

**SHUMEN UNIVERSITY  
"BISHOP CONSTANTINE PRESLAVSKI"**



**FACULTY OF HUMAN SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY**

**Ivanka Genova Deleva**

**THE REFUGEE QUESTION IN BULGARIAN-TURKISH  
RELATIONS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF EAST THRACIAN  
REFUGEES IN BULGARIA IN THE PERIOD 1913 - 1925**

**ABSTRACT**

**of a Dissertation for the award of a degree  
of education and science  
“Doctor of History”**

**Doctoral Programme: New and latest history  
(History of the Balkan Peoples)**

**Field of higher education: 2. Humanities.**

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The dissertation was discussed and recommended for defense at a meeting of the Department of History and Archaeology at the Faculty of Human sciences of Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavski", held on 4.12.2023.

The dissertation consists of an introduction, two parts, each with two chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources and historiography used, an index of old and new names of the refugee settlements studied, and a list of abbreviations. The appendices developed by the author to supplement the text - maps, tables, charts, photographs, etc. - are included in the text itself, in keeping with the desire to facilitate the use of the research presented. It contains a total of 224 A4 pages.

The public defense of the dissertation will take place at 12.03.2024, 2 pm, hall 309, in Building 1 (Rector's Office) of Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky", Shumen, Bulgaria, Shumen, 115 Universitetska Street, before a scientific jury composed of:

1. Prof. D. Sc. Radoslav Zahariev Mishev
2. Prof. D. Sc. Shtelian Dimitrov Shterionov
3. Prof. Dr. Rositsa Zhechkova Angelova-Georgieva
4. Prof. Dr. Rumen Hristov Yankov
5. Ass. Prof. Asya Lazarova Atanasova, PhD

The materials for the procedure are available every working day at 9 to 4 pm, Department of History and Archaeology, Building 1 (Rector's Office) of the Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky", Shumen, Bulgaria, 115 Universitetska Street.

Scientific interest in the refugee movement to Bulgaria at the beginning of the 20th century has been continuous since the time of the historical events themselves and continues to the present moment. This movement has had a multifaceted impact on the historical development of our country and has never ceased to raise various questions, some of which are still awaiting answers. Some of them are related to the study of the emergence and settlement of specific groups of refugees in particular regions of Bulgaria. This type of research has an extremely high research charge and allows, on the one hand, to establish the regional specificities of the processes under consideration and, on the other hand, to determine their place and role in the general historical development of our country. In this context, the present work is a step in overcoming the existing deficiencies in this field of research. Circumstances that provoke our aspiration to turn the study of the East Thracian refugees who settled in the Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925 into the object of the present work.

The emergence of refugee movements was primarily a consequence of the complex relations and irresolvable contradictions between the Balkan states, which were settled by several international acts and caused the Bulgarian rulers to take a series of complex actions. The development of the Bulgarian-Turkish relations has a particular influence on the investigated processes in the mentioned time frame. Their role - as a prerequisite for the emergence of the studied movements and the peculiarities of the establishment of East Thracians in the Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925, are the subject of the present work.

The defined object and subject of the research predetermine the formulation of the main goal of the developed work - clarification of the factors of the refugee movement carried out by the East Thracian Bulgarians and the specifics of their settlement in the Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925.

Geographically, the study covers part of the territorial

definition of the then Burgas district, encompassing the territory of the modern Burgas region. The motives for limiting the present study within the designated area are complex: 1) The series of related changes, which caused the refugee movements of East Thracian Bulgarians, are particularly intense in quantitative terms and eloquent in terms of their impact in the delimited geographical space. 2) The presence of regional peculiarities in historical, cultural, political terms, distinguish the delimited area with homogeneity and specific identity, which facilitates the use of similar research methods and provides wider comparability and validity of the conclusions drawn; 3) The territory under consideration provides greater opportunities to acquire primary source material, available primarily in local archival repositories.

In chronological terms, the presented work covers the period from 1913 to 1925. Its lower limit refers to the emergence of the refugee question after the end of the Second Balkan War and the conclusion of the Treaty of Constantinople between Bulgaria and Turkey on 16/29 September 1913. The signed document regulated new state borders and accordingly the loss of most of Eastern Thrace, causing an increased refugee flow into Bulgarian territory. The defined initial chronological framework marks the starting point in the transformation of the refugee issue into one of the leading issues in the foreign and domestic policy of the Bulgarian governments in the 1920s.

As for the upper limit, it reflects the act of signing the Ankara Agreements between Bulgaria and Turkey on 18 October 1925, which definitively confirmed the territorial belonging of Eastern Thrace to Turkey. The provisions of the treaty put an end to the East Thrace question by leaving the refugees in question within the borders of the Bulgarian state. After that date, the ruling governments had to solve the problems of the settlement of the population groups under study at the internal political level.

The study of the problem posed in these spatial and temporal parameters is accompanied by very little historiographical interest. The question of the refugee movement carried out by the East Thracian Bulgarians and their settlement in the Burgas region in the period 1913-1925 appeared in publications in the second half of the 20th century. In this period limited studies were published by G. Popov and T. Kosatev. A number of his works devoted to the subject were elaborated by S. Raichevski. At the beginning of the XXI century the topic of the East Thracian Bulgarians and their settlement on the territory of Burgas region episodically attracted the attention of researchers, but in fact a complete study on the topic so formulated is not known.

