Βουλγαρίας) was used.

Ohrid is located in the western part of the geographical region of Macedonia (and also in the western part of today’s Republic of North Macedonia), which is a prerequisite for the major importance of these lands for the preservation of the Bulgarian language and culture. The Bulgarian state tradition was extremely strong there, as well as in the neighboring regions, and some of the most serious attempts to restore the Bulgarian statehood were organized there.

In 1040 the revolt of Peter Delyan against the Byzantine rule broke out. P. Delyan himself declared himself a descendant of Tsar Samuil and was crowned by the rebels as Bulgarian king. The uprising was so massive that in a few months the rebellious Bulgarians established control over Western Bulgaria, Pomoravie, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus and almost the entire territory of present-day Albania. Indicative of the



Petar Delyan (ὁ Δελεάνος), Tihomir (ὁ Τειχομηρός) and the Bulgarians (Βούλγαροι) . Miniature from the Madrid transcript of the Chronicle of Ioan Skilitza (12th century)

size of the uprising is the fact that in the town of Drach the insurgents were 40 thousand and managed to liberate the city. In 1041, Byzantium suppressed the uprising, recruiting Normans as mercenary allies under the command of the future King of Norway, Harald Hardrode. In a saga from 1065 he is described as *“a destroyer of the Bulgarians”*.

In 1072 a new attempt was made to restore the Bulgarian state. Another uprising against Byzantium was organized by Bulgarian nobles from Skopje, led by the boyar Georgi Voitech. The organizers chose Konstantin Bodin, also a descendant of Tsar Samuil, as their leader. In the autumn of 1072 K. Bodin was proclaimed king of the Bulgarians under the name of Peter III, and in the southwest the rebels conquered Ohrid and Devol in southern Albania. At the end of the same year, the revolt was put down.

The preserved memory of Bulgaria and the spiritual independence of most of the Bulgarian lands lead to the preservation of the Old Bulgarian language. Although most of the Ohrid archbishops were ethnic Greeks appointed by Byzantium, they used documents in Old Bulgarian as a source of information. Archbishops Theophylact of Ohrid (1055 - 1107) and Dimitar Homatian (1216 - 1234) made a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the Bulgarian literary tradition. The first is the author of *„The Extensive Life of Clement of Ohrid“*, and the second of *„The Short Biography of Clement of Ohrid“* and *„Liturgy for St. Clement of Ohrid“*.

In *“The Extensive Biography of Clement of Ohrid”*, Theophylact of Ohrid writes: *“This (Bulgarian prince, author’s note) Boris was generally very sober and inclined to the good. Under his rule, the Bulgarian people began to be honored with divine baptism and to be Christianized. When these saints, I mean Cyril and Methodius, saw that there were many believers and that many children of God were born by water and Spirit, but that they were completely deprived of spiritual food, they created the alphabet, as we said, and translated the writings into Bulgarian so that the newborn children of God have enough divine food and reach spiritual growth and the measure of Christ’s age. Thus, the Bulgarian people, from the Scythian delusion, knew the true and right way - Christ”*.

We find a similar statement in Dimitar Homatian. In *„The short biography of Clement of Ohrid“* he writes: *„(Clement, author’s note)*

along with divine Naum, Gorazd and Angelarius diligently studied the Scriptures translated into the local Bulgarian dialect with the divine assistance by Kiril - a true, godly, and equal apostolic father, and from the very beginning he was with Methodius, a famous teacher of the Moesian people (the people of Moesia, today's Northern Bulgaria) of piety and Orthodox faith". About the origin of Clement of Ohrid D. Homatian says: „*This great Bulgarian father (Clement of Ohrid, author's note) and beacon of Bulgaria was from the family of European Moesians, which the people usually know as Bulgarians.*“ D. Homatian also uses the term „Moesian language“ as a synonym for Bulgarian.

Theophylact of Ohrid and Dimitar Homatian were Greeks, which is why they also do not have a „patriotic“ motive to Bulgarianize the work of Cyril and Methodius, but rather adhered to the original sources they used.

During Byzantine rule, the Old Bulgarian language was used mainly for writing of religious works. It was no longer a language of the state administration and due to its more limited use and the internal regularities in the development observed during the period, changes in its grammatical structure took place.

The next stage in its historical development was the Middle Bulgarian language, when the smooth transition from synthetic grammar to an analytic one (i.e. the loss of grammatical case system) began to take place. The Middle Bulgarian language became official in the Bulgarian state, restored in 1185, and was used throughout its territory.

In the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, the Bulgarian Autocephalous Archbishopric with its seat in Ohrid continued to exist, which retained its independence, but recognized the seniority of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in the capital Tarnovo. The existence of two Bulgarian church institutions during this period in no way hinders the spiritual unity of the Bulgarian nation.

Most of today's geographical area of Macedonia was part of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom until the end of the 13th century. In 1282, Serbia managed to conquer Northern Macedonia (today's Republic of North Macedonia). Everywhere in the documents, Serbian monarchs mention that they are rulers of Bulgaria and Bulgarians. In the 14th century, Serbian King Stefan Dushan succeeded in conquering the entire geographical area of Macedonia for a period of 25 years. He also con-

tinued the practice of calling himself „King of Serbs and Bulgarians“, and the Peć Patriarchs titled themselves as „Fathers and Teachers of the Serbs and Bulgarians“. During the period in question, when Serbia ruled parts or all the geographical area of Macedonia and sought to manifest itself as an empire ruling more peoples, the Serbian kings were never titled as rulers of Macedonia or any Macedonian population.



Bulgaria during the reign of Tsar Ivan Asen II around 1230

Towards the end of the existence of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, the last Bulgarian patriarch Evtimiy Tarnovski (1325 - 1403) in the second half of the 14th century made a spelling and linguistic reform of the Middle Bulgarian literary language. The rules developed by Evtimiy apply both to translations and to the creation of new original works. The reform was first implemented by the activists of the Tarnovo Literary School, but later Metropolitan Kyprian adopted the Middle Bulgarian language in the Kievan Rus, where it was finally standardized, hence, thanks to book printing, it was spread as a language of worship

in Orthodox churches in other Slavic countries, in which even today it is the adopted common church language.

During this period of science, no historical sources are known in which the presence or use of the „Macedonian“ language is mentioned.

3. State of the Bulgarian language during the Ottoman rule

Bulgaria was finally conquered by the Ottoman Empire in 1396 (according to some researchers in 1422). The Bulgarian Patriarchate in Tarnovo ceased to exist, but the Bulgarian Autocephalous Archbishopric based in Ohrid was preserved until 1767. This is one of the reasons why the memory of the Bulgarian statehood is better preserved in the southwestern Bulgarian lands, including the geographical area of Macedonia.



Seal of the Museum of the Archbishopric of Ohrid of the First Justinian and of the whole of Bulgaria from 1516. In the inner circle on the left side the words π άσης Βουλγ αριας – “all of Bulgaria” are clearly read.

During the period up to the 17th century, the Middle Bulgarian language continued to be used by the church and played the role of a common literary language for the southern and eastern Slavs. This language was also official in the Ottoman sultan’s chancellery in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as in Russia until the written reforms of Peter I.



Introduction to the Gospel of Matthew from Theophylactus of Ohrid, Archbishop Bulgarian (arhiep) na blgarskago). Ostrog Bible (1581).

During this period, translations of some of the works of the Ohrid archbishops were made. For example, the Ostrog Bible (1581) and the Elizabeth Bible (1751) included texts by Theophylactus of Ohrid, who is referred to in those publications as a „Bulgarian archbishop“.



Latin edition of the Commentaries on the Letters of the Apostle Paul by Theophylact of Ohrid, Archbishop Bulgarian (Antwerp, 1564).

Theophylact of Ohrid's religious commentaries and interpretations are considered a greatness of Byzantine theology and are recognized by both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. For this reason, translations into Latin were also made in Western Europe. The first translation under the author's real name was published in Basel in 1524. This was followed by numerous new editions and reprints throughout Europe. In the middle of the 16th century, Sifanus, a professor at the University of Cologne, made new Latin translations, which are considered the best. This publishing activity popularized in Europe the facts about the affiliation of the geographical region of Macedonia in terms of history, language, and population to the Bulgarian socio-cultural space.

Since during this period the Middle Bulgarian language in the Bulgarian lands was used mainly for church needs, the gradual separation of the Bulgarian vernaculars from it began and this gave a strong impetus to the development of the Bulgarian vernacular. This process was especially intensified after the destruction of the Bulgarian Autocephalous Archbishopric in Ohrid. From the 15th to the 18th century was the period of appearance and development of the early modern Bulgarian language.

4. The Bulgarian language during the Revival (XVIII century - 1878). Codification of the modern Bulgarian literary language through the participation of representatives, speakers of various vernaculars

The first „History of Bulgaria“ was written by Peter Bogdan in 1667. As it was in Latin, its appearance had more significant influence among Bulgarian Catholics. In 1762 Paisii Hilendarski, born in the geographical area of Macedonia, wrote his „Slavo-Bulgarian History“ in Bulgarian. Depending on the documents he used as sources, the Slavo-Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and New Bulgarian traditions are intertwined in the text. Similar language practice and interaction between the different forms of the Bulgarian language was observed a little later in other literary figures. Thus, gradually the foundations and direction of development of new Bulgarian language that in time became the literary language were laid. It is necessary that the national language be based on the living language, and its structure be simplified within certain

limits. The general morphological-syntactic structure of the dialects in Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia gave rise to processes of the development of the language. Especially important is the fact that this process took place at the same time and in the same way on the territory of today's Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia. The specificity of the development leads to the fact that of all the languages of the Slavic group, only Bulgarian acquires one characteristic feature – the evolution from a synthetic grammar to an analytical one, without case endings.

Some of the first, and later some of the brightest manifestations of the Bulgarian Revival, first appeared in Macedonia. Writers from all over the Bulgarian land were involved in the construction of the modern Bulgarian literary language. Among those born on the present territory of Republic of North Macedonia are Yoakim Karchovski (1750 - 1820) from the village of Oslomey, Kichevo region, Theodosii Sinaitski (XVIII century - 1843) from Doiran, Kiril Peychinovich (1770 - 1845) from the village of Teartse, Tetovo region, Yordan Hadjikonstantinov - Jinot (1818 - 1882) and Raiko Zhinzifov (1839 - 1877) from Veles, brothers Dimitar (1810 - 1862) and Konstantin (1830 - 1862) Miladinov from Struga, Parthenius Zografski - 1876) from the village of Galichnik, Gri-gor Parlichev (1830 - 1893) and Kuzman Shapkarev (1834 - 1909) from Ohrid, Marko Tsepenkov (1829 - 1920) from Prilep and others..

All these persons identified themselves as Bulgarians. They were the authors of dozens of books, folklore collections, primers, reading books and other textbooks. The number of their articles in the Revival periodicals is even greater. In the initial period of the process of formation of the new Bulgarian literary language, they wrote in their native dialect, which they themselves call Bulgarian. Most of these works were published in all-Bulgarian editions and were read without any problems in the whole Bulgarian language territory, thus participating in the process of shaping the modern Bulgarian literary language. In this way, during its development, it adopted an all-Bulgarian, supra-dialectal form.*

* This rapid development of the modern Bulgarian language in many respects precedes some Western European languages. For example, although the French language has long been codified, famous French writers such as Frédéric Mistral (1830-1914) wrote in the Provençal (Southern French) dialect. Other French poets and writers of the time also wrote in it. Similar written practices have been observed in dialects of the German language, but no one, despite their differences with literary languages, has declared them separate languages.

Some of the Bulgarian Revival people mentioned above, influenced by the preserved written sources from the Middle Ages, do not consider their native land as a part of Macedonia, but as lower Moesia or even only as the lower land of Bulgaria. For example, T. Sinaitski in the preparation of the preface to the book by Kirill Peichinovich „Consolation of sinners“ (in original „Uteshenie greshnim“), wrote that *“it was written in plain Bulgarian language of Lower Moesia, Skopje and Tetovo, to be read by the plain people and be pleased by such an Orthodox teacher.”* Yordan Hajikonstantinov also writes: *“I am a Bulgarian, we weep for our lost Bulgarians who are in the lower Moesia, so we are obliged to sacrifice for our beloved Bulgarian brothers”*.

Despite the indisputable fact of dialect interaction, it is believed that the basis of the new Bulgarian literary language is the central Balkan and northeastern dialects, and the dialects in Macedonia are further away from the newly formed written norm. Such an understanding is only partially true and applies mainly to the masculine article forms. Grammatically and lexically, the vernaculars at that time and the modern Bulgarian literary language were identical.

Extremely important from an orthographic point of view is the fact that in the Cyrillic alphabet used in the modern Bulgarian literary language prior to 1944, two characteristic letters are preserved: Ъ (yat) and Я (yus or the back nasal vowel). In the modern Bulgarian language, the different reflexes of Ъ form the so-called “yat isogloss”, which divides the modern Bulgarian dialects into two types: western and eastern dialects. To the west of the yat border in place of the Old Bulgarian vowel Ъ today there is almost always the vowel *E*, while to the east of it under certain conditions, and in some dialects even always, Ъ is pronounced as *A*, preceded by a soft consonant, represented with the grapheme Я (ya). The territory of today’s Republic of North Macedonia occupies only a part of the Bulgarian dialects west of the Yat border. At the same time, parts of the geographical area of Macedonia, such as Nevrokop region (today the area around the town of Gotse Delchev in Bulgaria), the Drama region, the Seres region and the lands east of Thessaloniki (today in northern Greece) fall east of the yat border. Eastern Bulgarian dialects have also influenced the Berovo region and partly the Strumica region (today in the Republic of North Macedonia). In the extreme south westernmost Bulgarian dialect southwest around the

Korça region (today in Albania) traces of the old wide vowel Ъ are preserved.

By the use of the grapheme Ж in the pre-1944 Bulgarian orthography, the pronunciations in several Bulgarian dialects were united. For this reason, the new Bulgarian literary language was unifying for the various Bulgarian dialects in the geographical area of Macedonia.

When the Internal Macedonian-Edirne Revolutionary Organization was established in 1893, all its documentation, correspondence and printed editions were in the modern Bulgarian literary language. Today, historians and politicians in Skopje claim that the „Macedonian“ language existed during this period, but because it was not codified, it was not used in writing. Such a statement is untenable. Of course, the Macedonian dialects existed, but they were considered by their speakers to be Bulgarian.

Based on the huge corpus of Bulgarian Revival literature, it can be concluded that the modern Bulgarian literary language evolved as „self-codified“ in its main part in the last decade before the restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878, under Ottoman rule. The conditions in Macedonia at that time were the same, but there were no attempts to establish a „Macedonian“ language. From the first half of the 19th century until the end of the Second Balkan War in 1913 in Macedonia, although under Ottoman rule, there was a well-developed network of Bulgarian schools and the population widely used Bulgarian literary language.

After 1913, in the parts of the geographical area of Macedonia conquered by Serbia and Greece, Bulgarian schools were banned, and the literary Bulgarian language was not only not studied but was also persecuted. Between the two world wars, the Bulgarian language in Yugoslavia was eradicated, with most severe repressions in the areas along the Bulgarian border. Serbian Education Minister St. Pribicević proposed in 1922 that the students be „*affirmed in the belief that their parents and their ancestors had nothing to do with the formation and life of the Bulgarian people.*“ The search for and mass destruction of Bulgarian textbooks and books left over from before 1913 began. Students in Macedonia did not know Serbian and did not understand the lessons taught to them. In 1923, only 16% of the students enrolled in Skopje managed to graduate. Serbian teachers often resorted to phys-

ical violence against them, resulting in several deaths. Pro-Bulgarian parents were reluctant to send their children to Yugoslav public schools, and education authorities were powerless to influence the local population.

Despite this situation, IMRO until its ban in 1934 in all its documents and correspondence – both legal and illegal - continued to use only literary Bulgarian, which shows that it is not foreign to the population. Emigrants from Macedonia to the USA, Canada and other countries used this form of the literary Bulgarian language for the needs of their printed publications and correspondence even at the beginning of the 21st century.

Today in the Republic of North Macedonia, in addition to denying the affiliation of local dialects to the Bulgarian language, it is claimed that there were never any Bulgarians in Macedonia, and such were registered because of the propaganda of the Bulgarian Exarchate established in 1870. It is stated that the name „Bulgarians“ used in the documents did not actually mean Bulgarians, but only belonging to the Bulgarian Exarchate. For this reason, everywhere the ethnonym „Bulgarians“ is replaced by „Macedonians“.

Such an opinion and the resulting practice of the total replacement of ethnic characteristics are contrary to facts. Most of the activity of the Bulgarian Renaissance people from Macedonia was before 1870. For this reason, it can be assumed that because of the Bulgarian Renaissance in Macedonia the Bulgarian Exarchate was created, and the opposite statement was a propaganda lie. The establishment of the Exarchate itself is based on the request, which was first sent to the High Porte by the Skopje community leaders in 1829, who wished to have their own Bulgarian church. In addition, when the Exarchate was founded, only one part of Macedonia - the Veles and part of the Kyustendil diocese - entered its diocese. However, Article 10 of the Sultan's Firman (decree) on the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate allowed other dioceses to be recognized as Bulgarian, if at least 2/3 of the Christian population in them wished to do so. According to this paragraph of the decree, a plebiscite was held in the rest of Macedonia under the control of the Ottoman authorities and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In this way, after the success of the referendum, the Skopje, Ohrid and

Bitola dioceses of the Bulgarian Exarchate emerged. This was the first and only plebiscite on the territory of present-day Republic of North Macedonia until 1991.*

MANY BULGARIANS KILLED.

A Revolutionary Band Loses Sixty Men in a Fight with Turkish Troops.

SALONIKA. May 6.—An engagement is reported to have occurred at the village of Vanitza between Turkish troops and a Bulgarian band. Sixty Bulgarians, including their leader, Deltzeff, were killed, while the Turks had four men killed and three wounded. Thirty houses in Vanitza were burned.

A Bulgarian band led by Petroff has been routed at Krapeseza. Seven of the Bulgarians were killed.

An article in the New York Times from May 7, 1903, that Gotse Delchev was a Bulgarian.

The insolvency of the contemporary Skopje claims about the identity between the church-institutional and the ethnic affiliation is also evident from the fact that persons from other religious groups have also declared themselves as Bulgarians. Such is, for example, Gotse Delchev, who was not born in an Exarchate family, but in a Uniate one. The Uniate movement itself in his hometown of Kukush began in 1857 due to the unworthy behavior of the Greek clergy and their crimes. Before concluding the union, the population of Kukush asked the pope not only to defend them before the Turkish authorities and the Constantinople Patriarchate, but also to introduce the use of the Bulgarian language in

* It was only in 1991 that the second referendum was held on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia. The wording of the question is paradoxical and has long determined the wanderings in the political development of Skopje in the subsequent period. With FOR or AGAINST the citizens must answer the question „Are you for a sovereign and independent state of Macedonia, with the right to join a future union of the sovereign states of Yugoslavia“.

schools and churches, and to appoint an independent Bulgarian bishop. Regardless of their Uniate past, both Gotse Delchev and his parents, brothers and sisters declared themselves Bulgarians. He is also mentioned as a Bulgarian in the reports of foreign correspondents from that period. For example, an article in the May 7, 1903 issue of the New York Times reported that „*sixty Bulgarians, including their leader, Delchev, were killed*“. Ignoring these facts, today in Republic of North Macedonia Gotse Delchev was declared a „Macedonian“.*

Much later, when Serbian propaganda began on the territory of the geographical region of Macedonia, several separatist literary figures appeared, such as Georgi Pulevski, Temko Popov, Kosta Grupchev, Diamandi Mishaikov and others. They were partly or entirely under the influence of the ideology of Macedonianism developed in Belgrade. Its author was the Serbian politician Stojan Novaković, who wrote in 1888: „*Since the Bulgarian idea, as everyone knows, has deep roots in Macedonia, I think it is impossible to be completely divided, imposing only the Serbian idea. This idea, I am afraid, would not be able to push out the Bulgarian idea as a pure and naked opposite, and for this reason the Serbian idea would need some kind of ally who would be firmly against Bulgarianism and which would contain elements that could attract the people and the people's feelings to it, separating it from Bulgarianism. I see this ally in Macedonianism... Since we cannot make them more Serbian, let us at least at first separate this population from the Bulgarian people, creating the illusion that it is a separate nation. If this happens, it will be small and weak, and if in the future it enters the borders of Serbia, it can easily be Serbianized... We should not oppose the Bulgarian with Serbism. This will not achieve anything. It would be better to replace it with „Macedonianism*“.

It is clear from this document that Macedonianism was not an autochthonous idea that originated in Macedonia but was introduced

* After the signing of the Friendship Agreement between Sofia and Skopje in 2017 and the establishment of the Joint Historical Commission, during the talks it was established that Gotse Delchev declared himself a Bulgarian. As a result, it was announced in Republic of North Macedonia that Gotse Delchev was „an ethnic Bulgarian and a political Macedonian“ because he had fought for Macedonia. Such a statement is also not true. The political goal of the IMRO until 1912 was a general territorial autonomy of Macedonia and Edirne Thrace returned under Ottoman rule, as provided for in Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin of 1878.

from abroad. For this reason, its bearers are people with a confused ideology. There is evidence that some of the texts published on their behalf were written by Serbian propagandists in Macedonia. For example, Georgi Pulevski participated in Rakovski's First Bulgarian Legion in 1862, but in 1875 a book was printed in Belgrade attributed to him, in which it is written that *"our homeland is called Macedonia and we are called Macedonians."* Two years later, however, Georgi Pulevski enlisted as a Bulgarian volunteer and fought for the liberation of Bulgaria, and after its division at the Berlin Congress he took part in the Kresna-Razlog uprising. Georgi Pulevski even wrote a poem in which he lamented the failed unification of Macedonia with Bulgaria and the separation of the Macedonians from their fellow Bulgarian brothers. From many of his contemporaries who knew him (among them Kuzman Shapkarev), Georgi Pulevski is considered a *„Macedonian Bulgarian from the Debar village of Galichnik"*.

The history of the last unpublished manuscript of Georgi Pulevski, kept in the National Library in Sofia, is interesting. It is entitled *„Language Text: Containing Old Bulgarian language, and arranged correctly for Bulgarian and Macedonian Sons and Daughters to study."* An unknown perpetrator apparently crossed out the first word *„Bulgarian"* and wrote *„Macedonian"* to become *„Old Macedonian language"*, and in the second word *„Bolgarski"* (Bulgarian) the letters OL were crossed and replaced with U to become *„Bugarski"*, as it is today according to the Skopje written norm. It is clear from this document that G. Pulevski considered his language to be Bulgarian, but these facts are not mentioned in Skopje.

The activities of all the above-mentioned *„early Macedonists"* took place outside the boundaries of Macedonia itself and were financially supported by the Serbian state. There are facts in their biographies that are incompatible with the aspirations of the Macedonian population during this period. For example, Temko Popov changed his last name to Popović. He was the son of the traitor who betrayed Dimitar Miladinov and was an agent of the Serbian nationalist society *„St. Sava"*, which aimed to carry out the Serbianization of the population in Macedonia. Kosta Grupchev was a Serbian and Russian spy, an employee of the Serbian Embassy in Constantinople, a teacher at a Serbian high school and the head of a Serbian bookstore in Constantinople, a publisher of the

Serbian newspaper "Constantinople". Together with Naum Evrov, they tried to organize a group in Sofia called the „Secret Macedonian Committee“ to promote a separate Macedonian nation. After the failure of this endeavor, they worked with the Serbian government in Belgrade and, under Novaković's leadership, set up the „Society of Serbo-Macedonians“, based in Constantinople, which published its planned „Macedonian Primer“. Their goals were separation of the Macedonian Bulgarians from the Bulgarian Exarchate, to inspire a pro-Serbian spirit and hatred towards the Bulgarians, to expel the Bulgarian clergy and teachers from Macedonia, to create a separate „Macedonian“ language, to remove all Bulgarian expressions from the spoken language and to replace them with Serbian equivalents.

In 1889, St. Novaković published a „study“ on Macedonian dialects in which he sought to prove that they were closer to the Serbian language. This study was met with criticism by all the most famous Slavists. N.S. Derzhavin, who had long dealt with the Macedonian Question and Bulgarian-Serbian relations, wrote the following: *“In the interest of the completeness of the proposed work, I personally carefully reviewed the Macedonian texts of Novaković and found in them to be a complete Bulgarian language system with all the phonetic and morphological features characteristic only of this language”*.

The Bulgarian population in Macedonia was not interested in the ideas of the early Macedonians. Prominent public figures from Macedonia such as Kuzman Shapkarev, Atanas Shopov, Hristo Shaldev and others subjected the activities of the Macedonists to withering criticism. After a short two-year career, Novaković changed tactics in the idea of Serbianizing the population in Macedonia by publishing textbooks directly in Serbian, due to a lack of interest in those in the Macedonian dialect. This idea was widely applied in practice after the Serbian occupation in 1913, when the new subjects of the Kingdom were declared „southern Serbs“.

In 1902, the Macedonian Club was founded in Belgrade by the Serbian graduates and mercenaries Stefan Dedov and Diamandi Mishajkov. They began publishing the newspaper "Balkanski Glasnik", which promoted the idea of national separatism among Macedonian Bulgarians - that they were a different people from the Bulgarians, that they were victims of foreign propaganda (Bulgarian, Serbian, Greek), that

they spoke a separate language, that the Bulgarian Exarchate should be expelled from Macedonia. In the same year, Stojan Novaković initiated the establishment of the Slavic-Macedonian Scientific and Literary Society while he was ambassador to St. Petersburg. Among its members were various former fellows of the „St. Sava Society” and early Macedonists - Dimitar Chupovski, Kraste Misirkov, Stefan Dedov, Diamandi Mishajkov and others, who were generously sponsored by Serbia. Novaković’s ideas were adopted by the Serb Jovan Cviic who succeeded Novaković, according to whom the Slavic-speaking population of Macedonia does not have a developed national consciousness and is predisposed to become Serbs or Bulgarians, according to the situation. He considered Macedonia and Shopluk (western Bulgaria) to be original Serbian lands, and the Bulgarians to the east of them - to be Tatars. This rhetoric is still in use among Macedonians in Republic of North Macedonia today.*

Another ideologist of Macedonianism was Milutin Garasanin, Serbia’s prime minister, the son of Serbian national ideologue Ilija Garasanin. He was the initiator of Serbian propaganda in Macedonia, which according to him, in addition to Macedonianism, the Serbs should also rely on cooperation with the Turks and Greeks against the Bulgarian spirit of the population. His associates were Milos Milojević, Nikola Pasić, Panta Srecković, Jovan Ristić, Spiridon Gopcević and other Serbian chauvinists, who tirelessly worked to distribute Serbian textbooks and attract Macedonian children to study in Serbian schools who were to be then conscripted to be used to promote Serbian propaganda.

Despite the purposeful policy of Serbia towards the assimilation of Western Bulgarians, impartial findings can sometimes be found in the works of some Serbian chauvinists. For example, in 1913, the Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić wrote: *“As for the language, it is known that in South Macedonia is the cradle of the Church Slavonic language, into which the first books of the Holy Scriptures were translated during the time of the Enlightenment Brothers. This language, together with the*

* In the last few years, an attempt has been made in Skopje to replace the name „Bugarin“, as according to the Skopje written norm, with „Bugar“, often adding „Tatar“. This next change is made so that the two words can sound closer and additionally instill the feeling that the Bulgarians are Tatars. The ethnonym „Bulgarian“ is the most frequently changed word on the territory of Republic of North Macedonia: Bulgarian → Bolgarin → Bugarin → Bugar. This is racism, pure and simple.

language of Eastern Bulgaria, was a single Bulgarian proto-language“.

An instrument of Macedonianism in certain periods of his life was also Krste Misirkov (1874 - 1926), has been declared by North Macedonia as the „The Macedonian of the 20th century“. He was a Serbian graduate, a fellow of the „St. Sava Society“ and pupil of Novaković, who was instrumental in the circulation of his major work “On Macedonian Affairs” (written in Russia and funded by it). However, his views changed and for most of his life he held pro-Bulgarian positions and actively worked for the Bulgarian idea in Russia, Bessarabia, and Bulgaria, criticizing the Serbian and Russian policies working for the revival of the Macedonian Bulgarians. Kr. Misirkov was the first Bulgarian philologist who was not hindered by the Serbian authorities and managed to study the Morava dialect (spoken in eastern Serbia) in situ and collect source material for it. In his philological conclusions, he views the Morava dialects in Serbia as a peripheral Western Bulgarian dialect bordering the Serbian language. The Republic North Macedonia is stubbornly silent about this patriotic Bulgarian activity of Kr. Misirkov, as if it did not exist.

In 1917, Kraste Misirkov was elected a member of the Bulgarian bloc in the parliament of the then independent Democratic Republic of Moldova, known as Sfatul Tsariy (Council of the Country*). In the questionnaire Kr. Misirkov himself wrote that he was a Bulgarian from Macedonia, that he was from the fraction of national minorities and that he was a member of the Bulgarian National Party in Moldova, elected by the Bulgarians and the Gagauz in Chisinau. At the end of the questionnaire Kr. Misirkov signed it himself.

