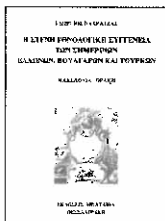


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THE CLOSE RACIAL KINSHIP
BETWEEN THE
GREEKS, BULGARIANS AND TURKS
MACEDONIA AND THRACE



Η ΕΛΛΗΝΟΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΘΕΩΡΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ
THE HELLENOCENTRIC EXAMINATION OF MODERN
GREEK SOCIETY

Η
λήνη:
απηρχαιωμένη ιδεολογική θωράκιση της χώρας μας.

Ο τόμος Μακεδονία-Θράκη, καταδικάζει τον "ελληνοκεντρι-
σμό" της νεοελληνικής σκέψης, χρησιμοποιώντας δε έγκυρα βι-
βλιογραφικά στοιχεία, φέρνει στο προσκήνιο την υποκριτική συ-
μπεριφορά εκείνων των Ελλήνων ιστορικών που στις αφηγήσεις
τους για το μακεδονικό αγώνα του 1904, αποκριπτούν ή εξιδω-
νικεύουν τα εγκλήματα που διέπραξε η δική μας παράταξη, κα-
ταδικάζοντας αποκλειστικά και μόνο τα εγκλήματα των αντιπά-
λων.

Η έκδοση αυτή αποτελεί έκφραση φόρου τιμής σε όλους τους
σλάβοφωνους Μακεδόνες.

The nationalism recently displayed by one segment of the Greek
people has shown the world the hopelessly antiquated ideological
armour in which our country is still trapped. The English edition of
The Close Racial Kinship between the Greeks, Bulgarians and Turks:
Macedonia and Thrace, roundly condemns the Hellenocentric aspect
of modern Greek thinking and uses authoritative literary sources to
spotlight the hypocrisy of those Greek historians who conceal or
idealise the atrocities perpetrated by our own side during the
Macedonian Struggle of 1904 and condemn only those committed by
the "other side".

This book is offered as a tribute to *all* the Slavonic-speaking
Macedonians.

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GEORGE NAKRATZAS THE CLOSE RACIAL KINSHIP BETWEEN THE GREEKS, BULGARIANS, AND TURKS

GEORGE NAKRATZAS, M.D.
UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI

THE CLOSE RACIAL KINSHIP BETWEEN THE GREEKS, BULGARIANS, AND TURKS

MACEDONIA and THRACE



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MACEDONIA and THRACE**

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**BATAVIA PUBLICATIONS
THESSALONIKI**

*This translation of the third edition (Macedonia and Thrace) is
offered as a tribute to ALL the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians*

*In memory of
my father,
Androklis Nakratzas*

CONTENTS

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION	11
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MACEDONIA

INTRODUCTION	17
MACEDONIA BEFORE 800 BC	17
MACEDONIA BETWEEN 800 AND 650 BC	19
MACEDONIA BETWEEN 650 AND 480 BC	21
MACEDONIA BETWEEN 480 AND 359 BC	23
MACEDONIA FROM 359 BC TO THE ROMAN	
CONQUEST IN 148 BC	26
MACEDONIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD (148 BC – AD 324)	29
THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD (334–610)	31
The invasions of the Goths	31
The invasions of the Slavs	32
THE PERIOD OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS OF ARMENIAN	
AND SYRIAN ORIGIN (610–1025)	35
The Smoleani and the Strymonii settle in eastern Macedonia	35
The Runchini, Drogovitae, and Sagoudatae	
settle in central Macedonia	40
The Berzites and the Sermesiani settle in western Macedonia	45
The shifting ethnic identity of the inhabitants of Macedonia	
and the arrival of the Persians and the Armenians	47
Bulgarian dominion in Macedonia	52
THE INVASIONS OF THE TURCO-MONGOLIAN PEOPLES	
AND THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTION (1025–1204)	56
The incursions of the Petchenegs, the Uzi, and the Kumani	57
The uprising of the Bulgars and the Vlachs	

under Asan (1188–1241)	59
LATIN RULE IN MACEDONIA (1204–1224)	61
THE RESTORATION OF BYZANTINE RULE IN MACEDONIA (1224–1342)	62
The Seljuk Turks settle in Veria and Zihni	63
SERBIAN DOMINION IN MACEDONIA (1342–1384)	67
TURKISH RULE IN MACEDONIA (1384–1912)	67
The Vlachs of Macedonia	68
The centres of the Vlach populations	70
Grevena – Kastoria – Florina	71
Kupatshar	72
Kozani – Veria – Olympus	76
Thessaloniki – Païko (Karadjova)	79
Serres and Drama	82
The ethnic composition of Macedonia in the nineteenth century	83
The Grevena area	85
The Kastoria area	88
The Florina area	110
The Kozani and Ptolemaïda area	129
The area of Edessa, Aridaia, and Yannitsa	135
The area of Vodena (Edessa)	137
The area of Tifkes or Moglena (Aridaia)	146
The Yannitsa area	153
The area of Naoussa and Veria	157
The area of Gevgeliya and Avret-Hissar (Kilkis)	162
The area of Gevgeliya	166
The area of Avret-Hissar (Kilkis)	170
The area of Thessaloniki and Lagadas	174
The Thessaloniki area	175
The Lagadas area	183
The area of Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro), Serres, and Zihni	186
The Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro) area	190
The Serres area	193
The Zihni area	198
The Drama and Nevrokopi area	202
The Nevrokopi area	204

THRACE

THE ANCIENT THRACIANS	211
MACEDONIAN AND GALATIAN DOMINION (350–209 BC)	213
THRACIAN INDEPENDENCE AND ROMAN RULE (209 BC – AD 334)	215
THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD (334–610)	217
The invasions of the Goths	218
The invasions of the Slavs	220
THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (610–1025) WITH EMPERORS OF SYRIAN AND ARMENIAN ORIGIN	222
The Protobulgarians settle in northern Bulgaria	222
Bulgarian dominion in Thrace	225
The Armenians and the Syrians settle in southern Bulgaria between 610 and 1025	229
The origin of some high-ranking individuals in the Byzantine Empire	238
THE OVERTHROW OF THE BULGARIAN EMPIRE (1018–1188)	241
The invasions of the Petchenegs, the Uzi, and the Kumani	241
Persians (Tchepni) settle in Rhodope	246
The English Varangians settle in Byzantium	247
THE BULGARIANS RULE SOUTHERN THRACE AGAIN (1188–1261)	250
BYZANTINE RULE IS RESTORED IN SOUTHERN THRACE (1261–1321)	252
The origins of the Gagauz	252
THE BYZANTINE CIVIL WARS AND OTTOMAN EXPANSION (1321–1453)	257
OTTOMAN DOMINION (1453–1881)	259
APPENDIX	267
BIBLIOGRAPHY	289
INDEX	299

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

The sole purpose of the first edition of this book was to give young Greeks another version of the origins of the modern Greek people, a rather different version, that runs counter to what has been taught in Greek schools for decades.

As the overtones of the modern Greek nationalist mythology gradually came into focus, culminating in such nationalist clichés as the assertion that ‘the Greek nation has no kin’, that the ‘Skopjans’ are ‘Gypsies’, or that the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia is an ‘ethnic hotchpotch’, I was taken aback, and eventually got down to writing this, the third edition.

My hopes of doing what I could to set up an opposing force to this rampant nationalism have not been entirely in vain, considering that something like 3,000 copies have been sold all over the country. For a book of this nature, this is quite an achievement.

Viewed in the light of the general situation in Europe, Greece’s present foreign policy has shown that the country’s modern ideological armour is still very much the product of a nationalist upbringing, the roots of which go back to somewhere around the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the nation will never find its way in the European Union carrying this sort of ideological baggage.

One of the cornerstones of this ideology is the unrealistic theory that the modern Greeks, expressing as they do the enduring nature of the Greek language, are the biological descendants of the ancient Greeks. It was

concocted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to serve as an ideological arsenal in the efforts to create a modern Greek nation in view of the impending collapse of the feudal, theocratic Ottoman Empire.

The philosophical challenge to theocracy as a social model of governance first emerged, together with the concept of human rights, in north-western Europe in the sixteenth century, the century of philosophical humanism that produced Erasmus, Shakespeare, and other great thinkers.

In Greece, 400 years after the theocratic beliefs of the Middle Ages were first challenged (in 1967, to be precise), there was still talk of 'the Greece of Greek Christians'; and even today we hear a great deal about 'Greek Orthodox culture' — a culture that has never in fact existed as such, being known rather as 'Orthodox Eastern Roman culture'.

This country's cultural backwardness has been starkly underlined by the efforts of modern Greek society to use the institution of the European City of Culture (Thessaloniki in 1997) to vaunt the mediaeval ideal of the Orthodox Eastern Roman culture of Mount Athos, not only as a historical and cultural facet of the multiethnic Byzantine Empire, but also as a 'Greek' national and religious heritage. These efforts may even have been subsidised by the European Union, at a time when sixty per cent of the population of the Netherlands, one of the most religious countries in Europe, have officially rejected any form of religious doctrine.

A large segment of modern Greek society, which has never really embarked upon the process of ideological modernisation, oscillates desperately between modernism and Greek Orthodox fundamentalism, displaying an inherent inability to make any sort of ideological distinction between the terms 'race', 'nationality', and 'cultural or ethnic identity'.

Apart from the fact that even well-respected journalists are engaged in daily attempts to convince the younger generation that we are directly descended from 'our ancient forebears', views that go against the theory of 'one race, one religion, one nation' are regarded as nationally reprehensible.

It is on this theory that most Greeks base their belief that there are no minorities in our country, apart from the 'Greek Moslems' of Western Thrace. Greek citizens who have publicly proclaimed that they do not feel like Greeks but like ethnic Macedonians or ethnic Turks have been pursued and convicted by Greek justice, which just goes to show that modern Greek society not only fails to show the necessary respect for what is different, but cannot even tolerate it. And, being in the grip of a virulent Hellenocentric

egomania, this same society, while denying Greek citizens the right to any ethnic identity other than Greek, constantly exhorts Greeks living in other countries to preserve their Greek ethnic identity.

Personally, I couldn't care less what race the citizens of modern Greece belong to; the only purpose of this book is to show, and substantiate with written documentation, how rotten and historically untenable obsessive nationalism is, in the hope of infusing as many young people as possible with respect for the right to self-determination of every Greek citizen and every ethnic group that calls itself a minority, as long as the country's laws and territorial integrity are respected.

MACEDONIA

INTRODUCTION

Scientific studies have established that the various modern European peoples constitute an ethnic *mélange*, a mixture of a number of different races. The few exceptions to this rule are the Basques, the Welsh, and the Scots.