At the same time, there are studies that deal with individual elements of the specifically posed problem. Among the authors working in this research field we should mention the names of M. Aleksandrov, G. Pop Ayanov, B. Boev, T. Bryanov, B. Buzhashka, D. Vachkov, G. II. Genov, K. Georgiev, G. Gorov, D. G. Dimitrov, S. Eldirov, N. Konstantinov, T. Kosatev, M. Kumanov, Y. Mantarliev, L. Miletich, V. Mucinov, K. Peeva, P. Peykowska, S. Penkov, P. Penchev, D. Popnikov, V. Stoyanova, I. Todev, S. Trifonov, I. Filchev, D. Shalapatov, S. Shishkov, Z. Д. Shcherionov, N. Yakimov, A. Yaranov, etc.

The review of the historiographical volume on the set topic gives us grounds to state that in general there is a lack of a generalizing study based on analytical information about the movement of Bulgarians from Eastern Thrace, carried out in the period 1913 - 1925 and the specifics of their settlement in the geographical space of interest.

In view of the formulated aim, geographical and chronological limits and the available historiographical material on the problem, the following main tasks of the present work are defined:

1) Tracing the Bulgarian-Turkish bilateral normative acts in relation to

revealing the governmental positions on the refugee issue declared in them and outlining the dynamics of their development;

2) Elucidating the way certain aspects of the refugee question were dealt with in Bulgarian legislation in the period 1913-1925 and in the debates on the adoption of the laws, with a view to bringing out the concepts launched in the period 1913-1925, the measures proposed and the means of their implementation;

3) Outlining the territorial distribution and numbers of the East Thracian refugee flow to the Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925 in relation to the detailed clarification of the nature and peculiarities of this type of mechanical movement;

4) Revealing the specifics of the separation and organization of the settlements of East Thracian refugees in Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925, as well as the peculiarities that define them as a peculiar phenomenon in the modern territorial-administrative system of the country and the impact they had on its development.

In order to achieve the set tasks, the research is based on the available and accessible historical sources. There are several main types of source material on which the present work is built.

To the first category belong the legislative acts published in the official section of the State Gazette, and the relevant issues from the period 1913-1925 are the object of our interest. To the second fundamental group of sources we refer the treaties concluded between Bulgaria and Turkey in the period 1913-1925, and especially those parts of the bilateral treaties in which different sides of the refugee question are posed. In this regard, a series of shorthand diaries of sessions of the National Assembly from the period under study have been reviewed, reflecting the debates on the adoption of the relevant laws and the ratification of the Bulgarian-Turkish agreements. The next category of the source materials used in this work consists of the documentation issued by the Directorate for Labour Land (1921-1924) and subsequently by the newly established General Directorate for



Labour Land Holdings (1924-1926). In the course of the work, documents from the funds of the Central State Archive, the Bulgarian Historical Archive at the National Library "St. St. Cyril and Methodius", the State Archive Department - Burgas, the Regional Library "P. K. Yavorov" – Burgas; a voluminous documentary array stored in community centers, municipal libraries and district town halls, the funds of the History Department at the Regional Historical Museum - Burgas and municipal museums in the region were also reviewed.

Another type of documents used in the research are statistical materials collected at the very beginning of the refugee processes.

Oral information also occupies a certain place among the various types of sources studied in relation to the main problem under study - during field research, residents of some of the newly established refugee settlements in the Burgas region were interviewed.

The analysis of the sources makes it possible to note the striving for optimal representativeness of the data available on the problem under study. With the introduction into circulation of previously unpublished archival information, the clarification of a number of problems posed in the historiography is supplemented and certain gaps in the considered sphere of scientific knowledge are overcome.

In the course of the work, some specific concepts are used, the definitions of which need to be clarified in advance. Fundamental for the research is the use of the term "refugees", whose semantics is revealed already in the introduction of the dissertation. Clarification of the essence of the other terminological concepts, mainly in order to facilitate the perception of the presented content, is made immediately in the text preceding their use.

Accepting the claim that the quality of any scientific study also depends to a large extent on the methodology on which it is built, the methods by which it is carried out and the methodologies of their

application, we must state that a uniform methodological basis for this type of research has not yet been developed. That is why in the present work we base ourselves on the established international practice, accepting the differentiation of four main groups of methods - general philosophical, general scientific, concrete-historical and specific. The historical approach is fundamental, the methods of description, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction methods, etc. are also applied. The methodology used in the present work is characterized by its specificity. It is consistent with the set research tasks, and the main methodological means are reconstruction, comparison and comparative analysis.

The dissertation consists of an introduction (3 - 12 pp.), an exposition in two parts, each with two chapters (13 - 199 pp.), a conclusion (200 - 203 pp.), a list of the sources and historiography used (204 - 216 pp.), an index of the old and new names of the settlements in Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925 (217 - 222 pp.), a list of abbreviations (223 pp.). The appendices developed by the author to supplement the text - maps, tables, diagrams, photographs, etc. - are included in the text itself, in accordance with the desire to facilitate the use of the research presented. It contains a total of 224 A4 pages.

Part 1, "The Refugee Question in Bulgarian-Turkish Relations, Bilateral Statutory Instruments and Bulgarian Legislation in the Period 1913-1925" consists of two chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the international projections of the refugee question, but especially with its reflection in Bulgarian-Turkish relations and in bilateral legislation. Subsequently, in Chapter 2, we turn our attention to the way in which the problem under consideration was reflected in our national legislation during the period under study.