At the beginning of the last century, the views of Kraste Misirkov as an early Macedonist did not resonate among the population of Macedonia. These views were rediscovered decades after that by the Macedonists, who, after the decision of the Comintern in 1934 to support their ideology, began to look for a historical justification for their doctrine.

Provided with the above mentioned facts and ignoring them, the words of the Russian ambassador to Skopje, Sergei Bazdnikin, sounded like political propaganda. In early January 2021, he told the media: „*Macedonian is a separate language. “ Our nations (Russian and Macedonian, author’s note) are associated with deep historical traditions. It is*

* Sfatul Tsariy existed until March 27, 1918.

АНКЕТНЫЙ ЛИСТ

000074

Члена „СФАТУЛ ЦЭРИЙ“.

1. Фамилия Мисиркова
2. Имя Крсте
3. Отчество Петковича
4. Возраст 43 года
5. Национальность Болгарин
6. Откуда родом Македония, Салоникский вил. Битум
(губерния, уезд, город, деревня) Парфурской ками, Е. Община
7. Образование Окончил среднюю школу в Битум
8. Родъ занятий Президентский кабинет в Салониках
9. В какой политической партии принадлежите Булгарския национална партия
10. Какой фракция в СФАТУЛ ЦЭРИЙ Фракция национал-
ных меньшинств
11. В каких состоите организациях Булгарския национална партия в Салониках учащих в Битум
12. Отъ кого избранъ в СФАТУЛ ЦЭРИЙ Вот болгария и галацки
партия
13. Адресъ въ Кишиневѣ Генерала 16, квартирантский адрес: улица
Князя Владислава
14. Адресъ въ мѣстѣ постоянного жительства _____
15. Собственноручная подпись Крсте Мисирков

19—17 года.

Questionnaire handwritten and signed by Kraste Misirkov in his capacity as a Member of Parliament in the Bulgarian bloc in „Sfatul Tsariy“ in independent Moldova. The document certifies that he was a Bulgarian from Macedonia, that he was from the faction of national minorities and was a member of the Bulgarian National Party in Moldova, elected by the Bulgarians and the Gagauz in Chisinau (1917).

not just about linguistic, cultural, and spiritual closeness. Russia has always supported the Balkan peoples in their struggle for self-determination. Konstantin Miladinov and Kraste Misirkov studied and worked here.” The documents clearly show that neither K. Miladinov nor Kr. Misirkov considered themselves Macedonians. If the words of the Russian ambassador in Skopje are not his personal position, the contemporary participation of Russia in the falsification of the case of K. Miladinov and the one-sided presentation of Kr. Misirkov raises concerns about Moscow’s principles, methods, and goals in the Balkans.

Until World War II, the doctrine of Macedonianism, part of which was the idea of the existence of a „Macedonian“ language other than Bulgarian, found no followers in Macedonia, and Serbia officially treated the Slavic population not as Macedonian but as Serbian.

None of the Macedonianist writers left deep traces during this period. They were unknown to most of the people in Macedonia; their works remained obscure and isolated in libraries and were „rediscovered“ for political reasons in Tito’s Yugoslavia and taken from the archives in Belgrade. Even at the famous ASNOM meeting in August 1944, which decided on the creation of an independent Macedonian state, the communist leaders claimed to be the successors of the deeds of Ilinden and VMORO and not of the early Macedonians.

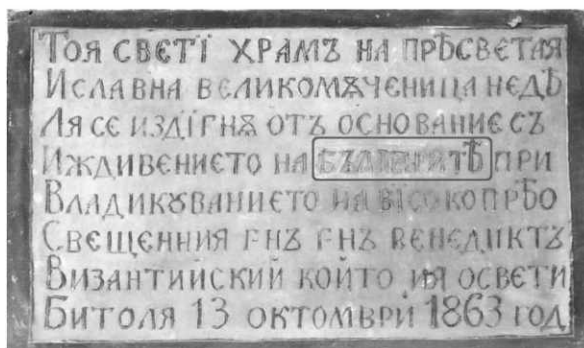
The above findings are realized by the mainstream intellectuals in Skopje, due to which during the development of the curriculum for the schools in Republic of North Macedonia, the Macedonian writers from the period of the late Renaissance is practically not paid attention to, and at the same time the deeds and actions of the Bulgarian Renaissance people from Macedonia is totally falsified by denying their Bulgarian affiliation and declaring them to be „Macedonians“.

During the period under review, no historical sources are known in which the presence or use of the „Macedonian“ language is mentioned. Only the so-called „early Macedonians“ began to speak of such by the end of the 19th century. Before them, the term „Macedonian language“ was not found in Slavic and Cyril and Methodius studies. For example, in Vuk Karadžić’s Appendix to the St. Petersburg Comparative Dictionaries of All Languages and Dialects, with a Special Look at the Bulgarian Language, published in Vienna in 1822 by the eminent Serbian linguist, which is considered to be the beginning of academic Bul-

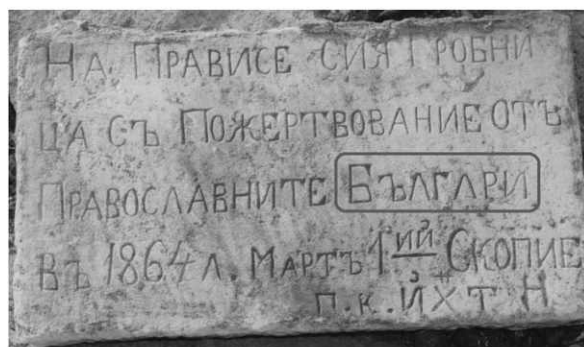
garian studies, Slavic languages and dialects are listed as such, and his contribution was to add the omitted Balkan languages, among which was Bulgarian, information about which he drew from the region of Razlog, Macedonia.

5. The destruction of Bulgarian Renaissance heritage of Macedonia

The existence of Bulgarian Renaissance inscriptions on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia has always been problematic for the Yugoslav authorities before 1941 and after 1944. For this reason, several inscriptions have been destroyed or falsified. An example is the marble inscription of the church of „St. Nedelya“ built in 1863 in Bitola, which reads: „*This holy temple of the Most Holy and glorious great martyr Nedelya was built thanks to the donations and support of the Bulgarians.*“ Yugoslav authorities made an illegal attempt to delete word ‘Bulgarians’.



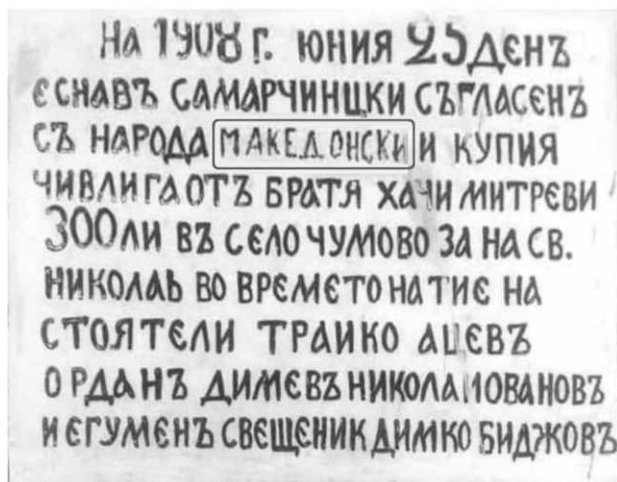
An inscription in the church „Sveta Nedelya“ in Bitola, on which the attempt to erase the word „Bulgarians“ was made.



The plate dismantled by the Yugoslav authorities in 1963 with an inscription certifying that the cemetery chapel of the church „St. Dimitar“ was built by the Bulgarians.

The fate of the inscription on the tomb near the church „St. Dimitar” in Skopje, which was erected in 1864 is very interesting. Its text reads: *“This tomb was made with a donation from the Orthodox Bulgarians in 1864, March 1, Skopje”*.

The plaque was removed by Yugoslav authorities in 1963 and dumped face down in the yard so that the inscription could not be read. It was found by local citizens Blagoy (Blazhe) Velinovski and Ivan (Jovan) Stoyanovski in 2000 and they moved it to Bulgaria, where it is stored at the National History Museum in Sofia. The two discoverers of the plaque were persecuted for a long time by the Yugoslav and then by the Macedonian authorities for openly demonstrating Bulgarian national consciousness.*



The falsified inscription in the church in the village of Prilepets, in which the word „Bulgarian“ was deleted and „Macedonian“ was written in its place. The forgery is visible to the naked eye.

The falsification carried out in Republic of North Macedonia on the inscription in the church in the village of Prilepets near the town of Prilep is extremely striking. The inscription states that the church was

* According to Macedonian journalist V. Kanzurov, last names have been changed by Yugoslav authorities. „The brothers Rade and Blazhe Velinovi, born in the Macedonian town of Kocani, have different surnames precisely because of the political situation.” The surname of his older brother is Velinov, while Blagoy’s surname was changed to Velinovski. Until the age of 18, Jovan Stoyanovski’s name was Ivan Stoyanov, but when the identity documents were issued, the police changed his name. In 2006, J. Stoyanovski spent six months in prison in Skopje for defending himself in 2000 from a person who threw a bomb at the founding meeting of the Bulgarian association “Radko”.

built in 1908 by the Samardzhi (saddlers) Guild in agreement with the „Bulgarian people“. The Yugoslav authorities have not only deleted the word „Bulgarian“, but also added „Macedonian“, and this falsification is visible to the naked eye.

In the village of Robovo, Strumica region, the inscription on the grave of priest Iliya Gabrovaliev, who died in 1911, has been partially erased.



Tombstone of priest Iliya Gabrovaliev, who died in 1911. The words „about Bulgarianism“ have been erased.

The text of the memorial plaque, written in literary Bulgarian, reads: „*Here rests the priest Iliya Ivanov Gabrovaliev, a native of the village of Bogdantsi, Gevgelija, one of the first fighters for Bulgarianism in Strumica, who died on November 11, 1911.*“ The words „for Bulgarianism „, have been erased.

Today in the yard of the church „St. Dimitar“ in Bitola there is a broken and discarded memorial plaque with an inscription in Bulgarian and Greek, which reads: „*The place for the construction of the [church] (Bulgarian - erased) church here, the Chapel of (erased) and the [boys’] and girls’ schools, of the candle making workshop and the bookstore [whose buildings are national, bought Dr. Konstantin Mishaikov, from the village of Patele, Macedonia, bought it with his own money and gave it to the (Bulgarian - erased) people in Bitola [who spiritually recognize the BULGARIAN EXARCH. For his [eternal] memory and the memory*



Photo of the memorial plaque from 1876 with an inscription in Bulgarian, broken and thrown in the yard of the church „St. Dimitar” in Bitola.

of his household, this plaque was erected [during the Exarchate] of His Beatitude Antim I. Bytola March 25, 1876.“

The plaque was once placed on the facade of the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (known as the Blessed Virgin). The initiative for the construction of this church in Bitola dates to 1869. The initiators were the councilmen of the Bitola Bulgarian Municipality, headed by Dimitar Robev from Ohrid and Dr. Konstantin Mishaikov



The inscription in Bulgarian, discovered in 2018 in the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Skopje, certifying that this is the main door of the Bulgarian People's Church.

from the village of Patele, Lerin region, Aegean Macedonia. The church was built in 1870 and consecrated in 1876, and the plaque mentions Dr. Mishaykov as the donor of the land for its construction.

In 2018, a hidden plaque was unveiled in the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Skopje with the inscription: „Main door of the Bulgarian People’s Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, July 20, 1879“.

Following the discovery, the spokesman for the Macedonian Ministry of Culture promised that the plaque would be saved and preserved. To date, there is no information on the plaque’s whereabouts. In January 2021, representatives of the author’s team searched for the plaque in Skopje but were unable to find it.

In the Republic of North Macedonia, even tombstones are being destroyed in order to erase the Bulgarian affiliation of the deceased. For example, the tombstone of the revolutionaries Nikola Karandjulov, Naido Peshtaleev and Dimitar Robev, who died in 1904, written in literary Bulgarian, was destroyed, and replaced with a new one, with an inscription in compliance with the Skopje written norm. It says that they fought for a Macedonian state. It has already been proven that such a statement is not true, because until 1912 the IMRO was fighting for the autonomy of Macedonia and Edirne Thrace within the Ottoman Empire. This contradiction is also evident from the preserved original tombstone cross with an inscription in Bulgarian, where those killed are called „M (Macedonian) O (Drina - Edrine) R (evolutionary) fighters“.

After the secession of today’s Republic of North Macedonia from Yugoslavia in 1991, the original tombstone with the inscription in Bulgarian of the prominent revolutionary and Mason* Mishe Razvigorov, who died in 1907, was destroyed.

* Freemasonry in Bulgaria was established in 1880, but after 5 years it dissolved itself to prevent its interference in political strife. During the following period, Bulgarians became members of Masonic lodges in Macedonia. As Ivan Mihailov writes, it is characteristic of this epoch that „*scenes from the French Revolution, episodes from the Carbonari movement in Italy, from the struggles of Garibaldi and Mazzini were often repeated in front of the more alert listeners.*“ It was the Italian Garibaldi Freemasons who were a role model and inspiration for the Bulgarian revolutionaries. Regular Freemasonry in Bulgaria was restored in 1917, as the member of the Central Committee of IMRO Alexander Protogerov became the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Bulgaria. The available documents show that among its main activities was the protection of the rights of Bulgarian minorities abroad and especially in Macedonia.

The works of the Bulgarian Renaissance figures, born in the geographical area of Macedonia, are also subject to falsifications. For ex-



The tombstone of the prominent revolutionary and Mason Mishe Razvigorov, who died in 1907, inscribed in Bulgarian and destroyed in Republic of North Macedonia

ample, the Miladinov Brothers' book „Bulgarian Folk Songs“ (1861) was republished in Tito's Yugoslavia under the title „Collection of Folk Songs“ (1968). Stefan Verković's book „Folk Song of the Macedonian Bulgarians“ (1860) in Skopje was published as „Macedonian Folk Songs“ (1961), etc.



Preserved original tombstone cross with an inscription in Bulgarian and destroyed and replaced with an inscription in „Macedonian“ language plaque of the Macedonian-Edirne revolutionary fighters Nikola Karandjulov, Naido Peshtaleev and Dimitar Robev who died in 1904.

To describe all such forgeries, it is likely that several thousand pages would be needed to suffice. In Chapter III, only those falsifications that are embedded in the current school curriculum and their spread among the younger generation in Republic of North Macedonia will be considered.

II. CODIFICATION OF THE „MACEDONIAN“ LANGUAGE

1. The orthographic reform in Bulgaria in 1945 - a blow of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the written unity of the Bulgarian dialects

In 1934, a resolution of the Comintern was adopted, in which, for the first time in communist circles, the existence of a separate „Macedonian“ nation and „Macedonian“ language was discussed. This resolution has been actively used by Moscow and the Yugoslav Communists since 1944, and its views have been imposed in all Balkan countries or parts of them where the influence of the communist parties was strong.

In September 1944, Bulgaria was occupied by Soviet Russia, and the new government was dominated by the Bulgarian Communist Party. On its orders, in 1945 a spelling reform of the Bulgarian language was carried out, which copied the spelling reform of the Russian language carried out by Lenin in 1918 and the reform of the Bulgarian orthography of 1921, imposed by the government of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.

According to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the letters Ъ and Ѫ are symbols of conservatism and Great Bulgarian chauvinism. Unlike Russian and the other languages of the Slavic group, however, only in the Bulgarian language do these two letters have a meaningful role: they unite orthographically different dialects.

Despite this important fact, immediately after the coup in September 1944, the new puppet Bulgarian government appointed a commission to „consider the possibilities of simplifying Bulgarian spelling.“ Despite the strong resistance of Bulgarian public figures and writers, including members of the commission itself, in 1945 an ordinance-law on changes in spelling was published. Apart from the elimination of the silent letter ъ in words not ending with vowels, which had no sound value, the letters Ъ and Ѫ were also removed.

The orthographic reform carried out in Bulgaria practically created a dividing line between what was written before and after 1944. A large part of the living connections between the modern Bulgarian literary language and the Old Bulgarian script were broken. In addition,

the political decision of the Bulgarian government created conditions for an orthographic division of the eastern and western Bulgarian dialects.

2. The Language Commissions in Skopje and the Codification of the New „Macedonian“ Language through the Deconstruction of links to Bulgarian

After the political changes in September 1944 on the territory* of the Republic of North Macedonia, previously administered by Bulgaria, on the initiative of the recovered Yugoslav government, a process of creating a new Macedonian self-consciousness was initiated. Belgrade clearly realized that Bulgarians were most of the population and they determined its socio-cultural image, which was why the new consciousness was imposed only among them, but not among the other ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia. Only Bulgarians were subject to a process of ethnic transformation, other communities retained their old characteristics. This fact categorically proves the use of focused political actions for performing such a process. The result is the formation of the new „Macedonian nation“, which was political, not ethnic in nature and manner of emerging.

To give impetus to the building of Macedonian self-consciousness, the creation of a new „Macedonian“ language was underway. Instructions in this direction were received from Moscow, where the Soviet

* On April 6, 1941, Germany invaded Yugoslavia, and on April 11, Italy and Hungary joined Germany. Although Bulgaria was a member of the Tripartite Pact, its troops did not participate in the invasion of Yugoslavia. The capitulation of Yugoslavia was signed on April 17 with the German command, and with this act Germany became the supreme wartime sovereign. In this capacity, on April 24, it placed most of Vardar Macedonia under a Bulgarian civilian administration, but retained Yugoslav state property, the functioning of the German military commandant's offices, and the residence of German troops. The Bulgarian administration was established on April 26, with 60% of the staff being local. Bulgarian cultural and educational policy was characterized by the opening of 800 primary schools, 17 high schools, 1 university and many public libraries. The Bulgarian administration was withdrawn at the beginning of September 1944. The German wartime administration continued to operate in the region until mid-November 1944, after which the Yugoslav government was restored. One of its first manifestations of the restored Yugoslav government was the destruction of Bulgarian books by their public burning on bonfires.

professor Bernstein wrote a report on September 12, 1944, in which it was stated that the situation „*required a solution to a series of tasks, the most important of which of was the creation of the Macedonian literary language. The overwhelming majority of Macedonians were using the Bulgarian language and a small portion – the Serbian language. The builders of the new national culture in the Balkans are facing the task of creating a new literary language.* „

In November 1944, a Language and Spelling Commission was set up in Skopje to propose an alphabet and spelling of the written norm. The language commission met from November 27th to December 4th, 1944, proposing to take the dialects from the Veles, Prilep and Bitola regions, declared as the central dialect, as the basis of the „Macedonian“ language. One of the members of the commission, Georgi Kiselinov, suggested that the „Macedonian“ language use letters only from the Bulgarian alphabet, as the spelling is phonetic. Another member of the commission, the poet Venko Markovski, in his poem „Robii“, published as indicated in „Slobodna Makedonija“ and written in the local dialect, also used the following letters of the Bulgarian alphabet (Ў, Ђ, Ѓ, Ю, Я, ДЖ). This practice was fiercely opposed by the future Yugoslav academic, one of the „fathers“ of the modern Macedonian language norm, Blazhe Koneski.*

Another statement by Georgi Kiselinov makes it clear that the process of creating the „Macedonian“ language is entirely political: „*Today, if we want to take a dialect of our language as a literary language, we do not have time to wait for that language to be created. We are faced with the question of having a literary language, but we do not have the time and we cannot wait for that language to be created by poets, writers and journalists.*“

Eventually, the commission made a specific proposal for an alphabet, including the letter Ђ. Blazhe Koneski again objected, leaving it, and leaving the commission, but nevertheless insisting on the direct use of the Serbian alphabet. Finally, a compromise option was unani-

* Born as Blagoy Konev into a pro Serb family, he wrote poetry in Serbian in high school, studied medicine and Serbian at the University of Belgrade and law in Sofia, not being able to complete any of his studies. This did not prevent him to take part in the standardization of the new literary “Macedonian” language since 1944, to become rector of the University of Skopje and to make a career at MANI.



The first language commission in Skopje and the alphabet adopted by it on November 27, 1944. On the penultimate and last line of the alphabet on the right are the letters Ѣ and ѣ.

mously accepted, at the insistence of Venko Markovski and others that the letter Ѣ (which of all the languages of the Slavic language group is characteristic only of the Bulgarian) remained in the future alphabet.

Blazhe Koneski again objected to the alphabet approved by the Commission for Language and Spelling, and proposed the appointment of a second language commission. It met in March 1945, with political decisions coming directly from Belgrade through Radovan Zagović and Milovan Djilas. The commission was ordered to adopt the Serbian alphabet. To this end, the Yugoslav government was seeking support from Moscow.

The decisions of the Second Language Commission caused strong dissatisfaction among the population of Vardar Macedonia. This led to the convening of a Third Language Commission, which was summoned in April 1945 further to an order of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Macedonian language activists were summoned from Skopje to Belgrade to come up with a compromise solution about the alphabet. When voting to keep or remove the letter Ь, there was an equal number of votes, yet it was removed. At the same time, several Serbian letters were adopted.

On May 3rd, 1945, the third commission presented its proposals to the Ministry of Education, which approved them, and on the same day they were published in the official newspaper „New Macedonia“. On May 5th, 1945, the proposals of the commission for the alphabet, which is still used in Republic of North Macedonia, were published in the „Official Gazette“ in Skopje.

The Skopje-Veles dialects were declaratively accepted as the basis of the „Macedonian“ language, but preference was given to the former, i.e., of the peripheral northern Macedonian dialects. The administrative center is in this dialect area, and due to the geographical proximity and political influence of Serbia after 1913, it has the most borrowings from the Serbian language.

When the „Macedonian“ language was created in 1945, the practice of deconstruction of the common Bulgarian language for the whole Bulgarian land was adopted. For this purpose, the Macedonian dialects were „taken out“ of the modern Bulgarian language. This was done through the simultaneous spelling reform in Bulgaria and the codification of the „Macedonian“ language in Tito's Yugoslavia. Both events were run by the same political center.

When reading the stenographic protocols of the first language commission it becomes evident that its members communicated with

each other in the local Bulgarian dialect (pronouncing Ъ as E and Х as A), often using elements of the literary Bulgarian language. The alphabet originally used for recording was Bulgarian. Regardless of the policy of differentiation, the two written norms in Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia remain uni-grammatical. Insofar as there are features in the Macedonian literary language that are not found in the literary Bulgarian language, most of these differences are typical for a number of modern Bulgarian dialects. For this reason, the distance of the Skopje written norm from the literary Bulgarian is realized mainly through the insertion of foreign words, mostly Serbian. The target of this policy was the convergence of languages in Tito's Yugoslavia.

An attempt at grammatical convergence with the Serbian language was made in 1946 by Krum Kepeski, who wrote the first „Macedonian Grammar“. Starting from the understanding that „*our language... used to have grammatical cases, but today... is in the process of losing them*“, the author tried to reactivate the use of some archaic case forms for the Macedonian literary language so that it moved even closer to Serbian. However, such a regression of the language proved to be unsuccessful and no further action was taken in this direction.

To support their efforts to impose the codified Macedonian language on its citizens, the authorities in Republic of North Macedonia have adopted a special Law on the Macedonian Language, which was last updated in 2017. It provides for all “*texts of the legislative, executive and judicial government, local self-government, textbooks, issues, press, translations and other texts... that are published, must be written in Macedonian. Proofreading can be performed only by a person who has passed an exam for a lecturer with a valid lecturer's license ... A lecturer's license is issued by the Ministry of Culture after passing an exam*”. In practice, the role of these „licensed lecturers“ is to conduct language censorship, where all discrepancies with the codified Macedonian language are processed. If such an approach is partially justified in some translated works, then the change of the texts of local authors is a kind of restriction to their creative freedom and reveals the practice of total linguistic control.

3. The fate of those who disagree with the codification

Among the Macedonian public figures criticizing the new alphabet as inconsistent with the „Macedonian“ language and traditions were Venko Markovski, Georgi Shoptrayanov, Vasil Ivanovski, Pavel Shatev, Panko Brashnarov and others.

Georgi Shoptrayanov was a prominent philologist who in 1932 received a scholarship from the French government to specialize in French language and literature in cities such as Dijon, Geneva, and Paris. During the period of the Bulgarian administration of Vardar Macedonia, he was the first director of the newly established National Library in Skopje (July 1942). Later he was appointed associate professor at the newly established Skopje State University „Tsar Boris III - Unifier“. He was a member of the first language commission in November 1944. His positions were close to those of Venko Markovski and Georgi Kiselinov, which was why he opposed the attempts to use some Serbian letters in the “Macedonian” alphabet. Because of this position, he was rejected by the Yugoslav authorities, Shoptrayanov fell into political isolation.

Much tougher was the fate of Georgi Kiselinov, who prior to the Second World War was the publisher of the Skopje magazine “Luch”. In an article from that period, G. Kiselinov criticized the Serbian thesis that the Macedonian dialect was Serbian and defended the position of *„its organic features, through which it has changed from a synthetic to an analytical grammar, as is the case with the Bulgarian language.“* During the period of the Bulgarian administration of Vardar Macedonia, he was director of the girl’s high school in Skopje (1941 - 1943) and teacher at the men’s high school in Skopje (1943 - 1944). As Chairman of the local Macedonian Society, he was awarded a medal with a green ribbon for his participation in the First World War. He was a member of the Macedonian Scientific Institute since 1942. At that time, he published memoirs about his participation in the Macedonian-Edirne Volunteer Corps, in which he declared his Bulgarian ethnicity. Because of his Bulgarian past and his stance against the Serbianization of the Macedonian language norm, he was detained by the new Yugoslav authorities in Skopje Central Prison.

During Georgi Kiselinov’s stay in the Skopje prison, a caricature was published in the *Osten* magazine. On it he is placed between Cyril

**СВ. СВ. СВ. РАВНОАПОСТО-
Л И АЗБУКОПОЛОЖИТЕЛИ
КИРИЛ И МЕТОДИ И ГЕОР-
ГИ НОВИ**



**Георги Киселинов: — Се мушнаа и
Јас во светците! Господи, поможи...**

Caricature criticizing Goergi Kiselinov in "Osten" maga-zine (Skopje, January 1, 1945). The text above reads: "St. St. St. Equal apostles Cyril and Methodius and Georgi Novi. Bottom "Georgi Kiselinov: I sneaked among the saints. God help me... ". In the middle Georgi Kiselinov holds an open book, on which the Bulgarian letter Ъ can be seen.

and Methodius and holds an open book in which the Bulgarian letter "Ъ" can be seen. Until the end of his life in 1961 Georgi Kiselinov was not allowed to hold academic positions, despite his education and the indisputable authority he possessed.

Another repressed person was Venko Markovski, a member of the three Language Commissions and considered at the time the most talented poet of the People's Republic of Macedonia. Although from 1945 to 1949 he was a Member of Parliament in the Assembly in Belgrade and a member of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Macedonia, because of his attempts to preserve the Bulgarian letter Ъ he fell into disfavor. In February 1956, he was uncovered as the author of the previously illegally published in Zagreb poem „Contemporary Paradoxes“, for which he was convicted. The book had been translated into Croatian by the prominent Macedonian composer Kiril Tashkov,

who shared his views. At the trial in Skopje, on March 16, 1956, Venko Markovski declared several times that he was „*a Bulgarian from Macedonia and as such was opposing the regime.*“ It was documented that after these words of his, the judge himself erupted and stated: „*Yes, there are Bulgarians and Serbs in Macedonia, but no one speaks about it. What do you want, what are you opposing to?*“ For his activity Venko Markovski was sent to the concentration camp „Goli Otok“, where he did hard labor till 1961.

The resistance of a number of cultural and public figures was also enormous. For example, the first editor-in-chief of Nova Makedonija, Vassil Ivanovski, although he held a Macedonist standpoint, opposed Lazar Kolishevski's pro-Serbian and anti-Bulgarian policies.* On December 1, 1945, he sent a letter to the Bulgarian Prime Minister Georgi Dimitrov and his colleague Vassil Kolarov, in which he reported on the anti-Bulgarian policy of the Yugoslav authorities in introducing the new alphabet in the new literary language. In this document, Vassil Ivanovski expressed concern about the violent methods used to create the Macedonian nation, the persecution of everything Bulgarian and officials, whether they expressed doubt or disagreement with the Serbianization of public life, language, and culture. In his letter he wrote: „... and Dimitar Vlahov, and Gen. Apostolski**, and President Chento***,

* Lazar Kolishevski was born in Macedonia, but as an orphan he was granted a state scholarship by the Yugoslav authorities to study in Kragujevac, Serbia, where in 1935 he became a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). In mid-1941, the Central Committee of the CPY sent him to Vardar Macedonia, but the local Macedonian communists refused to work with him and joined the communist organization in Macedonia to the Bulgarian Communist Party. In November 1941, Kolishevski was captured by the Bulgarian administration and sentenced to death. In December this year Lazar Kolishevski wrote in a request for pardon to Tsar Boris III: „*I am a son of Bulgarian parents, I was, and I am still Bulgarian, despite the terrible slavery - I have preserved my way of life, language and Bulgarian customs.*“ After the Second World War, Lazar Kolishevski became one of the most influential people in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, personally leading the anti-Bulgarian repressions.

