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**MOTIVATIONS FOR DONATING TO BULGARIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
SINCE THE END OF THE 19TH TO THE MID-20TH CENTURY**

**MOTIVACIONES PARA DONAR AL SISTEMA EDUCATIVO DE BULGARIA
DESDE EL FINAL DE LOS SIGLOS XIX AL MEDIADOS DEL SIGLO XX**

Ph. D. Petar Parvanov

South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria
paterparvanov@swu.bg

Ph. D. Boryana Dimitrova

South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Bulgaria
b_dimi@swu.bg

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Abstract

The following elaboration is focused on the motivations and economic impact of donations, made to the Bulgarian educational system since the end of the 19th to the mid-20th century. The main objective is to clarify the essence of the donors' motives over the examined period. The economic impact has been regarded in line with the main economic problems and challenges of the period. One of these impacts is that through donations social networks and communities were being created, including people who do not possess opportunities to acquire education and training otherwise.

Keywords

Donators' motives – Donation – Education – Overcoming social exclusion

Resumen

El siguiente artículo se centra en las motivaciones y el impacto económico de las donaciones, realizadas en el sistema educativo búlgaro desde finales del siglo XIX hasta mediados del siglo XX. El objetivo principal es aclarar la esencia de los motivos de los donantes durante el período examinado. El impacto económico se ha considerado acorde con los principales problemas y desafíos económicos del período. Uno de estos impactos es que a través de donaciones se crearon redes sociales y comunidades, incluidas personas que no poseen oportunidades para adquirir educación y capacitación de otra manera.

Palabras Claves

Motivos de los donantes – Donación – Educación – Superación de la exclusión social

Introduction: Outlining the problem in the Bulgarian environment

At first glance, donation means that something is given free of charge, without the donating party expecting a response. This is how the act of donating is considered in the legal theory as well as by the contemporary donors¹. Naturally, the moral satisfaction and selflessness appear in the motion of the donation, but both now and in the past, other motives are also present, related to the acquisition of indirect social and economic benefits².

The beginning of donation among Bulgarians should be sought in the Middle Ages, during the shaping of Bulgarian society and state. In its present form, it is known since the Bulgarian Revival epoch and it is related to the awareness as a nation³. Forming themselves as a society in a foreign environment like the Ottoman Empire, Bulgarians are looking for ways beyond the state sanction, but taking advantage of it, to distinguish themselves as a separate nation. Modern education is an important part of these processes of national awareness and during its institutionalization as a social structure, Bulgarians provide the necessary funds through donations.

The involvement of the community through donations in the development of the Bulgarian educational system continued even after the creation of the Third Bulgarian State, although the primary oversight for it was taken over by the state in the face of the Ministry of National Enlightenment (MNE).

Worldwide, donation was explored back in the day by Aristotle, passed through Seneca, finally arriving at the classical works of Marcel Moss and Bronislaw Malinowski⁴.

The theme of the history of donation in Bulgaria is well developed in the works of Rositsa Stoyanova and Veska Nikolova. The three volume encyclopedia of donations in Bulgaria should not be ignored also⁵. The present text is based not only on the published

¹ K. Tsonchev, *Donation Contract* (Sofia: Sophie-R, 2001); First person gift, single. Sofia: Bulgarian School of Politics "Dimitar Panitza", New Bulgarian University, 2015, 61.; Цончев, К. Договор за дарение. София: Софи-Р, 2001; Дарителството от първо лице, единствено число. София: Българско училище за политика „Димитър Паница“, Нов български университет, 2015, с. 61.

² P. Boyadjieva, *Cultures of philanthropy in education: theoretical orientations and research approaches* (in press); Бояджиева, П. Култури на дарителство в сферата на образованието: теоретични ориентири и изследователски подходи (под печат).

³ E. Lechev, *Donation during the Renaissance*. Shumen: Ilija R. Blaskov, 1993, 34 et seq.; Лечев, Д. Дарителството през Възраждането. Шумен: ИК „Илия Р. Блъсков“, 1993, с. 34 и сл.

⁴ Aristotle, *Nicomacha ethics*. <http://bogdanbogdanov.net/pdf/278.pdf>; L. Seneca, *For Benefits*. S. 2014; M. Moss, *The Gift: Form and Ground for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. S. 2001.; Аристотел. Никомахова етика. <http://bogdanbogdanov.net/pdf/278.pdf>; Сенека, Л. За благоденствията. С. 2014; Мос, М. Дарът : форма и основание за обмена в архаичните общества. С. 2001.