In the exposition of Chapter 1, "The Refugee Question in Bulgarian-Turkish Relations and in Bilateral Statutory Instruments (1913-1925)," we analyze only those parts of the bilateral treaties in

which different sides of the refugee question are addressed. Our aim is to reveal the positions on this issue declared in the documents under consideration, to trace the dynamics of their development, to outline the reasons that gave rise to them.

The first official contacts between the vassal Bulgarian principality and the Ottoman Empire were established with the establishment of the Bulgarian Diplomatic Agency in Constantinople on 19 July 1879. In the period up to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, a wide range of problems were the subject of bilateral negotiations between the two bordering states, as well as of the resulting normative acts, among which those caused by the intensification of mass refugee movements in the aforementioned chronological period also occupied a certain place. The First Balkan War (1912) led to a break in bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Turkey, and their normalization was achieved a year later, after the end of the Inter-Allied War (1913) with the Treaty of Constantinople, concluded on 16/29 September 1913. The main purpose of the normative document was to regulate the territorial and political relations between the two neighbouring states, and as an important element of them - to regulate selected aspects of the emerging refugee issue. The intention to control the problems of the frontier and refugee population was declared by the agreement signed on 2/15 November 1913. In reality, it started a trend towards subsequent mass expulsions affecting hundreds of thousands of people.

After the Paris Peace Conference, which ended the First World War, the Thracian question emerged as an international diplomatic problem. In the position of our rulers, there is a tendency to look for opportunities to restore the rights of Bulgarian refugees to return to their native places. The failure to reach satisfactory international agreements on the minority-refugee problem returns its resolution to the sphere of bilateral negotiations between Bulgaria and Turkey. The main parameters of the opinions formulated by the

government regarding the status of the respective minorities and the refugee question find expression in the texts of the Treaty of Friendship between Bulgaria and Turkey, signed on 5/18 October 1925, the Protocol annexed to it and the Convention on the Establishment between the two countries, known as the Angora Treaty.

Summarizing the analysis of the bilateral Bulgarian-Turkish normative documents discussed in Chapter 1, in the period 1913-1925 and of the processes that accompanied the formation of their content, we can state:

1. The concepts declared by our rulers concerning the international settlement of the refugee question can be divided into two main directions. On the one hand, there is a desire to preserve a Bulgarian population in Eastern Thrace, and on the other hand, a readiness to accept the forcibly displaced Bulgarians on Bulgarian territory. These directions are radically opposite in their nature and specifics.

2. At the initial stage of the development of the issue under consideration, the Bulgarian rulers had no clarity as to which of the two positions on the refugee question to defend. The lack of unity and the apparent inconsistency in the declared positions of our negotiators predetermined in the agreements regulated by the Bulgarian-Turkish normative acts concluded at that time the aspiration to preserve the Bulgarian presence in Eastern Thrace not to be realized. A circumstance that provoked the appearance of another wave of refugees to Bulgaria.

3. In the period immediately after the First World War, our rulers sought alternative foreign policy options for restoring the rights of Bulgarian refugees remaining or wishing to return to their birthplaces in Eastern Thrace, attempting to secure international guarantees. Attempts that failed.

4. The failure to reach satisfactory agreements with the

international community on the minority-refugee problem leaves little choice for the Bulgarian politicians. Because of their policies, the East Thracian expatriates lost the opportunity to return to their native places, and had to be accepted as immigrants in Bulgaria.

The decisions of the international legal acts and those adopted by bilateral Bulgarian-Turkish agreements in the period 1913-1925 required adequate changes in our legislation at that time and provoked the adoption of various laws in the country. Taking into account their multifaceted nature, Chapter 2, "The Refugee Question in Bulgarian Legislation in the Period 1913-1925", analyses those parts of them which concern the essence of the study - the way in which certain aspects of the refugee question were dealt with. The main aim is to reveal the views of the political elite on the domestic political settlement of the refugee question and their dynamics, and for this purpose the concepts consistently put forward and the tendency of their development in the period 1913-1925, the measures proposed for their realization and the means of achieving them are traced.

In the initial stage of the time frame under study (1913-1920), the interest of those in power manifested itself in the form of attempts to regulate the refugee flows arriving after the Inter-Allied War. The nature and specifics of this type of action are revealed through several pieces of legislation from this period - the 1913 Supplementary Excess Appropriation Bill to the Budget in the sum of £550,000, the 1914 Exemption from Duty and All Taxes and Charges on the Furnishing, Livestock, Goods of Arriving Refugees Bill and the 1914 Excess Appropriation Bill to the Budget in the sum of £1,200,000 for the relief of refugees.

At the beginning of the 1920s, given the scale and real prospects of it developing into a humanitarian catastrophe, the question of the reception and accommodation of the many refugees in Bulgaria became paramount in the work of the Bulgarian authorities. Their views on the possibilities of solving the refugee question are

reflected in several legislative initiatives - the 1920 Law on the Increase of State Lands, the Law on the Settlement of Refugees and the Provision of their Livelihood of 21 December of the same year (ZZBOP), the Law on Labour Land Ownership of 12 March 1921 (ZTPS), the Law on Labour Farms of 01 August 1924 (ZTZS).

The summary of the statements of the Bulgarian government, reflected in the legislation of the country in the period 1913 - 1925, concerning the actions related to the solution of the refugee issue, allows to form the following conclusions:

1. During the different stages of the chronological period 1913 - 1925, two conceptions were formed among the rulers about the domestic political settlement of the refugee question, which were reflected in the state legislation. The first was formed around the idea of temporary provision and accommodation of refugees in Bulgaria, who, if Turkey fulfilled its obligations under the bilateral agreements, would return to their native places. The second - allows for their permanent accommodation in Bulgaria in the longer term.