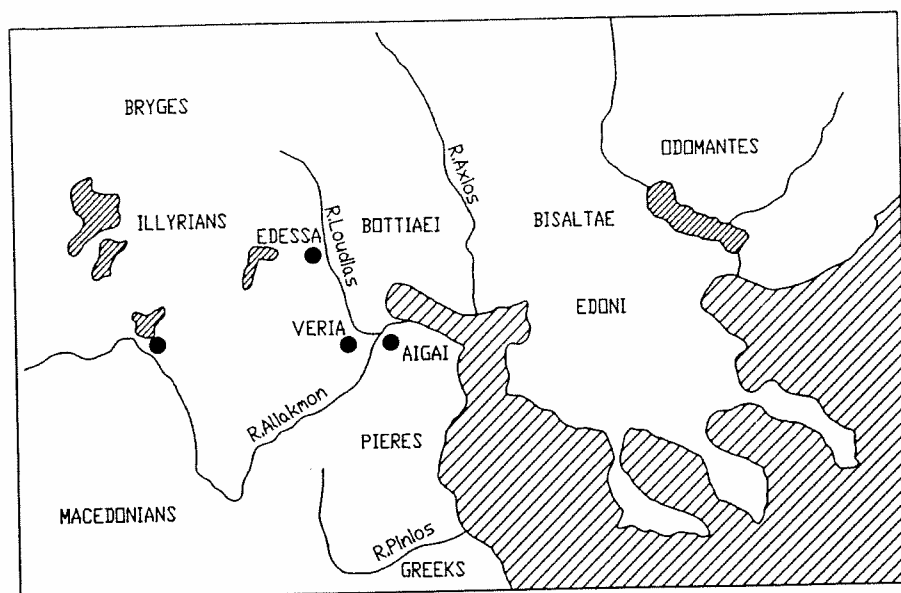
Normally, the study of this phenomenon would be confined to scholars interested in ethnology. In the Balkans, however, it is not only historians who concern themselves with ethnology, but a number of politicians too, which almost always means trouble. The work produced by historians of Balkan origin is frequently written in a spirit of chauvinism, with the result that the presentation of the ethnic make-up of any particular region of the Balkans depends to a great extent on the writer's political leanings.

As far as Macedonia is concerned, its ethnology has lately been an increasingly topical issue, a regrettable focus of interest for the daily press in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Greece, which has been inculcating in its respective readerships the psychology of the Macedonian Struggle.

MACEDONIA BEFORE 800 BC

The Greeks assert that Macedonia was 'Greek' as long as 4000 years ago, while the Yugoslavs and the Bulgarians believe that Alexander the Great was of Slavonic origin. This latter notion emanates from Slav politicians, not historians, so any further comment is superfluous.

As for Macedonia's being 'Greek' for the last four thousand years, a study of history attests to the contrary. There was no trace of Greeks in Macedonia until 800 BC, because the Greek colonisation of Halkidiki had



Map 1: Ethnological map of Macedonia

not even begun before then. Furthermore, at this time the Macednoi were living in Epiros, more specifically on the western flanks of the northern Pindos, where the Zagorohoria are situated today. This information comes from Herodotus, who refers to the 'Dorian and Macedonian nation'. In 1200 BC, the Macednoi were separated from the Dorians when the latter, some 50,000 strong, crossed the Pindos range and migrated to southern Greece.

At this time, the population of modern Greek Macedonia consisted exclusively of Illyrians, Bryges, Bottiaei, and Thracians.

A closer study of the population of Macedonia then reveals that the area of Florina was inhabited by Illyrians, who are generally agreed to have been the ancestors of the modern Albanians.

Moving from western Macedonia towards Naoussa and Veria (Beroea), we come to the Bryges, who were an offshoot of the, originally Thracian, Phrygians. The latter initially lived in the area around Belgrade, but left in 1200 BC for Asia Minor.¹ One segment of these émigrés, the

Bryges, broke away from the rest and settled in Macedonia. Tradition locates the Bryges' capital and the mythical rose-filled gardens of King Midas at the foot of Mount Vermio (Bermium), near Veria. Official history, however, has left us no cultural trace of this important Thracian people — with the sole exception of the Phrygian word 'Edessa'.

Continuing eastward, we cross the River Loudias and come to the area of Pella and Yannitsa, where the Bottiaei lived. Their ethnic origins are not entirely certain. They probably sprang from Cretans of Minoan origin, whom the Achaeans had forced to leave their isle and settle in Macedonia, between the Loudias and the Axios.

The rest of Macedonia was populated exclusively by Thracians, who went down as far as Tempe in Thessaly.

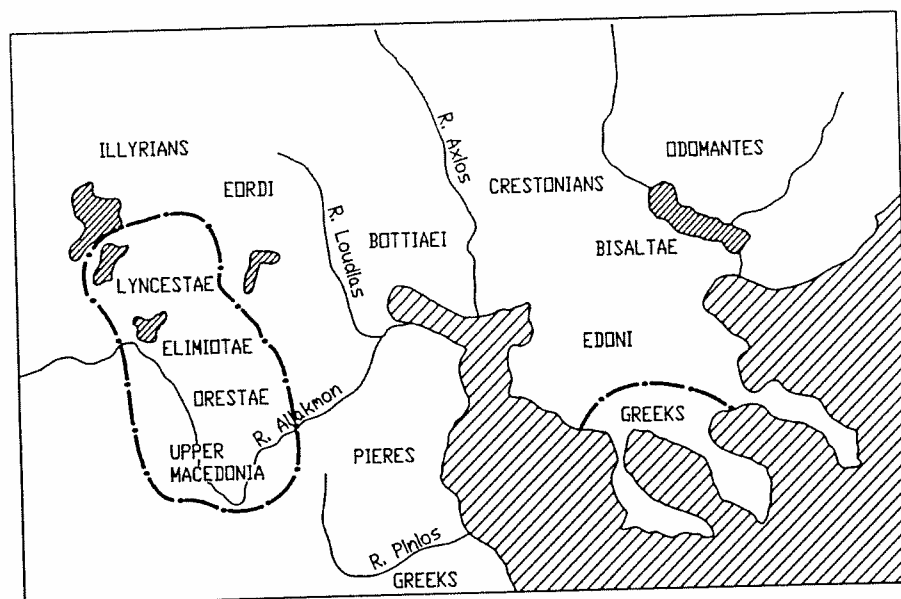
Slav and Bulgarian writers are correct, and have the support of history, when they say that in this period there were no Greeks beyond Tempe.

MACEDONIA BETWEEN 800 AND 650 BC

After 1200 BC, the ethnic make-up of Macedonia remained stable for some four hundred years, during which time the non-Greek peoples managed to defend their borders against various aspiring invaders.

The situation began to change rapidly after 800 BC, owing to the departure of the Bryges for Asia Minor, where they rejoined the Phrygians and created the historically attested kingdom of Phrygia. When they left the area of Naoussa and Veria, the Bryges left a demographic gap behind them, which was filled by the Illyrians. They settled in the area of Veria, having first vacated western Macedonia to the advantage of the advancing Macednoi.

«We can thus discern the outlines of a large system of Phrygian power, which gave some sort of stability to this area for a period of some 350 years. The end came with the mass emigration of the Phrygians from Europe to northwestern Asia where they founded a new empire and made their capital at Gordium. The date was approximately C. 800 B.C.».



Map 2: The peoples of Macedonia c. 650 BC

The new ethnic elements in this period were the Greek colonists of Halkidiki and the Macednoi of western Macedonia. Historically speaking, the gradual shift of the Macednoi from Epiros to Upper Macedonia constituted an important ethnological change, which was completed around 650 BC and led to the Macednoi's splitting up into three groups: the Oresti, who settled in the Grevena–Kastoria area; the Elimiotae, who settled in the Kozani–Ptolemaïda area; and the Lyncestae, who settled in the area of Florina.

Greeks settled in Halkidiki in the context of Greek colonialism, which was initiated in 733 BC by the Eretrians, who, having been expelled from Corfu, came to the Thermaic Gulf and established the colony of Methoni. This was followed by the daughter colony of Dikaia, near modern Karabournaki. The waves of Greek colonists who followed the Eretrians settled in Halkidiki, notably on the Kassandra and Sithonia peninsulas, as also around Olinthos, which is the area that links them.

This brief historical review shows that, even as late as 650 BC, most of the population of Macedonia consisted of Illyrians and Thracians, whose language and ethnic identity were anything but Greek. Consequently, such terms as 'Thraco-Greeks' or 'Thraco-Bulgarians' are modern Greek and

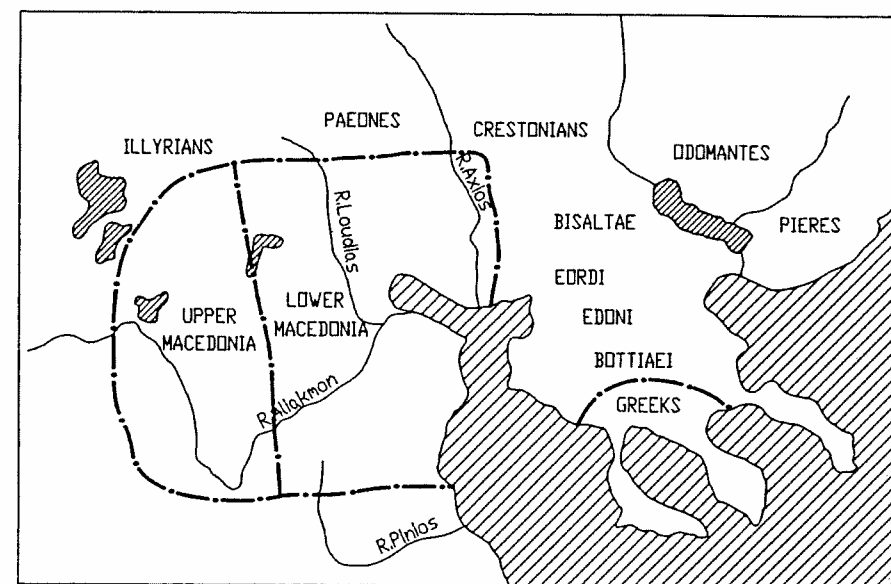
Bulgarian fictions destined exclusively for domestic consumption.

The exceptions were modern western Macedonia and part of Halkidiki, which were inhabited by Macednoi and Greeks from the south.

MACEDONIA BETWEEN 650 AND 480 BC

The arrival of Perdiccas in Macedonia around 650 BC profoundly influenced the political history of the region. He hailed from Argos in the Peloponnese and in Macedonia he founded the Temenid dynasty, the members of which have gone down in history as the Argead kings, in commemoration of their founding father's place of origin.

Perdiccas' leadership was decisive in the further expansion of the Macedonians, who, around 650 BC, drove out the Illyrians and took possession of the area of Naoussa and Veria. They then founded Veryina, the first capital of the Macedonian state. Macedonian expansion was accompanied by the expulsion or the outright annihilation of the local population, which was replaced by Macednoi from Upper Macedonia.