⁵ V. Nikolova y R. Stoyanova, *Shared responsibility. Civil Organizations, the State and the Institutions for Public Care in Bulgaria (1878 - 1939)* (Sofia: Military Publishers, 2009); *Encyclopedia. Donation. Donation funds and foundations in Bulgaria 1878-1951*. Т. 1-3, V. Nikolova y R. Stoyanova (ed.), Sofia: Bulgarian Donor Forum, IC "Prof. Petko Venedikov ", 2011.; P. Boyadzheva, *Dar and culture of donation in the field of education: contours of a research program, Sociological problems*, 3-4, (2012) 280-302; *Benefactors and charity in Bulgaria - between praise and denial. 1879-1951. Documents*. Stoyanova, R., V. Nikolova (ed). Sofia: "Prof. Petko Venedikov, 2015; and others.; Николова, В., Р. Стоянова. Споделената отговорност. Гражданските организации, държавата и институциите за обществени грижи в България (1878 – 1939).

works on educational donations, but also on a large number of archival documents - published and unpublished, stored in the funds of the State Archives Agency⁶.

1.- Classification of motives for donation

The review of the source material shows that some of the donations and wills were made without explicit expression of the donor's motives in the act and without requiring additional, secondary actions by the beneficiary as a condition for accepting the donation and using it in a certain way. Donation motions aim to support education regardless of the specific use of resources. In other acts a social element focused on the expenditure is included - the donation is given a social function by imposing the obligation that the money are to be spent on helping poor and talented students. Sometimes to this function are added cumulatively the patriotic and religious ones. Besides being socially disadvantaged and talented, the students who benefit from them must be Bulgarians or belonging to a specific place indicated by the donor and to be of the Eastern Orthodox religion. In principle, through his motives the donor directs the funds to school or students who are close to him. They must be family related or to be of his birthplace. But there are also donations focused on an organization with which the beneficiary is connected, for professional and emotional reasons or purposes. Often, he aims to assist in the acquisition of a particular profession he has practiced or believes that it is precisely such specialists that his homeplace or motherland needs. Most often donations are made to honor the memory, to immortalize the name of the donor, his or her spouse, brother, sister, child or parent. Not always the motivations of the donations are selfless. It is not about the inner satisfaction of the donor or the economics of the symbolic goods, but about purely pragmatic motives, which aim at preserving property or resources for which the donor otherwise cannot take care, regain, and so on. In most cases, the motives for making the donation are combined.

On the basis of the analysis of the main motives for donating in the field of education during the period under consideration, four groups of donations could be identified. The first includes donations, the motivation for which is to respect the memory of a person/-s. In it, as subgroups are included: - respecting the memory of one's own personality; - honoring the memory of a husband; - respecting the memory of a child; - respecting the memory of other relatives. The second group of donations is made with poverty in mind. The third – for respecting a certain profession. The fourth group of donations is made because of the patriotic feelings of the donators. It includes two subgroups: respecting the homeland and respecting the birthplace.

София: Военно издателство, 2009; Енциклопедия. Дарителството. Дарителски фондове и фондации в България 1878-1951. Т. 1-3, Николова, В., Р. Стоянова (съст.) София: Български дарителски форум, ИК „Проф. Петко Венедиков“, 2011.; Бояджиева, П. Дар и култура на дарителство в сферата на образованието: контури на една изследователска програма, Социологически проблеми, 2012, 3-4, с. 280-302; Благодетели и благотворителност в България – между възхвалата и отрицанието. 1879 – 1951. Документи. Стоянова, Р., В. Николова (съст.). София: ИК „Проф. Петко Венедиков“, 2015; и др.

⁶ The documents were collected and processed in the framework of a research project funded by the NSF "Culture of donation in the field of education: social, institutional and personal dimensions. Contract No. JSC-K02 / 12 of 12 December 2014; Документите са събрани и обработени в рамките на научноизследователски проект, финансиран от ФНИ „Култура на дарителство в сферата на образованието: социални, институционални и личностни измерения. Договор № ДФНИ-K02/12 от 12 декември 2014 г.