2. At the lower end of the period, although in the adopted normative documents we can observe the presence of two directions concerning the resolution of the refugee issue, the prevailing desire and intention of the government is to reduce and stop the influx of refugees in Bulgaria. At this stage, the measures taken are aimed at temporarily alleviating and assisting Bulgarian migrants.

3. In the following legislative acts, a gradual predominance of the concept of permanent accommodation and economic integration of the refugees is established, and therefore various actions for its implementation are laid down in the normative documents. In the early 1920s, the LZBOP, designed specifically for the resettlement of all categories of Bulgarian refugees, was adopted; in the subsequent LTPS, normative measures for the internal settlement of the refugee population were laid down, although not implemented, and in the LTPS the implementation of the concept was

centralised by drawing up the first distribution plan for the resettlement of refugees in the interior of the country, providing for subsequent resettlement.

4. In order to achieve the conceptual goals set for the resolution of the refugee issue, the government is applying a wide range of measures, implemented through the use of a variety of means - economic, social, financial, legal, etc. These are dominated by economic measures aimed at solving the problems of resettlement and subsequent permanent settlement of refugees in Bulgaria.

Summarizing the conclusions drawn in this part of the dissertation allows us to conclude that during the period we have studied - from 1913 to 1925 - there was no complex, widespread and consistently organized refugee policy in Bulgaria. However, by declaring, organizing and carrying out activities in this field on the part of the authorities, the achievement of the ultimate goal - the settlement and integration of the incoming Bulgarian refugee element - was stimulated in order to be able to exploit its demographic, economic and ethnic potential for the prosperity of Bulgaria.

The movement and settlement of refugees within the borders of Bulgaria is characterised by a number of peculiarities arising both from the composition of individual migration flows and from the specificities of the regions in which they settle. In view of this, the object of study and analysis in Part 2 of this work, "The settlement of East Thracian refugees in Bulgaria in the period 1913-1925 (on the example of Burgas region)", is on the one hand the territorial distribution and numbers of East Thracian refugees who headed for Bulgaria in the period 1913-1925. On the other hand - the formation, structure and organization of the settlements of the East Thracian settlers in this part of the country during the period under consideration.

In clarifying the refugee movements of the East Thracian Bulgarians during the period under study, a certain place is occupied

by examining the question of the directions of these movements, the number of the population involved in them, the nature and peculiarities of this type of movements. In accordance with the stated aim, Chapter 1 "Territorial Distribution and Numbers of the East Thracian Refugee Flow to the Burgas Region in the Period 1913-1925" focuses only on the geographical and settlement orientation of the researched process and the number of people involved in it. With a view to revealing in detail the nature and specificity of this type of mechanical movement of the population under study and outlining the main factors that gave rise to the settlement of refugees in the respective settlements, the analysis is both differentiated for each of the regions under consideration and generalized for Burgas Region as a whole. The delimitation of the different regions is in line with the aim of the study. Usually, the main study area is the district existing at that time. In the case of larger districts, internal differentiation is carried out, and the correlation of individual settlements in a given district is in relation to the specifics of the settlements, caused by their gravitation towards a particular district centre, as well as the specifics of the migrations of the refugee population taking place there. Regardless of the above distribution, the study covers all settlements available in the Burgas region where refugees settled during the study period. The exposition follows the conventional sequence from south through east, north and reaching west, throughout the range of the respective directions. In view of the clarifications made, the following districts have been identified as the object of study and analysis in this chapter of the dissertation: the Malko Tarnovo, Vasiliko, Sozopol, Burgas, Anchialo, Aytos, Karnobat, Karabunar districts.

The review of the summarized information on the territorial distribution and numbers of the East Thracian refugee flow to Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925, as well as the factors influencing the studied process, allow reaching the following conclusions regarding the directions of these mechanical movements, the number of the



population involved in them, the nature and peculiarities of this type of movements.

1. With regard to the geographical orientation of the emigration movements of Bulgarians from Eastern Thrace in the period under study, it can be stated that they were generally directed in a south-north direction, crossing the Bulgarian-Turkish state border. The refugee population originated from 307 settlements located in 20 separate territorial-administrative districts of Eastern Thrace. The most numerous in the refugee wave was the participation of the Bulgarians from the Lozengrad, Odrin, Malgara, Chataldzha, Silivri, Malko Tarnovo regions. The finding is mostly explained by the high concentration of Bulgarians inhabiting the mentioned territories until the beginning of the time range under study.



**Fig. 1. Settlements in Burgas region, where East Thracian refugees settled in the period 1913 - 1925\***

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 \* The number of settlements marked on the map is in accordance with the changes in localization, administrative affiliation and status that occurred in some of them.

2. With regard to the type of specific native habitats of the refugee population from Eastern Thrace, it is clarified that the

emigration flow was predominantly rural, while the emigrants from the cities were less numerous. The basis for the observed ratio is the fact that the bulk of the emigrants are from agricultural areas, whose settlement system is composed mainly of rural-type settlements and only a few urban-type ones. As regards the settlement orientation of the movement under consideration, its main direction is from village to village and town to town and to a lesser extent from village to town and town to village. This finding is logical, given the nature of the settlement structure in the study area of the Burgas region, in which most of the settlements where the population in question settles are villages. A feature of the internal movement of the refugee flow, characteristic of the second stage of its implementation within the period under study, is its orientation towards the larger administrative and economic centres. The reasons are mainly related to the expatriates' search for professional realization, but also to the availability of opportunities to receive good educational training, health care and to fulfill their personal needs to improve their living standards.