** Gen. Mihailo Apostolski (during the period 1941 - 1944 Mihail Apostolov) was a major in the Royal Yugoslav Army. During the Nazi attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941, he was captured and taken to a camp. On June 23, 1941, his father Mite Apostolov sent a request to the Bulgarian Minister of War to make arrangements for the release of his son, on the grounds that Mikhail was a Bulgarian born to Bulgarian parents in Shtip. The request was granted on July 2, 1941. In November, the same year Mihail

and Venko Markovski asked me to inform you about what is happening there. Chento even obliged me to convey that „because of some responsible factors, we in Macedonia cannot do our job properly.“ Because of this statement, Vassil Ivanovski was expelled from Yugoslavia.

Another public figure who reacted sharply against the policy pursued on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia was Pavel Shatev. He was Minister of Justice in the first Macedonian government (1945) and its Deputy Chairman (1946). In the autumn of 1946, Pavel Shatev wrote a complaint to the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade, in which he stated that the „Macedonian“ language was being Serbianized, the Bulgarian language was censored and he insisted on the intervention of Bulgaria.

In 1948, Pavel Shatev and Panko Brashnarov wrote a statement on the situation in the People's Republic of Macedonia. In it, they reveal the picture of terror and declare themselves against the CPY's policy of interfering in Skopje's internal affairs and manifestations of extreme Serbian nationalism. As an example, they point out that the alphabet of the „Macedonian“ language is deliberately close to the Serbian alphabet of Vuk Karadžić, and the lexicon is forcibly Serbianized. In their letter they also write that it is a mass practice *“to curse everything Bulgarian, even though it is a historical fact that the Ilindentsi (participants in the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising of 1903, author's note) felt and acted always and everywhere as people with a Bulgarian consciousness... the leaders imposed by Belgrade strive to crush everything Bulgarian without selecting means for it. Those who disagree with the CPY's policy are considered „unconscious and Bulgarophiles.“*

Apostolov applied to join the Bulgarian army as an officer, retaining his rank in the Yugoslav army. He was offered a lower military rank - captain, which angered him. There is evidence that at the end of 1944 Mihailo Apostolski developed pro-Bulgarian activity. His pro-Bulgarian positions finally broke down in early 1945.

*** Metodi Andonov - Chento was the first chairman of the People's Republic of Macedonia in Tito's Yugoslavia. Although with leftist convictions, he cooperated with Bulgarian activists in Vardar Macedonia. After 1944, he opposed the anti-Bulgarian repressions, publicly condemned them, and sent a protest to the Supreme Court in Skopje. Due to these actions, he was forced to resign in early 1946. He was arrested for trying to attend the Paris Peace Conference to appeal for the secession of the People's Republic of Macedonia from Yugoslavia and was tried in November 1946. He was sentenced to 11 years in prison.

In September 1948, Pavel Shatev stated that he considered the text of the Resolution of the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which spoke of a Bulgarian minority in Macedonia, to be a mistake, as “the people for the most part feel Bulgarian”.

In 1949, Pavel Shatev was arrested as an enemy of Yugoslavia. He was held in prison in Skopje for 11 months, after which he was interned under house arrest in Bitola until his yet unexplained death. On January 30, 1951, he was found dead in the Bitola landfill.

The other person who signed the letter, Panko Brashnarov, was arrested in 1950. He was sent to the Goli Otok concentration camp, where he died on July 13, 1951.

The scale of the terror on the territory of today’s Republic of North Macedonia during that period is described in an article in the newspaper „Macedonian Tribune“ published by the Macedonian-Bulgarian emigration to the USA and Canada on October 13, 1960: *„Serb communists killed over 5,000 civilians and peasants shortly after the political power seizure. People say that these massacres were based on pre-made lists of people who were known as excellent Macedonian Bulgarians and with merits in the past to the Macedonian Liberation Movement. Such persons were mostly killed. The Serb communists also carried out real massacres in the Kumanovo region, Gevgelija, Vranovtsi, Veles, Shtip, Grupchin, etc. Every day in Grupchin, 30 to 40 people were killed. And how many others have disappeared who the Serbo-Communists do not say that they have destroyed them.*

In addition, from September 1944 to the end of 1945, more than 5,500 people were sentenced to death or life imprisonment in Vardar Macedonia. These convicts were imprisoned mainly in two prisons - in the large Idrizovo prison and in the central prison in Skopje. After that, 2,000 new convicts entered Idrizovo Prison each year alone. It is estimated that more than 30,000 prisoners have entered the Idrizovo prison in the last 15 years alone. In addition to this and the central prison in Skopje, there are prisons in all cities in Macedonia. All prisons and concentration camps were crowded with prisoners ...

The number of those mentally and physically tortured, of those imprisoned for several days or weeks in various prisons in Macedonia is enormous. It is said that 35 percent of the population was tortured in

this way... There are areas where more than 60 percent of the population in their villages have gone through prisons. “

4. The resistance and the rejection of the Skopje written norm in the Aegean and Pirin Macedonia and Albania after 1948

Created in 1945, the „Macedonian“ language was used as a major instrument for the political expansion of Macedonianism and for Yugoslavia’s absorption of neighboring parts of countries (Pirin Macedonia in Bulgaria and Aegean Macedonia in Greece) or entire countries (Albania).

The first to react against such a policy, and especially the creation of the new „Macedonian“ language, were the representatives of the Macedonian-Bulgarian emigration to North America, South America, Australia, and Western Europe. They rejected all linguistic changes after 1945.* In the March 22, 1945 issue of the “Macedonian Tribune” newspaper, it is declared: *“Our language, the language in which we write the newspapers and in which we speak here, as well as in the Old Country, is a Bulgarian language... Out of all the controversy is that the language of the Macedonian Slavs is Bulgarian... Recently, however, it has been rumored that a newspaper written in „Macedonian“ has started to appear in Macedonia. We saw a sample of this newspaper and examined it carefully... But the language in which it is written is unfortunate... If this is prompted for political reasons, the evil is not so great, but if it is insisted that „Macedonian“ is a separate language, then we are dealing with ignorant linguists. First of all, there is no „Macedonian“ language. Slavic philology, through the work of its best representatives, has registered a Macedonian dialect of the Bulgarian language ... In the mentioned newspaper „New Macedonia“ we notice that Б, Ь, Ъ, Ы, Ж - too*

* Today in Bulgaria it is customary to update their spelling when transmitting texts written before 1945. However, after 1945, the Macedonian-Bulgarian emigration to the USA, Canada and other countries published a huge amount of literature on the old orthography, as the authors did not accept the spelling reform imposed by the “Fatherland Front” in 1945. For this reason, such „updating“ is clearly against their will. In view of this fact, in the present publication texts in the literary Bulgarian language, written with the spelling valid before 1945, are cited in original according to the author’s practice or will.

many characteristic letters for our Cyrillic do not exist. The letters Ъ and Я have been replaced by the Serbian letter j. And the dialect in which the newspaper is written is not the same. It is mixed with Serbisms... In one of the articles, that of Venko Markovski, the influence in the construction of the phrase from the Bulgarian literary language is obvious... The language in which the newspaper „New Macedonia“ is written is not „Macedonian“, but a mixture of several Macedonian dialects of the Bulgarian language mixed with Serbisms“

When the information about the mass repressions against the Bulgarians in Macedonia reached the free world, the reactions of the Macedonian-Bulgarian emigration became much sharper. For example, in a 1948 address to the population of the Macedonian People's Republic adopted by the Macedonian Patriotic Organizations, it was stated: *„Attempts by the Serbs to destroy your national pride by creating a „Macedonian“ language, we deeply believe that they will break in the granite resistance of all of you. True to the ideals of Gotse, Dame and Todor, repel in any way the poisonous arrows of the betrayal personified by Vlahov and Kolishevski.“*

Declarations in a similar spirit were adopted at almost all conventions of the Macedonian Patriotic Organizations until 1991. Even today in their printed publications they continue to use the Bulgarian literary language with its pre-1945 orthography.

The situation on the Balkans, where the communist parties had established a dictatorship, was much more complicated. In the autumn of 1945, at the beginning of the school year, teachers of the „Macedonian“ language were sent from Yugoslavia to other parts of the geographical area of Macedonia in Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Thus, the imposition of the use of the newly created written norm on 100% of the geographical area of Macedonia began.

Belgrade's distant goal was the territorial annexation of these regions to Yugoslavia: Pirin and Aegean Macedonia should become part of the People's Republic of Macedonia, and the rest of Bulgaria and Albania should be the next Yugoslav republics. This is the period of the greatest geopolitical offensive of Macedonianism.

In the summer of 1946, at a joint Bulgarian-Yugoslav meeting in Moscow, Stalin demanded that Bulgaria should be imposing much more „Macedonian consciousness“ among the Bulgarians in the Pirin

region, stating: „*That there is no Macedonian consciousness in the population has no meaning. In Belarus we also did not have such consciousness when we declared it a Soviet republic. And then it turned out that a Belarusian people really exists.*“ Similarly, with decisions of the Comintern over the years, attempts have been made to create „Dobrudzhan“ and „Thracian“ nations and languages (unsuccessful), „Moldovan“ (partially successful, now in the process of returning to Romanian) etc. YCP copied the Comintern directive and created a „Montenegrin“ nation (successful), a „Bosnian“ nation (partially successful).

In August 1947, Georgi Dimitrov signed the Bled Agreement, which gave way to the accession of Pirin Macedonia to the then People's Republic of Macedonia within Yugoslavia. The local communist structures complied with the directives of the Comintern and forcibly imposed the new political course.

There are a large number of documents that reveal the opposition to the study of the Skopje written norm in those territories of the geographical area of Macedonia intended for annexation by Yugoslavia. Although during this period the communist authorities in Bulgaria officially recognized the existence of a “Macedonian nation” and a “Macedonian language”, most of the inhabitants of Pirin Macedonia continued to identify themselves as ethnic Bulgarians. In December 1946, a census was conducted. The authorities instructed the local population in the Pirin region to be administratively registered as „Macedonian“, but this encountered difficulties. For example, a report by the BCP organization in the village of Petrovo stated that „*the issue of Pirin's accession to Vardar Macedonia is met with great bewilderment by the population, and by the party masses with resentment.*“ In schools where the so-called „Macedonian language and history“ were taught, conflicts often arose between students and Yugoslav teachers, and the courses themselves were poorly attended.

Those who refused to accept the new identity were pressured by the official authorities. Prominent public figures, former revolutionaries, voivodes of the IMRO and others who refused to sign the census as Macedonians were repressed, with a total number of more than 40,000. Some of them were forcibly deported to Yugoslavia, others were sent to prison camps, and most were simply killed. Due to the intensification of political terror and forced Macedonianization, many of the inhabitants

ДО ПОРОБЕНОТО НАСЕЛЕНИЕ ВЪ МАКЕДОНИЯ

(Резолюция единодушно приета на 30 ред. конгресъ на МПО)

Представителитѣ на родолюбивата македонска емиграция въ Съединенитѣ щати и Канада събрани въ гр. Колумбусъ, Охайо на 30-иятъ годишенъ юбилеенъ конгресъ на МПО на 2, 3 и 4 септемврий 1951 год. ви изпращатъ своитѣ най-горещи братски и сестрински привети. До насть ежедневно долитатъ вашитѣ стенания отъ непоносимиятъ тероръ на поробителитѣ на нашата мила Родина — титовитѣ сърбокомунисти, фанатизиранитѣ гръцки бурандари и софийскитѣ слуги на Москва.

Конгресътъ е твърдо убеденъ че този тежъкъ тормозъ нито ще сломи борческия ви духъ, нито пъкъ ще убие въ васъ кристалното съзнание на корави **македонски българи** колкото и да се желае то отъ скопскитѣ лакеи на Тито, които измислиха срамната теория за

«македонска нация» и «македонски» езикъ. Духътъ на Дамьянъ Груевъ, Гоце Дѣлчевъ и Тодоръ Александровъ, духътъ на борцитѣ отъ славното Илинденско възстание, което се води за цѣлокупна свободна и независима Македония не ще престане да витае надъ нашата мила и скъпа Родина и той ще напомнима и на грядущитѣ поколения за правото на македонскиятъ народъ да живѣе свободно и независимо въ границитѣ на своята Родина.

Както въ миналото, така и сега, драги братя и сестри, нашата кръвна връзка съ васъ ще крепне и ще се засилва — нашитѣ сърца винаги ще туптатъ задружно съ вашитѣ, вашитѣ болки и страдания ще бждатъ и наши, вашата борба ще бжде и наша борба. Да живѣе борческиятъ македонски народъ! Да живѣе свобода и независима цѣлокупна Македония!

An address to the enslaved population in Macedonia, adopted at the 30th Conventions of the Macedonian Patriotic Organizations in 1951. It states: „This severe harassment will neither break your fighting spirit, nor will it kill in you the crystal clear consciousness of tough Macedonian Bulgarians, though it is much desired by Tito's Skopje lackeys, who invented the shameful theory of a „Macedonian nation“ and a „Macedonian language“

of Pirin Macedonia went underground and joined the Gorian resistance movement.

The situation changed on June 28th, 1948, when the Inform Bureau adopted a resolution condemning the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for manifestations of nationalism and revisionism. This marked the beginning of the rupture of relations between the com-

munist authorities in Belgrade and the communist parties in neighboring countries. Yugoslav emissaries, including Macedonian language teachers were expelled from Albania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

In Pirin Macedonia, which represents about 11% of the entire territory of the geographical region of Macedonia, only the use of the Bulgarian literary language in its orthographic form after 1945 remained.

In Aegean Macedonia, which makes up about 50% of the territory of the geographical area of Macedonia, restrictions on the Skopje written norm also began. Even then, the idea arose based on the Kostur-Lerin-Prespa Bulgarian dialects to create a local regiolect, written in the Bulgarian alphabet. After the defeat of the communist resistance in Greece in 1949, most of the population of Aegean Macedonia was forced to emigrate. In 1951, in Bucharest, Atanas Peykov from the Kostur village of Babchor settled among refugees from this region. He worked in the Macedonian Department of the publishing house „Nea Elada“ at the Central Committee of the CPG (Communist Party of Greece) and through the Macedonian page of the Greek emigrant newspaper „Nea Zoi“ he put into practice the new regiolect. He created a grammar and textbook of this written norm, which was significantly closer to the Bulgarian literary language than the Skopje one. A number of newspapers, magazines and books were printed on this regiolect in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

The language situation in Mala Prespa in Albania was relatively identical, where the regiolect was based on the local Prespa Bulgarian dialect, and the first such primer, in which the Bulgarian alphabet was used for spelling, was printed in a limited edition in cyclostyle in 1952. The grammars and textbooks of this regiolect published later lack the Serbianisms characteristic of the Skopje written norm and it was very close to the Bulgarian literary language. In Albania, the Prespa Bulgarian regiolect was officially used in the state education system until the 1980s.

In lexical terms, over 98% of the vocabulary of the regiolects of the population in Aegean Macedonia and Mala Prespa are Bulgarian words in their western dialect form (reflex of Ъ as E).

The language situation partly changed during and after 1954, when relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia began to warm up. In late May and early June 1955, Soviet leader Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev

shchev visited Belgrade and Skopje and signed the famous Belgrade Declaration. In 1956, Iosip Broz Tito returned the visit and supported the entry of Warsaw Pact troops into Hungary. In return for this rapprochement, Moscow was putting pressure on Bulgaria to return to Georgi Dimitrov's policy on the Macedonian question, and on Albania and emigration from Aegean Macedonia to Eastern and Central Europe to phase out the Bulgarian regiolect and restore the use of the Skopje written norm outside the territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia.

The first resistance to such a policy was observed in Albania. Tirana was gradually realizing that due to the impending changes in the Soviet bloc, Albania would continue to face pressure for rapprochement with Yugoslavia, and a possible reintroduction of the Skopje written norm would increase the chances of increasing Yugoslav influence.

For this reason, the Albanian government decided to support the efforts of the people of Mala Prespa to preserve their traditional language and spelling. On November 1, 1955, the Albanian Ministry of Education commissioned Boris Male to prepare textbooks for local schools, giving him a deadline of January 15th, 1956. The introduction of the local Bulgarian dialect, written according to the rules of Bulgarian orthography was officially approved by the Ministry of Education in Albania and in 1956 a reader, mathematics textbook and other textbooks were printed.

Resistance against the new course was also observed among refugees from Aegean Macedonia. On November 30th, 1956, some members of the Ilinden Organization, under Soviet and Yugoslav pressure, made a proposal to restore the use of the Skopje written norm among the Aegean refugees in Eastern Europe. However, most members did not respond. As a repressive measure, the Ilinden organization was disbanded, and the problem was resolved at a meeting on August 4-5th, 1957, in the Polish town of Bardot. The new political course was launched directly from Moscow through the Polish Minister of Education. At this meeting, the representatives of Atanas Peykov's group clearly stated that the „Macedonian“ language was identical with Bulgarian. As a compromise solution, it was accepted to put an end to the anti-Tito propaganda among the Aegean refugees in Eastern Europe, but the re-introduction of the Skopje written norm was categorically refused. For this reason, the printed editions of refugees from Aegean Macedonia

От ослободителната борба през Илинденското востание во лерински револуционен район

—Очерки и епизоди—

(продължение от вчера)
Доволя на следния ден се приготвяме да напущиме Невеска и еден дел от нашия отред со войводите заминаа за участоците си. Бевме готови да тръгваме и ние со останалите чети от нашия бојни отред, кога от разузнавателните команди во селата на неретскиот участок получивме тревожни соопшенија со указание да се сплотиме: многобројни аскер обкржвал и претресвал сите села и места во горите придвижвајќи се към Невеска и т.н.

Изменивме маршруто си и заедно со отредот на Н. Андреев се отправивме за прибежиште към върво на планината Върбица, ка

ко стратегиска база и продоволствен лагер на костурските востанически отреди, от дека ни се даваше и единствената можност да заминиме во своите райони. При върво на Върбица, наречен „Лоджав камен“, не пречекаа и горските началници на костурската околина, кои се прибраа за почивка во укрепенио си со каменјатак. При совещанието ни со нив се установи, дека и тие имат доста неблагоприятни сведенија.

Заприжени за положението изобищо, още немавме приклучено беседата и совещанието, кога охранителните постови алармираа за присуствието на войски, кои што се јавия во

подножието на Върбица от Невеска и Врабчанското езеро и настъпваа към върво. Решивме да напущиме Върбица. Общо беше недоумението, оти не сме получили никакво соопшение от шабо на востанието. По нашите и нивните сведенија, што ги имавме за положението, нашето заклучение беше еднодушно — Султан Хамид получил согласнето на великите сили да се разграви како што знае за потушаването на востанието. Сметавме нашето положение доста критично.

Напущивме Върбица, со оглед да запазиме нашите сили свекој во својој район, како што можиме, со надеждата, оти ќе

An article in the Demokratis newspaper from 1956 in the Kostur-Lerin dialect, written in the Bulgarian alphabet.

in Eastern Europe until 1977, such as the newspapers “Democritis” and “Narodna Borba”, the magazines “Ilinden” and “Makedonski Zhivot”, etc., continued to be written in the local Bulgarian regiolect using the Bulgarian alphabet.

The processes in Aegean Macedonia after the fall of the Berlin Wall were also interesting. In 1993, a group of local citizens, some of whom with a Bulgarian self-conscious and others under the strong influence of Skopje, started publishing the “Zora” newspaper. In its October 1993 issue, an alphabet declared „Macedonian“ was published, but it included the Bulgarian letters Ы and Ъ and the letter combinations ДЖ and ДЗ. This was done so that examples could be given of spelling

ΤΟ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΟ ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟ		ΑΠΟΔΩΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΦΘΟΓΓΩΝ	
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΗΣΚΑΤΑ	ΑΖΒУКА	ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ *	
1.	A a Арно, ако	(άρνο, άκο)	α
2.	Б б Баба, бързо	(μπάμπα, μπ'ρζο)	μπ
3.	В в Врата, вѣрне	(βράτα, β'ρνε)	β
4.	Г г Голем, гѣрне	(γκόλεμ, γκ'ρνε)	γκ
5.	Д д ДеДо, ден	(ντέντο, ντέν)	ντ
6.	Е е Еден	(έντεν)	ε
7.	Ж ж Жена, жаба	(ζένα, ζάμπα)	ζ (παχύ)
8.	З з Зра, зелено	(ζόρα, ζελένο)	ζ
9.	И и Игла	((γκ)ια)	ι
10.	Й ѱ Йован, ѱагне	(χιόβαν, χιόγκνε)	χι(ι)
11.	К к Камен, куче	(κάμεν, κούτσε)	κ
12.	Л л Лоза	(λόζα)	λ
13.	Љ љ Љубов	(λιούμποβ)	λ(ι)
14.	М м Мајка, мака - мака	(μάϊκα, μάκα, μάκα)	μ
15.	Н н Нива, нема	(νίβα, νέμα)	ν
16.	Њ њ Њујорк	(νιούχιόρκ)	ν(ι)
17.	О о Обетка, ако	(ομπέτκα, όκο)	ο
18.	П п Пена, пат - пѣт	(πένα, πάτ, π'τ)	π
19.	Р р Река, рака - рѣка	(ρέκα, ράκα, ρ'κα)	ρ
20.	С с Стап, сено	(στάπ, σένο)	σ
21.	Т т Татко, тѣрло	(τάτκο, τ'ρλο)	τ
22.	У у Утре, ум	(ούτρε, оύμ)	ου
23.	Ф ф Фишек, фѣрлам	(φίσεκ, φ'ρλαμ)	φ
24.	Х х Храна	(χράνα)	χ
25.	Ц ц Цел, цар, цѣрвен	(τσέλ, τσάρ, τσ'ρβεν)	τσ
26.	Ч ч Човек, чешма	(τσόβεκ, τσέσμα)	ΤΣ (παχύ)
27.	Ш ш Шанка	(Σάϊκα)	Σ (παχύ)
28.	Ъ ѱ Ърх ѱргѱа διηλλά σύμφωνα:	(ѱ ρζ, ѱ ρχια)	ημιφωνο μεταξύ α και ε
1.	ДЗ дз ДЗвер, дзиркам	(τζβέρ, τζ(ρ)καμ)	τζ
2.	ДЖ дж ДЖам, джавакам	(τζάμ, τζβάκαμ)	ΤΖ (παχύ)

* Η απόδοση στην ελληνική δεν είναι απόλυτα σωστή, γιατί είναι ιδιαίτερα δύσκολο με τα γράμματα μιάς να αποδοθούν οι φθόγχοι άλλης γλώσσας.

The October 1993 issue of the „Zora” newspaper, published in Lerin, Greece, with the „Macedonian“ alphabet, containing the Bulgarian letters Й and Ъ and the letter combinations ДЖ and ДЗ.

words such as *бързо* (fast), *мъка* (pain), *път* (road), *ръка* (hand), *фърлам* (throw), *цървен* (red), etc., which could not be accurately or correctly written in the Skopje norm.

The published alphabet provoked huge discontent in the state leadership in Skopje, and the publishers of the newspaper were called in for instructions, as they had to change the alphabet and switch to the *Konevitza* alphabet.* In order to get out of the situation, in the issue of the newspaper „Zora” of February 1994, the publishers were forced to publish a short “clarification” about the *Konevitza* alphabet, emphasizing that it was “*the official Macedonian alphabet in the Republic of Macedonia.*”

The example above is a proof of the modern aggressiveness of Skopje in its attempts to impose the Skopje written norm outside the territory of Republic of North Macedonia. However, the developments in the geographical area of Macedonia after 1948 clearly show that in 63% of this territory and among a large part of the emigration from this region, the population rejected its use and it remains official only for the territory of Republic of North Macedonia, where the number of its users is constantly decreasing.

* Written information about this event has been provided to the authors of the current text by some of the members of the group, who were called for instructions in Skopje.

5. Basic linguistic evidence for the unity of the official language norms in Sofia and Skopje

Despite the political decision of the authorities in Skopje to forcibly distance the local norm from the Bulgarian literary language, the expected results were not achieved. The changes were mainly expressed in the introduction of many Serbisms and other foreign words, changed endings and forms, as well as the revival of some archaisms and rare dialectal forms. However, for the most part, the vocabulary is identical. This was stated by the famous Slavic scholar Prof. James F. Clark, who defined the Macedonian-Bulgarian dictionary published in Skopje only 23 years after the codification as „Bulgarian-Bulgarian“ in 1968, due to the obvious coincidence of the larger part of the content in both columns of the dictionary.

The main feature of a language is not so much the vocabulary (which in a short time may be artificially influenced and populated by many foreign words), but the grammar. Modern analysis of different forms of spoken and written language in Republic of North Macedonia show that, depending on the level of education of its speakers, about 5-7% Serbisms and 1-2% other foreign words are used. The share of specific Macedonian dialects that are not used in the literary or spoken language in Bulgaria is about 1%. However, these lexical differences do not in any way lead to the emergence and establishment of a new language.*

Meanwhile, in terms of grammar, there is no difference in speech. Moreover, the common grammar is the main difference between the Bulgarian and Macedonian norms, on one hand, and all other Slavic languages on the other. It is the key to understanding the unity of language.

* The insertion of foreign words into the language by force is one of the policies for the division and assimilation of peoples. For example, after 1920, more than 23% of Russisms were inserted into the Armenian language used in the USSR, which was not used by Armenians abroad. However, this attempt at lexical division did not lead to the formation of two Armenian languages. The opposite was the case with the Albanian language. Until 1972, there were two of its literary norms based on Geg and Tosk dialects. Even in Yugoslavia, by analogy with the „Macedonian“ language, an attempt was made to create a „Kosovo“ language. However, no serious researcher had considered the Geg and the Tosk literary norms as two separate languages.

The existence of the Skopje written norm is an indisputable fact that no one denies. Whether or not the authorities in Skopje accept the Bulgarian position that the official language in Republic of North Macedonia is linked to the evolution of the Bulgarian language and its dialects in Vardar Macedonia after their codification after 1944, it will continue to be constitutionally conditioned political reality.

This situation does not change the fact that because of the specific historical development today the Bulgarian language is pluricentric - there are several established literary norms and several in the process of development. The first to emerge was the Bulgarian Palken language, which was finally codified in 1866 in the Banat region of former Austria-Hungary and is now used in Romania and Serbia. About 15 years later, the Bulgarian literary language was codified, and in 1945 the Skopje written norm was codified. In addition, in present-day Serbia, attempts are being made to create „Torlak“ and „Shope“ languages based on the most Western Bulgarian dialects, and in Greece a „Pomak“ language is being created based on the Southern Rhodope Bulgarian dialects.

Today, in the classification of Slavic languages, literary Bulgarian language, the Bulgarian Palken language and the Macedonian literary language fall into the eastern group of South Slavic languages. The example of the Bulgarian Palken language shows that regardless of its different literary norm from that in Bulgaria, it continues to be considered as Bulgarian.

The codified dialectal peculiarities of the written norm in the Republic of North Macedonia are inherent in other Bulgarian dialects as well; therefore they are not proof of the existence of a separate language. The grammatical structure of the written norms in Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia, which is the backbone of every language, remains unchanged. In this respect, there is no significant difference between the two written norms, and all the following features are characteristic of the entire Bulgarian language territory, covering Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia.

The following typological features of the Bulgarian language distinguish it from all other Slavic languages, which have preserved the Slavic case system (i.e. genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental etc.). The Bulgarian language is the only analytical language among them. It is characterized by:

- analytical nature of the noun system (expression of relations through prepositions, and not by case endings: *чашата на Петър* (Peter's cup), *Отидох при Иван* (I went to Ivan).
- the suffix definite article: *Човекът почива* (the man is resting), *Жените дойдоха* (the women have come), *Децата играят* (the children are playing), *червената шапка* (red hat).
- doubling of direct and indirect object: *Него го видяха* (they saw him), *На нея ѝ казаха* (they told her).
- analytical expression of comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives: *по-красив* (more beautiful), *най-красив* (most beautiful); *по-високо* (higher), *най-високо* (highest); *по обичам* (I love more) , *най обичам* (I love most).
- replacement of the Slavic infinitive with *da*-constructions: *Трябва да работя* (I have to work), *да изляза* (to go out).
- the presence of a rich verb system with many forms for past and future tenses, not found in the other Slavic languages.
- analytical expression of future tense forms with the help of particles: *Ще ходя* (I will walk), *Ще работя* (I will work).
- Inferential (non-witnessed) verb forms

The above listed phonetic, grammatical and lexical features once again confirm the unity of the Bulgarian language at the dialect level, as no differences are found in the Bulgarian dialects of the entire Bulgarian language territory, covering Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia.