2.- Donations for honoring people's memory: own memory; husband's or wife's; child's; relatives'

Donations, whose main motive is to respect the memory of the donor himself are mostly made by property owners who have no direct or close heirs on whom to rely on for their funeral and the completion of the respective rituals after their death. Donating their property to the state, in this case the MNE, they state in their motives that they oblige the ministry to perform the necessary rituals and also to perpetuate their memory by organizing the respective rituals on a certain day of the year. The date is either an anniversary of their death or a name day, the day of starting or ending of the school year, etc. Almost always on that day funds from the donation are distributed according to the will of the donor. That is precisely the case with the will of Zoya Hadji Nedyalkova⁷ from Sofia⁸. The same motives appear in the will of the Pazardjik teacher Todor Penev⁹. Extremely generous donation to the public education, in his memory made the citizen of Sliven Dimitar Petrov Dimitrov¹⁰. In the group of donations for the perpetuation of one's own memory also falls the one of Luka Hristov Kasarov, a rich merchant who had spent his life in Bucharest, who donated two million Romanian lei to the MNE with the wish for a school to be built where it was needed¹¹. Pencho Stanev Denchev from the village of Svezhen, with money he did not have, made a donation with the purpose of forming a fund in his name at the "Marko Dulgerski" Primary School¹².

The listed examples, though not comprehensive, clearly show the leading aspirations of some of the donors - through the act of donation to create and preserve the memory of them through the generations. In these cases, as secondary motives could be grouped the ones binding the act with the belonging to a certain institution, birthplace, as well as its social functions. It is difficult to outline and determine the social status of donors, as donations vary from small sums to those in particularly large sizes. Apparently, there is a positive attitude towards this type of motion in society, as evident from the cases in which the donors, in their quest to keep their own memory, dispose of funds on which they have no rights or their rights are limited.

Donations related to honoring people during the period under consideration often refer not only to respecting the donor's memory, but also that of his marital partner. With them, family funds are formed. Generally, the spouses are the beneficiary of these funds, but there are also reverse cases. The motives for these donations are almost always no different from those of the previous group of donations. For example, Pavel Bajnov made a donation of 50,000 (fifty thousand) leva to the Bulgarian School Board in Shumen¹³. Raina Gyosheva from the village of Knyazhevo, who had no direct heirs, made a big donation to

⁷ Biographical data on donors and information on donation development are contained in the relevant articles of the Encyclopedia. Donation ..., Т 1-3.; Биографични данни за дарителите и сведения за развитието на дарението се съдържат в съответните статии на: Енциклопедия. Дарителството..., Т. 1-3.

⁸ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education. Kn. II. Sofia: Ministry of National Education, 1923, 75-76.; Пашев, Г. Златна книга на дарителите за народна просвета. Кн. II. София: Министерство на народната просвета, 1923, 75-76.

⁹ Archives; ДА-Пазарджик, ф. 205К, оп. 2, а.е. 16, л. 9-10; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 7, а.е. 162, л. 1.

¹⁰ Archives; ДА-Сливен, ф. 344К, оп.1, а.е.7, л. 35 – 36.

¹¹ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177к, оп. 7, а.е. 98, л. 48 – 49.

¹² Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177к, оп. 7, а.е. 131, л. 1 – 3.

¹³ Archives; ДА-Шумен, ф. 58К, оп. 1, а.е. 138, л. 1.

the school in the village¹⁴. By her will, Maria Kasabova creates a fund to honor herself and her husband¹⁵. A large donation of 1,200,000 (one million and two hundred thousand) leva for the creation of a fund in hers and her husband's name "Ekaterina and Yosif Kovachevi" made Ekaterina Kovacheva, completing the will of her husband. The aim of the fund was to grant scholarships to poor students at the Faculty of History and Philology at the Sofia State University for specializations abroad¹⁶.

In addition to donations that honor the two spouses together, there are those that one spouse does to honor the memory of the other. Many of them are made in memory of the deceased spouse by the surviving one with the resources of the deceased and acknowledging the will of the former, whether it was explicitly expressed or not. Such was the donation of Dr. Anastasia Golovina¹⁷. Mikhail Popov honored the memory of his wife Nevena Popova, the famous physician and founder of the children's colony "Zdravets" in Tarnovo, by the creation of a fund in her name worth 10,000 (ten thousand) leva. Through the fund, he tried to perpetuate the work of her life, as the money was intended to fund the functioning of the colony¹⁸.