Map 3: The ethnological map of Macedonia in 480 BC

Even after this period, Veryina retained its original importance. Recent archaeological finds attest that it remained the place where the Macedonian kings were buried, and they also reveal the Greek character of the Macedonian culture of that time.

The recent discoveries at Veryina render baseless the assertions of certain Slav writers that the Macedonian culture of this period was not Greek.

Although the Greek origin of the Argead kings of Macedon is a historical fact, the ethnological question of whether or not the ancient Macedonians of this period were of exclusively Greek origin will probably never be answered, owing to lack of evidence.

As the Macedonian state spread, its frontiers gradually shifted closer to the River Loudias and the Bottiaei, who were still living in the Pella–Yannitsa area. The Macedonian advance continued for the next hundred years, until, by 550 BC, they had occupied Eordaea, Pieria, and Bottiaea.

The area of modern Amindaio, north of Edessa, was inhabited by the Eordaei, a people of Illyrian descent, who, on being expelled by the Macedonians, were forced to flee to Physca in Thracian Mygdonia, the area of the modern Lagadas.²

Another Thracian people who suffered the consequences of Macedonian expansion were the Pieres of Katerini, who were noted for their musical prowess and their cult of the physician and musician Orpheus, which the Greeks were later to adopt themselves. Having been violently expelled from the Katerini area, those Pierians who had escaped the Macedonian knife were forced to flee to Mount Pangaion, which at the time was purely Thracian territory.

The last victims of Macedonian expansion were the Bottiaei; they were forced to flee to central Halkidiki, which became known thereafter as Bottiaea.

These developments radically altered the ethnic make-up of western and part of central Macedonia. All the non-Greek populations west of the

2. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 66: «οι Μακεδόνες αφάνιζαν ή έδιωχναν τους ίθαγενείς και έποίκιζαν τη χώρα με όμοιοθνήεις τους, ... Οι έπιζώντες διέφευγαν προς Α.: οι Πίερες εγκαταστάθηκαν μεταξύ των άλλων θρακικών φύλων στα νότια του Παγγαίου, οι Βοττιαίοι στη βάση της χερσονήσου της Χαλκιδικής και οι Έορδοί στη Φύσκα της Μυγδονίας».

Axios were wiped out or expelled and replaced by Macedonians.

The expansion of the Macedonian state meant that the Macedonians found themselves next door to the powerful Paeones, whose centre was in the valley of the lower Axios, between Skopje and Idomeni. Their capital was Stobi, the modern Gratchko, a few kilometres south of Titov Veles. Like the Macedonians, the Paeones had attained their maximum territorial spread by 550 BC, having wrested from the Thracians the prefecture of Serres, the prefecture of Kilkis, and half the prefecture of Thessaloniki. Their territory marched with that of the Macedonians at the Axios.

It was now that the Persian threat began to loom on the eastern horizon. Only the Paeones put up a military resistance, the Macedonians and Thracians yielding voluntarily to the King of Persia. So great was Persian ascendancy, however, that the Paeones, after suffering a crushing defeat in the Strymon valley in 513 BC, were forced to bend the knee to the Persians, vacate the areas of Serres, Kilkis, and Thessaloniki, and withdraw to their former seat.

The Persians' allies — the Edoni and the Macedonians — took full advantage of the Paeonian defeat. The Edoni returned to the Thessaloniki–Lagadas area, whence the Paeones had expelled them fifty years earlier, and the Macedonians occupied Amphaxitis, a narrow strip along the east bank of the lower Axios. They now controlled both banks of the lower Axios, but they did not drive the local Thracian populations away.

The most important point here, ethnologically speaking, is that this was the first time the Macedonians had tolerated non-Greek populations, and it marked the inauguration of a new policy that was to remain virtually unchanged in the centuries that followed.

Apart from the area of Amphaxitis, the ethnic composition of Macedonia now remained unchanged until 480 BC, when the Persians were defeated at Plataea.

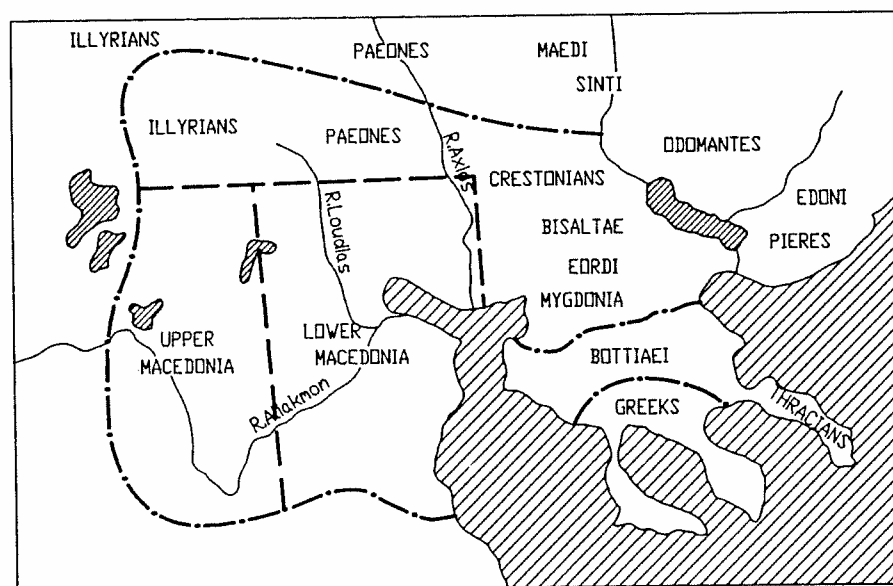
MACEDONIA BETWEEN 480 AND 359 BC

Alexander I's proclamation as 'benefactor' of Athens was due to the fact that, prior to Xerxes' campaign against Greece, the Macedonian king had probably supplied the Athenians with shipbuilding timber. Although

Alexander I has gone down in history as a 'philhellene', Macedonian policy at this time was anything but philhellenic, as attested, for instance, by the Battle of Plataea, in which the Macedonian army fought on the side of the Persians.

The Persian defeat at Plataea was a catalytic factor in the further evolution of the political and ethnological map of Macedonia.

After the Persians had withdrawn from Macedonia and Thrace, Alexander I managed to annex Mygdonia, Bisaltia, and Crestonia by 452 BC. The Macedonians forced the Edoni in the Thessaloniki region once again to quit their territory and to settle in the Pangaion area, where the Pieres had also sought refuge a century before. Unlike the Pieres, whose numbers were relatively limited, the Edoni remained militarily strong for the next hundred years, constantly warring with both the Macedonians and the Athenians. Having control of the silver mines of Pangaion, the Edoni became economically powerful as well, which enabled them to put up a vigorous resistance to the Athenians, who were a great power at that time.



Map 4: Macedonia c. 359 BC

The Bisaltae and the Crestonians had a different fate: they remained in the areas of Nigrita and Kilkis and became Macedonian citizens, though they did retain their ethnic identity for at least another 150 years. During this time, they enjoyed a kind of semi-autonomy, with their own coins (some of which survive today) and even their own kings.

Although they were an extremely bellicose people, the subjugated Thracians in Macedonia refused to accompany the Macedonians on their campaigns, even in Alexander the Great's time.

The ethnic make-up of Halkidiki is especially interesting, because, although this region is considered to have been a bastion of the Greeks and of Greek culture, the actual ethnological situation there was a different matter. The inhabitants of the *koinon* of Halkidiki, which included the Kassandra and Sithonia peninsulas, linked by the area of Olinthos (capital of the *koinon*), were Greeks. But the inhabitants of central Halkidiki and the Athos peninsula were not of Greek descent. Central Halkidiki, known as Bottiaea, had been colonised by the Bottiaei; and the Athos area was inhabited by tribes of non-Greek origin which Thucydides describes as 'mixed barbarians, a medley of Pelasgians, Bisaltae, Edoni, and Crestonians'. He must have known the mixed barbarians of Halkidiki quite well and spoken their language, because he was the son of a 'barbarian' himself, a Thracian named Olorus.³ Thucydides was not the only 'semi-barbarian' of the ancient period. That category also included Themistocles, Cimon, Antisthenes, and many others.⁴

This suggests that in the Classical period, even the aristocracy of Athens was quite an ethnic mixture itself. And it was probably because of this that the ancient Greeks were compelled to define a Greek as someone who 'acknowledged Greek culture and spoke the Greek language'.

It was at this time that the Athenians began to implement their colonial policy on the coast near Serres, for, having defeated the Persians at Plataea in 480 BC, they had now become a great power.

The Athenians' first act of war on the Serres coast was a bloody one, as is frequently the case when a colonial power is in the process of dynamic

3. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Γ', Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 440: «Ο Θουκυδίδης, γιός του Όλδρου, γεννήθηκε στην Αθήνα γύρω στο 460 π.Χ. Με τη Θράκη τὸν συνδέουν, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατέρα του τὰ μεταλλεῖα χρυσοῦ πού εἶχε στὸ Παγγαῖο».

4. Γεωργαντζή, Π. Α., (1978), *Αρχαίοι και σύγχρονοι Θράκες*, σελ. 37.

expansion. Having landed in 477 BC, they took the coastal city of Eion and wiped out the whole Thracian population. Emboldened by this easy victory, in 465 BC they took the neighbouring city of Ennea Hodoi (Amphipolis) and with 10,000 aspiring colonists attempted to seize the hinterland. At the battle of Draviskos near Drama, the Athenians suffered such a crushing defeat that they were forced to surrender Ennea Hodoi to the Edoni and to abandon for ever any attempt to colonise the hinterland, because the Thracians were so powerful and numerous.⁵

When Amphipolis was recovered in 436 BC and colonised by Greeks from Argilos,⁶ the Thracian front took its final form. Beyond the coast, the whole of the Serres area was inhabited exclusively by Thracians, specifically Edoni, Bisaltae, Crestonians, Odomantes, and Sinti.

This ethnological situation was just the same in 359 BC, when Philip ascended the Macedonian throne. He conquered the area, but could not change the ethnological map of eastern Macedonia. The tiny Macedonian population was no longer in a position to populate the new territories, as it had done in the past.

MACEDONIA FROM 359 BC TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST IN 148 BC

The year 359 BC was a turning-point in the political and ethnological evolution of Macedonia, for it was in that year that Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, ascended the throne.