In view of these linguistic realities, today in Bulgaria the officially adopted position is that *“the language norm declared a constitutional language in the Republic of Northern Macedonia is related to the evolution of the Bulgarian language and its dialects in the former Yugoslav Republic after their codification in 1944. No document / statement in the process of accession can be considered as recognition by the Bulgarian side of the existence of the so-called „Macedonian language“, separated from Bulgarian“.*

III. EXAMPLES FROM THE CURRENT 2020 TEXTBOOKS IN REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA FOR THE IMPOSITION OF THE LIE ABOUT THE HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF THE „MACEDONIAN“ LANGUAGE. COMPARISON OF FALSE STATEMENTS AND FALSIFICATIONS WITH THE ORIGINALS

1. Joachim Karchovski

Joakim Karchovski was a Bulgarian Renaissance clergyman, writer, educator and teacher, the founder of Bulgarian printed literature. In his educational activity Joakim Karchovski sought new forms for the popularization of the written word and realized the necessity of printed books. He published five books in the last decade of his life. They were widespread in the geographical area of Macedonia and provided the list of sponsors from: Shtip, Kratovo, Strumica, Radovish, Veles, Bitola, Skopje, etc.

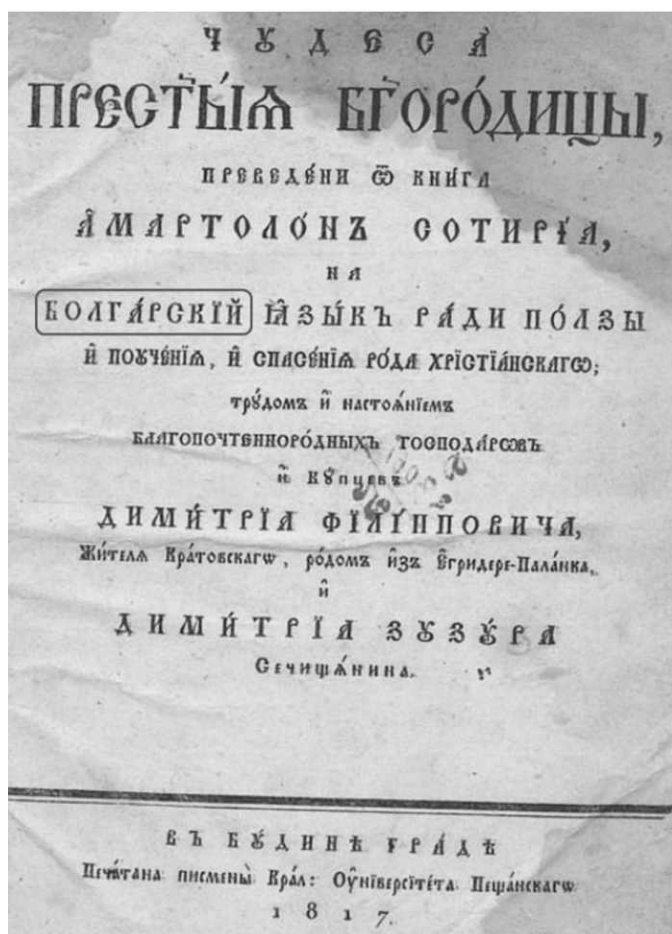
In the textbook on the „Macedonian Language“ for 08th grade in the schools in Republic of North Macedonia (Skopje, 2020), it is stated that Joakim Karchovski claims that he has merits „*for the distribution of the first printed Macedonian books*“. It is also stated that in his works, the use of the Church Slavonic language as a language of writing and literature decreased, and „*this role was taken over by the Macedonian native language.*“ The same textbook states that Joakim Karchovski, along with other Bulgarian Renaissance figures, „*are writers with a purpose: to teach and enlighten the Macedonian people... They have a clear task: to make the Macedonian people understand and accept their literature endeavor. They have a clear vision how to accomplish this: introduce the Macedonian vernacular in literature... In this way, the Macedonian vernacular in their books had a broader basis, and their books become easier to understand for a wider range of Macedonian readers... The Macedonian vernacular became the main tool in the Macedonian literature, as well as in the written communication between the Macedonians. Gradually, the Macedonian mother tongue is gaining ground as a language of trade, church and education in Macedonia.*“

Such statements are sheer lies. For example, in his book „A Tale of the Terrible and Second Coming of Christ“ (1814) Joachim Kar-chovski writes that it was „translated into simple (folk, Bulgarian) Bul-garian language.“



Facsimile from the Title page of Joakim Kar-chovski's book "A Tale of the Terrible and Second Coming of Christ", "translated into simple (folk) Bulgarian lan-guage" (1814).

We find a similar text in Joakim Karchovski's book „The Miracles of the Most Holy Mother of God“ (1817). In it he mentions that it has been translated into „*Bulgarian language*“.



Facsimile of the title page of Joakim Karchovski's book "The Miracles of the Most Holy Mother of God". It is claimed today in Skopje that it was translated into "Macedonian", but the original explicitly states that the translation is in Bulgarian (1817).

The situation is identical with Joakim Karchovski's book „Mistarstva“ (1860). In the original edition it is again written that it was „*translated from Slavic into Bulgarian*“.

КНИГА

НАРЫЦАЕМАА

МЫТАРСТВА

ПРЕВЕДЕНА ОТЪ СЛАВЕНСКИ НА **БОЛГАРСКИЙ**
ЯЗЫКЪ ОТЪ ЖИТІЕ-ТО НА СЪАТАГО ВАСИЛІА
НОВАГО ЗА ДВАДЕСЕТЪ-ТЕ МЫТАРСТВА КОИ
ТО Е ПРЕМИНАЛА СЪА ОЕОДОРА.

ИЗДАНИЕ ТРЕТО.



ВЪ БЪЛГРАДЪ.

ВЪ ПРАВИТЕЛСТВЕННА-ТА КЪНИГОПЕЧАТНА.

1860.

*Facsimile from
the title page of
Joakim Kar-
chovski's
book „Mi-
tarstva“,
„translated
from Slavonic
into Bulgar-
ian“ (1860).*

The given examples clearly show how currently in Republic of North Macedonia the Bulgarian cultural heritage is unceremoniously being robbed and destroyed by spreading false statements, and the younger generation is deprived of access to objective information.

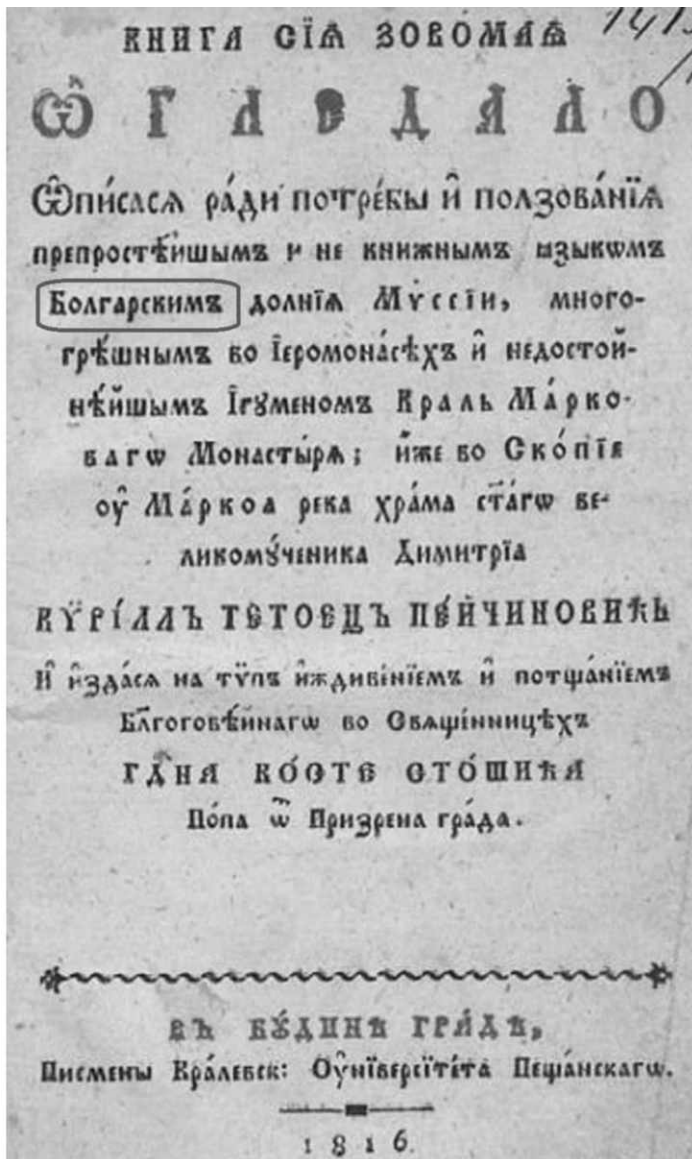
2. Kirill Peichinovich

Kiril Peichinovich is also a Bulgarian Renaissance figure whose life work was subjected to total falsification and theft in the Republic of North Macedonia. In the textbook on the „Macedonian Language“ for the 7th grade of primary schools, it is stated that he was one of the „*first Macedonian authors*“ who printed „*books in the vernacular Macedonian language*“. He has been declared as one of the „*first teachers and educators in Macedonia*“, who „*wrote his two books „Mirror“ and „Consolation of Sinners“ in the vernacular, more precisely in the Tetovo dialect.*“

Сè повеќе се поставувало прашањето за посебен литературен македонски јазик. Се појавиле првите македонски автори, Јоаким Крчовски и Кирил Пејчиновиќ. Тие печателе книги на народен македонски јазик кои биле наменети да ја пренесуваат христијанската религија. Значи, нивните книги имале религиозен (црковен) карактер и содржеле упатства за народот од областа на религијата. Бидејќи биле напишани на народен јазик, книгите им биле разбирливи на читателите.

Facsimile of page 5 of the textbook on „Macedonian Language“ for the 7th grade of primary schools in Republic of North Macedonia. Kiril Peichinovich is said to have appeared as an author „after the issue of a separate literary Macedonian language was increasingly raised“ and to have published his books in the „popular Macedonian language“ (the facsimile is from the current 2020 issue). (Macedonian language textbook for 7th grade, year of publication not specified).

The statements in the textbook about Kiril Peichinovich do not correspond to the truth. In his book „Mirror“ (1816) he wrote that it was „written about the needs and use of the popular and non-literary Bulgarian language in Lower Moesia.“ K. Peichinovich not only defined his language as Bulgarian, but also did not identify his native place with the geographical area of Macedonia. Using the sources from the Middle Ages, for him this region was lower Moesia.



Facsimile of the title page of Kiril Peichinovich's book "Mirror". He wrote that it was „written for the needs and use of the popular and non-literary Bulgarian language of Lower Moesia“ (1816).

The original tombstones of Kiril Peichinovich in the Lesochki Monastery near Tetovo were also destroyed and replaced with inscriptions in the „Macedonian“ language created in 1945.

3. Raiko Zhinzifov

Another Bulgarian Renaissance figure from the geographical area of Macedonia, whose work has been subjected to forgery and robbery, was Raiko Zhinzifov. In the textbook on the „Macedonian Language“ for the 8th grade of the schools in Republic of North Macedonia (Skopje, 2020) it is stated that he was among the „*Macedonian Renaissance writers (who) felt the need for a literary language in which to write their literary works. They raised the Macedonian language to the level of literature.*“

Потсети се од македонската историја!
Македонскиот народ во XIX век сè уште е поробен. Исто така, засилено е влијанието од соседните земји, пред сè, во црквата и во образованието.
Македонските писатели – преродбеници (Рајко Жинзифов, браќата Димитрија и Константин Миладиновци, Григор Прличев, Ѓорѓија Пулевски и други) ја чувствуваат потребата од литературен јазик на кој ќе ги пишуваат своите литературни дела. Тие го издигнуваат македонскиот јазик на рамниште на јазик на уметничката литература.
Повеќето македонски писатели – преродбеници стекнале образование на други јазици (грчки, српски, бугарски, руски). Тие дури и пишувале на овие јазици или, пак, во своите литературни дела внесувале особености од тие јазици. За да ги објават своите дела, тие честопати ги користеле и имињата на соседните земји и јазици, но во својата душа и срце се чувствувале само како Македонци и како родени зборувачи на македонскиот јазик. Тие постепено ја разоткриле политиката на соседните земји



Рајко Жинзифов



Димитар Миладинов

Facsimile from page 7 of the textbook on the „Macedonian Language“ for the 8th grade of schools in the Republic of North Macedonia. It is stated that Raiko Zhinzifov, the brothers Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov and Grigor Parlichev are “Macedonian Renaissance writers (who) felt the need for a literary language in which to write their literary works. They raised the Macedonian language to a literary language” (2020).

С Л О В О
ЗА ПЪЛКЪ-ТЪ ИГОРЕВЪ,
ИГОРЯ
СЫНА СВАТЪСЛАВЛЯ, ВНУКА
ОЛЬГОВА.

ПРЕВЕДЕ ОТЪ СТАРО-РУССІЙ ЯЗЫКЪ

Р. ЖИНЗИФОВЪ.

1863. Москва.

повѣрно и порамно. А заради нашій переводъ, мые слагаме
запотребно де речиме слѣдно-то: Мые, за Българскій языкъ
бройме, той языкъ, кой ся говоритъ по цѣлж Македоніж,
Тракіж и Българіж, между говори-те на кой има малу
много разлика, но мые, както и секой Българинъ не кж-
согледъ, не можиме да речиме, що слово-то *рѣка* или *вода*
је Македонско или Тракійско, а *рѣка*, *вода* је Българско,
защото нема Македонцы, нема Тракійцы като отдѣлны на-
роди, а има само Славяне-Българе, кои-то живѣять по ре-
ченны-те мѣста, инена-та на кои, може бы, имають си
право въ зѣмлеписаніе-то, а не въ народность-тж, накжсо да
речиме, има единъ цѣлень, народъ Българскій и единъ
языкъ Българскій, кой-то какъ и секой кой му драго дру-
гій языкъ ся дѣлитъ на нарѣчія... И така мые мыслиме,

Facsimile from page 5 and page 15 of the „New Bulgarian Collection“ with the preface and translation of Raiko Zhinzifov’s „Word for Igor’s Regiment“. In it he explicitly states that „for the Bulgarian language I count this language, which is spoken throughout Macedonia, Thrace and Bulgaria“ (1863).

This statement in the North Macedonian textbooks is not true. In 1863 Raiko Zhinzifov published his book „New Bulgarian Collection“, which included original and translated poems. As an emigrant in Russia, he lived amongst the young Bulgarian emigration in Moscow and together with Lyuben Karavelov, Nesho Bonchev, Konstantin Miladinov, Konstantin Stanishev, Vasil Popovič and others published the „Bratski Trud“ magazine. Raiko Zhinzifov developed large-scale journalistic activity in the Russian press to acquaint the local public with the plight of the Bulgarian people. He also collaborated with the Bulgarian newspapers „Danube Dawn“, „Macedonia“, „Freedom“, „Bulgarian Bee“, „Century“, „Time“, as well as in the Bulgarian magazines „Chitalishte“, the „Periodical Magazine“, „Bulgarian books“ and others. In all of them he published articles, poems, folk songs, and short stories. In all his works Raiko Zhinzifov declared himself as a Bulgarian and called his language Bulgarian

For example, in the “New Bulgarian Collection” of 1863, Raiko Zhinzifov translated the ancient Russian text „A Word for Igor’s Regiment“. In its preface, Raiko Zhinzifov wrote: *“And for our translation we consider it necessary to say the following: For the Bulgarian language we count this language, which is spoken all over Macedonia, Thrace, and Bulgaria, between the dialects of which there are few (or) many differences... There are no Macedonians, no Thracians as separate peoples, there are only Slavic Bulgarians who live in the mentioned places, the names of which may have a place in the geography, but not in the nationality. In short, there is a single Bulgarian people and a Bulgarian language, which, like any other similar language, is divided into dialects.”* Nowhere in his work did Raiko Zhinzifov speak of a „Macedonian“ language, as recorded in modern textbooks in Skopje.

4. Miladinov brothers

Following the already described model of falsification and theft of the Bulgarian cultural heritage, in the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third year of high school education in the schools of Republic of North Macedonia (2018) it is stated that *„the view of a separate Macedonian language follows the Macedonian al-*

phabet-tradition, in which the Church Slavonic basis was gradually replaced by the vernacular. The use of the Macedonian native language is necessary in various areas of communication, especially in trade, in the church, in education and in the press and in fiction. It also has significant support in folk art. From this point of view, the Collection of Folk Songs of the Miladinov Brothers occupies a central place.”

The above statement is completely arbitrary and disingenuous. Nowhere did the Miladinov brothers declare themselves to be „Macedonians“, nor did they declare their language to be „Macedonian.“ In addition, the original title of the collection of folk songs is „Bulgarian Folk Songs“ (1861).*

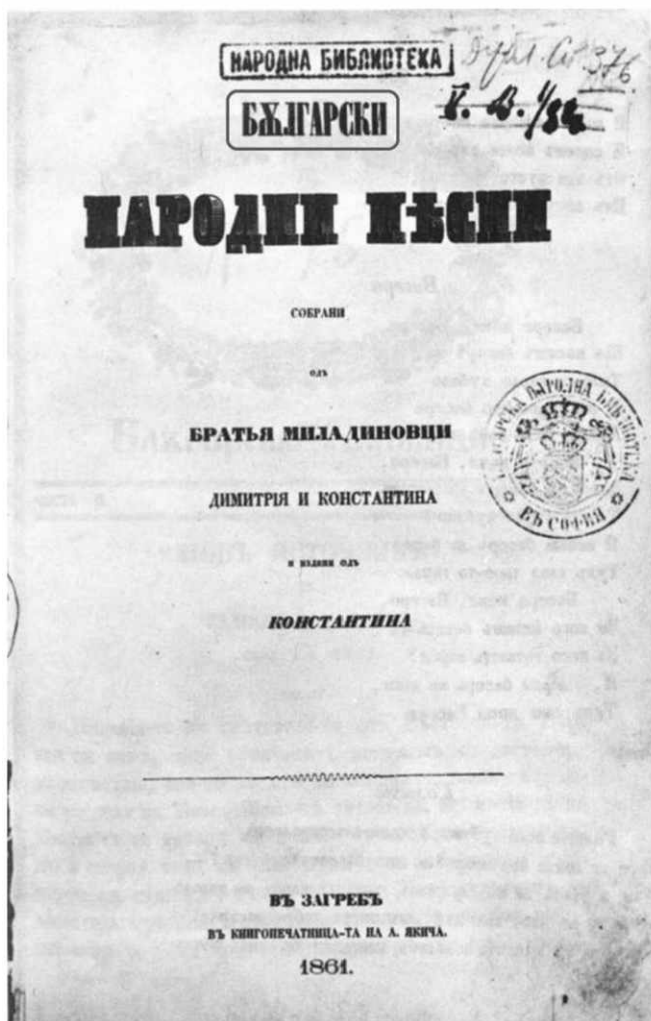
In their work, the Miladinov brothers always expressed their ethnicity as Bulgarian and worked for the development of the Bulgarian language. When they used the term „Macedonian“, it was to indicate it a geographical region.

The elder brother Dimitar Miladinov was the author of several articles in the Constantinople Gazette (1860). He toured the settlements of Macedonia to collect money for the construction of the Bulgarian church of St. Stephen in Constantinople. In no. 476 of the Constantinople Gazette of March 26, 1860 Dimitar Miladinov wrote: *“In the holy Ohrid district there is not a single Greek family except three or four now Vlachs, and all the others are purely Bulgarians... Here we said, in the mutual school** they study both Greek and Bulgarian language... And in the Greek school they will go upstairs, and there the students teach*

* Some academic publications in Skopje with limited circulation acknowledge that the title of the Miladinov brothers' book is „Bulgarian Folk Songs“, but this is explained by the statement that the collection included several songs from the Panagyurishte region (now in southern Bulgaria). Such an „explanation“ is arbitrary. The book contains a number of songs from the geographical area of Macedonia, in which the local population only declares itself to be Bulgarian: „Maria Bela Bulgarka“ (song 76), „I am a pure Bulgarian“ (song 76), „Turks killed young people Bulgarians“ (song 87), „Gino, too young Bulgarian“ (song 95), „Krotko mi igray oy bugarino“ (song 150 from Prilep), „Veliko, dulber bugarko“ (song 356), „Moshne mi se dear Bulgarian maidens“ (song 474), „They quarreled, quarreled three beautiful girls. One was a Vlach, another was a Greek, the third was Bulgarian“ (songs 431, 465). „Three Bulgarian Girls“ (song 504) and others.

** The „mutual school“ is a secular primary school during the Bulgarian Renaissance period, in which the Bell-Lancaster method of teaching is applied. In it, some of the more advanced students train some of their classmates.

from Greek to Bulgarian, and from Bulgarian to Greek, but they still do not have Old Bulgarian with grammar ...



Facsimile from the title page of the Miladinovi brothers' book „Bulgarian Folk Songs“ (1861).

And in the villages the bishop is trying to give them permission to chant in the church in Bulgarian. And all Bulgarians who listen are happy because they understand the Bulgarian language and some of them cry with joy. “

azine „Bulgarian Books“ and other Bulgarian publications such as “Bratski Trud” („Brotherly Labor“) and the newspaper „Danube Swan“.

5. Grigor Parlichev

Grigor Parlichev was not only one of the most active participants in the struggle for the introduction of the Bulgarian language in schools and churches in Ohrid and other settlements in Macedonia in the 1860s, but later he was also a Bulgarian Exarchate teacher in Bitola (1880 - 1882), Ohrid (1882 - 1883) and Thessaloniki (1883 - 1889). About him in the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third year of high school in the schools of Republic of North Macedonia (2018) it is written that he tried to create *„his own language, which corresponded to a common Slavic language. In fact, he complied with and accepted the ideas of a kind of Slavic Esperanto, which would be used as a language of science and fiction of the Slavic peoples... Although he wrote his autobiography in a language close to Bulgarian, but with a large number of Church Slavonisms and Russisms, Parlichev wrote the dialogues between the Macedonians in the Macedonian vernacular.“*

Откако добил образование на грчки јазик и ги напишал на грчки јазик поемите *Сердарош* и *Скендербеџ*, **Григор Прличев** се обидел да ги препее на свој јазик, што одговарал на еден заеднички опитословенски јазик. Всушност, тој се сообразувал и ги прифаќал идеите за еден вид словенско есперанто што би се употребувало како јазик на науката и на уметничката литература на словенските народи. Во остварувањето на оваа замисла, тој тргнува од својот роден охридски говор и од западномакедонските јазични особености, како и од црковнословенскиот јазик. Прличев беспрекорно го употребува охридскиот говор во повеќе јавни настапи пред охридани по разни поводи. Иако ја пишува својата Автобиографија на јазик што е близок до бугарскиот, во се голем број црковнословенизми и русизми, Прличев ги пишува дијалозите меѓу Македонците на македонски народен јазик.

Facsimile from page 21 of the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third year of high school education in the schools of Republic of North Macedonia. The students are told that Grigor Parlichev wanted to create an all-Slavic language, but in his works the dialogues between the Macedonians were in the Macedonian vernacular (2018).

СЛОВО, произнесено въ Охридско-то елминско училище отъ учитель-тъ Г. Григорія Парличева.

Чувайся себе си.

Вистина е що-то съ свѣтый духъ е написано священно-то писаніе; вистина е щото мъдрость-та божиа ся нахождатъ въ священно-то писаніе и щото самъ Богъ говорятъ въ него. Сичкы-тъ Божественны закони ся нахождатъ въ църковны-тъ книги. Сичкы-тъ обаче Богъ ги събра въ една рѣчь "чувайсе себе си". Отъ тука можиме да разбериме щото Божія-та мъдрость е глубока безъ дно. Защото лесно е, отъ една рѣчь да извадитъ човѣкъ многу рѣчове, обаче многу рѣчове да ги съберетъ въ една рѣчь, това е мъчно, това е божиа мъдрость.

Кога го създаде Богъ човѣка, му даде с-денъ законъ, и му рече "чувайсе себе си". Вистина овай законъ не го написа Богъ на книгъ

The beginning of Grigor Parlichev's speech, published on August 6, 1866 in the Constantinople Bulgarian newspaper "Vremya" (Time). The author's Bulgarian language is presented today to the students in Republic of North Macedonia as „Macedonian in their native language“.

да вкусѣ: Останѣ ястието непокътижто. Послѣ отидохъ у Рагависъ и му явихъ че съмъ съчинителъ тѣ на „Αρχαὶολόγος“. Онъ ме пріе много ласкаво и съ тържественъ гласъ повѣка госпождѣ си и ме прѣпорѣча. — Вы посвятихте половинѣ на наградаѣ на каквото и да е благочестиво дѣло. — Да! тѣй писахъ и не се отрицамъ. — Таа щедрость много вы прѣпорѣча; а другѣѣ половинѣ?... Тоа страненъ въпросъ ме учуди. — За другѣѣ половинѣ, прибави Онъ, Вы не писахте ничто. — Другата половина трѣба за мѣнь: не съмъ богатъ. Видно бѣше че отговоръ тѣ не му се ареса и Онъ замълча.... — Чухте ли каквы похвалы азъ Ви сплетохъ? — Да! Вамъ нито можно е да говорите противъ свѣсть тѣ си.... Тутаки Онъ узна суровость тѣ на отговора. — Отъ каквѣ сте възрастъ? — 30 годишенъ. — Отъ каквѣ сте народность? — Българинъ. — Не е можно Българинъ да има черны косы и черны очи. На това не отговорихъ; но приковахъ очитѣ си въ неговитѣ; Онъ наведе своитѣ. — Не ли Вы сами отъ амвона казахте, че отъ произношеніето на една само думѣ можете да познаете всекого дали е Еллинъ или не; а азъ нито думѣѣ Еллинъ не могъ да произнесѣ както Вы ѣк произнасите.

The beginning of Page 366 of the „Collection of Folk Tales and Literature“, where the autobiography of Grigor Parlichev was published, in which he stated that he was a Bulgarian (1894).age“.

It is difficult to qualify such a statement in a school textbook as factual; it is rather historical-pseudo-science fiction. Since Grigor Parlichev as a student studied in a Greek school and spoke Greek, for the early period of his life in education, there is a dispute whether he felt Greek or Bulgarian. But in his autobiography, he writes that even during his studies in Athens (1849 - 1850) he felt Bulgarian. His classmates also considered him as such: *“They (his classmates, author’s note), even though they all grabbed my manuscripts to copy, treated me almost contemptuously because of my Bulgarian pronunciation and because of my poor clothes.”*

After returning to Ohrid, Grigor Parlichev was originally a teacher at the local Greek school, but during the annual exams in 1866 he delivered a speech in the local Ohrid Bulgarian dialect, which was printed in three consecutive issues from August 6 to 17, 1866 in the Constantinople Bulgarian newspaper „Vremya“ (Time). Before publishing his speech, the newspaper’s editorial board reported that his speech was „spoken in a Macedonian dialect.“ The newspaper was read all over Bulgaria and Parlichev’s speech was cited everywhere as an example of Bulgarian patriotism.

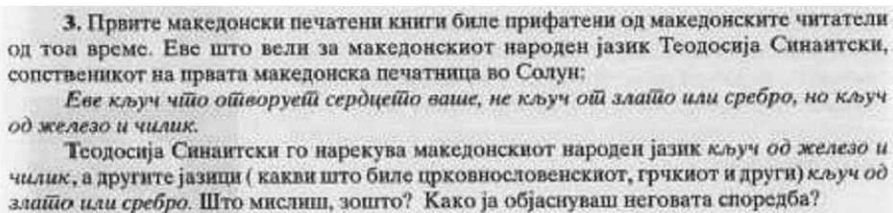
During the issuance of the Firman for the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, Grigor Parlichev delivered an emotional speech to all citizens of Ohrid. As it is known, this part of the geographical area of Macedonia did not fall within the borders of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and a plebiscite was conducted to see how many of the population wanted to join the Exarchate. As a result of the agitation of Grigor Parlichev and his associates, out of all 9526 eligible to vote in Ohrid, 9387 voted for the Bulgarian Exarchate and only 139 people voted to remain with the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In his autobiography published in 1894, Grigor Parlichev wrote that he declared himself a Bulgarian to the Greek teachers.

Although Grigor Parlichev has been declared a „Macedonian“ in Republic of North Macedonia today, he never declared himself as such, nor did he call his mother tongue „Macedonian“.