The endowment acts of honoring a spouse's memory, whether singular or collective, are numerous and varied. It is noteworthy that when a donation is made for the creation of a fund respecting the memory of both spouses, the donated amount is much larger than the one in the case when only one of the spouses is honored. It is clear that the motives of donors are to perpetuate the memory of the deceased by linking the motion to his/hers profession or birthplace. The acts in this group almost always have a social element, the aid is not necessarily in money. Support in-kind is often what is provided. There are donations, which aim to raise the quality and level of education. It is noted that with some of them the national and patriotic motives are present, especially when it comes to donating funds for helping pupils from a populated area outside the country, as well as when beneficiaries and managers are defined by nationality.

One of the most numerous, most generic in nature and most emotional donations that honor people's memories are those of respecting a deceased child. The acts in this group are related to perpetuating the memory of a child for whose education money has been collected. After his/hers death, they are donated either to the school where he/she has been studying, often targeting children from the same educational degree as the deceased or for the continuation of the education of a certain pupil, or for the sphere and degree in which the child would have continued his/her training. The purpose of the fund may also be related to the profession of the deceased. It has to be concluded that funds collected for a given purpose are spent on the purpose for which they are "called". Thus, the family of Radoy Rachev from Shumen established a charity fund in memory of their son "Airborne Lieutenant Georgi /Georges/ Radoev Rachev", at the amount of 50,000 (fifty thousand) leva at Shumen's "Vasil Drumev Male High School", where the late used to

¹⁴ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 301, л. 26, 44, 61.

¹⁵ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 187-188.; Пашев, Г. Цит. съч., с. 187-188.

¹⁶ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 206, л. 1 - 4; Velev, S. Golden book of donors for popular education. Kn. I. (Sofia: Ministry of National Education, 1907), 388-390.; Велев, С. Златна книга на дарителите за народна просвета. Kn. I. София: Министерство на народната просвета, 1907, с. 388-390.

¹⁷ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 437-438.; Пашев, Г. Цит. съч., с. 437-438.

¹⁸ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 255, л. 38.

study¹⁹. Extremely patriotic was the donation of Petar Kiryakov from Kalugerovo village, Orhaniya (today Botevgrad), who told the story of his family, which participated in the struggles of the Bulgarians for the creation and preservation of the state since the National Revival²⁰. Ivan and Maria Beshevlievi donated 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) leva to the Arts Academy for the establishment of a fund in the name of their deceased daughter, Anna Beshevlieva, a former student of the last painting course at the Academy²¹. A large donation of an apartment in the capital city, worth 500,000 (five hundred thousand) leva, made to the MNE Boris Kalchov to honor the memory of his late daughter Nadezhda Kalchova²².

The donations made in memory of a deceased child are numerous and generic in nature. At the same time, they are most diverse in terms of amount donated and of social composition of the donors. There are sums ranging from 2,000 leva to 500,000 leva. What unites them is that besides the will to honor the child's memory, the donors are looking for a way to keep the memory of him or her alive. They socialize themselves with the group to which the deceased used to belong during his/her lifetime. This is the reason most of the donations were made specifically to the school where the child had studied. So that purely symbolic his/her life to be continued and someone else to have the opportunity to receive education. It is of no coincidence that the social element, and sometimes the national one, are present in all donations dedicated to the memory of a deceased child.

The last subgroup, which is included in the group of donations honoring people, are those dedicated to the memory of relatives. Most often these acts are aimed at respecting the memory of parents, brothers and sisters. Interesting is the fact that some of these gifts are performed to honor the memory of long-ago-dead brothers, sisters, parents of a relative, who got rich and who at the end of his life decided to respect his relatives in this way. It should be emphasized that in such cases, close relatives are neglected, at the expense of the more distant ones. These are the most common cases. Parents, brothers and sisters are joined in a collective fund with the donor, at the expense of the spouse and children.