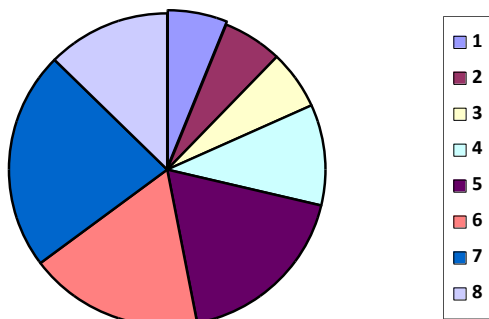
3. The presence of Bulgarian refugees is registered throughout the Burgas region (Figure 1.). The process of their settlement was accompanied by constant mechanical movements within individual regions and to other areas along the whole period from 1913 to 1925.

The study population settled in 230 localities, unevenly distributed across all eight distinct territorial units of the region under consideration (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Number of Bulgarian refugees from Eastern Thrace and the settlements they inhabited in Burgas region in the period 1913-1925.

Indicators	Areas in Burgas region								All
	Malko Tarnovo	Vasiliko	Sozopol	Burgas	Anchialo	Aytos	Karnobat	Karabunar	
Settlements	14	14	14	24	42	41	52	29	<b>230</b>
People	1490	3745	2014	10035	6515	3020	1885	1071	<b>29775</b>

The analysis of the results of the territorial distribution allows us to point out that the largest number of settlements in which refugee population settlement is registered is present in Karnobat, Anchialo and Aytos districts (their relative share varies between 22.6% and 17.8% of the total volume), while the smallest number of settlements with refugee settlement is observed in Malko Tarnovo, Vasiliko and Sozopol districts (6.1% of the total volume, respectively) (Figure 2).



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 Legend: 1. Malko Tarnovo district; 2. Vasiliko district; 3. Sozopol district; 4. Burgas district; 5. Anchialo district; 6. Aytos district; 7. Karnobat district; 8. Karabunar district.

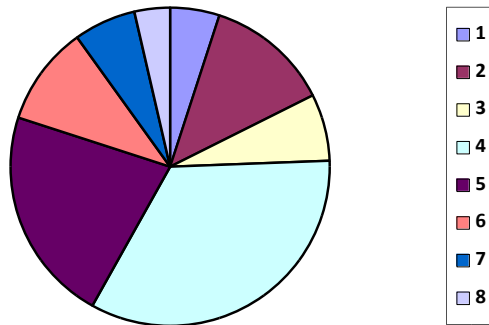
**Fig. 2. Relative share of the number of settlements by districts of Burgas region, where the Bulgarian refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in the period 1913 - 1925.**

The reasons for this fact have their explanation in the fact that the regions which have a preponderance generally have a dense settlement network, which gives the East Thracian emigrants a choice of residence. The second group of areas does not have sufficient available resources as a host country to accommodate large refugee groups, and is therefore experiencing an overcrowding of existing settlements, leading to a reduction in the living space required for existence and an outflow of refugees.

A significant feature of the migration process observed in the

different areas is the creation of new neighbourhoods in existing settlements and the establishment of independent refugee settlements.

4. The information summarized in Table 1 on the number of the refugee population permanently settled in the Burgas region at the end of the study period allows to establish that its total number was 29775 people. The differentiation, according to the indicator under consideration, of the population in question in the different regions is in a wide range and varies between 1071 and 10035. Its presence is most numerous within the Burgas and Anchialo regions (with a relative share of 33.7% and 21.9% of the total, respectively) (Figure 3). The reasons for this finding are predetermined by the fact that these are two coastal regions whose geographical space has free land reserves and a shortage of available human resources, making them a preferred destination of refugee groups. The concentration of expatriate groups here is influenced by the characteristics of these areas, which are predominantly agro-pastoral and provide opportunities for a significant proportion of refugees to apply their vocational skills.



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 Legend: 1. Malko Tarnovo district; 2. Vasiliko district; 3. Sozopol district; 4. Burgas district; 5. Anchialo district; 6. Aytos district; 7. Karnobat district; 8. Karabunar district.

**Fig. 3. Relative share of the number of Bulgarian refugees from Eastern Thrace who settled in the separate districts of Burgas region in the period 1913 - 1925.**

The Vasiliko and Sozopol districts (with a relative share of 12.6% and 6.8% of the total, respectively) are distinguished by a smaller number but a high relative share of the refugee population settled in their adjacent territory (Figure 3). The reason for this is that both regions are located in border areas, whose attractiveness for settlement by East Thracian Bulgarians is related to their expectations to return to their native habitats at some point.

The smallest number and, respectively, the relative share of refugee Bulgarians is in the Karabunar and Malko Tarnovo district (with a relative share of 3.6% and 5.0% of the total, respectively) (Figure 3). A circumstance that has a predominantly economic rationale, since the leading factor in the direction of specific migration movements is the search for sustainable economic opportunities for professional realization, as well as conditions for achieving material security, predisposing to the settling of refugee families. Such conditions are not sufficiently available in these areas, which encourages secondary displacement of some of the settled refugee population to other areas.