6. Theodosiy Sinaitski (Theodosius of Sinai)

Theodosiy Sinaitski is one of the founders of Bulgarian book printing. He supported the opening of a Bulgarian printing house in the village of Vatasha, in the Tikvesh region (today in the Republic of North Macedonia). Later, he established a Bulgarian printing house at St. Mina's Church in Thessaloniki, which used the printing press from the printing house in Vatasha. Despite his patriotic Bulgarian activity, today in the Republic of North Macedonia, Theodosiy Sinaitski has been declared a „Macedonian“ and his language and work „Macedonian“. Here is what is written about him in the textbook on „Macedonian language“ for 8th grade, published in 2020: „*The first Macedonian printed books were accepted by Macedonian readers at that time. Here is what Theodosiy Sinaitski, owner of the first Macedonian printing house in Thessaloniki, says about the Macedonian vernacular... Theodosiy Sinaitski calls the Macedonian vernacular a key of iron and steel...*”

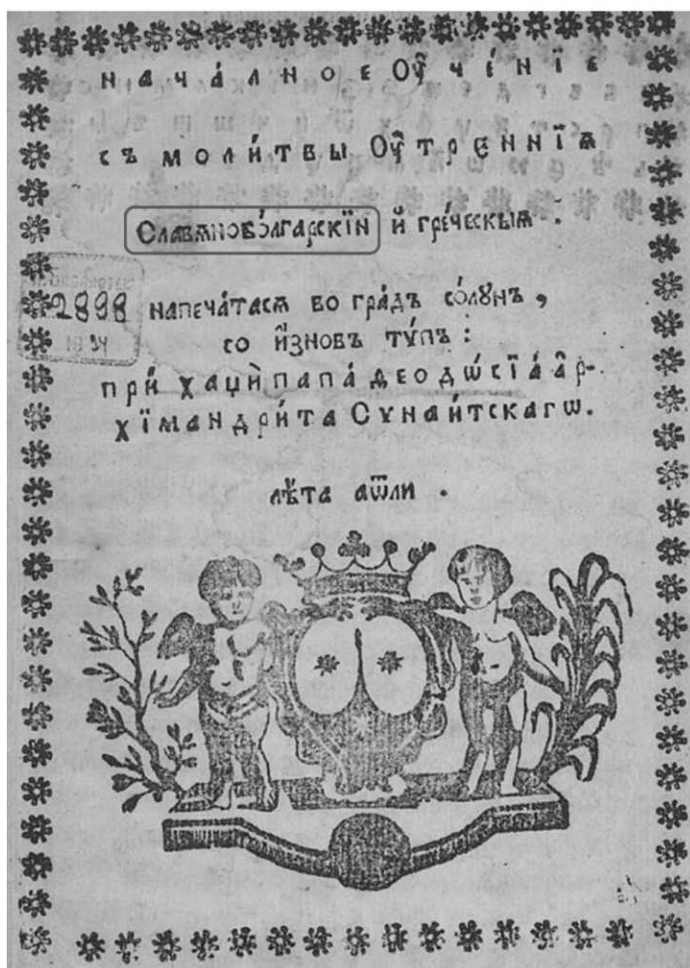


3. Првите македонски печатени книги биле прифатени од македонските читатели од тоа време. Еве што вели за македонскиот народен јазик Теодосија Синаитски, сопственикот на првата македонска печатница во Солун:
Еве клуч чиио оиџворуеиј сердцеијо ваие, не клуч оиј злаијо или сребро, но клуч од железо и чилик.
Теодосија Синаитски го нарекува македонскиот народен јазик клуч од железо и чилик, а другите јазици (какви што биле црковнословенскиот, грчкиот и други) клуч од злаијо или сребро. Што мислиш, зошто? Како ја објаснуваш неговата споредба?

Facsimile from page 8 of the textbook on „Macedonian Language“ for the eighth grade of primary education in the schools of Republic of North Macedonia. Completely falsified Sinaitski's work and conveys to the students the false assertion that Theodosiy Sinaitski established the first „Macedonian“ printing house that printed books of „Macedonian“ vernacular for „Macedonian“ readers (2020).

These allegations about the case of Theodosiy Sinaitski, spread today among the students in Republic of North Macedonia, do not correspond to the truth. In his printing house in 1838 he printed „The Initial Doctrine with Morning Prayers in Slavic- Bulgarian and Greek“. In 1840 he published Kiril Peichinovich's book „In Consolation

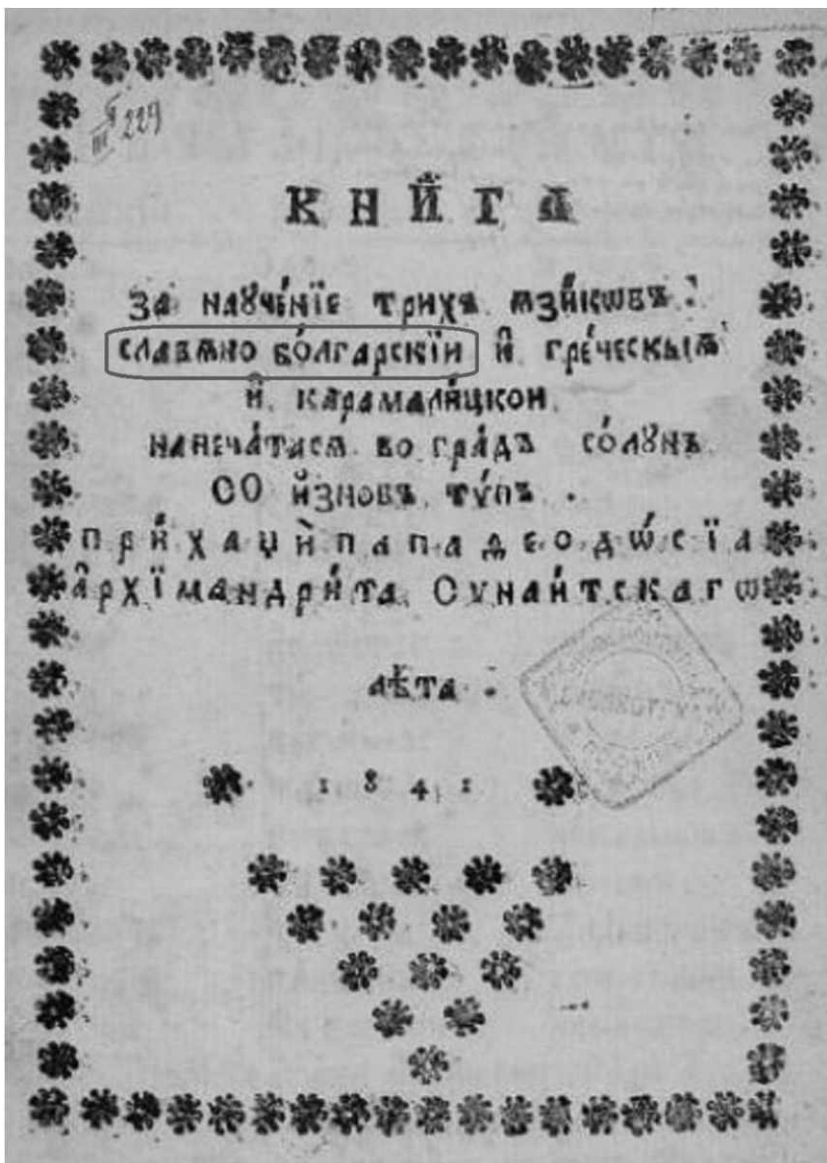
of Sinners „. In its preface it was stated that it was written in „the national Bulgarian language from Lower Moesia „.



Facsimile of the title page of the book „Initial Doctrine with Morning Prayer in Slavic- Bulgarian and Greek“ (1838) printed by Theodosiy Sinaitski.

In 1841, Theodosiy Sinaitski published „A Book for Learning the Three Languages of Slavic-Bulgarian and Greek and Karamanlic (Turkish, author’s note).“

All available data show that Theodosiy Sinaitski worked to support the Bulgarian Renaissance and never used the name „Macedonian“ language.



Facsimile of the title page of the book printed by Theodosiy Sinaitski „Book for learning three Slavic-Bulgarian and Greek and Karamanli language“ (1841).

7. Partheniy Zografski

Partheniy Zografski was a prominent figure of the Bulgarian Revival and a clergyman, one of the first Bulgarian philologists and folklorists. In the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high-school education in the schools of Republic of North Macedonia, it is written that he clearly stated, „*his views on the place of the Macedonian language in education.*“

Првите македонските учебници, Партењ Зографски и Кузман Шапкарев, јасно ги истакнале своите погледи за местото на македонскиот јазик во образованието. Во услови на туѓи образовни пропаганди, цврсто заставале зад ставот дека образованието на децата треба да започне на мајчиниот јазик.

Facsimile from page 19 of the textbook on „Macedonian language and literature“ for the third grade of high-school education in Republic of North Macedonia with false allegations about the case of Partheniy Zografski and Kuzman Shapkarev.

Partheniy Zografski never used the term „Macedonian“ language. In 1859 he led the Bulgarian church struggle in the Kukush region, expanding the use of Church Slavic in worship and assisting in the opening of Bulgarian schools. After 1863 he settled in Constantinople, where he collaborated with the newspaper „Macedonia“ and other Bulgarian newspapers, such as „Sovetnik“ and „Tsarigradski Vestnik“ and the „Bulgarian Books“ magazine. In 1870 Metropolitan Partheniy Zografski toured the southern Bulgarian lands, where he served and ordained priests. In the Plovdiv region, Metropolitan Partheniy ordained 84 Bulgarian priests. After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870, Partheniy Zografski was the Bulgarian Exarchate Metropolitan of Pirov until October 1874.

Partheniy Zografski was an undisputed Bulgarian patriot. In 1858, in his article „Thoughts on the Bulgarian Language“, he raised the question of the role of vernaculars in the formation of the literary Bulgarian language. He believes that „*to be able to form a common written language, it is first necessary to bring to light all the local dialects and idiosyncrasies of our language, on which the common language must be built:*

М И С Л И

ЗА

БОЛГАРСКИ-ОТЪ ЯЗИКЪ.

И ДРЪГІИ ПОТЪ СМЕ КАЗАЛЕ. ПАЗЪ СЕГА КАЗЪВАМЕ, ЩО ЗА ДА МОЖЕТЪ ДА СЕ СОСТАВИТЪ ЕДЕНЪ ОБЩІИ ПИСМЕННИИ ЯЗИКЪ ПЪРВО Е ПОТРЕБНО ДА ИЗЛЕЗАТЪ НА АБЕ СЪ-ТЕ МЕСТНИ НАРЕЧІА И ИДИОТИЗМИ НА ЯЗИКЪ-ОТЪ НИ, ВЪРХЪ КОИ-ТО ОБЩІИ-ОТЪ ЯЗИКЪ ИМАТЪ ДА СЕ ВИДАТЪ: ДОГДЕ СЕ НЕ НАПРАВИТЪ ТОА НЕЩО²НИКОИ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ И НЕИМАТЪ ПРЪВО ДА СЪДАТЪ И ДА РЕДАТЪ ЗА ОБЩІИ ПИСМЕННИИ ЯЗИКЪ, ОСНОВЪВАЩИ СЕ НА ЕДНО ТОЛКО, КОЕ И ДА Е ОНО, НАРЕЧІЕ; И СЕКСЪ ПОДОБНО СЪДЕНІЕ И РЕДЕНІЕ, КАКО НЕ ПОЛНО, ТЪА Е СЪБЕЧНО И БЕЗПОДНО.

НАШІИ-ОТЪ ЯЗИКЪ, КАКО ЩО Е ПОЗНАТО, СЕ ДЪЛАНТЪ НА ДВЕ ГЛАВНИ НАРЕЧІА, ОТЪ КОИ-ТО ЕДНО-ТО СЕ ГОВОРИТЪ ВО БОЛГАРІА И ТРАКІА, А ПАЗЪ ДРЪГО-ТО ВО МАКЕДОНИА. ПЪРВО-ТО ОТЪ НИИХЪ БЪКЪ Е СЕМЪ ИЗВЕСТНО; ЗАЩО СЕ ЧТО СЕ ПИСАЛО ДО СЕГА¹ НА НАШЪ ЯЗИКЪ СЕ НА НЕГО СЕ ПИСАЛО, - А НА ДРЪГО-ТО НИ ГРИ: ПО ТАА ПРИЧИНА, ЧТО ВОЗРЕЖДЕНІЕ-ТО НА НАША-ТА ПИСМЕНОСТЪ СЕ ПОЧНА ОСГЕРА НА ДОЛЪ. ОВАА Е ПРИЧИНА-ТА, ЧТО НЕ ТОЛКО ИНОСТРАННИ-ТЕ СЛА-

Facsimile of the first page of Partheniy Zografski's article „Thoughts on the Bulgarian Language” (1858).

Until something is done, no one may not have the right to judge and contend for a common written language... Our language, as it is known, is divided into two main dialects, one of which is spoken in Bulgaria and Thrace, and the other in Macedonia.“

It is obvious that for Partheniy Zografski the vernacular in the geographical area of Macedonia is Bulgarian, and not a vernacular „Macedonian“ language, as they claim today in Republic of North Macedonia.

8. Kuzman Shapkarev

Kuzman Shapkarev is another prominent figure of the Bulgarian Renaissance, whose work is now being falsified in Skopje. About him in the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high-school education in the Republic of North Macedonia is stated that *„he is the author of several primers and other textbooks... written in the Macedonian vernacular... The teaching and learning activities ... of Shapkarev in the Macedonian vernacular are in the context of the church-school struggle of the Macedonian people“*.

Кузман Шапкарев, исто така, е автор на повеќе читанки и на други учебници со црковна содржина (евангелиски и апостолски текстови) напишани на македонски народен јазик врз основа на охридскиот говор.

Учителската и учебничарската дејност на Зографски и на Шапкарев на македонски народен јазик се одвива во контекстот на црковноучилишната борба на македонскиот народ.

Facsimile from page 19 of the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high-school education in Republic of North Macedonia with false statements about Kuzman Shapkarev (2018).

The statements about Kuzman Shapkarev in the modern North Macedonian textbooks do not correspond to the truth. In 1854 he opened a private school. He worked as a teacher of Greek and Bulgarian in Struga (1856 - 1859), Ohrid (1859 - 1860), Prilep (1861 - 1865, 1872 - 1873), Kukush (1865 - 1872, 1881 - 1882), Bitola (1873 - 1874).

After the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, Kuzman Shapkarev left Macedonia and moved to Plovdiv, the capital of the auto-

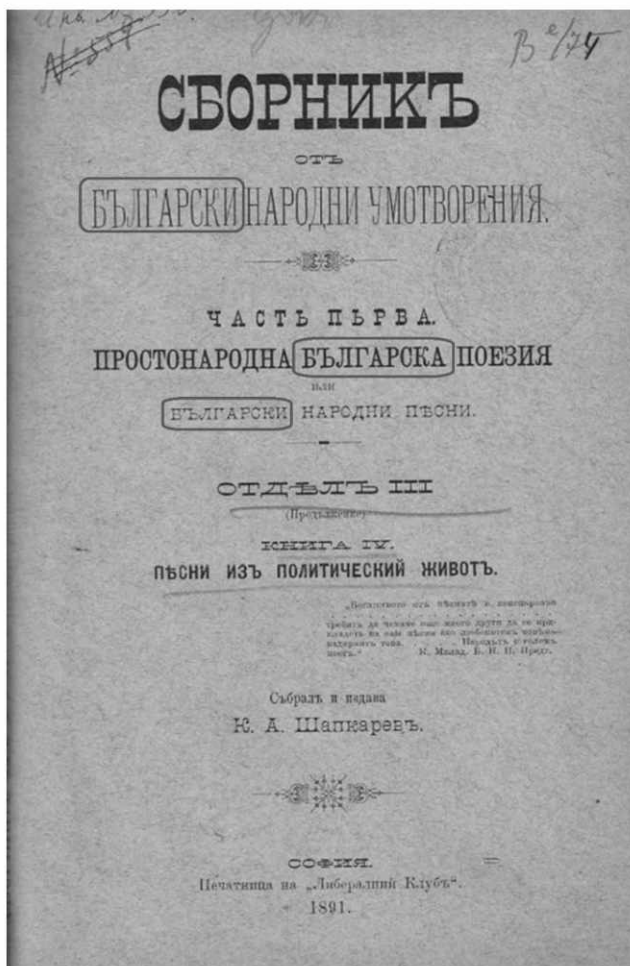


Facsimile of the title page of Kuzman Shapkarev's book „Handbook of the Gospel“, in which the Church Slavic language is called Old Bulgarian, and which is presented in parallel in an adapted version in Modern Bulgarian (1870).

mous Eastern Rumelia.* The Bulgarian Exarch Yosif I managed to persuade him to return to Macedonia in 1880 and appointed him to be a teacher in Thessaloniki, where Kuzman Shapkarev participated in

* Eastern Rumelia was an autonomous region in today's southern Bulgaria with a Christian governor, established in 1878 further to the decisions of the Berlin Congress. Its capital was Plovdiv. In 1885 it united with the Principality of Bulgaria. The example of Eastern Rumelia was also a model in the IMRO's political program for the autonomy of Macedonia and Edirne Thrace.

the founding of the Bulgarian high-school for boys and the Bulgarian high-school for girls.



Facsimile of the title page of the first part of the „Collection of Bulgarian Folk Tales“ by Kuzman Shapkarev (1891).

Kuzman Shapkarev was the author of „The Great Bulgarian Reader in a Dialect more intelligible to the Macedonian Bulgarians“ (1868), „Handbook of the Holy Gospel“ (1870), „Materials on the History of the Bulgarian Renaissance in Macedonia from 1854 to 1884“ (1884) and others. His above mentioned Handbook of the Holy Gospel contains texts of evangelical readings in two versions: In the Church Slavic language, which at that time was widespread, which according

to the author was undoubtedly Old Bulgarian, and a mirror version of in Modern Bulgarian.

His most significant work was „Collection of Bulgarian Folk Tales“ (parts I - III, 1891 - 1894). This edition contains 1300 songs, 280 tales, descriptions of folk customs and clothes from Macedonia, which Kuzman Shapkarev everywhere calls Bulgarian.

Nowhere in his works does Kuzman Shapkarev ever declare himself an ethnic „Macedonian“. When he published his „Great Bulgarian Reader in a Dialect more Intelligible to Macedonian Bulgarians“, he pointed out that it was written by „a Macedonian“, obviously referring to the regional meaning of this name. Nowhere did Kuzman Shapkarev call his language „Macedonian“. For him, the Macedonian dialect is an integral part of the spoken Bulgarian language.

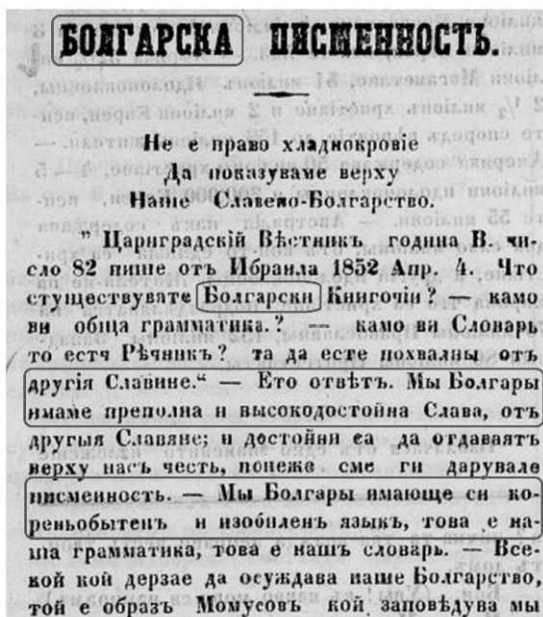
9. Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov - Dzhinot

Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov - Dzhinot was a prominent Bulgarian Renaissance educator and writer in Macedonia. His activity has also been subjected to total falsification in Republic of North Macedonia. For him, the textbook „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high school in Republic of North Macedonia suggests to the students that he wanted „*the Macedonian written language to reach the level of the more developed Slavic languages.*“

турни пројави. Така, Јордан Хаџи Константинов-Џинот во оваа идеја гледал можност македонскиот писмен јазик да го достигне рамништето на поразвиените словенски јазици, па во својот јазик вклучувал зборови кои биле својствени за соседните словенски јазици, српскиот и бугарскиот. Тој свесно се оддалечувал од својот роден велешки говор и пишувал на јазик кој одговарал на северно-македонската и западнобугарската дијалектна основа.

Facsimile from page 17 of the textbook on „Macedonian language and literature“ for the third grade of high school education in Republic of Macedonia with false statements about Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov - Dzhinot (2018).

In the period 1848 - 1861 Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov was a teacher in various Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. He was slandered for keeping books and newspapers in his library, published by the Bulgarian revolutionary Georgi Rakovski. He was exiled to Asia Minor, losing one eye because of torture while traveling to exile. He was released after the intercession of the Bulgarian community elders in Constantinople and returned to Macedonia, where he was a Bulgarian teacher again until 1870.



*Facsimile of the beginning
 of Yordan Hadzhikonstanti-
 nov's article
 „Bulgarian Writing“ (1852).*

As of the 1850s of Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov did tremendous research in Macedonia of old documents and published a chronicle called “A Story about the Restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235“ in Belgrade in 1855 about which until then the intelligentsia was absolutely unaware of. He also discovered and published for the first time in 1856 the hitherto unknown Old Bulgarian work from the 12th century „The Thessaloniki Legend“ (or „Speech of Cyril the Philosopher about how he baptized the Bulgarians“). Later he collaborated with „Bulgarian Books“ (1859) and the „Macedonia“ newspaper (1869). His publications in the Constantinople Gazette contain a wide variety of in-

formation about the history, folklore, and geography of Macedonia and about the church-educational work of the Macedonian Bulgarians.

Everywhere in his works Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov presented himself as Bulgarian and called his language Bulgarian. On July 19, 1852, in the Constantinople Gazette, he published his article „Bulgarian Writing“, in which he defined himself as a Bulgarian. In it he wrote: *„We Bulgarians have full and high dignity compared to other Slavs. And they are worthy to pay us honors because we have given them their alphabet. We Bulgarians have an original and abundant language, this is our grammar, this is our vocabulary. Anyone who dares to condemn our Bulgarianness is an image of Mamon (Devil’s son).“*

10. The young Macedonian literary society And the “Loza” magazine

In addition to the falsification of the ideas and activities of individual prominent educators from the past, in the Republic of North Macedonia the activities of entire organizations have been falsified. Such is the case with the Young Macedonian Literary Society, which existed in Bulgaria. The textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high school states that its members are the most active Macedonians and that they *„accept and support the ideas of a separate Macedonian people with its own Macedonian literary language. These Macedonians, according to the name of their magazine, are known as “vine growers”. They contributed to the strengthening of the Macedonian language in the press and to the significant simplification of the Macedonian orthography.“*

Such allegations, which indoctrinate the younger generation in Republic of North Macedonia through the education system, are not true. The young Macedonian Literary Society was a legally existing Bulgarian educational and charitable society of emigrants from Macedonia who moved to Bulgaria. It operated from the end of 1891 or the beginning of 1892 to 1894. The company published the „Loza“ magazine, in which it sought not so much to expand the basis of the Bulgarian literary language in the direction of Western Bulgarian dialects, but to a simpler phonetic Bulgarian spelling that is easier to learn.

Дејноста на македонистите се остварува преку повеќе групи на истакнати Македонци кои ги прифаќаат и ги поддржуваат идеите за одделен македонски народ со сопствен македонски литературен јазик. Меѓу нив, како најактивни се истакнуваат членовите на Младата македонска книжевна дружина, која во Софија го издавала списанието „Лоза“.

Овие македонисти, според името на списанието, се познати под името **лозари**. Тие придонесуваат за зацврстување на македонскиот јазик во печатот и за значително упростување на македонскиот правопис.

Facsimile from page 18 of the textbook on „Macedonian Language and Literature“ for the third grade of high school in Republic of North Macedonia with false statements about the Young Macedonian Literary Society and its „Loza“ magazine (2018).

This is clearly stated in the article „A Short Explanation“, published in issue 2 of 1892 of the „Loza“ magazine, where it says: „Our great desire was to repel any bias that would be suspected in our country - that we want with our novelty in the literary field, to make a revolution in the Bulgarian spelling and that the spelling we adopted, due to its simplicity, was seen and seems so easy and clear for quick learning that it does not need special comments... We will shortly note that a change in spelling does not entail a change in language. None of us thought that the language of our magazine was „Macedonian“ because of the few Macedonian words we allowed in it... Our belief is that Macedonian dialects will never provide a basis for education separate, independent, literary Eastern Bulgarian language spoken today and mainly because of the following two reasons:

1. In order that Macedonian dialects form a separate language from Bulgarian, these dialects must have on one hand, a great closeness to each other; on the other - to have some special distinctions from today's literary Bulgarian language. We have neither the first nor the second: There are such differences between the many Macedonian dialects that they are hardly smaller than the differences that generally exist between the Macedonian and the East Bulgarian dialects. Here by the way, we will note that the often-used term „Macedonian dialect“, by which they understand the language of all Macedonians, is completely incorrect, because such a thing does not exist ...

2. ... Much of the popularity of the Bulgarian-literary language in Macedonia is due to the differences between the Macedonian dialects

- the literary language appears as a kind of conciliator between warring parties.

Thus, the unity of the Bulgarian literary language is naturally ensured... “.

Нашето убеждение е, че македонските наречна никогаш нема да представат почва за образување отделен, самостојателен, литературен език от владејуцата днес „источно-български“ и то, главно, по тези две причини, че :

1) За да могат да образуват македонските наречна особено литер. език от български, треба да притежават от една страна, голема близост по между си, от друга — да имат некакви специјални отличия от днешния литературен бъл. език. Нито едното нито другото има: между многото македонски говори съществуват такива разлики, што едва ли са по малки от тие разлики, които стојат изобщо помеѓу македонските и источно-българските говори. Тук ще забележим мимоходом, че често употребаваното название „македонско наречие“ под коешто почти разбираат езикот на сичките македонци, е сѐсем неверно, защото в действителност такво нешто не съществува. Езикот на Братја Миладинови, Жинзифов и некои други, не е македонски — в широк смисъл на думата, по охридско-прилепски говор, па и то не може да се каже, защото Братја Миладинови и Жинзифов имат за основа литер. источно бъл. наречие. —

2) Български литературен език в последните неколку десетолетна си е пазојувал такво влијание в езикот на македонците, што ништо не ще биде в сила да го отпеди, тој е фанал вече јаки корение, копто ништо не може да искорени. Разопра се, че народните говори упорствуваат тук, но тој отпор е слаб, така што литературни бъл. език лесно се пројќва. Ще кажем още, че голема част от распространението си в Македонија бъл. литер. език дължи именито на опова разлика помеѓу македонските говори — литературни език се јавијава като един вид примирител помеѓу враждујати страни. И така единството на български литер. език естествено е осигурено. Но по нашето миење само едното единство на

Part of the article of the Young Macedonian Literary Society "A Short Explanation", published in the "Loza" magazine (1892). It is written in a language that the authors themselves call "Bulgarian" and states that there can never be a separate Macedonian language. However, today in Republic of North Macedonia the Bulgarian language of "Loza" magazine has been declared a "Macedonian literary language".

As we see, the members of the Young Macedonian Literary Society not only considered their language to be Bulgarian, but also rejected the possibility of creating an independent „Macedonian“ language. Despite this clear position, today’s Skopje officials claim the exact opposite and attribute to the Young Macedonian Literary Society ideas they never had.

IV. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA TODAY

1. The search for truth and the state of human rights in today's Republic of North Macedonia

Although the Bulgarian literary language was persecuted on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia after 1944, a large part of the individuals who received their education before the period of creation and establishment of the „Macedonian“ language, continue to use literary Bulgarian language in family communication. During the preparation of this edition, a citizen of Republic of North Macedonia wrote us the following: *“I learned the Bulgarian language from my grandmother ... She wrote and read only in Bulgarian, she could not write in Macedonian, and she could not stand Serbian. In the distant 1954, I was at a summer camp on Prespa Lake, she wrote me a card in Bulgarian, but I returned it in an envelope... I did not receive another letter, and yet my grandmother waited for me when in a bus with children we arrived from Prespa ... She took me home, bathed me and in the morning took out some old Bulgarian primer and some textbook in Bulgarian and the learning began. In one week, I learned all the rules for reading, and I learned the vocabulary immediately, even some more obscure words, which even the Bulgarians (people with Bulgarian passports, author's note) do not know now.”* This example clearly shows that in Tito's Yugoslavia, even in a family environment, the study of the literary Bulgarian language was hindered.

The repressions in the second half of the 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s continued with numerous trials in the 1970s and 1980s. Yugoslav citizens from the then Socialist Republic of Macedonia were persecuted only for daring to import Bulgarian books from Bulgaria. For example, in 1970, Pliska Manasieva, a student at Sofia University in Shtip, was arrested. One of the reasons for the arrest was that she was transporting Bulgarian books. She was sentenced to one and a half years in prison and her father Todor Manasiev to four and a half years. In 1972, a trial was held against the Yugoslav citizen Petar Zaharov. He was sentenced to eight years in prison for „disputing the existence of a Macedonian nation, culture and language“. In the 1977 trial against Lazar

Krainichanets and Angel Mitrev they were accused of having read in literary Bulgarian language the book „Early Memories“ by Simeon Radev* and the brochure of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences „The Macedonian Question - Historical and Political Reference“. For this „fault“ the 82-year-old Lazar Krainichanets was sentenced to five and a half years in prison, and Angel Mitrev to 5 years.

If these are separate court decisions, Tito's Yugoslavia reacted fiercely to the book „The Victory“ by Tsola Dragoycheva, published in Bulgaria in 1975, which examined the contradictions between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav communist parties on the Macedonian issue in the period from 1943 to the mid-1970s. By special order of the Union Secretary of the Interior in Belgrade, the import, reading and distribution of this book in Yugoslavia was banned under the threat of 3 years in prison. In the 1980s, there was still an iron curtain between Sofia and Belgrade, with the Yugoslav authorities pursuing even an attempt to transfer any editions into literary Bulgarian language.