A donation to the public education to honor the memory of his parents was made by the famous politician Nikola Mushanov. He donated 100,000 (one hundred thousand) leva to the fund "Stoycho Mushanov and Yona S. Mushanova from the town of Dryanovo"²³. The brothers Mosinovi donated 600,000 (six hundred thousand) leva to the State Male High School "Alexander I" in Plovdiv to honor the memory of their younger brother Angel Mosinov²⁴. To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of his father – Matthew (Marko) P. Tantylov, a teacher in Karshiyaka, Plovdiv since 1850 to 1852 and in Karlovo since 1852 to 1877, hanged by the Ottoman authorities for doing Bulgarian propaganda in 1877, a donation of 30,000 (thirty thousand) leva to the Karlovo High School was made by his only living son Vasil Tantylov on 14th of December 1937. The donor explicitly emphasized that the act was in agreement with his two late brothers: Lieutenant General Peter Tantylov and Doctor Hristo Tantylov²⁵. Petar Peshev, a politician and statesman, bequeathed 200,000 (two hundred thousand) leva to the Sevlievo

¹⁹ Archives; ДА-Шумен, ф.52К, оп. 1, а.е. 88, л. 1 - 2; ЦДА, ф.177К, оп. 7, а.е. 143, л. 4 -5; 9 - 11.

²⁰ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 417- 420.; Пашев, Г.Цит. съч., 417- 420.

²¹ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 61, л. 3.

²² Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 2, а.е. 862, л. 8.

²³ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 7, а.е. 311, л. 15.

²⁴ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 43, л. 64 - 65.

²⁵ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 2, а.е. 944, л. 13-14.

municipality to build a dining room. Thus he honored his brothers and himself, since the act created the fund "Stefan, Mincho and Peter Peshevi"²⁶.

In terms of motivation and size, donations made to the memory of close relatives are not particularly different from those dedicated to other people. They are often done with the deceased's resources, as donors believe they are fulfilling, his or her wish, which he/she may or may not have expressed distinctly. Almost all acts in this subgroup have a social focus. They are tied to the interests of the one, whose memory is honored. In most cases, donors seek to alleviate their sorrow over a lost relative by making a donation for a cause they suspect he would approve. A specific feature of this subgroup is that the donations often take years after the one, in whose memory the donation is made, died. In these cases, in keeping with the present day of the act, patriotic feelings are also demonstrated.

3.- Poverty-related donations

In Bulgarian public life, during the period under review, there is a series of donations, the leading motive of which is the support of poor students. The social element, not the personal one, is brought to the fore. For example, Todor Brestnichki spent some of his life in the village of Nikolichevtsi, Kyustendil. Satisfied with the attitude of his co-villagers towards him, especially the poorest, he left 20,000 (twenty thousand) leva for the sustenance of poor pupils²⁷. Inspired by the victories of the Bulgarian Army during the First World War on the Dobrudja Front and feeling himself a part of the Bulgarians, because much of his life had passed among them, a donation of 20,000 (twenty thousand) leva, and obliging to pay another 20,000 (twenty thousand) leva - 5,000 (five thousand) per year for four years, for the construction and maintenance of a lower-grade practical school made the Jew Yako Avramov²⁸. Led by the memory of the great poverty he grew up in, Rad Dedev of Panagyurishte donated 500,000 (five hundred thousand) leva in bonds to the local school, the incomes of which to be used for the poor, but gifted and talented children of Panagyurishte schools²⁹. The well-known Bulgarian politician and military leader, Lieutenant General Racho Petrov bequeathed his house in Sofia and property in Belovo to the Sofia University and the MNE to be used for the sustenance of poor students from Macedonia³⁰. A significant donation to help educate poor students was made by banker Angelo Kuyumdjiiski. Upon his withdrawal from active work and to emphasize his loyalty to his homeland, he donated bonds from the 1923 National Refugee State Loan to a nominal amount of 7,000,000 (seven million) leva. With these funds, the "Foundation for the Support of the Poor Students" (from all higher schools in the country) was created³¹.

The Poverty-related educational donations are comparatively few compared to those in the other groups. By size, they range from ten thousand to millions of leva. This also shows the different social composition of the donors, who, according to the motives, could be subdivided into two categories. The first comprises of people who were extremely

²⁶ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 305, л. 23.

²⁷ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 372-374.; Пашев, Г. Цит. съч., 372-374.

²⁸ Sofia Municipal Gazette, № 34, February 10, 1917; Софийски общински вестник, № 34, 10 февруари 1917 г.

²⁹ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е.102, л. 4.

³⁰ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 298, л. 11 – 12; 15 – 16.