In the course of the next four years, Halkidiki and what are now the

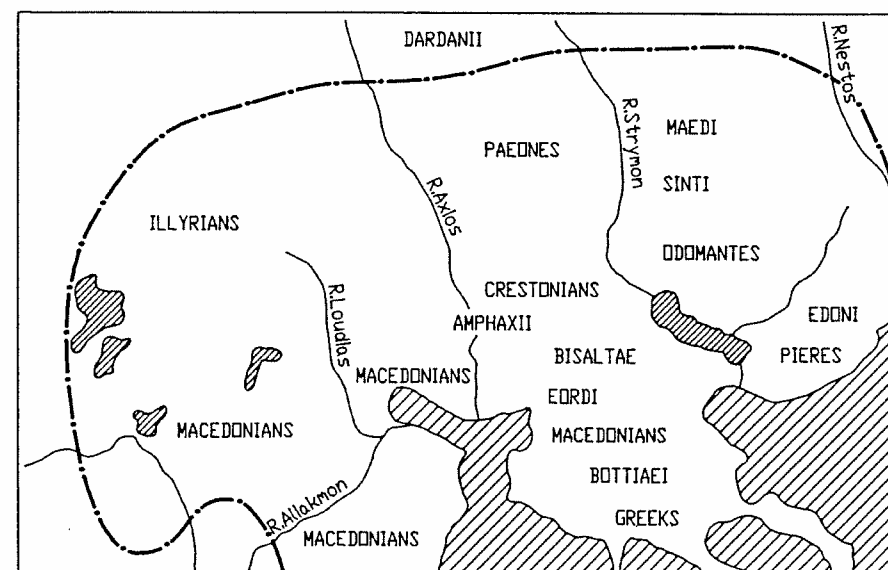
5. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 71: «Αργότερα τὸ ἴδιο ἔτος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀφοῦ ἀποβίβασαν στὶς ὀχθες τοῦ Στρυμόνος στρατιωτικὲς δυνάμεις καὶ 10.000 ἐπίδοξους ἀποίκους, κατέλαβαν τὶς Ἑννέα Ὀδοὺς ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἡδωνοὺς καὶ προήλασαν στὴ χώρα τους, γιὰ νὰ διευρύνουν τὴν ἀμυνα τῆς ὀχυρῆς ἀποικίας τῶν Ἑννέα Ὀδῶν. Ἡ συντριπτικὴ τους ὁμῶς ἥττα στὸν Δραβήσκο (κοντὰ στὴ Δράμα) τοὺς ὑποχρέωσε νὰ ἐγκαταλείψουν τὴν ἰδέα νὰ ἱδρῦσουν ἀποικία».

6. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 72: «Τὸ 436 π.Χ. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνίσχυσαν σὲ μεγάλο βαθμὸ τὴ θέση τους ἐκδιώκοντας τοὺς Ἡδωνοὺς ἀπὸ τὶς Ἑννέα Ὀδοὺς καὶ ἱδρύοντας ἐκεῖ ἀποικία, τὴν Ἀμφίπολη μὲ τὴ συμμετοχὴ ἀποίκων ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀργίλο καὶ ἀπὸ τὴ νότια Ἑλλάδα».

prefectures of Serres, Drama, and Kavala were annexed to the kingdom of Macedon. For the next twenty years, the kingdom continued to expand through the Balkans at an incredible rate, attaining its maximum spread in 336 BC. The Macedonian population increased from 450,000 in 359 BC to 1,000,000 inhabitants. Most of them were Thracians, who later broke away and became independent.

After Alexander's death, the eastern frontier of the Macedonian state shrank back to the Nestos. To the north, however, the kingdom reached as far as Skopje, beyond which was the territory of the Dardanii.

Then, as now, the most distinctive feature of the population of the Macedonian state was its multi-ethnicity. Significantly, the literature states that the ancient Macedonians comprised as many ethnic groups as there were cities in the whole of Macedonia.⁷ Of Philip's subjects, no more than 250,000 can have been of Greek or Macedonian stock. The rest were Thracians, Paeones, Illyrians, and Bottiaei.⁸



Map 5: The ethnological map of Macedonia in 148 BC

7. William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, (αναφέρεται από τον Wilkinson, σελ. 15): «Makedonia was a small country with a peculiar population... according to Pliny no less than hundred and fifty nations... according to Pomponius Melo,

The Thracians in Macedonia made up almost the whole of the population of what are now the prefectures of Serres, Drama, and Kavala, and the Bulgarian sector of Macedonia, with the exception of the coastal colonies of Amphipolis, Abdera, and, later, Philippi, whose populations were for the most part of Greek origin. The Thracians were especially numerous. It is reported that at the time of the wars with the Romans, the King of Dardania offered to help the Macedonians with 30,000 of his soldiers; but the offer was rejected, despite the fact that the kingdom of Macedon was unable to marshal more than 30,000 soldiers against the Romans. The Macedonians' refusal of Thracian help cost them their independence, and in 148 BC their country became a Roman province. The Thracians in the interior must have undergone a negligible degree of Hellenisation, because many centuries later a large number of inscriptions in the Thracian language written in the Greek script were found outside Philippi.

The Paeones were a compact group of Macedonian citizens of non-Greek origin who dwelt in the area that is now the Republic of Macedonia. They must have preserved their ethnic identity and their language for a long time after they were forcibly incorporated into the Macedonian kingdom, because even up to 148 BC Paeonian troops are mentioned as fighting in the Macedonian army alongside the Macedonian hoplites, and they are said to have been splendid archers.

Greek never managed to assert itself entirely over the Paeonian language, unlike Latin, which later became the official language of the Academy of Stobi, the Paeonian capital. Latin, however, never managed to oust Greek from the Academy of Pella, nucleus of Hellenic culture and of the Greek population.

The Illyrians in the kingdom of Macedon must have occupied the western part of the modern Republic of Macedonia, the limits of which cannot now be established, nor even guessed at. They never lost their ethnic identity or their language. Even today, most of the inhabitants of this area are Albanians, who are generally regarded as the descendants of the ancient

the number of nations seated within Makedonia as many as the were cities».

8. Ανδρόνικος Μ. και συν., (1980), *Φίλιππος Βασιλεύς Μακεδόνων*, σελ. 8: «'Ο πληθυσμός του βασιλείου, που αριθμούσε ίσως 1.000.000 κατοίκους συνολικά, ήταν σχετικά μεγάλος για τα ελληνικά μέτρα. Οι καθαυτοί Μακεδόνες θα αποτελούσαν ένα ποσοστό μόνο του συνόλου, ίσως όχι και τόσο μεγάλο, ...».

Illyrians.

In conclusion, it may be said that, until 148 BC, when the kingdom of Macedon was overthrown, the 'Macedonians' were simply an ethnic mosaic of Macedonians, Greeks, Illyrians, Bottiaei, and Thracians. The kingdom's subjects of Macedonian or Greek origin cannot have made up more than 30–50 per cent of the whole population — though it goes without saying that these figures cannot be scientifically verified, even approximately.

MACEDONIA IN THE ROMAN PERIOD (148 BC – AD 324)

The southern Greeks were unable to subjugate the Thracians of Macedonia by force, even though the strife between them had begun in 1250 BC with the siege of Troy. The sole exceptions were a few coastal cities, which were southern Greek colonies in the north Aegean.

The Macedonians managed to annex the Macedonian sector of Thrace, while the major part of Thrace remained independent for two hundred years after the Macedonians had submitted to the Romans in 148 BC.

Roman domination must have left the ethnological structure of Macedonia essentially unchanged, apart from the gradual arrival of an unknown number of Roman colonists. It must have been a large number, given the fact that in 49 BC Pompey managed to recruit a whole legion of veterans who had settled in Macedonia and Crete.⁹

Roman colonies were established in many cities in Macedonia, including Pella, Dion, and Kassandria in Halkidiki, where the majority of the population was of Greek origin. There were also Roman colonies at Stobi, the Paeonian capital, and Philippi, the hinterland of which was inhabited exclusively by Thracians.

The ethnological fate of the Roman colonists depended on the cultural identity of each area. For instance, the Italians in Pella were unable to avoid Hellenisation, and the same happened in other places with compact

9. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., *Μακεδονία*, σελ. 196: «... 'Ο Πομπήιος μπόρεσε το 49 π.Χ. να στρατολογήσει μία λεγεώνα από τους παλαιμάχους που είχαν εγκατασταθεί μετά την άποστράτευσή τους στη Μακεδονία και στην Κρήτη».

Greek populations, such as ancient Corinth.¹⁰ The Hellenisation of the Romans is also attested by inscriptions found at Pella, bearing the names of Roman notables, who complacently refer to themselves as Hellenes.

During the initial period of Roman rule, the Thracians were still independent, and consequently Macedonia suffered heavy human losses from incursions by various Thracian tribes, such as the Dardanii, the Maedi, the Bessi, the Dentheletae, and the Celtic Scordisci.¹¹ In AD 46, the last and most bellicose Thracian tribe, the Bessi, submitted to Rome, and this marked the dawn of a period of political peace and ethnological stability in Macedonia which lasted for about two hundred years.

In the third century AD, the Germanic invasions started, violently and on a large scale. The invasion by the Heruli in 268 resulted in terrible devastation of the population. Modern archaeological investigations have confirmed that the same invaders had razed Athens to the ground a year earlier.

It may be concluded, however, that, despite the Thracian and Germanic invasions, the ethnic mosaic of Macedonia's Roman subjects remained much the same as it had been under the Macedonian kings, apart from the addition of an unknown number of Italians. As far as Macedonia's ethnological evolution is concerned, the Greek language must have been preserved in the southern part, while the non-Greek Thracian and Paeonian populations in the north were thoroughly Latinised. The boundary between these two cultures was probably level with the modern Greek-Macedonian border.

10. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 201: «Στην Πέλλα μέρος τῶν ἀποίκων τουλάχιστον ἦταν ἐλληνόγλωσσοι Ἰταλιῶτες ποὺ ἐκφράζονταν μὲ δυσκολία στὴ λατινικὴ, ὅπως προκύπτει ἀπὸ δίγλωσση ἐπιγραφή ποὺ ἀνακαλύφθηκε πρόσφατα: "Athenodorus Leontus (!) F. Heracleotes ex Italia; salve — Ἀθηνόδωρος Λέοντος ἐξ Ἰταλίας· χαῖρε"».

11. *Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν.*, (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 193: «Οἱ Σκορδίσκοι, γαλατικὸ φύλο ποὺ εἶχε ἐγκατασταθεῖ στὴ συμβολὴ τοῦ Σάου καὶ τοῦ Δουνάβεως, ἀποτελοῦσαν τὴν ἐποχὴ ἐκείνη τὸ σοβαρότερο κίνδυνο... Γενικὴ ἐξέγερση τῶν βαρβάρων σημειώθηκε κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς διακυβέρνησης τοῦ Γαίου Σεντίου Σατουρνίνου (93-87 π.Χ.). Ὑποκινημένοι καὶ ἐξαγορασμένοι καθὼς φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὸν Μιθριδάτη, οἱ Μαῖδοι, οἱ Δάρδανοι, οἱ Σιντοὶ καὶ ἄλλα φύλα εἰσέδυσαν ἀπὸ ὅλες τὶς πλευρὲς στὴν ἐπαρχία καὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσαν οἰκτρά. Οἱ ἐπιδρομὲς ἐπαναλαμβάνονταν κάθε χρόνο».

THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD (334–610)

After the foundation of Constantinople, the eastern part of the Roman Empire evolved into an independent state, which managed to deal effectively with the Germanic invasions of the third and fourth centuries. The western empire fell to the Visigoths in 410.

Contrary to general belief, the eastern Roman Empire was named the 'Byzantine' Empire by modern historians. The Byzantines did not regard themselves as Hellenes, but as *Romaei*. The word 'Hellene' meant 'idolater' and was considered offensive.

At that time, the centre of the Empire was in the Balkans, specifically Thrace and Illyricum, and the most important criterion in the selection of the Emperor was his martial skill. This is confirmed by the fact that until 527 all the Byzantine emperors were either of Thracian origin or else Latinised barbarians from Illyricum,¹² the most notable examples being the dynasty of Constantine the Great (324–363) and the dynasty of Theodosius the Great (379–450).

Even after 527, there were emperors of Illyrian origin, like Justinian (527–565), who built Hagia Sophia, spoke indifferent Greek, and prided himself on his Latin descent.

Throughout this period, the official language of the state was Latin.

The invasions of the Goths

The ethnic make-up of the Balkans started to change in the mid-third century, owing to the Germanic invasions, which were a result of the gradual destabilisation of the Roman frontiers along the Danube.

The Goths' early invasions and the invasion of the Heruli in 268 were the prelude to the great Visigoth raids of the fourth century and drastically changed the ethnic make-up of northern Bulgaria. As a result of the Visigoths' invasions, that Germanic tribe settled *en masse* in northern Bulgaria and by the end of 334 there were no Thracians left in the region at all.

12. *Vasiliev, A. A., Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας 324-1453, Τόμος Α'*, Εκδόσεις Μπεργαδή, σελ. 91.

Constantinople's refusal to recognise this *de facto* change resulted in the battle of Adrianople in 378, when the *Romaei* were slaughtered by the Visigoths. The vast numbers of the slain included Emperor Valens himself. Following this unprecedented military defeat for the Empire, the *Romaei* were forced to recognise *de jure* the existence of an autonomous Visigoth state in northern Bulgaria, within Byzantine territory. This political change merely served to perpetuate the Visigoth invasions of Macedonia, because the Goths used the nearby marshes as unassailable bases for their sorties. Only Thessaloniki managed to deal with Alaric, who besieged the city on his way back from southern Greece in 392. There is no evidence in the literature that Visigoths settled in Macedonia. A small number of them must have settled in Thessaloniki, however, for the garrison was manned by Goths, as we learn from the incident in the Hippodrome, where, on the orders of Theodosius the Great, 7,000 citizens were slaughtered in reprisal for the Thessalonians' murder of Buterich, the commander of the Gothic garrison.

After the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths appeared in northern Bulgaria in 474 and launched some terrible raids into Macedonia. Their king was Theodoric the Great, who destroyed Stobi, Heraclea Lyncestis, and probably Pella and Edessa. In 488, they left for Italy, where in 493 Theodoric occupied Rome and founded the Ostrogoth state, having first pushed the Visigoths back into Spain, where they still live today. Theodoric was sent to Italy by Zeno, a Byzantine emperor of Isaurian descent, whose real name was Trascalisaesus.

Despite the terrible tribulations visited upon Macedonia, the reduction of the population, and the destruction of major urban centres, the ethnic make-up of the region must have remained unchanged.

The invasions of the Slavs

After the Goths had moved on to Italy in 488, the Balkans enjoyed a brief period of tranquillity, which might well be likened to the deceptive calm that precedes an earthquake, in this case the ethnic upheaval precipitated by the invasions of the Slavs.

This was a period of massive population shifts, both in the Balkans and elsewhere in Europe, such as Belgium and France, for instance, which

were invaded by the Franks. One distinctive feature of the Frankish invasion of 420 was that the invaders did not exterminate the local Celts, but contrived a kind of cohabitation under their own dominion. Even today, there are Celts in Brittany who, fifteen hundred years on, still maintain both their language and their ethnic identity, just like the Welsh in Great Britain, who are also of Celtic stock.

In contrast to western Europe, the Avaro-Slavs' incursions in the Balkans were accompanied by unprecedented slaughter of the Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking population, particularly on the plains and in the fertile riparian areas. Such atrocities have always been a common historical phenomenon, especially frequent when populations are being forcibly moved about. The same thing had happened when the Macedonians had spread from Epiros into Macedonia, massacring and driving out thousands of Illyrians, Bottiaei, and Thracians. In the modern era, it was repeated in North America, where the European colonists violently repressed the Amerindian peoples and confined them to the reservations where they still live today.

The Avaro-Slavs' invasions began around 517, when the Sclavenes, the Bulgars, the Antae, and the Kutrigurs first appeared on the horizon. The best account of the ethnological repercussions of these raids is given by the Byzantine writer Procopius, according to whom, after Justinian's accession to the throne in 527, the Slavs' incursions into Byzantine territory became an annual event, each time resulting in the loss of some 200,000 lives.¹³ The Latin and Greek population of Macedonia must have paid a particularly heavy price, when one considers that the Axios and Strymon valleys were the only routes by which large masses of people could move southwards.

During the early period of their invasions, the Slavs must have assailed only the interior of Macedonia, which, being without defences, provided easy prey. Later on, the invaders started to set their sights on smaller cities, like Kassandria in Halkidiki, which was destroyed in 540 by

13. Setton, K. M., (1950), *The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, σελ. 508: «Procopius, writing... 'Illyricum and Thrace, from the Ionian Sea to the suburbs of Byzantium, were overrun almost every year since Justinian's accession to the throne by Huns, Sclavenes, and Antae, who dealt atrociously with the inhabitants. In every invasion I suppose that about 200,000 Roman subjects were killed or enslaved; the whole land became a sort of Scythian desert—'48 but the invasions of the Balkans were just beginning: 'Ce n'était là qu'un prélude' (Dvornik)».

the Bulgars and the Kutrigurs. During this period, the Byzantine forces were able to defend only the fortified positions, and the provinces must have been left to the mercy of the invaders.

Although the Slavs' raids became more aggressive and more frequent, the invaders must always have returned to their bases beyond the Danube, because there is no mention in the literature of Slavs settling in Macedonia to any considerable extent at that period. The ancient Greeks followed a similar practice when they attacked Troy in 1200 BC: having burnt the city down and butchered a large proportion of its Thracian citizens, they returned with their booty and prisoners to their bases.

The six-year-long Avaro-Slav invasion of 581–6 presented a greater threat, for the Slavs were now in a position to assail large cities. It was during this raid that Constantinople and Thessaloniki were both besieged, in 581 and in 584 or 586 respectively. Though they were carried out by vast numbers of Slavonic troops, both these sieges failed, because the assailants were ignorant of siege technique. The large numbers of Slavonic invaders involved in the siege of Thessaloniki is also attested by the account in the *Miracles of St Demetrius*, whose anonymous author asserts that one hundred thousand besiegers were sent packing thanks to the protection of St Demetrius. Exaggerated though this figure may seem, it does reflect the actual situation to a certain extent. Some of the Slavs who came down in 581 did not return to the Danube, but must have pushed on to southern Greece and the Peloponnese, where they settled.

The most perilous and at the same time the most massive Avaro-Slav invasion was the one that led to the siege of Thessaloniki in 616 or 617 and of Constantinople in 621.

At that crucial moment, the Akathistos Hymn was sung on the walls of Constantinople, and the fact that it is still sung today in Greek Orthodox churches bears witness to the grave peril posed to the Byzantine capital by that huge throng of Slavs. It goes without saying that the Slavonic army was in control of the whole of the undefended province outside the walls of Constantinople and Thessaloniki, with consequences that will be examined in the next chapter.

THE PERIOD OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS OF ARMENIAN AND SYRIAN ORIGIN (610–1025)

Owing to the Slavs' incursions, the Empire's centre of gravity now shifted from Illyricum and Thrace to Asia Minor, where the Slavs could never penetrate. This shift is confirmed by the fact that, between 610 and 1025, the Byzantine Emperors were mainly of Armenian, or else of Syrian, Isaurian, or Paphlagonian descent, in contrast to the early Byzantine period, when they had tended to be Thracians or Latinised Illyrians.

The Slavs' most massive and destructive raids were launched in the time of Heraclius, who was of Armenian descent, and his successors (610–80). The Serbo-Croats managed to wrest Illyricum away from the Byzantine Empire in this period, while other Slavonic tribes gained the upper hand, ethnologically speaking, in northern Bulgaria and most of Macedonia.

During this period, the ethnic make-up of Macedonia underwent drastic changes, because in the course of the successive Slavonic invasions the plainspeople were virtually wiped out. Only Thessaloniki remained always in Byzantine hands.¹⁴

The areas of Macedonia in which the Slavs settled were known for centuries as 'sclavinias'. In the north Macedonian sclavinias, all the Latin-speaking inhabitants who escaped the Slavonic knife sought refuge in the mountains, where they still live today and are known as Vlachs.

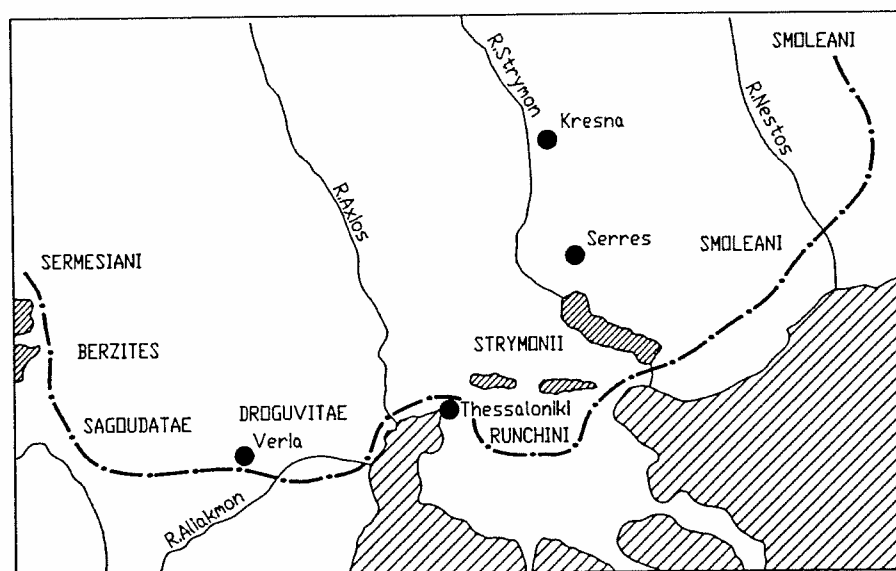
In the chapters that follow, we shall examine the sclavinias of Macedonia.