This policy continued in the 1990s after the secession of today's Republic of North Macedonia from Yugoslavia. For example, on March 18, 1992, police searched Angel Mitrev's home in Skopje. According to the issued protocol, *“issues from the „Macedonia“ newspaper, printed in Bulgarian, issues from the „Zora“ newspaper, printed in Bulgarian... one issue of the „Macedonian Tribune“ newspaper, one book „IMRO“ by Ivan Mikhailov”* were seized.** In the police report it was explicitly written:

* Simeon Radev (1879 - 1967) was a prominent Bulgarian revolutionary, writer, publicist, diplomat and historian, born in the town of Resen (today in RS Macedonia). Author of the multivolume work „The Builders of Modern Bulgaria“.

** Ivan Mihailov (1896 - 1990) was a member of the Central Committee of the IMRO from 1925 until its disbandment in 1934. He affirmed the idea of an independent Macedonia. After 1934 he lived in exile and until his death led a constant struggle to protect the rights of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. The documents written by him and by his Macedonian Patriotic Organizations in the United States and Canada after 1945 are a valuable source of information about the struggle and repression of the population in Macedonia. Most of the sentences of citizens of Tito's Yugoslavia from the People's Republic of Macedonia were recorded as accusations that they were followers of Ivan Mihailov. Often, to cover up this fact, his name was written only as VM - Vancho Mihailov.

„REMINDER: all magazines are printed in Bulgarian language“.

СОБРАНИЕ НА ГРАД СКОПЈЕ
Секретаријат за внатрешни работи
П.С. (С.С.И.Д.П.)
(назив на орг., единица)
Број _____ КУ бр. _____
16.11. 1992 год.

Да се враќа на граѓанинот!

СЕ ПОТВРДУВА дека овластеното службено лице Миле Јовановиќ на 16.11.1992 год. во 10⁰⁰ саатот, врз основите на член 210 и 211 од ЗКРВ, изврши

1. ВЛЕГУВАЊЕ ВО СТАНОТ И ДРУГИТЕ ПРОСТОРИИ

на Миле Јовановиќ од Скопје
(Презиме и име - назив на орг. устан.)
улица Срѓино Пупуновиќ број 48Б, заради

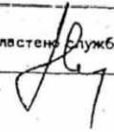
- постојно на една од наведените причини:
- а) држачот на станот тоа го бараше,
 - б) некој викаше за помош,
 - в) потребно беше да се фати извршителот на лице место,
 - г) во станот или другите простории се наоѓаше лице кое по наредба од надлежниот државен орган треба да се притвори или присилно приведе,
 - д) во станот или другите простории се наоѓаше лице кое поради гонење за сторено кр. дело тука се засолнило,
 - е) заради сигурноста на луѓето и имотот
 - ж) очигледно беше дека на друг начин не може да се обезбедат докази за кривичната постапка

2. ПРИВРЕМЕНО ОДЗЕМАЊЕ НА ПРЕДМЕТИ

од Миле Јовановиќ ул. С. Пупуновиќ
(презиме и име - назив) бр. 48Б, и тоа:

- 8) сума провизија со лимит на Улеа Митрев
- 1) провизија од вестникот "Македонија" издаван на _____
- 2) провизија од вестникот "Зора" издаван на Булеварот Зорин
- 3) провизија од вестникот "Ден" издаван на Булеварот Зорин
- 4) провизија од вестникот "Ден" издаван на Булеварот Зорин
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- 7) провизија од вестникот "Ден" издаван на Булеварот Зорин
- 8) провизија од вестникот "Ден" издаван на Булеварот Зорин

Одговорно лице Миле Јовановиќ за да
Потпис на страната
на Собранието

Овластено службено лице
(м.п.) 

Основот да се заокружи!

Непотребното да се прецрта

Confirmation from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for seized literature in Bulgarian language by Angel Mitrev on March 18, 1992.

Outraged by such police arbitrariness, Angel Mitrev filed a written objection with the Skopje government against the confiscation of his books and newspapers. According to decision № 28/11-409/1-92, his appeal was rejected on the grounds that „*in his words he was planning to distribute (the books) amongst his friends*“. The above case clearly illustrates the fact that possession of books in the Bulgarian literary language in the Republic of North Macedonia continues to be a crime, on one hand, and on the other hand, the fear of the Skopje authorities that these books will be distributed.

The Macedonian authorities are paying particular attention to border control. In the case of Bulgarian books or even small texts in Bulgarian being found in citizens' personal effects, they are confiscated. Some of the authors of this edition have been subject to confiscations of books in literary Bulgarian language.

Albanian citizens of Bulgarian origin are experiencing great difficulties in passing through the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia. Although in transit, the Macedonian authorities do not allow them to transport books in literary Bulgarian language for their personal needs. For example, on January 26, 1996, while passing through Macedonian territory, the police found the album „Kyustendil and the Liberation Struggles of Macedonia“ in the luggage of the Albanian citizen Andrej Shtika from Tirana. As there were short descriptions in Bulgarian language under each photo, the edition was confiscated.

The case of Dimitar Delevski from Skopje is indicative. On March 26, 1993, during an inspection at the Deve Bair border checkpoint, two calendars with the inscription „100 years of IMRO „ were found with a photo of the first name and statute of this organization below it, which was „*Bulgarian Macedonian - Edirne Revolutionary Committees*“. This same argument that was stated in the protocol for confiscation of the calendars.

The Macedonian journalist Stefan Sharovski, who was beaten, gave information about the repression of Dimitar Delevski on January 26, 1996: „*I would also like to mention Dimitar Delevski, who was a correspondent for the Bulgarian newspaper „Macedonia“ ... The fact is that it was impossible for him to send in articles from Macedonia. Delevski in Ohrid was beaten in the same way (as Stefan Sharovsky).*“

РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ЗА ВНАТРЕШНИ РАБОТИ
СЛУЖБА ЗА ЈАВНА БЕЗБЕДНОСТ

Управа за внатрешни работи Куманово
Одделение за внатрешни работи _____
Политичка станица за КПДГ-Делев Баир
Бр. 71-01/127 кв. бр. _____
26.03. 1993 199__ година
Делев Баир

Врз основа на член 211 став 5, а во врска со член 151, 152, 154, 164, 196 и 210 од ЗКП, односно член 47 од ЗП и член _____ од Правилникот за правилата за вршење на работите на СЈВ („Службен весник на СРМ“ бр. 29/85) ПС за КПДГ Делев Баир

(најло на организационата единица)
на лицето Делевски Димитар, МБ ПИ 0030745
роден-а 1.11. 1968 година, во Скопје р Македонија
со постојано место на живеење во Скопје
ул. Манчу Матак бр. 37 му се издава:

ПОТВРДА

за привремено одземени предмети

Областеното службено лице Сребре Бабиански на ден 26.03. 1993 година, во _____ часот, привремено ги одземе следните предмети (број, вид, големина, особина и слично):

1. Два Календари со датуми 100 години ВМРО, на кој се македонски
2. револуционери и во кои е испишан уставот на Бугарско-Македонско-
3. Одринаски Революционерен комитет на ВМРО.
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Заклучно со реден број 1 (еден).

Наведените предмети се предмети на кривично дело – прекршок со кој е оштетен _____ од _____.

Предметите се одземени од:

Делевски Димитар



Сребре Бабиански
(областено службено лице)

Protocol for seizure of 2 calendars in Bulgarian language from the Macedonian citizen Dimitar Delevski (1993).

In addition, the security services in today's Republic of North Macedonia have created lists of people who defend the historical truth, monitor their movements, and control their contacts. Some of the authors of this publication have also been victims of this policy, which have restricted their human rights and have humiliated them. For example, in 1994 Vlado Treneski was the owner of Radio "Me" in Ohrid. The radio broadcasts folk music not only from Macedonia, but also from other Bulgarian music and folklore areas such as Shopluka, Thrace, the Rhodopes and others. Since through such broadcasts the listeners were realizing the unity of Bulgarian folklore and the language used in it in its various dialectal forms, the Macedonian services began to monitor all the actions of Vlado Treneski, which is recorded in his police file. The companies advertising on the radio were sought after and pressured to suspend their ads, which resulted in the radio's bankruptcy. During the next period of Vlado Treneski's life, agents of the Macedonian secret services were purposefully sent to his home in Ohrid to gather information. An official note attached to his police file in 1998 stated what they were interested in: *„I have known for some time about his claims that he is a Macedonian Bulgarian and that we are all Bulgarians... I noticed in his home that his daughter was watching an animated film translated into Bulgarian. I asked him why, and he answered in all seriousness that he wanted to teach her his mother tongue.”*

It is obvious that for the secret services of today's Republic of North Macedonia the manifestation of Bulgarian self-consciousness and the desire to master the literary Bulgarian language continues to be a crime. Vlado Treneski himself was repeatedly subjected to repression because of his desire to preserve and pass on to his heirs his Bulgarian self-consciousness. The last search of his home was carried out by police officers of the Republic of North Macedonia in 2019.

Particularly brutality is observed in the behavior of the authorities in Skopje towards Macedonian political emigrants who live in the EU or North American countries and publish literature dedicated to the Macedonian Question in the Bulgarian language. Although most of these emigrants are foreign nationals, their identity documents have been monitored, detained, and even confiscated during their visits to their homelands.

8 2538

МВР на Р.МАКЕДОНИЈА
ДБК - СКОПЈЕ
УДБК - ОХРИД
ОУДБК - ОХРИД
Инспектор: [REDACTED]
Ев.бр.235
28.04.1998 г.
О х р и д

ДРЖАВНА ТАЈНА
СТРОГО ДОВЕРЛИВО

СЕКТОР: ЗАШТИТА НА УСТАВНИОТ
ПОРЕДОК
ЛИНИЈА: ПОЛИТИЧКО НАСИЛСТВО И
ТЕРОРИЗАМ
ПРЕДМЕТ: ОО-"ФИЛОЗОФ"

СЛУЖБЕНА БЕЛЕШКА

За обавен разговор

I. На ден 13.04.1998 година во кафе бар "БАСС" Охрид, од 01,00 до 02,00 часот, обавен е разговор со [REDACTED] роден [REDACTED] во Охрид, каде и живее, [REDACTED] државјанин на Р.Македонија, [REDACTED] работник, [REDACTED]

Разговорот е обавен на негова иницијатива
Направени трошоци нема.
Службената белешка се поднесува на 28.04.1998 година.

II. Разговорот се однесува на активностите и однесувањето на ОО "Филозоф".

III. а. Во разговорот [REDACTED] не извести за следното:

"Пред извесно време, ОО "Филозоф" ме распрашуваше дали ти (лично обраќање) си зборува нешто за него, после вашиот долг отворен разговор, обавен во кафе бар "БАСС", во врска со неговите активности (н.з. разговорот со ОО "Филозоф" беше обавен без присуство на [REDACTED] на 13.03.1998 година [REDACTED].

При тоа, ОО "Филозоф" истакна дека, после тој разговор, во кој тој, отворено ти објаснил со што се занимава, ти уште повеќе си го ценел и си му бил-станал поголем пријател.

За неговите ваќања дека тој е "Македонски бугарин" и дека ние сите сме биле Бугари, јас незнаев до пред извесно време, кога тој почна отворено да зборува, а истото го забележав и во други прилики. На пример, забележав дека во неговиот дом, неговата ќерка гледа црпан филм на бугарски превод-јазик. Го прашав зошто, тој сериозно ми одговори, за да го научи мајчиниот јазик.

Потоа, за набавка на столици за кафе барот, отид [REDACTED] ОО "Филозоф" во Р.Бугарија. На границата [REDACTED] дочека некој си мушкар од Р.Бугарија, негов пријател, кој [REDACTED] одведе директно во бабриката од каде што купивме столици.

Part of the secret police file of Vlado Treneski, one of the authors of this book. He was under surveillance because he considered himself a Macedonian Bulgarian and because his child was watching cartoons translated into Bulgarian to learn her mother tongue (1998).

On May 17, 1996, the Public Security Service at the Ministry of the Interior of today's Republic of North Macedonia temporarily confiscated the Belgian passport of Alexander Stoymenov, a native of the village of Velyusa, Strumica region. Metodi Dimov from Bitola, also a Belgian citizen was treated in a similarly arrogant way. Both are members of the Macedonian Patriotic Organization „Todor Alexandrov“ in Brussels and assisted in the printing of some of Ivan Mihailov's books, which are in Bulgarian language.

РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ЗА ВНАТРЕШНИ РАБОТИ
СРЪЖБА ЗА ЈАВНА БЕЗБЕДНОСТ

Управа за извршени работи СТРУМИЦА
Бидејќи за внатрешни работи
Видливи стапки З.О. КРАЈ. Н. Село
Бр. 9 К. бр. _____
17.05 1996 година
СТРУМИЦА

Врз основа на член 211 став 5, а во врска со член 151, 152, 154, 184, и 210 од ЗКП, односно член 47 од ЗП и член _____ од Правилникот за правилата за вршење на работите на СЈБ („Службен весник на СРМ“ бр. 29/85) _____ П.С. ЗА КРАЈ. НОВО СЕЛО (имале на организационата единица)
на лицето СТОЈМЕНОВ АЛЕКСАНДАР РАСН. БР. У 359342
роден-д. 16.02 1927 година во с. ВЕВУСА СТРУМИЦА
р. МАКЕДОНИЈА, со постојано место на живеење во БЕЛГИЈА
ул. ОЛИТЧНА ВАТЕРЛОД бр. _____, му се издава оваа

ПОТВРДА

за призмемно одземени предмети

Овластеното службено лице ТРАЈКОВ ВОЈАН на ден 17.05 1996 година, во 12.00 часот, призмемно ги одземе следните предмети (број, вид, големина, особини и слично):

1. БЕЛГИСКИ ПАСОШ БР. У 359342
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Заклучно со реден број 1 со букви еден

Наведените предмети се спремни на кривичното дело – прекршок со кој е оштетен _____ од _____

Предметите се одземени од: _____ (овластено службено лице)



Confirmation of the Public Security Service at the Ministry of Interior of today's Republic of North Macedonia for temporary revocation of the Belgian passport of Alexander Stoimenov (1996).

The repression of those citizens of today's Republic of North Macedonia, who are relatives of the Macedonian political emigrants, is extremely severe. For example, on October 6, 1995, Maria Stoimenova and her husband Georgi Stoimenov were arrested in Skopje. The reason for the arrest was their family ties with Alexander Stoimenov. Maria Stoimenova is one of the few Macedonian citizens who dared to describe

her torture during the arrest in front of a member of the author's team of this study: "I went to the toilet and at that moment the woman (from the police, author's note) came in with me and while I was doing the most intimate need - a physiological need, she was standing next to me." Here is how Maria Stoimenova describes her interrogation: "They started with a threat, to make me understand that whatever I said, and I had to say everything back from the first arrival of Alexander Stoimenov, to recall

и ако не признам дека јас сум ^{5,} го
мајорската сиберијанец и киропапиров
со мене е крив, дека мачноста ми е
ми го сменај м дека 20 год ќе редом
забор.

Тој на разговорот; ајде кажи ми кога
и тој кај рајде Алекса Стојменов во
Скопје и со кој луѓе се среќава во Скопје
и кајо зборуваме, одговори ми дека
како кајо беа, но кајо кајо ме беа
заговори, ја ќе се протрела мајор
ми ми, и ќе ме испречија; јас каде
одам, кајо работам, во кои се обрени
земји имам одам, кајо бајо сум бил
во Бугарија, што од Бугарија имам
носено за лекарството, одлично кајо
Алекса ми има работно за пренесан цука
во Скопје, каде се во лекарството се
и кајо дважето и зорубо, дојда ботина
деној кајо, кајо издужније се одену
ваа ма сегој тас им 22. во то 2-3
интервјуа во исто време, така маче-
ње и испречијање дено-ноќе, а
јас веќе познав да испречам сја

Part of Maria Stoimenova's descriptions about the tortures during her arrest in Skopje in 1996.

when he came, with whom did he come, to what end, at what border did he enter, with whom did he meet, what did he talk about, how long he stayed in Macedonia, whom he called on the phone, what ideas did he have, what was his purpose in Macedonia, why was he coming to us, where was he moving around Macedonia, and if I didn't say that... it would be over with me... and I would serve a 20 year sentence in prison. The interrogation started: Come on, tell us when Alexander Stoimenov first came to Skopje, what people did he meet in Skopje, what did he talk about? ... Where do I go, what do I work for... how many times have I been to Bulgaria, what do I bring from Bulgaria to Macedonia?"

And here are the descriptions of the physical torture itself: *„One of the inspectors told me: “ Well, if you do not want to voluntarily admit that you committed the assassination of Kiro Gligorov, you will be forced to do it“ and that he didn't have the nerves to argue with me. He left and in 5 minutes he came back with a truncheon, started bragging, first hitting the wall, then the desk and shouting at me: „Do you realize what will happen to you?“ He started pushing me with his hand towards the wall and when I reached it, he started pushing me against the wall with the words: „You are very strong, stronger than the wall, let's see if you are stronger than the truncheon?“ ... What was happening to me, being abused and humiliated, was happening to my husband as well, only that he was beaten mercilessly... On the sixth day (from arrest, author's note) I collapsed from hunger and insomnia“.*

During the period under review, two political parties were banned on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia: the Party for Human Rights and the IMRO - Tatkovinska Party. The reason for this is that they were fighting for the rights of local citizens with preserved Bulgarian identity.

The case of Dimitar Tsarnomarov from Bitola, Chairman of the IMRO - Tatkovinska Party is indicative. He was arrested on March 8, 1995 and detained for more than three days. During the search, all the documentation of the party and all its literature in literary Bulgarian language were confiscated. His passport was also confiscated. During his arrest, he was questioned about his contacts with various public circles in Bulgaria. He was hit on the head with the butt of an automatic weapon, as a result of which he was temporarily injured. At the same time or later, arrests were made of other members of the IMRO - Tatko-

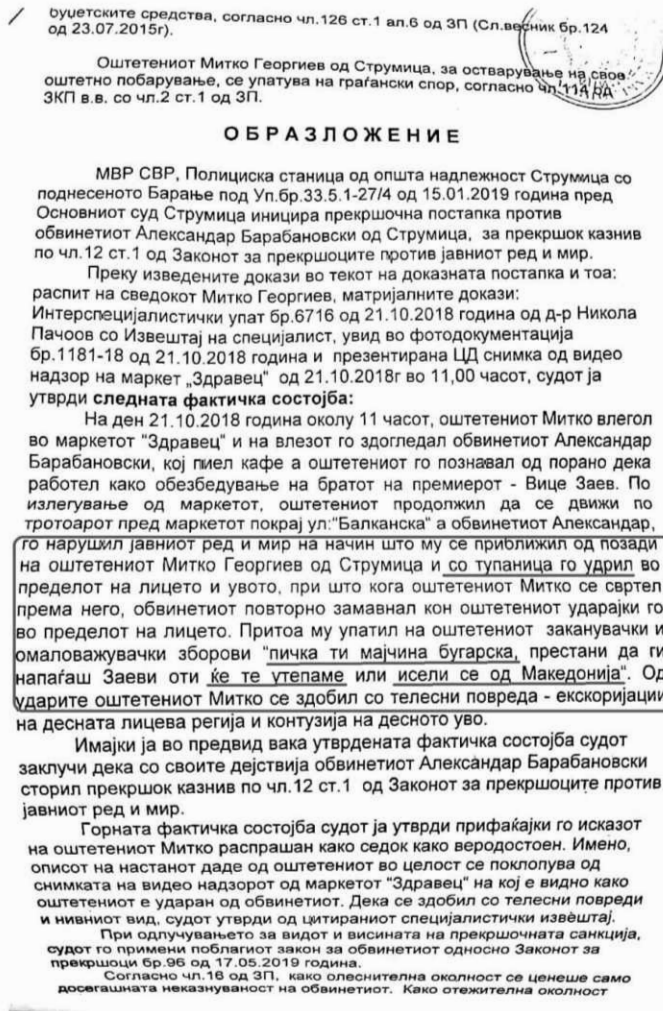
vinska Party. For example, on March 6, 1996, 25-year-old Trayan Godev was detained in Strumica. He was escorted to his home, where he was searched. Literature in literary Bulgarian language was confiscated from him.

A similar repressive practice with regard to the Bulgarian literary language and the persons with preserved Bulgarian self-consciousness is observed even today. In a decision of November 30, 2020 of the Basic Court in Strumica, Republic of North Macedonia, it was stated that Alexander Barabanovski, who worked as a security guard for Vice Zaev (brother of the current Prime Minister of Republic of North Macedonia Zoran Zaev) on October 21, 2018 punched Mitko Georgiev from Strumica him in the face and ear and addressed him the following insulting and threatening words: *„Fuck your Bulgarian mother, stop attacking the Zaevs, I will kill you if you don't move out of Macedonia „.*

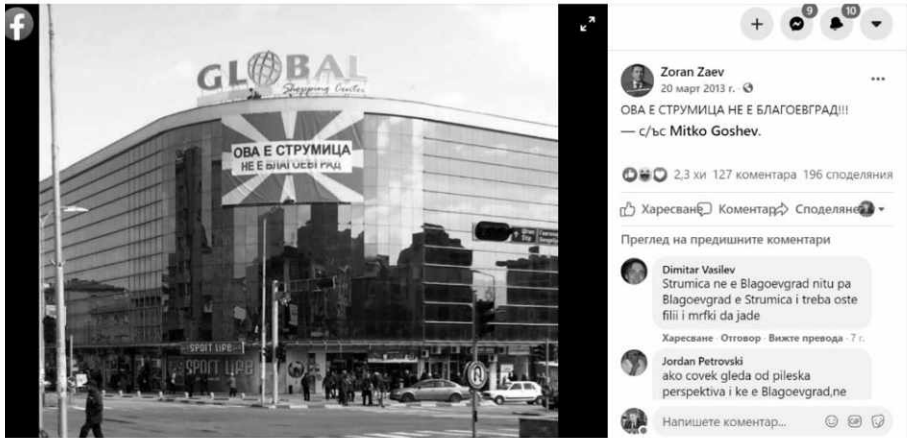
According to our sources, during his visits to Strumica, A. Barabanovski also guarded Zoran Zaev. Before becoming prime minister, Zoran Zaev was mayor of Strumica and during his election campaign in 2013 he made and placed an campaign banner on the facade of the Global shopping center in the town square, containing hate speech: *„This is Strumica, not Blagoevgrad (the capital of Pirin Macedonia in Bulgaria).“* Zoran Zaev praised himself for this act on his Facebook profile on March 20, 2013. These examples show that even the family of the current Prime Minister of Republic of North Macedonia, despite his claims that he pursues a friendly policy towards Bulgaria, is directly involved in directing the anti-Bulgarian campaign.

A person who requested anonymity but is known to the author's team of this study, shared in December 2020: *„I have gone through the police stations in 1990 and 1991, when the first IMRO was formed. For us, it was a hope that the old Bulgarian alphabet would be recovered, that we would get closer to Bulgaria and that our relations would be much closer, which is why we were abolishing the Yugoslav federation. Whenever we went to various rallies, events in the squares, those who were of Bulgarian identity and who kept our family memory, we were called in to the police stations to be interrogated about what we were doing there. We were threatened too... There was a fight. My son was threatened that he would be beaten two weeks ago. He does not like being called a Tartar. He also has a Bulgarian self-consciousness. He*

has realized on his own that he is Bulgarian, and he always demonstrates it. Three weeks ago, they put some chemical, some liquid, on my car. Then the car had to be repainted in a workshop. They did this because the car had Bulgarian license plates. There were also cases when people went to be tested for the coronavirus. Those who knew that they



Page 2 of a decision of 30 November 2020 of the Basic Court in Strumica, according to which A. Barabanovski, who worked as a security guard for Vice Zaev, brother of the current Prime Minister of Republic of North Macedonia, threatened a local Bulgarian that he would kill him or that he should be evicted from the state.



A screenshot from Zoran Zaev's personal Facebook profile with a photo he uploaded of his campaign banner in Strumica, containing hate speech: „This is Strumica, not Blagoevgrad“ (March 20, 2013).

had a Bulgarian self-consciousness were told to go to Sofia and be tested there. This was very inhumane.“

As a result of the continuation of this repressive policy which makes personal growth impossible for anyone who manifests Bulgarian self-consciousness, today a largely accepted view among some circles is that the ethnic transformation of the Bulgarian share of the population of today's Republic of North Macedonia is an irreversible process. It is a fact that even today there are cases of people who felt Bulgarians after the secession of Republic of North Macedonia from Yugoslavia in 1991, but mostly because of the political situation and the quest for career development they currently declare themselves as “Macedonians” with verbal aggression towards everything Bulgarian.

For example such is the case with Antonio Milososki, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first and second governments of Nikola Gruevski (2006-2011) and currently a member of the Executive Committee of VMRO-DPMNE. In the period 1995-1997 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Young Forces of VMRO-DPMNE, and in 1997-1998 he was its deputy chairman. During this period, Milososki often came to Bulgaria, led youth delegations, maintained contacts with Bulgarian patriotic formations, and according to former VMRO-DPMNE leader Lyubcho Georgievski, during this period

he „*declared himself a pure Bulgarian.*“ It is as such that he is known to some of the authors of this edition, with whom he has maintained contacts and about whom there are publications in the media of Republic of North Macedonia.

Nikola Dimitrov - former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of North Macedonia in the first government of Zoran Zaev (2017 - 2020), and currently Deputy Prime Minister in charge of European affairs of Republic of North Macedonia in the second government of Zoran Zaev - has gone through a similar metamorphosis. On several occasions in his public speeches, Nikola Dimitrov accused Bulgaria of questioning the modern Macedonian identity, although he himself was very well acquainted with the facts and their falsification. Nikola Dimitrov is the son of Dimitar Dimitrov, former Minister of Education in the first government of today's Republic of North Macedonia after its secession from Yugoslavia (1991-1992) and Minister of Culture and Education in the government of Lyubcho Georgievski (1998-1999). In 1999, he published the book "The Name and the Mind", in which he wrote: „*The greatest sin of the Macedonians was that they were Bulgarians and that Europe, through Greece and Serbia, did not allow them to continue to be so. Should they surrender? ... The nation is bleeding and crucified, how can you escape this sin, which is your essence, what you are? We, the Macedonian nation, the collection, and the contemporary product of this drama, have no reason to be ashamed of ourselves, of the twelve-century ethnobiography under the name "Bulgarians". Shame on Europe ... teaching (the people, author' note) "to hate their name and family."*“

At the same time, the reverse processes are taking place in Republic of North Macedonia. It is not uncommon for citizens of today's Republic of North Macedonia with Macedonian self-consciousness, after getting acquainted with the objective historical facts, to start advocating Bulgarian positions and even become activists of Bulgarian organizations. Such phenomena were observed in the 1980s, mainly among Yugoslav citizens from the Republic of Macedonia residing in the West, and in the early 1990s at the beginning of democratic processes in the break-up of Yugoslavia. A similar phenomenon is observed today with the growing role of social media as a major opportunity for access to objective information.

All the above shows that there is a process and not a one-time one-way act of ethnic transformation on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia. This process takes place in certain political environment and as soon as it changes its direction to actual democratization, a more favorable environment for preserving and promoting the historical truth about the period before the establishment of the communist regime in Yugoslavia may arise.

Today, because of the process described above, among the representatives of the same genera, even within the same families in Republic of North Macedonia, there are individuals with Bulgarian and Macedonian self-consciousness. Between these two „extremes“ there are transitional groups of people with multi-layered self-consciousness, including a dual one. In these cases, the same individuals appear in public with their regional consciousness as Macedonians, but in a family environment or in front of Bulgarians from Bulgaria they declare themselves as Bulgarians, which does not lead to internal conflict. The groups described have the same cultural traditions, sing the same folk songs, and dance the same folk dances. There are no ethnocultural differences between them; there is nothing specific to distinguish them from each other. The only difference is in self-perception. From this point of view, the individuals presenting themselves today as Bulgarians in Republic of North Macedonia cannot be considered as a national minority, but rather as a socio-cultural group. The political consequence of this is that the manifestation of Bulgarian self-consciousness in Republic of North Macedonia today does not further fragment the society on ethnic grounds, and the political tension it creates is related to decommunization and de-Yugoslavization.

In view of the language situation in the Republic of North Macedonia, the fact that should be taken into account is that the individuals with preserved Bulgarian self-consciousness still call their language Bulgarian, and those with Macedonian - Macedonian. Both groups speak virtually the same language but call it by two different names. Based on the understanding that the right to ethnic self-determination of the individual is fundamental and irrevocable, no one can restrict the right of individuals who feel today as ethnic Macedonians to call their language Macedonian. However, this universal human right must also apply to those citizens of Republic of North Macedonia who, despite the repres-

sion, continue to preserve their Bulgarian self-consciousness and call their language Bulgarian. Moreover, this language, apart from the known lexical differences, as a structure does not differ from the language of the Bulgarian Renaissance people from Macedonia.

2. Contemporary communication in the Bulgarian language space

The existing diversity of written norms in the Bulgarian language space raises the question about the way of nationwide communication, as this problem is most acute in Republic of North Macedonia because of the largest community of Bulgarian origin historians there.