³¹ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 2, а.е. 944, л. 18-19.; ДА-София, ф. 3К, оп. 1, а.е. 296, л. 2-3.

poor in their childhood. Once they became rich, they were motivated to help poor children receive education and they did so. In the second category, the leading motive is the surrounding poor reality the donors wish to alleviate.

The acts in this group are distinguished by their leading social motive. Specifically, it is the wish of some of the donors to remain anonymous. They give the amount (of money) by explicitly pointing out that they do not want their name to be mentioned and even in some cases the donation documents are not properly drafted. This is a wish, that does not appear with the donations in other groups and it is often neglected in order for a fund to be set up and the funds to be spent as intended. Thus, the donors, without explicitly expressing their will, get their memory respected.

The conclusion is that poverty-related donations are often made due to patriotic motives and almost always are related to the economic growth. I.e. they are made so that the obtainer has a chance of a higher education, so that afterwards the one can be beneficial to the economic development of his or her home country. Of course, there are donations in this group, whose funds should preferably benefit persons, who are close to the donor.

4.- Donations, whose motive is honoring a certain profession

A third group of donations, which can be differentiated according to the leading motives, are those devoted to the development of a given profession. The donor performs the motion to provide the opportunity for a training, related to the profession or the scientific field in which he or a relative of his is engaged. There is a personal moment in this group, too. In many cases the donor does not act alone. Often relatives or heirs fulfill the donor's explicit will, but there are also the occasions when they make the donation with the motive, that they perpetuate his memory and perform his indirectly expressed will.

These motions include economic and patriotic moments too. Often there is the condition that the beneficiary, after training in and acquiring a particular profession, thanks to the means provided, must return to his homeland and help with his efforts its economic and cultural development. A typical example of such an act is the donation made by the heirs of the professor of mathematics Anton Schourek. They set up a fund in his name to the university, with a capital of 10,000 (ten thousand) levs, for the granting of scholarships to students, who continue their studies in the areas, in which the professor taught³². The brother and sister of the second lieutenant and lawyer Dimitar Hranov, who was killed in Dobrudzha in 1916, set up a fund with a capital of 70,000 (seventy thousand) levs in his name to the Law Faculty of Sofia University in order to support the study of civil law and process³³. Apart from Sofia University, donations for the development of a certain profession are also made to the MNE. Dr. Stoyan Radoslavov, a surgeon from Rousse, who had no direct heirs, donated 50,000 (fifty thousand) levs to the ministry for the support of medical students, studying abroad³⁴.

The donations, which main motivation is the honoring of a profession, are not as numerous as those in the other groups. Their amounts are also not as big. A great deal of

³² Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177К, оп. 4, а.е. 64, л. 3.

³³ Archives; ДА - София, ф. 994К, оп. 2, а.е. 138, л. 3 – 5.

³⁴ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 249-251.; Пашев, Г.Цит. съч., 249-251.

them are made so that Bulgarians can receive education, which is needed in their home country. For the same reason, in this group, the acts directed to the acquiring of a higher education predominate. Many of the papers feature patriotic motives, which brings them closer to the donations, which main motive is honoring one's own memory, as well as those, which main motives are the patriotic feelings of the donor.

5.- Donations, whose motives are the patriotic feelings: patronage of the homeland and respect for the birthplace

The last group of donations for the field of education, which were made between 1878 and 1944, according to their leading motives, are those made with patriotic feelings in mind. They are divided into two subgroups.

The first subgroup covers acts directed at a particular settlement - native to the donor or the one from which his family originated, or with which he is related.

Very emotional and patriotic are the donations, made to honor settlements, which have remained outside Bulgaria. There is always the belief in them that sooner or later they will be joined with the homeland. That is why they should have donations made to them. In order to develop and educate the people, who are living there, so that when the union happens, the settlement is in good economic and cultural condition. Part of the funds are meant for the development of the settlement itself, and another - for the population, that originates from it or is connected with it.

The second subgroup refers to donations that are intended to honor the homeland in general. Although that in this type of donation, the leading motive is patriotism, as a secondary - the honoring of the donor or his relatives is present. That is, to be known that the donors are patriots and that they have taken care of the enhancement of their birthplace and the preservation of its memory.