The Smoleani and the Strymonii settle in eastern Macedonia

The various Slavonic tribes who had settled in Macedonia spread eastwards to the Nestos valley, which divides Thrace from Macedonia. The Smoleani, who probably arrived between 616 and 621, settled in the Nestos valley itself. We do not know exactly when they decided to stay; but we do know that the Strymonii, another Slavonic tribe, settled in the Serres valley

14. Weithman, W., (1978), *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechische Halbinsel*, σελ. 111: (Johannes von Nikiu) «zählt... folgendes auf... die Einwohner durch die Barbaren, fremde Völker und Illyrier (Avaren) als Gefangene wegführen ließen. Allein die Stadt Thessaloniki blieb verschont... Die ganze Provinz wurde entvölkert...».

after 616, the Slavs besieged Thessaloniki in 616 or 617, and the Avaro-Slavs besieged Constantinople in 621. From 616 to 621, the Byzantine forces were in no position to cope with the Slavonic onslaught in the province of Macedonia, apart from the fortified sites; so it was thanks only to the walls of Thessaloniki and Constantinople that the whole of the European part of the Empire was not lost.



Map 6: The sclavinias of Macedonia

It therefore seems almost certain that the Smoleani settled in the Nestos valley at the same time as the Strymonii in the Serres valley.

Until this time, the populations in the Drama and Kavala areas consisted almost exclusively of Thracians — apart from the inhabitants of the few Greek coastal colonies and of Philippi, who were Greek colonists from the south or Macedonians and Thracians.

The Thracian populations in the Nestos valley (i.e. the modern areas of Drama, Doxato, Nevrokopi, and Paranești) were never Hellenised, and this is proven by the fact that numerous inscriptions of the Early Christian period have been found outside Philippi written in the Thracian language but in the Greek alphabet (the reason being that the Thracians had no script of their own). But though the Thracians of the interior avoided Hellenisation

under the Macedonians, they could not avoid total Latinisation during the long period of Roman rule.

The Smoleani must have exterminated or expelled the local populations in the Nestos valley, who probably sought refuge in the Rhodope or other nearby mountains. This is attested by the fact that even in the nineteenth century there was mention in southern Bulgaria and the Rhodope of Latin-speaking Vlachs, who have now been Bulgarianised. Most of the Thracian population around the Nestos must have been replaced by Slavonic Smoleani, who were numerous, because Basil I issued an imperial golden bull centuries later declaring the area north of the Nestos the 'theme of the Smoleani'.¹⁵ From other literary sources, we know that the Byzantines used the Smoleani in the war with the Protobulgarians, when the latter tried to attack Macedonia in 680 by way of the Strymon valley.

Emperor Justinian II, who was of Armenian descent, addressed this Protobulgarian threat in 688 by settling Smoleani from the Nestos valley in Klissoura on the upper Strymon.¹⁶ This must have been somewhere near Kresna, where Greek and Bulgarian troops met again in 1913. For a hundred and fifty years, the Smoleani were able to deal effectively with the Bulgars, who were then still speaking Protobulgarian, a language of Turco-Mongolian origin.

After Krum's reign, Bulgarian pressure on the upper Strymon became so intense that in 837 the Smoleani were forced to withdraw from the area and go and settle near Hryssoupoli (i.e. old Philippi), where the Byzantine army was encamped. The Hryssoupoli area later became the

15. Θεοχαρίδου Γ. Ι., *Μορουνάτς το δήθεν σλαβικόν όνομα της Καβάλλας*, σελ. 87: «Ούτως εξηγείται ίσως διατί ή επισκοπή Σμολένων εξακολουθεί νά υπάγεται εις την μητρόπολιν Φιλίππων, ένώ οι Σμολένοι και τό θέμα Σμολένων εύρίσκονται αργότερον, από της εποχής λίαν πιθανώς του Βασιλείου του Β', πέραν του Νέστου επί της Ροδόπης, εκεί όπου εύρίσκομεν σήμερον ακόμη τό τοπωνύμιον 'Ισμιλάν».

16. Θεοχαρίδου Γ. Ι., *Μορουνάτς το δήθεν σλαβικόν όνομα της Καβάλλας*, σελ. 86: «Κατά την γνωστήν δέ μαρτυρίαν του Πορφυρογεννήτου ήδη ό 'Ιουστιανός ό Β' ειχεν εγκαταστήσει τό 688 Σλάβους εις τά όρη και τάς διαβάθρας των κλεισούρων του Στρυμόνος. Σμολέανοι δέ ήσαν, λίαν πιθανώς, οι παλαιότεροι ούτοι Σλάβοι, οι εγκατασταθέντες εις τάς κλεισούρας του Στρυμόνος προς φρούρησιν των στενων και απόκρουσιν βουλγαρικων άκριβώς επιδρομών... Οι Σμολέανοι όμως ήσαν σλαβική φυλή εις την ύπηρεσίαν των Βυζαντινων και κατ' αυτών επέρχεται ό καυχάνος 'Ισβούλος του βουλγάρου άρχοντος Περσιάνου τό 837 έν τη επιγραφη των Φιλίππων, νικήσας προφανώς αυτούς και προχωρήσας μέχρι των Φιλίππων, έρχόμενος δέ άσφαλώς από βορρά».

'bishopric of the Smoleni' in the diocese of Kavala.¹⁷ We know from the literature that the Philippi Smoleani were Hellenised through Orthodox Christianity; and this suggests that they were very probably the ancestors of some of the modern Greeks in the Doxato–Philippi area.

The ethnic evolution of the Smoleani in the theme of the Smoleani must have been completely different. They were mountain dwellers and must have preserved their language and also embraced Islam in later years. They probably became the modern Slavonic-speaking Pomaks who live on both sides of the Greek–Bulgarian border in the Drama area. Even today there a small town called Smolian and a village called Smilian in the area inhabited by the Slavonic-speaking Bulgarian Pomaks, and this cannot be a mere coincidence: the names bear witness to the origins of their Bulgarianised inhabitants.

This brief review has underlined the common origins of the Slavonic-speaking Pomaks of Bulgaria and Greece and a segment of the Greek population of the Philippi–Doxato area. These groups are neither of Greek nor of Bulgarian origin, but members of one and the same people, which divided into three cultures.

The Strymonii were the second largest Slavonic tribe in eastern Macedonia, and settled in the Strymon valley near Serres after 616. After this the area became known as the 'sclavinia of the Strymon'.

At the time when the Slavs were settling there, the inhabitants of Serres were of Thracian stock and suffered the same fate as the rest of the Thracians in the Balkans: either they were wiped out by the Slavs or they fled to the mountains. The Greek coastal populations on the gulf of Serres must have suffered the same fate, for if Constantinople itself was imperilled by the Slavonic threat at that time, then coastal cities without fortifications of the quality of Thessaloniki's could have had no hope of effective military defence.

The Strymonii's political independence was short-lived, despite their undeniable military supremacy; and there were various reasons for their rapid subjugation by the Byzantines, as we shall see at length.

17. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 275: «...ή μνεία νέων επσκοπών και ιδιαίτερα της επισκοπής Δρουγουβιτίας υπό τη μητρόπολη Θεσσαλονίκης και των Σμολένων υπό τη μητρόπολη Φιλίππων που αναφέρονται βέβαια στα όμώνυμα σλαβικά φύλα, αποτελεί αδιάψευστη απόδειξη του εκχριστιανισμού-εξελληνισμού των Σλάβων της Μακεδονίας».

Until the siege of Constantinople in 616, the Slavs were under Avar government, an absolute régime headed by a khan. When the Slavs settled in Macedonia, they simultaneously acquired political independence, owing to the collapse of the Avar state. One consequence of this political change was the restoration of the Slavonic system of government, in the form of little independent states with no cohesive central power or ruler. A well-known example was the Slavs of the Seven Generations in north-western Bulgaria, who submitted to Asparuch, khan of the Protobulgarians, in 670, even though they constituted the majority of the population in the region.

The fact that the Slavs had no central political organisation enabled the centrally organised Byzantine administration to deal with each Slavonic tribe separately, very often with the help of other Slavs. A classic illustration of this is the siege of Thessaloniki in 677 by the Strymonii and the Runchini, during which the Belegezitae Slavs of Volos supplied the beleaguered Byzantines with provisions by sea.¹⁸ A similar situation arose in the United States in the nineteenth century, when the centrally organised authority in Washington was in a position to deal successively with the various Amerindian tribes.

After submitting to the Byzantines, the Strymonii must have preserved their ethnic identity, and probably a degree of semi-autonomy, for a long time. In 820, they captured Gregory Decapolites (who was of Isaurian descent) as he passed through the area around the Strymonic Gulf; but, rather than shaving him, as was their custom, they showed him an unwonted respect and even accompanied him to the Thessaloniki road.¹⁹ Even in 904, Slav archers are mentioned among the Byzantine troops in the theme of the Strymon.²⁰

18. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 255: «Αυτό τό γεγονός εξελίχθηκε σε εξέγερση των όμοιων του Ρυγχίνων, αλλά και των Στρυμονιτών και των Σαγουδατών, οι όποιοι απέκλεισαν τη Θεσσαλονίκη και λεηλάτησαν τά περίχωρά της. Ἡ ἀναταραχή κράτησε δύο χρόνια (676-678)... πολλοί Θεσσαλονικεῖς κατέφυγαν στους Βελεγεζίτες Σλάβους τῆς Θεσσαλίας. Οἱ Σλάβοι αὐτοί προμήθευσαν τρόφιμα στους Θεσσαλονικεῖς πού πεינוῦσαν...».

19. Weithman, W., (1978), *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechische Halbinsel*, σελ. 30: «Lebensbeschreibung des Gregor Dekapolites aus Isaurien (zwischen 780 und 790 bis 842)... Wie sich der Heilige mitten unter die feindseligen (Strymon-) Slaven begibt, was als unerhörte Kühnheit galt, worauf diese den Heiligen nicht nur ungeschoren lassen, sondern ihm noch Geleit geben und den Weg nach Thessaloniki weisen».

20. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και*

The Hellenisation of the Strymonii is historically attested in the *Tactica* of Leo VI, who was of Syro-Khazar descent.²¹ The Hellenisation of the Slavs in general is also attested by a number of Byzantine leaden bulls of the eighth and ninth centuries, which mention many Byzantine notables with Slavonic names.²² One of these Byzantine officials who were probably of Slavonic descent was Patriarch Nicetas.²³

The Runchini, Droguvitae, and Sagoudatae settle in central Macedonia

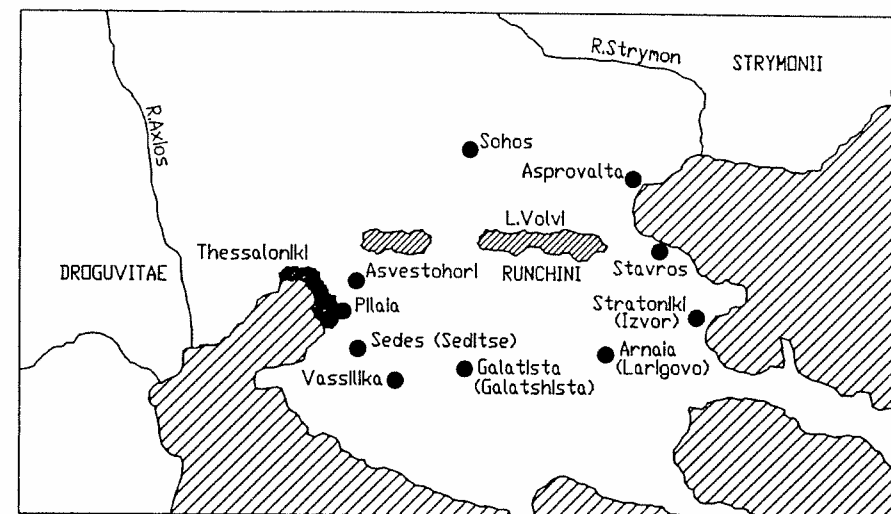
Moving away from the coast of Serres prefecture in the direction of Thessaloniki, we come to the area between the coast of the Strymonic Gulf (Asprovalta, Stavros, Stratoniki) and Lake Volvi. It was here that the Slavonic tribe of the Runchini settled after 616.

πολιτισμού, σελ. 274: «Ἐς σημειωθεί ὅτι στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 10οῦ αἰῶνα, στὰ 904, ἀναφέρεται ἡ συμμετοχὴ Σκλαβηνῶν τοξοτῶν μεταξύ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ θέματος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ τοῦ θέματος Στρυμόνος».

21. Hammond, N. G. L., (1975), *Migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas*, σελ. 67: «When they settled in the plains, they soon adopted local ways and eventually became Graecised in culture, religion and even language. This development was already noted in the ninth century by the Emperor Leo VI (886-912) in his *Tactica*».

22. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 274: «Τα πολυπληθὴ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ 8ου-9ου αἰῶνα ἀρχόντων μέ σλαβικά ὀνόματα, καθὼς καὶ ἡ μνεία τους στὰ διάφορα κείμενα τῆς ἐποχῆς (π.χ. στὸν Θεοφάνη) ὡς ἐπικεφαλῆς σλαβικῶν φύλων ἐγκαταστημένων σὲ βυζαντινὸ ἔδαφος δείχνουν τὴν πρόοδο τῆς ἐνταξῆς τῶν σλαβικῶν πληθυσμῶν στὰ πλαίσια τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς διοίκησης».

23. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 262: «Παρατηρεῖται ἀτομικὴ προσέλευση, ὅπως στὴν περίπτωση τῆς οἰκογένειας τοῦ Μυριτζικίου, πατέρα τοῦ ἡγουμένου Ἰωαννικίου, ἄλλου Σλάβου τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἐμπειροῦ τεχνίτη κατασκευῆς μαγγανικῶν, καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχη Νικήτα τοῦ ἀπὸ Σκλάβων».



Map 7: The sclavinia of the Runchini with modern placenames

The Thracian tribe of the Edoni had lived here in the ancient period. The area adjoined the territory of the Bisaltae to the north and the Bottiaei to the south. The land of the Edoni had never been colonised by the southern Greeks, being always purely Thracian territory. This situation was brought to an end in 452 BC by Alexander I, who forced most of the Edoni out; but he was unable to colonise the area to any significant extent, because the Macedonian population was still relatively small and concentrated mainly in the area of Pella and Vergyina in western Macedonia.

There can be no doubt that Macedonian garrisons and Macedonian feudal lords settled in the Volvi area, and in all probability they were an ethnic minority here. This demographic relationship is underscored by finds from ancient graves that are still being uncovered in this area today: they are mostly of Thracian, not Macedonian, provenance.

As elsewhere in Macedonia, so too around Volvi, almost all the local Thraco-Macedonian population must have been wiped out by the Runchini, who took possession of the area.

Once they had settled in Macedonian territory, the Runchini came into conflict with the Byzantines again. This period of strife occurred in the reign of Constatas, who was of Armenian descent, and led to the capture in 656 of many Slavs in Macedonia and their forcible relocation to Asia Minor.

The clashes continued after Constatas' time too, culminating in 677 in the siege of Thessaloniki. This grave Byzantino-Slavonic conflict was triggered by the incarceration and execution in Constantinople of the Runchini's leader Pervuntos, who had been taken to the capital in chains in 676 and charged with conspiracy. The Slav leader had settled with his retinue in Thessaloniki, dressed in the Byzantine manner, and had to all intents and purposes become Byzantinised. His execution so enraged the Runchini that they and the Strymonii together laid siege to Thessaloniki in 677. They were unsuccessful, however: the Byzantines were able to hold out for a very long time, because the Belegizitae Slavs in the Volos area were sending them supplies by sea.

The fact that two Slavonic tribes in Macedonia were capable of laying siege to Thessaloniki on their own indicates on the one hand how very many Slavs were living outside the Empire's second city and on the other how isolated the Byzantines in Thessaloniki were.

The co-existence of the Runchini with the Byzantines was more peaceful thereafter, for Leo VI and other historical sources attest that they gradually turned to Christianity and became Byzantinised.²⁴

The Hellenisation of the Runchini must have been assisted later on by the cultural and religious influence of Mount Athos; but the Slavonic placenames — for instance, Izvor (Stratoniki), Larigovo (Arnaia), Galatshista (Galatista) — still bear witness to the probable Runchinian descent of the modern Greek inhabitants of this area. Gopcevic reports that in 1889 the people of Sohoh, Asvestohori, and Sedes spoke Slavonic, as did a segment of the population of the villages of Vassilika and Pilaia. Despite Gopcevic's chauvinism, his information does in fact accurately reflect the situation, as many of Thessaloniki's oldest inhabitants will remember.

The foregoing ethnological analysis of the populations living outside Thessaloniki, which have now been fully integrated into Greek culture, underlines the racial affinity between one segment of the modern Greeks and one segment of the modern Bulgarians, who are of neither Greek nor Bulgarian descent.

24. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 262: «'Επί των εικονομάχων αυτοκρατόρων, σύμφωνα με πληροφορία ενός χρονικού της Μονής Κασταμονίτου στο "Άγιον Όρος, εκχριστιανίσθηκαν οι Σλάβοι Ρυγγίνοι. Τό χρονικό πρέπει να αναφέρεται στή μακρά περίοδο των διαδοχικών βασιλείων του Λέοντος Γ', του Κωνσταντίνου Ε' και του Λέοντος Δ' (717-776),...».

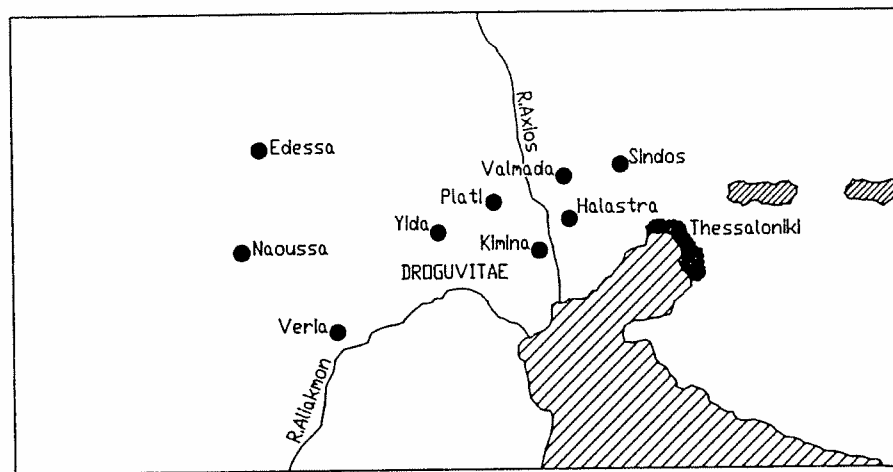
An ethnological study of Thessaloniki itself in this period serves little practical purpose, because in 904 virtually all of its 22,000 inhabitants were swallowed up by the slave markets of the Orient.

This disaster was due to the Arabs, whose seizure of the city is described in detail by John Cameniates, who was himself captured in Thessaloniki (and fortunately ransomed later at a heavy price). Cameniates ascribes much of the blame for the city's conquest to the Slavs living in the vicinity, who failed to come to the aid of the beleaguered citizens.²⁵ It seems highly improbable that Thessaloniki was colonised by a population of Greek origin after the Arab conquest, because in 805, as we know, for want of Greeks, Sparta (which was surrounded by the Slavonic Ezeritae in the Evrotas valley) had to be colonised by Armenians, Thracians, and Capheri, who formed the nucleus of the subsequent Greek population of Lakonia.

Generally speaking and as a rule, the population of a city comes from the surrounding area. This is true of modern Thessaloniki, for instance, the population of which consists mostly of inhabitants of villages and small towns in Macedonia who came to the city in search of a better life. Patriarch Philotheus describes the same phenomenon in 1341: he writes with some animosity that the Zealots of Thessaloniki were not local men, but 'aliens' and 'barbarians'.²⁶ This can only mean Slavs or members of other ethnic groups in Macedonia.

25. Weithman W., (1978), *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechische Halbinsel*, σελ. 47: «Schilderung des Priesters Johannes Kameniates über die Einnahme der Stadt Thessaloniki durch Sarazenen aus Kreta im Jahre 904. Da die geschilderten Ereignisse zum Teil auf Autopsie beruhen, darf ihr Quellenwert sehr hoch eingeschätzt werden. Der Autor gibt allerdings einen Großteil der Schuld an der Katastrophe den umwohnenden Slavenstämmen,... In den Urkunden sind viele slavische Familien— und Taufnamen unter der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung der Zinsbauerndörfer der Athosklöster feststellbar».

26. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 157: «'Ο πατριάρχης Φιλόθεος, πού καταγόταν από τη Θεσσαλονίκη, στὸν Βίο τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάββα τοῦ Νέου, ἀναφέρει ὅτι οἱ πρωταῖτιοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως δὲν ἦταν γηγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ «ἐπήλυδες» καὶ «βάρβαροι» πού εἶχαν βρεῖ καταφύγιο στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ προέρχονταν ἀπὸ ἀπομακρυσμένες περιοχές τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας («ἐκ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐσχατιῶν... συνελθόντων»).