The long-term efforts of Belgrade and Skopje to distance the language in Republic of North Macedonia from the Bulgarian language as well as to hinder contacts between the communities of the two countries, have not achieved their pursued goals. An eloquent example of a state-directed anti-Bulgarian campaign was the removal in 1999 of the director of the Ohrid Summer International Festival, Vlado Treneski, one of the authors of this study. The attack on him was provoked by two reasons: the first one was that he invited to the festival the prominent Bulgarian performers Valya Balkanska and Teodosii Spasov, and the second one was that the festival was opened by the Bulgarian Vice President Todor Kavaldzhiev and not by the then Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov. Vlado Treneski was declared „*the main Bulgarianizer of Macedonian culture*“, and in only one week over 400 articles and cartoons against him were published in the local media.

Despite the policy of Skopje to minimize cultural cooperation with Bulgaria, for the population living in the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, the language of Republic of North Macedonia is still perceived as Bulgarian. Indicative is the case with the news program of February 22, 2019 on Skopje TV „Channel 5“ about the child of the Serbian Prime Minister Ana Bernabic. In Serbia, the language was perceived as Bulgarian, i.e. the official language of Republic of North Macedonia in Serbia was recognized as Bulgarian, despite the use of different written forms. It is a common phenomenon that when citizens of Republic of North Macedonia cross the Serbian border or the borders of other former Yugoslav republics they are perceived as Bulgarians.

The language perception is similar in neighboring Greece. Par-

ticularly significant is the case on June 15, 2018, when from the tribune of the Greek Parliament MP Iorgos Ursuzidis made an address to the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia, speaking in pure Bulgarian, which he declared Macedonian. In his speech in Greek, Iorgos Ursuzidis stated: „*Addressing our northern neighbors, I want to convey a message in their language - South Slavic, as clearly stated in the agreement,*“ and then continued in literary Bulgarian: „*Dear neighbors, friends of the Republic of Northern Macedonia, as we agreed, it is time to put aside everything that divides us and see ahead what mutual understanding is, and cooperation, and love.*“

Despite Skopje's reluctance, the development of information technologies, globalization and the inevitable processes of democratization create an opportunity for an increasingly intensive dialogue by both sides of the border with Bulgaria. The importance of social media, in which there are various Bulgarian-Macedonian discussion groups and forums, is great. Both Bulgarians from Bulgaria and citizens of Republic of North Macedonia take part in this dialogue, some of them with preserved Bulgarian self-consciousness, and others with Macedonian.

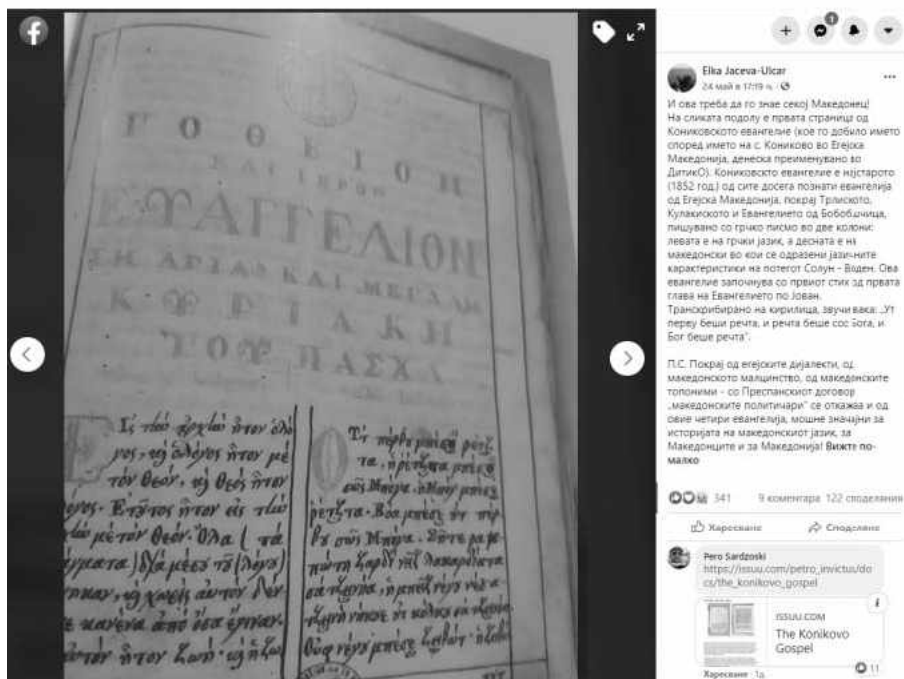
In this communication, as a rule, the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia use the Skopje written norm, and the citizens of Bulgaria use the literary Bulgarian language. The use of the two norms is not an obstacle to their mutual understanding.

Of interest is the way of expression in these forums of the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia with Bulgarian self-consciousness. Some of them use the Skopje norm, others write in the local Macedonian dialect, written in Bulgarian alphabet, and others have partially or completely mastered the literary Bulgarian language.

The written practices observed categorically show that the language process in Republic of North Macedonia is not frozen, and complex interactions are taking place there now. On the one hand, despite the attempts to distance the written norms of Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia, the citizens of the two countries communicate without problems. At the same time, there is a process of convergence of speech and written practices between the citizens of Bulgaria and those of the Republic of North Macedonia with Bulgarian self-awareness. Some of these processes follow the already established model in Albania and among the emigrants from Aegean Macedonia to reject the Serbisms and

the Serbianized Macedonian alphabet and converge with the literary Bulgarian language, including the use of the Bulgarian alphabet.

Using the influence of the social media, the authorities in Skopje distribute deliberately created false „documents“ that cannot be found in any archive or scientific publication, false news or manipulations with anti-Bulgarian orientation. Thus, for example, on May 24, 2020, which in Bulgaria is celebrated as the feast day of St. St. Cyril and Methodius and Bulgarian literature and culture, the Macedonian professor Elka Yacheva-Ulchar posted on her Facebook profile a statement that „every Macedonian should know it!“. *„In the photo below is the first page of the Konikovo Gospel (which has received its name from the village of Konikovo in Aegean Macedonia, today renamed Ditiko). The Gospel of Konikovo is the oldest (1852) of all known gospels from Aegean Macedonia, together with the Tarlis, Kulakia and Bobobshtitsa Gospels, written in Greek script in two columns: the left is in Greek language,*



Screenshot from the personal profile of Prof. Elka Yacheva-Ulchar on Facebook with false claims that the Konikovo Gospel was written in the „Macedonian“ language (May 24, 2020).

and the right is in Macedonian, which reflects the linguistic characteristics of the region of Thessaloniki - Voden. P.S. Apart from the Aegean dialects, the Macedonian minority, the Macedonian toponyms - with the Prespa Treaty the „Macedonian politicians“ also renounced these four gospels of great importance to the history of the Macedonian language, for the Macedonians and for Macedonia. “!

What was written by the Macedonian professor Elka Yacheva-Ulchar in 2020 is an outright lie and another robbery of the Bulgarian cultural and historical heritage.

Prof. Elka Yacheva-Ulchar did not actually publish the first page



Photocopies of the original title pages of the Konikovo (1852) and Kulakia (1863) Gospels. Both state they are written in Bulgarian, which is now declared „Macedonian“ in Republic of North Macedonia.

Photocopies of the original title pages of the Konikovo (1852) and Kulakia (1863) Gospels. Both state they are written in Bulgarian, which is now declared „Macedonian“ in Republic of North Macedonia.

of the Konikovo Gospel. The reason for this was that on it, although in Greek letters, it was written that it was in Bulgarian: ΤΥΠΟΣΑΝΟ ΝΑ ΜΠΟΓΑΡΣΚΟΙ ΓΕΖΙΚ (in transcription: typeset in Bulgarian). Yet Prof. Elka Yacheva-Ulchar continued lying. Her claim that the Kulakia Gospel of 1863 was written in „Macedonian“ was also untrue. On its first page it is written: Ισκάρενο να πούγκαρτσκο ιζίκ τουβάσνο ζπόρ (in transcription: written in the Bulgarian language in the local dialect).

In view of this widespread practice of spreading falsehoods, in December 2020, the European Parliament published the study „Mapping False News and Misinformation in the Western Balkans and Identifying Ways to Counter it Effectively“. Regarding the Republic of North Macedonia, it states that the country’s policy provides a favorable environment for the development of disinformation. The disinformation campaigns cataloged in this study exacerbate internal conflicts and damage Skopje’s international relations with Bulgaria, Greece, and the EU, or disrupt and distort critical electoral processes, with obvious consequences for the country’s further European integration. An essential feature of the disinformation campaigns in Republic of North Macedonia is that they focus exclusively on identity issues.

Recently, Skopje, resorted to the use of trolls on the social media who use extremely vulgar hate speech in relation to everything concerning Bulgaria. The activity of the more active Bulgarians from Republic of North Macedonia in the social networks is monitored and public lists with their names and calls for their physical destruction have been compiled, including their expulsion from the country.

An important fact related to the control over the modern means of communication is that at the end of 2020 only 12 selected people have the rights as administrators in the North Macedonian Wikipedia. For example, the page created by one of them for Gotse Delchev is locked indefinitely and he is the only one who has the key for unlocking it. This practice contradicts the very concept of the web-based encyclopedia with open content, allowing anyone with access to the Internet to participate in its editing and development. Thus, one is not allowed to upload copies of original documents and other independent information that contradicts the official Macedonianism concept.

Regardless of the policy of limiting contacts and opposition, the facts clearly show that for the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia

it is extremely easy to learn the literary Bulgarian language. For example, from 1992 to 2020, 5 327 people enrolled in higher education institutions in Bulgaria as students, doctoral students, and postgraduates, and most of them declared their Bulgarian ethnicity themselves. Some of them start their studies directly at Bulgarian universities, while others go through a one-month course, during which they learn the rules of Bulgarian spelling. Such a phenomenon could not have been put into practice if the mother tongue of the students from Republic of North Macedonia was not Bulgarian.

It is also important that from January 1, 2010 to October 22, 2020, 77 829 citizens of Republic of North Macedonia have applied for Bulgarian citizenship, all of them declaring Bulgarian origin. Out of them, 65 675 individuals have already acquired Bulgarian citizenship by decree of the Vice President of the Republic of Bulgaria. All documentation and interviews conducted during the acquisition of Bulgarian citizenship are in Bulgarian and this is obviously not a problem for the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia.

Further to the presented facts, it is obvious that the Macedonian language issue is not frozen and most likely it will develop along with the democratization of the country. How far this process will go will depend only on the will of the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia, an integral part of which are those who have still preserved their Bulgarian identity.

CONCLUSION

The concealment and falsification of the facts from the distant and recent past of the geographical area of Macedonia was carried out in Belgrade and Skopje with the full awareness that in this way it was easier to create the Macedonian identity. This was made possible by the specific geopolitical situation in the region after the Second World War. After 1948, Tito's Yugoslavia managed to some extent to break away from the Soviet Bloc, and although it preserved the form of a communist dictatorship, it began to play the role of a buffer zone between the two opposing camps. However, the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and the process of democratization in Eastern Europe made this role meaningless, and ultimately the crimes of the communist regime in Belgrade led to its disintegration.

The new geopolitical situation forced Skopje to embark on the path to its independence though timidly and reluctantly. And even today, it has not abandoned the vicious practices of the totalitarian period. It turns out that in some parts of the Balkans the "Berlin Wall" still exists.

If until 1989 Moscow's desire to return Belgrade under its sphere of influence led to pressure on Bulgaria to tacitly accept the anti-Bulgarian policy of Yugoslavia, the subsequently changed conditions enabled Sofia to begin defending its national interests. The dispute between Bulgaria and today's Republic of North Macedonia, an integral part of which is the question of the nature of the official language in Skopje, has begun to gain wider international attention. It turned out that the 45-year Soviet pressure exerted by the communist regime had failed to blunt Bulgarian public sensitivity towards Macedonia.

Unlike Bulgaria, which under the influence of the geopolitical situation had an inconsistent policy towards Macedonia, and not only towards it, but also towards the entire diaspora, the Serbian consolidated and consistent doctrine regardless of the ruling regimes (royal or communist) is impressive. This affects the current state of the situation in Republic of North Macedonia and its relations with neighboring countries. So, it is more than necessary to develop a comprehensive, consis-

tent long-term concept for the Bulgarian diaspora, which will not be affected by any change of government in Bulgaria. The concept should combine pragmatism and patriotism in a consolidating, clear, logical, and specific framework. In respect of Republic of North Macedonia, Bulgaria should minimize the consequences of the Serbian doctrine for separation and opposition through expanded cooperation and greater presence including the creation and development of mixed entities such as the Association of Bulgarian-Macedonian Municipalities or general professional associations. To avoid inconsistency of actions on part of Bulgaria, these must be widely discussed and agreed upon in advance to maximize their efficiency.

Bulgarian society strongly supports such a policy. According to a survey executed by Alpha Research in October 2020, 19% of Bulgarian citizens have declared that they have relatives originating from the geographical area of Macedonia. This means that 1.3 million Bulgarian citizens are related to Macedonia by blood. Approximately the same or even smaller is the number of individuals registered today as Macedonians in Republic of North Macedonia.

These data show the constant strong public interest of Bulgarians towards Macedonia which cannot be ignored neither in domestic nor in foreign policy. Today, 45.5% of Bulgarian citizens believe that Sofia should not recognize the existence of a separate Macedonian language while 42.4% have the opposite opinion provided that Republic of North Macedonia officially declares that its creation has begun in 1944 and is based on Western Bulgarian dialects. This means that 84% of Bulgarians state that the start of negotiations for membership of Republic of North Macedonia in the EU may be only after Skopje abandons its practices of falsification and violation of human rights.

A citizen of Republic of North Macedonia Goran Serafimov said in December 2020 to a representative of the author's team the following: *„I am a Bulgarian from Macedonia, and I am publicly telling you who I am and what I am... But when I look around nothing happens by accident to us Bulgarians here in Macedonia. So far, I have been lucky, so I have not been physically attacked for being Bulgarian, except at the attempt to found the association „Radko“ in the distant year of 2000. Bulgarians in Macedonia are under constant pressure and it is getting stronger and stronger and all Bulgarians who live here and do not pay*

attention to any pressure and hate speech, we need to know that things will get worse and worse... If you think that what the police is doing to you, the local criminal gangs in the places where you live, what they are doing to you in hospitals, institutions, banks, the court, the private bailiffs and so on is not pressure, then I think that we Bulgarians in Macedonia pretend that we are very strong, and our behavior leads to even bigger problems“.

Based on the data presented here, it can be reasonably concluded that today there is hardly any other European country like Republic of North Macedonia, where the documents are totally silenced or falsified and the public consciousness against a neighboring, EU member state such as Bulgaria, is systematically processed, in order to justify the attempt to change the identity of its population. By instilling the created falsifications through the educational system, the young generation in Republic of North Macedonia is deprived of any access to objective information.

In dozens of civilized, democratic countries, people are not afraid to say that they speak a language originating from another country and nation. In some of them, such as Austria, they also have no problem admitting that they are of ethnic German descent, although due to historical circumstances they now live in a separate country and feel Austrian. The whole world understands these realities, and no one questions them, and no one invents false justifications from the past.

In fact, today there is no obstacle for Macedonians to admit that what they speak originated from the Bulgarian language, without prejudice to personalities, books and documents from Bulgarian history. And that further to a political decision it was deliberately detached and removed from the literary Bulgarian, and that at present, despite the linguistic division and codification, compared to it there are only minor differences. And only then to wish to declare it a new, separate language and to work on its future development. However, they do not have the desire and courage to acknowledge the realities, because it is extremely difficult and painful to break the shackles of decades of delusion. To change the whole social paradigm, the whole basis of the Macedonian identity, imposed on several generations in a row. The problem is not the truth - we all know that this is the normal path of every language and nation and we tend to understand and accept it, as long as it is not

accompanied by falsifications aimed at robbing our cultural and historical heritage.

The problem is moral and is rooted in the fact that the creation of the Macedonian literary language took place, as noted above, not evolutionarily, but through lies and violence. And if this is publicly acknowledged, ordinary Macedonian citizens will have every right to be angry, to feel cheated and to want to hold accountable those who have lied to them over the years. And this is precisely the fear of the Macedonianists - that they will lose their charisma as loyal leaders of their people, from which derives the political right to rule. And the possible risks for the future of an identity built on immoral foundations and their impact on the social and individual nature of the Macedonians will also weigh on the conscience of the forgers. In addition, burdening the younger generations with inherited historical falsifications, inciting hostile anti-Bulgarian sentiment to create a pro-Yugoslav / pro-Serbian identity, could prove extremely dangerous not only for the peace and security of the Western Balkans but also for relations among European countries.

It is for this reason, and based on the Copenhagen criteria, that the Republic of North Macedonia must, prior to the start of the negotiation process, provide an institutional framework and effective legal mechanisms to protect the personal freedom, security, and human rights of those Macedonian citizens who, despite repression, have preserved their Bulgarian self-consciousness and today continue to declare themselves as Bulgarians. It is necessary to prosecute the language of hatred against Bulgarians and to stop the persecution and media campaigns against them.

It is of particular importance to publicly acknowledge the truth about the falsifications and manipulations carried out by Yugoslav science and continuing to this day by Skopje academics of the Bulgarian cultural and historical heritage in the territory of the geographical area of Macedonia from the early Middle Ages to the midst of the 20th century. These falsifications were committed and outright lies written and spoken with the political sanction of the communist government and were forcibly introduced into the socio-cultural life of Macedonian society, and even the smallest attempt to oppose and defend the historical facts met a cruel response on behalf of the repressive apparatus of the Tito secret services. It is unacceptable for this totalitarian practice to be

tolerated in the 21st century in the most progressive community of free democratic nations known to mankind - the European Union.

Based on this need, the current White Paper on the language dispute between Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia will have fulfilled its mission if, after reading it, every politician, diplomat, journalist or public figure on the basis of the facts presented here makes his informed choice and supports the path to truth, justice and respect for human rights as necessary conditions for the future membership of Republic of North Macedonia in the EU in order to ensure a better future for the Balkan region.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

FALSIFICATIONS OF LITERARY MONUMENTS

Confessions of contemporary historian scientists from Republic of North Macedonia: one historian and two politicians for the performed manipulations.

Prof. Dragi Georgiev, historian, director of the Institute of National History, member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of North Macedonia and co-chairman of the Joint Multi-Disciplinary Commission between Bulgaria and Republic of North Macedonia.

„In Macedonia, historiography was a function of nation-building. No one in Macedonia opposed the positions of our historians. And they had another mission. And now we need to look at history more boldly, if we do, we will increase trust in each other. Yes, this is the way our nation is built, and we should not be afraid of that. Yes, this nation is built, yes, in the past there were things that did not correspond to academic science - some things had been covered up, others treated selectively. We must admit that there was falsification of documents, instead of „Bulgarian“ they wrote „Macedonian“, and this must be admitted.“

Prof. Dr. Miroslav Garchev, politician and architect, author of the design of the flag of Republic of North Macedonia.

„The Macedonian state at the end of the Second World War was literally invented within Yugoslavia, founded for the first time and emancipated the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian culture, the Macedonian language, all Macedonian symbols, all Macedonian artistic achievements.“

Prof. Denko Maleski, politician, analyst and first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia (1991-1993) and Permanent Representative of the Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations (1993-1997), son of the author of the text of the Macedonian national anthem.

*„Gone are the days when Macedonian historiography was defended by the powerful Yugoslav federation and could, without any pressure, selectively choose the building blocks of the Macedonian nation and could cross out **‘Bulgarian’** from the texts and write **‘Macedonian’** instead. Now you can click on the Internet, go to the archives of the New York Times, and read a text from their correspondent, sent in 1903, about the uprising of the Bulgarian population in Krushevo on Ilinden. **We need to adapt to the historical truth that in the past we were part of the same people.**“*

Thousands of manipulations and falsifications have been carried out by Macedonian scientists, academics, the State Archives of Republic of North Macedonia, the Macedonian media, the Holy Synod of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, the Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts, and Macedonian publishing houses. Only a few are listed here, and a larger number are available in the electronic version of this White Paper.

Some publications on the website of the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia can be cited as examples of state-supported forgery. There, in the section „Macedonia through the centuries“, a document entitled „Appeal to the Macedonian People“ was published, claiming that it was issued in 1926 in Florina, Greece, by the Greek Macedonian Fist organization.*

The text of the document states that with this proclamation from 1926 „the use of the Macedonian language in the Aegean part of Macedonia is forbidden“. Such a statement by the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia is a lie, because the original of this document clearly shows that the local population of Slavic origin is forbidden to speak Bulgarian and is ordered to use only Greek:

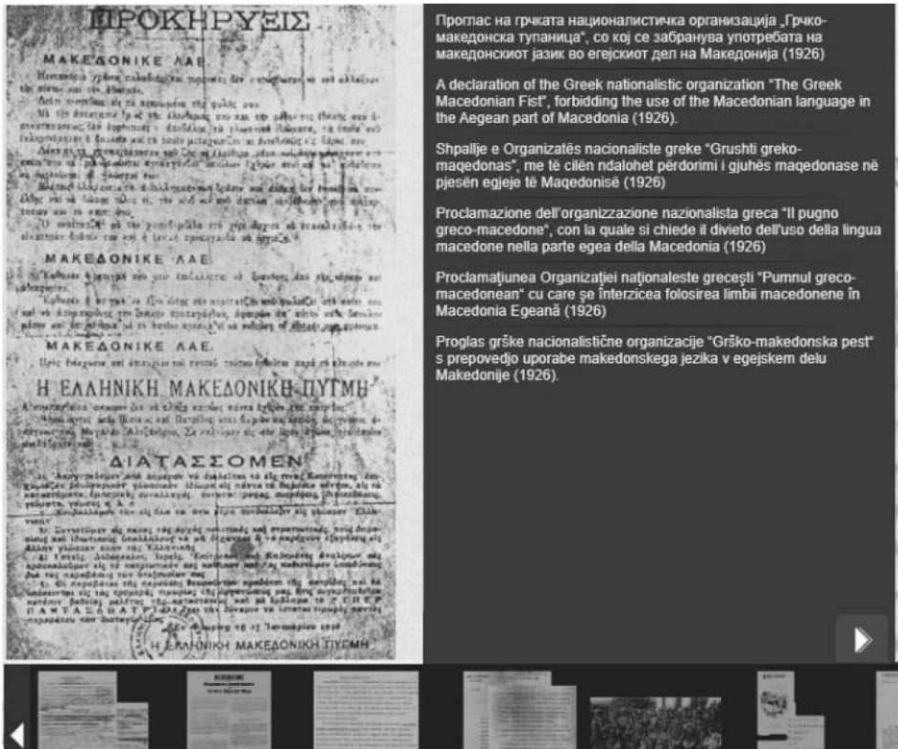
* A Greek paramilitary organization that fought against the Bulgarians in Aegean Macedonia and especially against the IMRO.

WE ORDER

1) *From today it is forbidden to speak Bulgarian in all public places, restaurants, trade relations, meetings and gatherings, entertainment, ceremonies, weddings, etc.*

2) *We force the above to speak Greek.*

The dictionary of Daniil of Moscopole, a Greek scholar with Aromanian roots, born in 1754 in the Albanian town of Moscopole (today Voskopoje), can also be found on the website of the State Archives of Republic of North Macedonia. This work is well known in history and linguistics due to its four-language dictionary called „Introductory Training“, published in 1794 in Moscopole and republished in 1802 in Venice. It was clearly titled “Dictionary of Four Languages“, with Greek, Wallachian (Aromanian), Albanian and Bulgarian vernaculars.

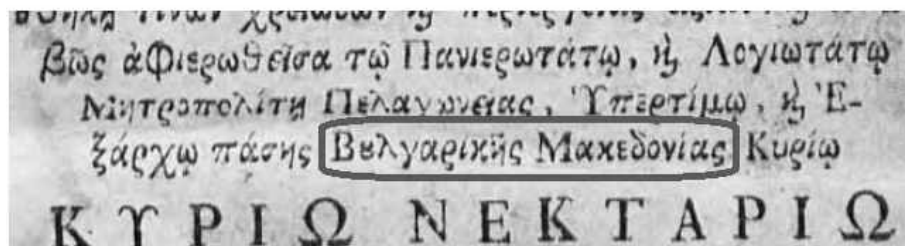


Screenshot from the site of the State Archives of Republic of North Macedonia. A document titled „Appeal to the Macedonian People“ from 1926, containing the false claim that the local population in Florina, northern Greece, is forbidden to speak „Macedonian“.

ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΓΛΩΣΣΟΥ			
Λ Ε Ξ Ι Κ Ο Υ			
Ρωμαϊκά	Βλάχικα	Βουλγαρικά	Αλβανίτικα
Ο Θεός	Γεραντζάς	Γόσποτ	Περαντία
Έκαμε	Φέτζε	τόρη	μπροη
τόν Έρμινόν	τζιρβός	νέποτω	κίελτ
τήν γήν	λόκλε	ζέμιατα	δούρα
τόν ήλιον	σοάριλε	σέντζιτω	τίελλνα
τό Φεγγάρι	λβιννα	μεσέτζηνατα	χέντζεω

Photocopy of the original Dictionary in four languages. It is clear that this is a Bulgarian language, not a „Macedonian“ language.

The above mentioned „Dictionary of Four Languages“ was published with the help of Metropolitan Nectarios of Pelagonia, who on the cover was titled „Metropolitan of Pelagonia, Iperthim* and Exarch of All Bulgarian Macedonia“ „Μητροπολίτης Πελαγονίας, Υπέρτιμος και Έξαρχος πάσης Βουλγαρικής Μακεδονίας“. The dictionary is in the four Christian languages spoken in the geographical area of Macedonia - Greek, Wallachian, Bulgarian and Albanian.



Part of the title page of the „Dictionary of Four Languages“, where the patron Nectarius of Pelagonia was titled „Metropolitan of Pelagonia, Iperthim and Exarch of All Bulgarian Macedonia“ (1802).

* Iperthim - an honorary title in Byzantium, widespread after the twelfth century. Later in some Orthodox churches, metropolitans were titled *Iperthim*.

The same falsification is widespread in Republic of North Macedonia. For example, Valentina Hristovska of the Institute of Macedonian Literature in Skopje in the Collection of History (2012), published by the Association of Historians in the Republic of Macedonia, published an article entitled “Macedonian Identity and Identities on the Balkans” in which she stated: „*Of special importance for Macedonian cultural history is the Four-Language Dictionary or Dictionary of Four Languages (1802, Venice) by Daniel Moskopolec, written in Greek, Albanian, Wallachian and Macedonian, which is the basis of today’s modern Macedonian literary language*” and “*has serious preconditions to be an important object of Balkan linguistics*”. This example clearly shows how a Macedonian identity is being built in Skopje today through the public dissemination of lies and the appropriation of the Bulgarian cultural and historical heritage.

APPENDIX 2

COUNTERFEITING AND DESTRUCTION OF STONE INSCRIPTIONS

The existence of epigraphic monuments from the Middle Ages and the Bulgarian Renaissance on the territory of today's Republic of North Macedonia, which are written in Bulgarian or in which „Bulgarian“, and „Bulgaria“ are mentioned, has always been problematic for the Yugoslav authorities before 1941 and after 1944. Therefore, several inscriptions have been subject to destruction or forgery, as has been discussed in Chapter I, item 5 of this edition.

Apart from them, all modern inscriptions that local Bulgarians in Republic of North Macedonia are trying to replace, and which are dedicated to revolutionary figures born on the territory of Bulgaria are



being destroyed. Such was the case with a memorial plaque to the voivode of VMORO Toma Davidov. He was a Bulgarian military and revolutionary, born in Lovech. He was appointed voivode of the Detachment of the 2nd Bitola Revolutionary District personally by Gotse Delchev. He died in 1903 near the village of Ozdoleni, Ohrid region, in a battle with a *bashi-bozuk* (irregular Turkish troops). He was buried in the Gradishte area in the

Slatina Mountains, and his grave is a place of worship to this day. The place is called the Tomb of David. On March 15, 2020, a group of citizens from Ohrid, placed a memorial plaque at the place of death of the voivode, in his words:

„I am not from Macedonia, but for its freedom I am ready to give my life at any moment.“

Although the commemorative inscription was inscribed on the Skopje literary norm, two weeks later it was destroyed by local Macedonianists, who have not been identified. Such actions aim to destroy any memory of any connection with Bulgaria.

APPENDIX 3

COLLECTIONS OF FOLK LITERATURE BY MACEDONIAN ACTIVISTS

One of the main sources of information about each language is the inexhaustible treasury of folk art. It is the bearer of living dialects and their development over time. Here we present part of a collection of examples of books published by various Macedonian figures who have lovingly collected hundreds of songs, tales, and embroideries from their homelands in order to preserve this wealth for future generations. The book of the Miladinov brothers „Bulgarian Folk Songs“ has already been reviewed in Ch. III, item 4 of this edition. A larger number of examples are available in the electronic version of this White Paper.



1) *Bulgarian Folk Songs from Macedonia* (1924) by Pancho Mihailov (1891-1925) from Shtip, today Republic of North Macedonia.