For example, Zhivko Dobrev created a fund, from the legally available part of his inheritance, to his and his wife's name "Zhivko and Elena Dobrevi", to the "Zarya" Educational Institute in Sofia. Part of the Fund's revenues should be used by the Institute, under the direct control of the MNE, and in agreement with the "Philippi" Drama Society for Culture and Education in Sofia, to support students from the village of Plevnya, Drama³⁵. A donation for the development of the education in his native town of Turnovo was made by Stefan Belchev³⁶. A very patriotic donation was made by the brothers Mikhail, Ivan and Lazar Hadjivalchevi from Bansko. Excited by their birthplace's accession to Bulgaria and its rapid modernization, they donated 60,000 (sixty thousand) leva to the MNE for the construction of a hotel, the incomes from which to support the local schools³⁷.

Donations, made with patriotic feelings as a leading motive, are the most numerous. They are varied in size - from several hundreds to millions - and by type of donation - money, securities and property. This type of donation is present throughout the whole Liberation period, which is considered, until the nationalization of the donated funds. All of them are patriotic and are connected with the raising of the culture and the

³⁵ Archives; ЦДА, ф. 177к, оп. 4, а.е. 189, л. 113 – 114.

³⁶ Archives; ДА-В. Търново, ф. 29К, оп. 1, а.е. 567, л. 19-21.

³⁷ G. Pashev, Gold book of donors for public education... 285-286.; Пашев, Г.Цит. съч., 285-286.

economics of the gifted place. They are invariably related to the belief in its good future. This is particularly true for the poorer settlements, as well as for those, which have remained outside the homeland.

The donors, whose motions fall into this group, are seen with "good eye". They have great social prestige. It is therefore a common occurrence to donate funds, that are not available or on conditions that are practically impossible to be met, in view of the amount of the particular donation. Perhaps this is the reason why the abuses are the most in this group of donations.

Often, with the donations with patriotic feelings as a leading motive, secondary motives are those related to poverty and the honoring of one's memory.

In many cases, the donor has left his native place as a small child in circumstances beyond his control, but once he has become wealthy, he donates as a sign of patriotic feelings, belonging, nostalgia, appreciating what he has received from the local school as a child.

Conclusion

Trends in donor practices and motivation for educational donation in Bulgaria

The data from the archive documents unequivocally illustrates that the donation for education in Bulgaria during the period under review is widespread. It can be concluded, that it covers the whole territory of the country and even extends to the ethnic Bulgarian areas outside it, for which the donors are firmly convinced that sooner or later they will become part of the Bulgarian political space. Donations are numerous and varied. They are made by people of different property and social status, who have different motives to complete acts of donation. It is difficult to accurately calculate the number of donors to the field of education and the amount of the donated funds. Many donations were in securities and properties, with their market value being different from their nominal value. For the cash donations, the calculations are hampered by the inflation processes and the fluctuating currency exchange rates (for those made in another currency). However, there are trends in the nature of the donor practices and the motivation for donation.

First of all, **donations are always apparent**. For each of them is known who the donor is and in whose name it is done. In the rare cases, when there is a wish for anonymity, it has to be ignored for the donation to become a fact.

The next conclusion is that many of the institutionalized donations are almost always **related to someone's death**. They are rarely done during donor's lifetime. They are most often made with the will of the deceased. Donations are also made to honor the memory of the departed, the main motive being to keep the memory of them.

The third conclusion is that the donations during the period are **mostly related to respecting the memory of a departed person**. Almost all of them are dedicated, and they require the gifted to respect someone's memory, and on a particular day to perform rituals in memory of the honored person. There are frequent cases of placing at special spots portraits of the revered, and sometimes of their statues. There are also the cases of

naming a school after the departed's name. The donations are primarily intended to create a space for one's remembrance.

The multitude and variety of acts show that **the donors are from different social spheres**. The spectrum of their social ensemble covers the entire Bulgarian society, including foreigners, who in that way have socialized themselves in the country.

The diversity of the donators leads to **variety in the amounts of the donations**. More in number are the donations made by not-so-rich people, who donate smaller, hardly obtained sums. In that way, they aim to satisfy a certain emotional need. Well-known and larger in amount are the donations of the really wealthy people, who feel the need to do so, along such duty to the society they come from.

The donating practices in the field of education during the period highlight the **social function** of the donations. Many of the acts contain a social element when the receiver is indicated. Most often these are poor, but talented students with good behavior. As a motive, the social element has many different forms. From purely educational to mainly social - provision of food, clothes, shoes, books and accessories, etc. for the period of education of the child.