Comparison of the data on the relative share of the number of Bulgarian refugees from Eastern Thrace settled in the distinct areas of Burgas region with the relative share of the number of settlements by region makes it possible to establish that, in general, the concentration of the refugee population and the settlements inhabited by it decreases in the direction from south-southeast to north-northwest. Moreover, it is in the south and south-eastern regions that the relative proportion of refugees to their total population is highest, and their presence is present in all their settlements. A finding mostly related to the geographical proximity of these areas to the refugees' places of origin and their hope that they will return there again.

5. The factors determining the migratory activity of the refugee population in the territory of Burgas region in the period 1913-1925 were of different nature. They do not differ from the general ones influencing this type of migration processes and are primarily of political, economic, demographic, socio-psychological and natural-geographical nature. Summarizing the analysis made on the leading factors, we can state that their impact on the settlement process in certain regions of Burgas region is complex, but the political and

economic prerequisites are decisive. Leading among those of a political nature were the intentions of the then rulers to create a Bulgarian enclave on the southern state borders and through the process to influence the ethno-political stabilization of the region. The main economic factors are related to the livelihoods of the settlers and the opportunities provided by the different regions for their practice.

Tracing the dynamics of the mechanical movement associated with the displacement of refugee populations from the relevant areas of the region in the period in question, we find that it is influenced by the same sets of factors, but here they manifest themselves with different aspects that become the catalyst for another type of migration. Considering the aggregate impact of each of the systems of factors, we must emphasize that the economic, demographic and socio-psychological preconditions have the greatest impact on the displacement of refugee groups from particular areas. With regard to these groups of factors, it can be argued that, alongside the livelihood conditions that host areas are able to provide, the willingness of the refugees themselves to influence the economic potential of an area is also important. In this regard, the presence or lack of existing opportunities for people to develop and achieve a normal existence for refugees proved important.

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion in Chapter 1, based on the detailed disclosure of the nature and specificity in the geographical and settlement orientation of the process of refugee population settlement in the Burgas region, as well as its numbers, are as follows:

After the end of the Interallied War 62998 of the Bulgarians inhabiting Eastern Thrace were displaced to Bulgaria. According to the available data, between 1913 and 1925, 29775 refugees settled in the Burgas region, coming from most of the settlements of Eastern Thrace and settling in almost all the settlements in the geographical area under consideration. The mentioned number of refugee population in the study area constitutes 47.2% of the total number of East Thracian Bulgarians arriving in Bulgaria, which makes Burgas region the main destination of this type of refugee flow.

The results of the analysis of the studied indicators of the situation in the Burgas region and the findings presented in the

conclusions, related to the revealed nature and specifics of the refugee movement pertaining to the region, allow the generalization of the data on it to have a general value in systematizing the general regularities of the migration processes of the Bulgarian refugees in the period 1913 - 1925.

Entering Bulgaria, the East Thracian refugees began to gradually, permanently settle in a particular territory, forming settlements of different types and characteristics. In order to clarify the nature and specifics of this aspect of the refugee process, Chapter 2, "The Settlements of East Thracian Refugees in Burgas Region in the Period 1913-1925 - Formation, Structure and Organization", traces the formation, structure and organization of the settlements of East Thracian settlers in Burgas Region during the period under consideration.

In the second and third decade of the 20th century, the movement of significant migratory masses to Bulgaria led to the formation of numerous refugee settlements both in the form of independent settlements and as smaller settlement configurations - neighborhoods and districts within already existing settlements. The number and types of refugee settlements in the Burgas region are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Total number of types of refugee settlements in Burgas region\*

Types of settlements Indicators	New settlements	Other settlement type**
Total number	18	118

\* Sources. Periodical organ of the DGTHS. No. 3, 15.02.1925, 2-9; No. 5, 25.03.1925, 7; No. 6, 10.04.1925, 5; No. 18, 10.11.1925, 5-8; Report of the GDTZS, 17; List of settlements in the Kingdom of Bulgaria according to the census of 31 December 1926, 1-8.

\*\* Referring mainly to neighborhoods, but also to separate independent neighborhoods and small settlements. This number does not include small (single-family) and isolated settlements.



The analysis of the data from Table 2. allows to establish that different types of refugee settlements are distinguished in Burgas region. In numerical terms, the group of neighborhoods, neighborhoods and small-scale settlements has the predominance among them, accounting for 87.4% of all refugee settlements in the district. The total number of newly formed settlements is 18, which represents 6.5% of the total number of settlements available in the district at that time.

Newly established refugee settlements in Burgas region in the period under review are:

1) Ahrenliy; 2) Baatarla; 3) Göktepe (m. 2) Mahmukevo); 4) Dzhankardash; 5) Embelets; 6) Iskra; 7) Karabair; 8) Kafka; 9) Konstantinovo; 10) Leskovo; 11) Lisovo; 12) Paparus; 13) Piyasatsi; 14) Ravadinovo; 15) Silistar (between the villages of Kalanja and Rezovo); 16) Stoilovo (m. The Old Chiflik); 17) Uruzovo; 18) Yakezliy.

The list of the given settlements is made according to the data published in the Notices of the DGTHS and other available archival documents. Settlements such as Yakezliy, Iskra, Göktepe, Embelets, Silistar, Lisovo are listed in the Accommodation Plan of the General Directorate. Some of the listed settlements are intended to be formed under already existing settlements, as is the case of Göktepe, Iskra, Yakezliy, but in reality they merge with them and do not acquire administrative self-standing. The demarcation of others does not appear in the Internal Settlement Plan, but once formed, are subsequently officially recognized as newly formed refugee settlements. Such are Ahrenli, Baatarla, Dzhankardash, Konstantinovo, Kafka, Leskovo, Paparus, Ravadinovo, Karabair. At Silistar and Stoilovo no permanent refugee settlements are formed.