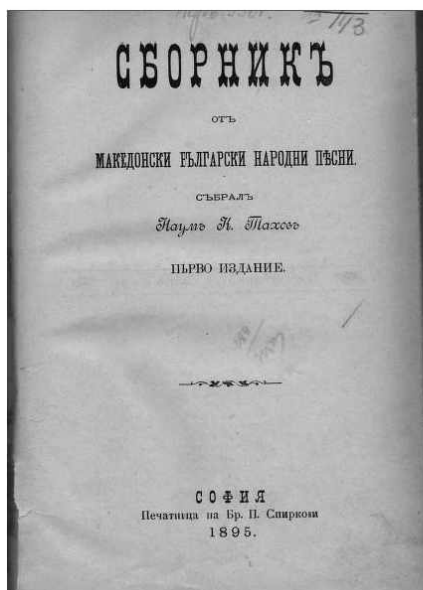
The author was a volunteer in the Macedonian-Edirne Volunteer Corps of the Bulgarian Army during the Balkan Wars, an officer of the Bulgarian Army during the First World War, Kochani district voivode of IMRO, Bulgarian teacher and folklorist. In 1924 the Shtip Charitable Brotherhood in Sofia published his collection of Bulgarian folk songs from Macedonia. The book includes songs recorded by Mihailov during his tours in Macedonia, mainly from

Shtip, Skopje, Kratovo, Kochani district, Palanka district and Tsarevoselo-Maleshevo districts. The IMRO voivodes Mite Opilski from the village of Opila, Kratovo region, Evtim Polski from the village of Nivichani, Kochani region, Dimitar Palikrushev from Vinitza and Grigor

Hadjkimov from Novo Selo, Shtip region, etc. also contribute to the collection of the songs.

2) *Collection of Bulgarian Folk Songs* (1884) by Serafim Boyanov (1865 - 1937) from the village of Dolno Draglishte, Razlog, Pirin Macedonia.

3) *La Broderie Nationale Bulgare Album* (1913) by Stefan Badzhov (1883-1953) from Krushevo, today Republic of North Macedonia.



4) *Collection of Macedonian Bulgarian Folk Songs* (1895) by Naum Tahov (1857 - 1913) from Krushevo, today Republic of North Macedonia.

5) *Bulgarian Macedonian Songs* (1926) by Yosif Chesmedjiev (1890 - 1964) from Skopje, today the capital of Republic of North Macedonia.

6) *Macedonian Bulgarian Songs* (1934) by Petar Dinev (1889 - 1980) from the village of Kumanichevo, Kostur region, Aegean Macedonia. He is a prominent Bulgarian musicologist and composer, founder of the Society of Church Choirs in Bulgaria. Over the years

Petar Dinev harmonized and adapted Bulgarian folk songs from Macedonia, some of which are published in the collection.

7) *Bulgarian, Aromanian and Albanian folklore* (1926) by Anton Popstoilov (1896 - 1928) from the village of Leshko, Gornodzhumaia region.

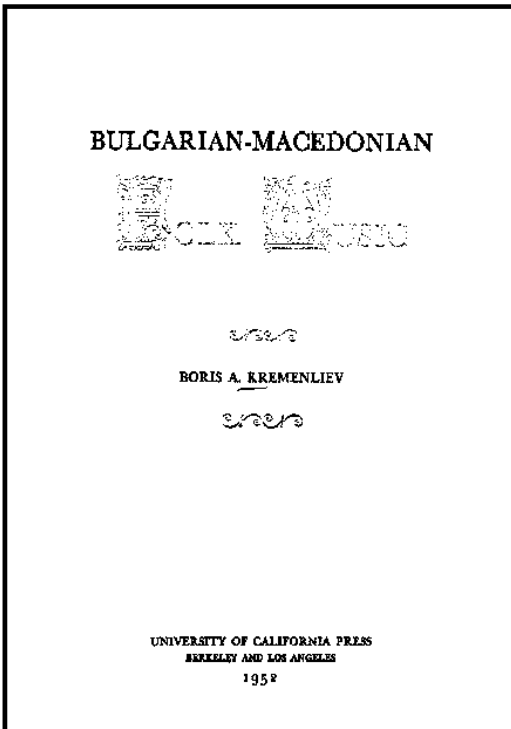
8) *Index of Bulgarian Folk Songs printed in the 19th century. Volume I. 1815-1860 and Volume II. 1861-1878*, (1916 and 1918) by Anton Popstoilov.

9) *Bulgarian Writers from Macedonia. 1704-1878*, (1922) by Anton Popstoilov.

10) *Album of Bulgarian Macedonian Embroidery* (1932) released by the Macedonian Women's Union.

11) *Collection of Folk Antiquities. Book III. Bulgarian folk tales and beliefs* (1885) by Kuzman Shapkarev.

12) *Collection of Bulgarian Folk Tales. Folk Bulgarian Poetry or Bulgarian Folk Songs* (1891) by Kuzman Shapkarev from Ohrid, today Republic of North Macedonia.



13) *Bulgarian-Macedonian Folk Music* (1952) by Boris Kremenliev (1911 - 1988) from Razlog, Pirin Macedonia. He was a prominent Bulgarian-American composer and musicologist, a longtime lecturer at the University of California, Los Angeles. He was nominated for an Oscar award for his music for "The Tell Tale Heart" (after Edgar Allan Poe) in 1953.

14) *Bulgarian Folk Songs from Macedonia; Bulgarian Folk Songs from Macedonia* (1989) by Kosta

Tsarnushanov (1903 - 1996) from Prilep, today Republic of North Macedonia.

In Skopje, the existence of these publications is either kept secret, or the songs contained in them are declared Macedonian.

Publications of foreign folklorists, who consider the folk songs in Macedonia to be Bulgarian, have also been falsified. The collection of prominent Bosnian-Croat folklorist Stefan Verković, published in 1860 with the original title „Folk Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians“, was republished in Skopje in 1961 under the forged title „Macedonian Folk Songs“. Although Stefan Verković clearly speaks of Bulgarians everywhere in Macedonia, today in Skopje he has been declared „the founder of folklore in Macedonia“.



The original cover of the collection „Folk Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians“, published by Stefan Verković in 1860.



The falsified 1961 edition in Skopje, declaring Stefan Verković's book a „Macedonian folk song“.

APPENDIX 4

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE EARLY MACEDONIANISTS

The following facts and quotations of Macedonian activists and revivalists about the activities, ideas, and political dependence of the first Macedonianists are unknown to most of the citizens of Republic of North Macedonia. They do not appear in textbooks, books and statements of Macedonian scholars, public figures, and politicians. We are revealing the truth, because only in this way we may break the chains of the delusions imposed by force during the existence of communist Yugoslavia.

In this issue we present an abbreviated version of the history of the early Macedonianists. The full text is available in the electronic version of the White Paper.

Nowadays, the early Macedonianists Kosta Grupche(vich) and Naum Evro(vich) have been proclaimed „codifiers“ of the „Macedonian“ language by MANI. As for Georgi Pulevski, what was taught in Macedonian schools was far from the whole truth. Kraste Misirkov's work was studied one-sidedly, without showing the other part of his articles and documents, where he declared himself an ethnic Bulgarian. It is also unknown under whose influence and for whose purposes Misirkov wrote his famous book „On Macedonian Affairs“. Finally, we come to the person of Blaze Koneski, about whom in primary and secondary education in Northern Macedonia very little information is given about his origin and life until 1941. Also, the fact that he advocated for the full acceptance of the Serbian alphabet as the alphabet of the newly born Macedonian literary language in 1945 remains hidden from the students and public.

Naum Evrović, Kosta Grupčević and Temko Popović are the first „Macedonianists“. In fact, they received salaries from Serbia for their activities, so they can rightly be called Serbian agents. All of them spent most of their lives in Serbia and actively worked on the implementation of the Greater Serbia doctrine, later called „Macedonianism“. They worked under the direct control of the ideologue of Macedonianism, Stojan Novaković, a Serbian politician, scientist, and president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences.

Naum Evrović was a student in the special department of the Belgrade Seminary for Macedonians, founded by Stojan Novaković in 1873. The purpose of this department, set up for people born in Macedonia, was to send them back later to spread Serbian propaganda. In 1886, the St. Sava Society was founded in Belgrade, with the aim of attracting Bulgarian youth from Macedonia to study in Serbia through scholarships and other incentives. In the same year, a group of Macedonian youths in Belgrade adopted their own program, coordinated with the Serbian government. In accordance with the program, in the same year a Society of Serbo-Macedonians was established in Constantinople. The following year, the organization already had branches in Constantinople and Thessaloniki and was trying to establish its roots in Sofia.

Naum Evrović was extremely active in this Serbian propaganda. He, Kosta Grupčević and Temko Popović had the task to start publishing a newspaper called the “Macedonian Gazette” on behalf of the Association of Serbo-Macedonians in Constantinople. Stojan Novaković revealed what the newspaper was supposed to be in a letter to the Serbian Foreign Ministry after one of his meetings with Evrović and Grupčević in Constantinople: *„In the meantime, part of the plan can be approached without any fear that it will harm our unaccomplished tasks, but which we hold so dear. They agreed (Grupčević and Evrović) about their own responsibility as Ottoman citizens to try to get approval for publishing a weekly or bi-weekly literary newspaper in the Macedonian dialect, which would publish texts in both Serbian and in which the Macedonian dialect will get closer to Serbian, step by step moving to the pure Serbian language.“* (Diplomatic Archive - Dubrovnik, Department PP, F. 1 - 502/1887).

The idea of publishing a Serbian „Macedonian newspaper“ failed due to lack of interest, so Naum Evrović and Kosta Grupčević were tasked with printing textbooks in „Macedonian“ in Constantinople to be distributed to schools in Macedonia. The main organizer was the Serbian consul in Constantinople, Stojan Novaković. In his letter, Stojan Novaković explained the need to print textbooks in the „Macedonian“ language and what the purpose of these textbooks was: *„At this point I draw your attention to the need for a special Macedonian primer for schools in Macedonia, which should be specially prepared for the dis-*

semination of SERBIAN LITERACY and the SERBIAN LANGUAGE in Macedonia. From this point of view, on the issue of the spread of Serbian influence in Macedonia, the following points must be taken as a real basis:

- 1. That the Macedonian dialect is different from both Serbian and Bulgarian, but that there are similarities with both.*
- 2. That the Bulgarian propaganda has so far taken great care of this, in all possible ways to mark and emphasize the differences between the Macedonian dialect and the Serbian language.*
- 3. That it is in the Serbian interest to follow the same path, but patiently, solidly, and systematically with new original means, using individually what can reduce the difference between the Serbian language and the Macedonian dialect, contrary to the above-mentioned Bulgarian aspirations.” (Diplomatic Archive - Dubrovnik, Department PP, F. 1 - 102/1888).*

In Constantinople, Naum Evrović, Kosta Grupčević and Temko Popović, on orders from Serbia, also worked actively for the appointment of Serbian bishops in Macedonia. The great Bulgarian revivalist from Macedonia, Kuzman Shapkarev, was well acquainted with the work of all these Serbian agents. Here is what Shapkarev wrote in a letter to Marin Drinov dated September 10, 1888 about Temko Popović and Kosta Grupčević: *“A freak - Temko Popov, who is the son of Stefan Vladikov, the illegitimate son of the Ohrid Greek bishop, an earlier traitor to the late Dimitar Miladinov ... Temko Popov and Kosta Grubchev [i.e. Grupčević] - today these two gnaw the bones of the Serbian embassy in Constantinople, lying that they will turn the Macedonian Bulgarians into old Serbs.”*

The documents examined above give an explanation as to why in Skopje today there is silence about these aspects of the activity of the first Macedonianists. At the same time, those who fought against Macedonianism and defended their Bulgarian identity were declared „Macedonians“.

In the „Charter for the Macedonian Language“ of December 3, 2019, MANI also pointed to the case of Kraste Misirkov as an attempt to codify the Macedonian language. And all the early activity of Kraste Misirkov was under the direct influence of Naum Evrović and Stojan

Novaković. Macedonian researcher Petar Chakar in his article „The Influence of Naum Evro in the Life and Work of Kraste Misirkov“, published in the Skopje official „New Macedonia“ in 12 sequels (from 5 to 16 June 1966) wrote that Naum Evrović met with Kraste Misirkov for the first time in Belgrade in 1888, emphasizing that Naum Evrović would become a guide in the life of Kraste Misirkov: „*Choosing Slavic philology, Misirkov followed in the footsteps of Naum Evro and all other socio-political activities in Russia determined and implemented it under the influence of Naum Evro*“.

The wish of the Serbian agent Naum Evrović was fulfilled in the autumn of 1918, when Struga and the whole of Vardar Macedonia came under Serbian occupation. Evrović was then appointed mayor of Struga, and after his visit to Belgrade and meeting with his old friend, Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić, his pension was increased. Naum Evrović died in 1923 in Struga as a Serbian official. He left his house to Georgi Pulevski's grandchildren and bequeathed all the books in his personal library to be donated to the library of the chauvinistic Serbian Society of Saint Sava in Belgrade.

In its „Order on the Macedonian Language“ MANI also wrote that the standard Macedonian language was codified by the authorities of the People's Republic of Macedonia in May 1945 but at the same time, it does not say it was Blazhe Koneski, who was its creator, advocate and who made the final codification of the Macedonian language. Here is what Blazhe Koneski - grandson of the most famous Serbian vojvode - Gligor Sokolović - Lyame says on various occasions in his life.

Blazhe Koneski is proud to have studied at the high school in Kragujevac: *“This is an otherwise famous high school. This is the oldest high school in Serbia. I was also in the newsroom. My first Serbo-Croatian poems were published there, in these magazines... I knew the Serbian songs about King Marko. I did not know Macedonian songs... The Serbian alphabet does the job very well and is quite comfortable... the most perfect in the world ... In our practice we had the opportunity to check two Cyrillic alphabets: the Serbian and the Bulgarian. It is clear to each of us how much easier it is to learn and how much more practical the Vuk [Karadžić] alphabet is compared to the Bulgarian Cyrillic...*

This is the most important reason to accept the Vuk alphabet. It is widespread in Macedonia. The Macedonian people are literate through this alphabet.“

In his participation in the Language Commissions of ASNOM, Blaze Koneski advocated for the full adoption of the Serbian alphabet. As most Macedonian intellectuals of the time rebelled against the full introduction of the Serbian alphabet into the Macedonian literary language, the whole matter passed into the hands of the head of AGITPROP of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas. He, along with four other Serbian professors of philology, decided on the final form of the Macedonian alphabet. The Serbian letters Љ, Њ, Ј, and И remained in the alphabet and the Serbian letters Т and Ћ were modified to Ќ and Ѓ. The Bulgarian letter Ъ was discarded.

Kuzman Shapkarev on the moral character of the agents of the Serbian propaganda in Macedonia:

„It is not worth the effort to talk about people like Shumenkov, as some important producers of such issues. I have known this same Shumenkov personally since 1878 in Belgrade. In essence, he was nothing more than a simple peasant, a coffee maker at the Balkan Café on Belgrade's Taresia Square, a man without any literacy, much less an idea, an unconscious bribed machine driven by the Milojević family to preach the Serbian idea to its simple villagers - dairymen and bakers,. Like him, there was another baker in Belgrade, Kocho, born in Kichevo, who in 1878, sitting in front of his oven at the small market in Belgrade, forged in a memoir the names of as many Macedonians as he could see in the market, whether they were Slavs or not, and from any Macedonian place, even without their knowledge, which in turn said in the memoir that as Old Serbs they protested against every union of their homeland, second Serbia - Macedonia, with the Bulgarian principality, therefore against subordination to the Russians, and they want a union with the motherland Serbia(!), i.e. protest against The San Stephano Treaty. And that was on the eve of the Berlin Congress. Then this forged document, the contents of which none of the listed (I do not say the sig-*

natories because no one put his signature), did not receive any notification, after which it was handed over to His Holiness Prince Milan with a plea to send it to The Berlin Areopagus.

In addition to these two, there were three more in Belgrade, the Badjovi brothers, born in Krushevo, the Ohrid diocese - Despot, Georgi and Kuzman. If I am not mistaken, I met them a long time ago, especially with Georgi in 1878 in Belgrade, from whom I could learn many things about the secrets of Serbian propaganda, including what measures should be taken and what means should be used to bring them in the bag along with the Macedonian municipalities themselves. Subsequently, I was invited to join their staff, where I would be given a certain monthly salary. Of course, I could not accept the invitation because I had no intention to sell my conscience for gold.

In fact, Mr. Kosta Grupchev was an ordinary confectioner and nothing more, who as a young man, supposedly from the intelligentsia, had always wanted to get involved and interfere in the church affairs of his hometown. He was the one who boasted that in 1862-1863 he allegedly acted among our fellow citizens for the expulsion of Serbian teachers sent by Serbia. He was the one who in 1886 took an active part in the publication of the pamphlet: „Serbian Propaganda on the Balkan Peninsula“ by A.K.T., Sofia, Yanko Kovachev printing house, 1886. And since 1886 he had been indignant against the Bulgarian people for the sole reason that the Bulgarian government had not rewarded him with any state job. Suddenly, as if the whole Bulgarian nation were to blame, he became an implacable Bulgarian enemy and a close friend and ardent benefactor of that tribe which he had persecuted in every way until yesterday. And do you know why? In return for three hundred, as the bad mouths say, rounds (coins, author's note)! Well done to the salesman, good luck to him for the Judas Iron, as ordinary people say.

I am writing these few sad truths about Mr. Kosta Grupchev in the presence and so to speak under the dictation of his older brother, the respected Mr. Ivan Grupchev, who, after seeing him in Constantinople, has been here for some time. He spoke with great indignation and utter disapproval of his brother's recklessness. The same (Ivan Grupchev) was kind enough to tell me in detail that the second friend of his brother in Serbophilia, Naum Evrov from Struga, a man with the lowest char-

acter and a lazy cook, whom I also knew from the age of 5, from joy, it seems, from the great (!) successes with which Serbism progressed not only in Macedonia, the homeland of Dushanovtsi, but also in the capital of the Ottoman caliphs, a few days ago he went mad, as a result of which he went to the mosques to accept the true Islamic faith, and then wanted to throw himself into the Bosphorus. Here are the activists with whom the Serbian brothers hope to make the Macedonian Bulgarians Serbian. Here are the personalities that Mr. Draganov honors by adding them to the number of “ascetics of the people’s destinies“!

Kuzman Shapkarev. A Few Words about the Articles of Mr. P. Draganov in the Report of the Holy Slavic Blessed Society. Sofia, 1890

APPENDIX 5

OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE SINCE 1902 ON THE POPULATION OF SOME AREAS LOCATED TODAY ON THE TERRITORY OF REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACDONIA

۳۷

معلومات تاريخيه

بتوليسا نام قديميله معروف اولان مناستر ۷۸۴ سنه سنده جنتيكان سلطان مراد اول خان حنضرتلري طرفندن مامور اكوندريلان روم ايلي بكار بكي تورطاش بك طرفندن فتح ايله عثمانلي برك يد عادلانه سنه كچديكي اولوقت بتوليسا شمدديكي مناستر شهرينه برچار برك مسافه ده واقع بوقوه قريه مي التنده برصك وچك قصبه اولوب شهر مزبور بعد الفتح تدريجا بنا وانشا ايله كسب وسعت و عمران ايلديكي روايات تاريخيه و تحقيقات موثوقه دندر .

— نفوس و واردات عموميه —

مناستر شهرنده ۳۱۳۴۷ و غير از نواح مناستر قضااسنك مشتمل اولديغي ۱۳۵ قريه ده ۵۸۶۳۸ كه جمعا ۸۹۹۸۵ نفوس موجود اولوب بونك ۲۴۷۱۳ ي اسلام و ۳۰۰۲۶ سي روم و اولاح و ۳۰۸۹۱ ي بلغار و ۲۶ سي ارمني و ۲۶۶ ي يهودي و ۳۴ ي پروتستان و يالكز ۳۱ ي تبعه اجنيبه در .

مع نواح مناستر قضااسنك برسنه لك واردات عموميه سي (۹۴۰۶۹۶۶)
 و مصارفات عموميه سي (۳۲۶۷۹۶۶) غر و شدر .

Town of Bitola:
 Muslims - 24713
 Vlachs and Greeks -
 30036
 Bulgarians - 30891
 Jews - 4264
 TOTAL - 89904

{ بزلیه قضاسنه دائر ایضا خات }
 ﴿ حدود ﴾

برایه قضاسی شمالاً قرچوه قضاسی و قورنشوه ناحیهسی شرقاً
 سلابنک ولایتک تکورش و تورپزلی آفساسی جنوباً ولایت مشاوالیهالک
 و دینه قضاسی و آرهجه اووه ناحیهسی و مناسزک فیاورننه قضاسیه
 محدوددر .

برایه قضاسی سطح بحردن ۸۴۵ متر مرتفع اولوب ۱۲' ۱۱
 عرض شمالی و ۳' ۱۸ طول شرقیده واقع رهلنوار قیسی بشنده اووده
 مین اوایوب هوماسی هوم صریده لطیف اولدینی کی موسم شنده دخی
 معتدلدر .

{ معلومات تاریخیه }

برایه قضاسیستک ۷۸۴ شمسنده چنگکان سلطان مراد اول خان
 حضرتزلی طرفندن آموراً کوندر بلان تیورطاش یک طرفندن فتح اولدینی
 و اونوقت قديم برایه قضاسی شندی برایه قضاسیستک جنوب طرفنده
 اولنوب شندی برایه قضاسی بعدالفتح کدر چچا بنا وانشا اولندینی
 و ولایت تاریخیدندر .

تقوس و واردات عمومیہ

برایه قضاسیستده ۱۸۲۷۹ و غیراز مورخوه برایه قضاسیستک مشتمل
 اولدینی ۱۱۵ آریهده ۳۲۸۴۵ که چچا ۵۱۲۲۴ نفوس موجود اولوب
 بونک ۱۴۲۷۹ ی اسلام ۹۵۵ ی روه و اولاح ۳۵۸۹۰ ی بللارد

Prilep district:

*Muslims - 14279
 Vlachs and Greeks - 955
 Bulgarians - 35890
 TOTAL - 51124*

{ بزلیه قضاسنه دائر ایضا خات }
 ﴿ حدود ﴾

برایه قضاسی شمالاً قرچوه قضاسی و قورنشوه ناحیهسی شرقاً
 سلابنک ولایتک تکورش و تورپزلی آفساسی جنوباً ولایت مشاوالیهالک
 و دینه قضاسی و آرهجه اووه ناحیهسی و مناسزک فیاورننه قضاسیه
 محدوددر .

برایه قضاسی سطح بحردن ۸۴۵ متر مرتفع اولوب ۱۲' ۱۱
 عرض شمالی و ۳' ۱۸ طول شرقیده واقع رهلنوار قیسی بشنده اووده
 مین اوایوب هوماسی هوم صریده لطیف اولدینی کی موسم شنده دخی
 معتدلدر .

{ معلومات تاریخیه }

برایه قضاسیستک ۷۸۴ شمسنده چنگکان سلطان مراد اول خان
 حضرتزلی طرفندن آموراً کوندر بلان تیورطاش یک طرفندن فتح اولدینی
 و اونوقت قديم برایه قضاسی شندی برایه قضاسیستک جنوب طرفنده
 اولنوب شندی برایه قضاسی بعدالفتح کدر چچا بنا وانشا اولندینی
 و ولایت تاریخیدندر .

تقوس و واردات عمومیہ

برایه قضاسیستده ۱۸۲۷۹ و غیراز مورخوه برایه قضاسیستک مشتمل
 اولدینی ۱۱۵ آریهده ۳۲۸۴۵ که چچا ۵۱۲۲۴ نفوس موجود اولوب
 بونک ۱۴۲۷۹ ی اسلام ۹۵۵ ی روه و اولاح ۳۵۸۹۰ ی بللارد

Ohrid district:

*Muslims - 8135
 Vlachs and Greeks - 746
 Bulgarians - 17535
 TOTAL - 26416*

سنده ناحیه سنه دائر اینجات

(حدود)

سنده ناحیه سی شمالاً اواخری جنوباً پرسید ناحیه سی صرفاً مناسراً
 قضای غرباً آسارو، و کورینده قشائیه محموددر .
 ناحیه مذکور مرکز مرکزی پولان و ۰۶ و ۱۴ عرض شمال و ۴۴
 و ۱۹ طول شرقیه واقع اولان رسنه قصبه سی سطح نبردان ۱۷۰۸
 مرقو مرتفع و پر سید و ارضی کولاری اردنه و بوشان غنایچه
 طاغناک جانب شرقیه رسنه کولنه پار ساعت مسافه ده و مذکور طایف
 اشکندره رسنه ناحیه سی اووانده نایزر بر واقع فرخزاده میندر هوای
 موسم صیفه نایب لطیف اولدنی کی موسم شاده دخی مناسره .

(نفوس)

سنده قصبه سنده ۴۳۸۴ و مشتل اولدنی ۳۳ قریده ۱۱۴۳۲ که
 جمعاً ۱۵۸۱۶ نفوس موجود اولوب بولک ۳۴۶۱ ی اسلام ۳۷۰۸ ی
 روم ۸۸۴۷ می بلغادر .

(اعمال کن جمویه وسائره)

نفوس رسنده ۴۸۳ خانه ۱۰۴ دکان ۱۴ فرون ۱۴ خان ۱ حمام
 ۱ کارگر ساعت ده سی ۲ ایشین دکان اول و قناله ۵ خانو و چسبانه
 ۱ اجرامانه ۱ کار کفانه ۲ قریه خولانه ۱ دانه ایشانه ایشانه دانه قری
 ملحظده دخی ۱۸۵۷ خانه ۱۴ خان ۲۰ دکان مع رسنه ۲۷ دکرین
 ۲۰۳۱ آسارو و صابان ۱۹۲۴ قصبه باغ ۱۰۸۴ پنجه ۱۶۶۲۱ ترا
 ۲۷۰۰ چار ۲۷ مرغی ۴۱ اورمان ۸۲ عرصه وارد .

Resen
 district:
 Muslims - 3261
 Vlachs and Greeks - 3708
 Bulgarians - 8847
 TOTAL - 15816

اعضایا کم انا کاتب و صندوق امین امین افندی قومیه رجب انا	اعضایا حسن افندی محمد استر بوتولا انا
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(دزی اذاره سی)

مأور علی افندی

(قرچیه قشائیه دائر اینجات)

(حدود)

قرچیه قضای شمالاً قوصوه ولایتیه مربوطه برزین سنجانی شرقاً
 قوسوه و ولایتیه ولایتیه جنوباً برید قضای و مناسره ملحق درجه
 ناحیه سی غرباً اواخری و ذریه سنجاقناک نفس دره و رقه قشائیه
 محموددر .

قرچیه قصبه سی ۱۳ ۴۰ عرض شمالی و ۴۷ ۱۸ طول شرقیه
 واقع اووانده دخی اوواوب هوای موسم صیفه لطیف موسم شاده
 دخی مناسره .

(نفوس و واردات جمویه)

قرچیه قصبه سنده ۳۸۹۹ و قرچیه قشائیه حاوی اولدنی ۱۱۱
 قریده ۳۰۳۲۳ که جمعاً ۳۴۲۲۲ نفوس موجود اولوب بولک ۱۳۵۸۶ سی
 اسلام ۶۴ ی روم و اولاح ۲۰۵۲۲ می بلغادر .
 مع نواحی قرچیه قشائیه بولک و اوردان قومیه سی ۲۲۷۸۱۰
 و واردات ۴۵۰۶۴۴ ی غروندار .

Kichevska
 district:
 Muslims - 13586
 Vlachs and Greeks - 64
 Bulgarians - 20572
 TOTAL - 34222

Vlado Treneski, Deyan Tanchovski, Erlin Ago, Ivan Nikolov,
Iliya Stoyanovski, Metodiy Ivanov, Rumen Srebranov, Spas Tashev

WHITE PAPER ON THE LANGUAGE DISPUTE BETWEEN
BULGARIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN MACEDONIA

*

Reviewers:

Prof. Dr. Ana Kocheva

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*

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The inscription from Bitola from
the Bulgarian king Ioan Vladislav
(1015 - 1018).

1015 34 OCTOBER IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER
 IN THE YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING IOAN VLADISLAV
 THE BULGARIAN IN THE CITY OF BITOLA
 THE REPAIR OF THE WALLS OF THE CITY
 WAS COMPLETED ON THE TWENTIETH DAY
 OF THE MONTH OF OCTOBER IN THE YEAR
 OF THE REIGN OF KING IOAN VLADISLAV
 THE BULGARIAN IN THE CITY OF BITOLA
 THE REPAIR OF THE WALLS OF THE CITY
 WAS COMPLETED ON THE TWENTIETH DAY
 OF THE MONTH OF OCTOBER IN THE YEAR
 OF THE REIGN OF KING IOAN VLADISLAV
 THE BULGARIAN IN THE CITY OF BITOLA

In 1015 this fortress was renovated and built by Ioan, the Bulgarian autocrat. This fortress was built as a refuge and the salvation of the lives of the Bulgarians. The [construction of] the fortress of Bitola was started in October, on the 20th day ... This autocrat was a Bulgarian by birth, grandson of Nicholas and Ripsimia the faithful, son of Aaron, who is the brother of Samuel, the autocrat king.



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