Through the donation a sense of belonging is gained on both sides. The donor almost always directs the gift to a group, to which he belongs or the one in whose memory it is made did. This conclusion is particularly important when it comes to donations in memory of a child. These acts are characterized by the particular specificity of the motive. Most often, they are directed to the school where the child has studied, and are related to the degree to which he or she has reached and, in some cases, even to a specific class. The same can be said for donations, related to a certain profession or birthplace. Often, the acts are directed to the development of the donor's professional field or to the settlement and the area to which he feels himself affiliated to. Affiliation is also important to the recipient, who thus acquires the inner sense of gratitude and should try to continue his life according to the donor's motives.

Educational donations during the period also have an evident **patriotic function**, which also applies to the both sides of the donation relationship. This is most prominent when it comes to donations, whose leading motive is to respect one's birthplace. In almost all of these cases, there is a description of the patriotic feelings of the donors and their will to help the development of the settlement or the area to which they belong. The patriotic function to the endowed is distinguished by defining them by their nationality, place of birth (theirs or that of their parents) and religion. This feature is most prominent in the larger donations that are dedicated to the overall rise of the homeland or are directed to the settlements, which have remained outside its borders, but have been or are populated with Bulgarians. In such cases, the patriotism is driven by the belief that sooner or later the settlement will be joined to Bulgaria. Therefore, it has to be endowed in order to be well-developed economically and culturally when the moment comes.

The patriotic function of the donation is linked to its **economic function**. Often, with the act of the donation, the gifted are defined by nationality, place of birth and religion. They are educated, and the knowledge and skills acquired are to be implemented in a place, that the donor has chosen. Thus, they contribute to the real economic development of the designated place. On the other hand, the donations create symbolic capital, which also contributes to the economic development.

Typical of the educational donations of the period is that the will of the donor is not always feasible. In many cases, it is not possible to combine the motives for the donation with its realization. Several reasons could be mentioned in relation to this characteristic, the first of which is the **over-ambition of the donation**. This occurs when the amount of money, specified in the act, does not correspond to the will of the donor. Then the donation remains unrealized or becomes only partially realized. The excessive ambition might have been unintentional, but there are instances, in which the donor aims to perpetuate his memory, but has no funds himself. That leads to **misuse of educational donations**. Donated are funds and properties, which the donor does not really own. There is also the hypothesis for the **practical side of the act of donation**, when it is done because the donor cannot take care of his property as a good owner and relies on the gifted person to perform these functions. Donors aim to take advantage of the benefits, provided by the law. These cases became common practice in the 1920s. That is why the state started to defend its interests by not accepting the conditional donations until the obstacles and aggravating circumstances are cleared up.

An egotistical motive for donating is the desire to leave heirs without an inheritance. In those cases, the donor believes that they are not worthy of any provision. Most often, they are indirect heirs, but there are also the cases, in which the donor aims to punish his direct heirs through his act. In the latter cases, **the donation has a function of punishment in respect to those deprived of inheritance**.

The last motive, which is differentiated among the donations for education during the period, is **through the act to benefit relatives of the donor**. This motive occurs most often when the donors has no direct heirs, but they want to make it possible for their relatives or the children of their relatives to receive education. They perpetuate their memories through the donation, but at the same time use the state as an administrator, that is to manage the funds aimed at benefitting their relatives. In this group of donations, three subgroups could be determined according to the definition of the user. The first: the gifted are imperatively indicated and no one else could use the funds. The second: the so-called combined one is when the beneficiaries are defined, but the funds are shared with other recipients at random. The third: the users are seen as the occurrence of a future uncertain event. Then the spending of funds is preferable.

The motives for donation in the field of education are numerous and varied, but they do not occur in pure form. Always under the leading, idealistic motive there is a secondary one, which is invariably of a practical and material nature. Given that, during the period through the donations to education huge resource are accumulated, which benefits the state and society; often the will of donors is contaminated, even by the use of legitimate means. Therefore, in the implementation of the donation, the issue comes down to the correlation between what is legal and what is moral in the act of donation, the subsequent implementation and precise following of the will of the donor. A task, which the Bulgarian society and state manage comparatively successfully during the period since the Liberation until 1944.

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