According to the Internal Settlement Plan, 47 refugee districts were planned to be established in the geographical area under study, attached to existing villages and towns, but in reality about 50 refugee districts were established in the period under consideration, 1913-1925.

The emergence of expatriate neighborhoods in some settlements and the small number of refugee settlements add to the number and type of refugee settlements newly formed in the area.

The comparison of the principles generally applicable to the settlement-forming processes with those that determined the formation during the period under study (mostly after 1920) of refugee settlements in the geographical area under study allows us to identify the following main specifics characteristic of the construction of settlements of East Thracian refugees:

1. The emergence of refugee settlements has been significantly influenced by three main factors:

- The political - revealing the linkage of the legal provision, design and functioning of refugee settlements with the implementation of a political concept of the state aimed at resolving the refugee issue in the area under consideration.

- Demographic - the demographic vacuum that has appeared in certain areas of the study area after the emigration of part of the local population predetermines its gradual filling, the most useful for this purpose being the newly emerging refugee population.

- Geographical - linked, on the one hand, to areas that are close to the refugees' birthplaces and, at the same time, guarantee the availability of land that is free for absorption.

2. The refugee settlements under study are distinguished by their compact settlement pattern. At the initial stage of their movement, the majority of the settlers move together, often whole villages move together - families, relatives, settle together in the new place, carrying there their settlement tradition as a natural focus of social interactions, and with it their identity - of language and dress, of outlook and moral norms, customs, work habits, etc. Often even the name of the village from which the refugees originated is carried over as the name of the new settlement. Examples can also be given with the surnames of the settlers, which contain the name of the native village as a root - Mideliev, Kovchazliev, Malkochev, Koruderliev, etc.

3. In connection with the above, it may be added that the settlement in the refugee settlements under consideration took place simultaneously, whereas in the case of the usually formed ones, it took place gradually.

4. A characteristic of the inhabitants of the refugee settlements formed in the region is their social equalization. Settling here, the

settlers are placed on equal terms, do not own property and there is no particular social differentiation among them. When the government began to settle them systematically, they were landed with equal amounts of land and the same agricultural implements. This feature of refugee settlement contrasts with the situation in traditional settlements.

5. In contrast to the possibility of a free choice of the main livelihood for the local inhabitants, the newly settled refugees are deprived of this privilege. Very often, they are forced to learn and practice occupations that are alien and unaccustomed to them, which is why, in addition to farming, they engage in fruit-growing, viticulture, fishing, cooperage, mining, work in factories and craft workshops, etc.

6. In the construction of refugee settlements, a number of inconsistencies were found with the legal regulations for the establishment of this type of settlement. It is noteworthy that the emergence of most of the settlements in the period under consideration preceded the implementation of the measures outlined as a planned policy of the central authorities to resolve the given issue. For this reason, the choice of settlement site often did not correspond to the conditions laid down in the regulations.

Summarizing the specifics of the formation of different types of refugee settlements in the Burgas region reveals that the process under consideration differs in its nature and peculiarities from that characteristic of traditional settlement formation in the region. This allows us to define the construction of the studied refugee settlements as a peculiar phenomenon in our settlement-forming system.

The analysis of the available source material allows us to identify the characteristic features of the structure and organization of refugee settlements in the Burgas region during the period under study. They can be generally summarized as follows:

1. The beginnings of planning in the form of marking the boundaries of the territory, regulation and plotting, measures for partial improvement of the available refugee settlements took place in the second half of the study period.

2. At this time, zoning plans were drawn up for most of the newly formed settlements, but at this stage, only some of them were undergoing, limited in their extent, residential and public development.

3. Although settled in certain settlements - without the intervention of the state or by virtue of established legal provisions, refugees are at various stages, partially, provided with areas for resettlement or for the construction of housing, but this is not systematically and universally implemented.

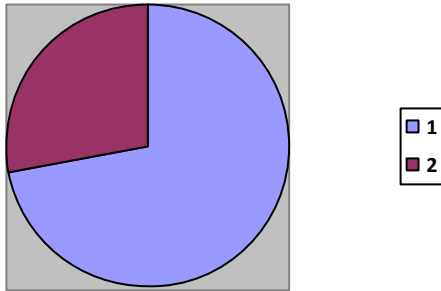
4. By the end of the study period, there were no newly constructed refugee settlements in the study area that had been fully completed by the state and arranged according to the provisions of the regulations.

The reasons for the observed situation are complex. The processes of planning and organisation of the new refugee settlements that emerged during the period under review did not strictly and consistently follow the prescriptions of the legal documents. One of the main reasons for this is that the demarcation and, at the same time, the beginning of the development of most settlements preceded the adoption of the relevant legislative framework. In parallel, until 1925, the government did not undertake unified, systematic actions on housing and the organisation of new refugee settlements. A circumstance provoked both by the lack of financial resources to implement its project plans and by the absence of a comprehensive programme to address the refugee issue as a whole.

In view of the information presented, clarifying the specifics of the design and organization of the different types of refugee settlements in the Burgas region, we are able to state that in their nature and peculiarities, the processes traced differ from those that reflect the traditionality of the implementation of these processes in settlements of the region. The analytical review gives us grounds to confirm that not only the principle of formation, but also the way in which the structure and organization of the studied refugee settlements is carried out, defines them as a peculiar phenomenon in our settlement-forming system.

All these findings reveal the peculiarity of the formation, structure and organization of refugee settlements and make them a specific element in our national settlement structure.

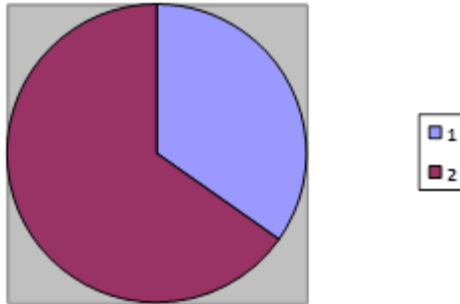
Some idea of the nationwide dimensions of the processes under study is provided by the comparison between those taking place within the Burgas region and those at the national level.



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 Legend: 1. Burgas region; 2. Other districts of the country

**Fig. 4. Relative share of the number of newly formed refugee settlements in Burgas region and in the other regions of the country**

Considering the ratio between the number of planned and actually formed new settlements for accommodation of refugees of the settlement type in total in the country - 25 with the number of this type of settlements built in Burgas region - 18, we can state that 72% (Figure 4) of this group of settlements is connected with the territory of the considered region.



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 Legend: 1. Burgas region; 2. Other regions of the country

**Fig. 5. Relative share of the number of newly formed refugee quarters, neighborhoods and small settlements in Burgas region and in the other regions of the country**

As for the number of other settlements formed in existing settlements in the study area - quarters, separate independent neighborhoods and small-scale settlements, compared to their total number in the country, it is found that 34.8% (Fig. 5) of them are developed in the studied geographical space.

At the same time, it should be emphasized the fact that the types of refugee settlements under consideration, practically cover, characteristic for the whole country, the variety of such type of settlement formations.

These findings allow us to correlate the conclusions reached to all settlements of East Thracian refugees who settled in Bulgaria in the period 1913-1925 and underline their national generality. Therefore, the systematization of the information concerning the emergence and the way of functioning of the refugee settlements in the Burgas region in the period 1913-1925 allows to draw a conclusion about the place and the impact of this type of settlements on the development of the modern territorial-administrative system of the country.

At the same time, taking into account the specifics of the process under study, we can come to the conclusion that by settling on the territory of the geographical space under consideration, East Thracian refugees contributed to the revitalization of certain areas, not only managing to settle and adapt in an unaccustomed environment, but also contributing to changing its appearance in a positive direction. The desire for settlement, the subsequent settlement and the planned construction of refugee houses, the influence of socio-psychological factors such as the feeling of security and belonging, the health and improvement measures carried out, the maintenance of educational and cultural traditions in the settlements, all contribute to the integration of this able-bodied population with a clear affiliation to Bulgarian society, as a result of which they are actively involved in the economic, political and social life of the country. The desire to preserve the native cultural and group identity, the common worldview and way of life, provide support in the respective community in solving everyday problems and support the innate ability to overcome life obstacles of any nature. The entrepreneurship, resilience and perseverance of the East Thracians facilitated their adaptation and success in previously unaccustomed areas, contributed to the progress

of many industries, supported the construction of various types of infrastructure, modernisation of education, health care, etc. As a result, the newly built and territorially-administratively settled refugee settlements subsequently became '*centres of modern material and spiritual culture and contributed to the overall improvement of the settlement environment*'.

## **SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS of the dissertation**

- This is the first study on the problems so formulated, which is a step towards overcoming the existing research vacuum in this scientific field:
- A substantial part of the available source material on the problem has been summarized and systematized;
- An extensive bibliography on the studied subject has been compiled;
- The parameters of the theoretical-methodological model specific for this type of research are outlined;
- The research achievements on the developed subject matter are supplemented;
- Based on the available source and historiographical material, new theses and propositions are substantiated.
- Representing a component of the general history of our population, this study enriches the overall picture of the historical development of our territories.
- At the same time, by elucidating a process that affected vast groups of people throughout the Balkan Peninsula, this study goes beyond national frameworks and allows for a fuller revelation of the nature and consequences on a pan-Balkan scale.



**LIST OF PUBLICATIONS**  
**on the topic of the dissertation**

1. Deleva, I. Case study. "A first-person account of the exodus of Bulgarians from the village of Pishmanköy, Malgar in the summer of 1913" (a dramatic journey to Bulgaria). In: Proceedings of the Seventh National Conference on History, Archaeology and Cultural Tourism "Bulgarian Lands and Bulgaria: Cultural and Historical Crossroads", Shumen - 22 October 2020, Shumen, 2022, 222-230, ISBN 978-619-201-563-3.
2. Deleva, I. Notes on the history of the Black Sea settlements of Banya, Emine, Obzor and the neighbouring settlements in the context of refugee themes - Proceedings of the Thracian Scientific Institute, vol. 18 - 19, Sofia, 2022, 324 - 348, ISSN 1312-6741.
3. Deleva, I. Formation of refugee settlements in Bulgaria (on the example of the district of Kraymorie in Burgas) the first third of the XX century. - Yearbook of Shumen University "Bishop Konstantin Preslavsky", Faculty of Humanities, Vol. XXXIII A/2. Shumen, 2022, 159 - 172. Print edition: ISSN 1311-7300, Online edition: ISSN 2603-512X.
4. Deleva, I. Territorial distribution and numbers of the East Thracian refugee flow to the Malko Tarnovo district in the period 1913 - 1925 - Proceedings of the Thracian Scientific Institute, vol. 20, in press.