Map 8: The sclavinia of the Droguvitae with modern placenames

Moving westwards from Thessaloniki, we come to the Droguvitae, a Slavonic tribe that settled after 616 in the area between Thessaloniki and Veria, an area which is now occupied by the villages of Sindos (Tekeli), Valmada (Anatoliko), Halastra (Koulakia), and Yida. In the period when the Slavs were overrunning Macedonia, it is unthinkable that any of the ancient Macedonian population could have survived in the unfortified area where the Droguvitae settled, especially in view of the fact that, according to the book of the miracles of St Demetrius, it took a miracle to save Thessaloniki itself from the 100,000 Slavs who were besieging it.

The Droguvitae embraced Christianity and in the ninth century they made up the diocese of Droguvitia, which was part of the metropolitanate of Thessaloniki. There is mention later on of 'mixed villages' in this area,²⁷ which suggests that some of the Droguvitae became Hellenised. Many of them did not, however, because Gopcevic reports that Slavonic was spoken in the villages of Valmada, Kimina, and Sindos in 1895. Even today, the older inhabitants of these villages speak Slavonic as well as Greek, and some of the oldest of all speak only Slavonic. I can personally vouch for this: a

27. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 274: «Νικημένοι πιά όσοι από τούς Σλάβους έμειναν στίς βαλκανικές περιοχές τού βυζαντινού κράτους εντάσσονται σέ άρχοντίες πού γίνονται ό φορέας όπου συνυπάρχουν τό βυζαντινό και τό σλαβικό στοιχείο (χαρακτηριστική ή μνεία «άμφιμίκτων κωμών» στήν περιοχή τής Βέροιας)».

visit to Valmada, where there are no refugees, will dispel any doubt.

Beyond and to the west of Veria we come to the Naoussa–Edessa area, where the Slavonic tribe of the Sagoudatae settled. They are mentioned in the sources because the Emperor forced them to supply the Sermesiani of Monastir with food.

As for the Slavs who lived in Veria, Leo VI tells us that they turned Christian and were Hellenised.²⁸

The Berzites and the Sermesiani settle in western Macedonia

The Slavonic tribe of the Berzites, about whom there is little information in the sources, settled in the area of Monastir, as did the Sermesiani. An ethnological study of the latter is particularly interesting.

Procopius tells us that, after 527, the Slavs' incursions into the Byzantine Empire were wreaking terrible havoc both materially and in terms of 200,000 dead.²⁹ The *Romaei* continued to suffer heavy losses for many decades. According to the book of the miracles of St Demetrius, after the Avaro-Slav invasion of 616, some 200,000 *Romaei* from Macedonia were captured and taken to Sirmium near modern Belgrade.³⁰ These captives were an ethnic mélange of Greeks, Thracians, and Illyrians, who, after their forcible deportation to Sirmium, mixed with Protobulgars from Pannonia and thus formed a 'new people', the Sermesiani. Both the

28. Σακελαρίου Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 276: «... χαρακτηριστικά αναλύει τούς παράγοντες και τά αποτελέσματα τής άφομοίωσης τών Σλάβων ό Λέων Στ' λέγοντας ότι ό πατέρας του Βασίλειος (καί όχι βέβαια ό δολοφονημένος από τόν Βασίλειο Μιχαήλ) 'Αμερίμνους' Ρωμαιοί (= Βυζαντινοί) έκ τής πολλάκις από Σκλάβων γενομένης άνταρσίας έποίησε.».

29. Setton K. M., (1950), *The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, σελ. 507.

30. Charanis P., (1970), *Kouven the chronology of the Activities and their Ethnic Effects on the regions around Thessalonica*, σελ. 240: «In other words, the ancestors of this people had been, before their deportation by the Avars, inhabitants of the regions of Thessalonica, Thrace, and the immediate surroundings of Constantinople. Juxtaposing this information with that furnished by the chroniclers to the effect that in 619 the Avar khan, having failed to trap Heraclius, ravaged Thrace, including the immediate surroundings of the capital, and deported to the regions of the Danube 270.000 people (men and women), we may safely conclude that this deportation is the one referred to by our text of the *Miracula*».

Sermesiani and the other neighbouring peoples were under the dominion of the Avars, who were led by a khan. The Sermesiani were led by Kuber or Kubrat, who rebelled against the Avar Khan and took his people from Sirmium to Monastir, where they settled.

The Sermesiani's purpose in migrating to Macedonia was to break away from the Avars, but Kuber's subjects, who were descended from the *Romaei*, also longed to 'return home'. Yet, since settling in Sirmium and intermarrying with the Protobulgarians, they had in fact lost their old ethnic identity.³¹ The Sermesiani's resettlement in Macedonia was not conducted like an invasion, for it must have taken place with the consent of the Byzantine Emperor, since he compelled the Sagoudatae of Veria to supply them with food.

No sooner had they settled in Macedonia than some of the Sermesiani began gradually to leave Monastir and move to Thessaloniki. Once a significant number of Sermesian refugees had arrived in the city, Kuber sent Maurus to seize the reins of power; but the arrival of the Byzantine fleet led by Sisinius thwarted the plot, and the Thessalonian Sermesiani were shipped to Constantinople, where they became part of that city's ethnic mosaic. The Sermesiani who stayed in Monastir probably rose up against the Byzantines later on, because in 691 Justinian II defeated them and dispersed them to other parts of Macedonia and the Strymon valley.³²

Modern Bulgarian historians present the Sermesiani as the Bulgarian ethnic nucleus of Ohrid, who formed the core of the second Bulgarian kingdom created by Samuel three hundred years later. They are wrong, however, for three reasons: firstly, the Sermesiani were not pure

31. Setton K. M., (1950), *The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, σελ. 510: «These attacks of Slavs and Avars apparently began in 578-579, and continued in force until about 584-585, during which time the ethnographic character of northern Greece must have been permanently altered by a process of violent Slavonization, for in the course of the invasion of 578-585, according to the *Miracula*,... The Greeks, together with Bulgars and others, were now resettled in the plain of Monastir and elsewhere, as the author of the *Miracula* informs us, as 'a new people' (ἄλλος νέος ... λαός)⁶⁹».

32. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 100: «Aus einer Bemerkung bei Konstantin Porphyrogennetos kann man entnehmen, daß sich Kubers Protobulgaren nach ihrem Zusammenstoß mit Justinian II. Ende des 7. Jh. über ein größeres Territorium zerstreuten und auch im Strumatal (im Thema Strymon) niederließen.».

Protobulgarians, but an ethnic mix of Protobulgarians, Greeks, Thracians, and Illyrians; secondly, they were scattered by Justinian II; and thirdly, the rest of the Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of the area were not of Bulgarian origin, just as the Croats, for instance, are not of Bulgarian origin, even though they speak Slavonic. It is particularly interesting to note that the names Kouver, Kouveris, and Kouverianos still survive in Greece today, and the name Kubratov in Bulgaria.

Both the existence of these names and an ethnological study of the Sermesiani prove once again the ethnic affinity between the modern Greeks and Bulgarians, who are members of one and the same ethnic mosaic that happened to split into two rival cultures.

The shifting ethnic identity of the inhabitants of Macedonia and the arrival of the Persians and the Armenians

As the centuries passed, the ethnic identity of the ancient peoples of Macedonia underwent a gradual and constant change in accordance with the political developments of each particular era — just as happens in our own time.

As we have seen, in Macedonia — whose inhabitants were Illyrians, Thracians, Paeones, Bottiaei, and Bryges — there were no Greeks before 800 BC.

The first radical change in the ethnic make-up of Macedonia took place between 800 and 650 BC, and it was brought about by three historical events: the departure of the Bryges from the Veria area; the invasion of western Macedonia by the Macednoi; and the Greek colonisation of Halkidiki. So the population of Macedonia now consisted not only of native Illyrians, Thracians, and Paeones, but also of a large proportion of non-indigenous Macednoi, Greeks, and Bottiaei.

In the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, northern Macedonia was annexed to the Macedonian state, thus creating the Macedonian kingdom of the Hellenistic period, which became a Roman province in AD 159.

Under the Macedonian kingdom and the seven hundred years of Roman rule that followed it, the population of Macedonia gradually

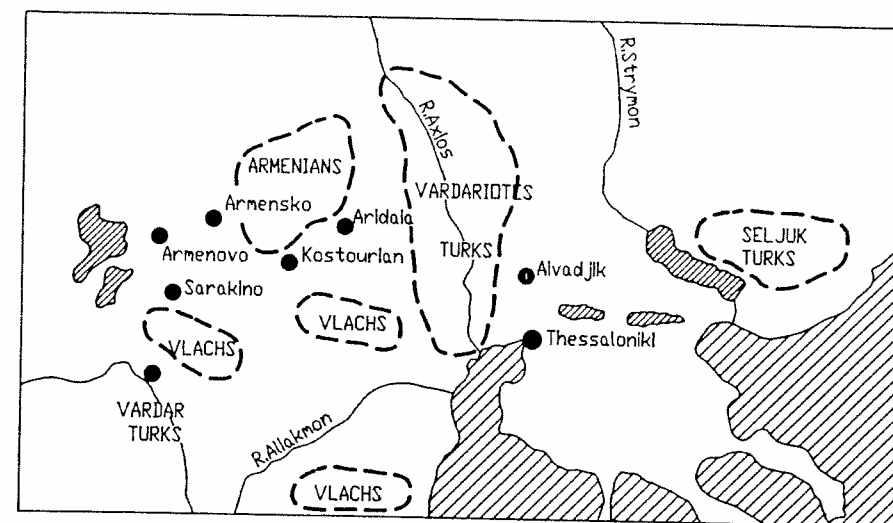
separated into two ethnic zones: the south, where the Greek language predominated, and the north, where Paeonian and Thracian were spoken, but were later both replaced by Latin. If we bear in mind that the language of the Academy of Stobi (Titov Veles) was Latin and the language of the Academy of Pella was Greek, we may suppose with considerable accuracy that the two zones met somewhere near the modern Greek-Macedonian border.

In the Roman period, the inhabitants of northern Macedonia (Illyrians, Paeones, and Thracians) completely abandoned their ethnic languages and spoke only Latin.

The southern part of Macedonia presented a more colourful ethnic picture than the north. More specifically, the Macedonians had settled in the whole of western Macedonia and the western half of central Macedonia, while the Greeks were chiefly in southern Halkidiki, Methone, and Amphipolis. Central Halkidiki was inhabited by the Bottiaei, and the eastern section of central Macedonia had a mixed population of Macedonians and, chiefly, Thracians, who were almost the only demographic element in the whole of eastern Macedonia, apart from a few coastal cities. Finally, there were Roman settlers scattered about in both zones; those who settled in Pella became Hellenised.

Moving on now to the period of Slav invasions, we observe some dramatic changes in the ethnic make-up of Macedonia, because when they settled *en masse*, the Slavs exterminated or expelled the Greek-speaking or Latin-speaking populations of the lowland areas. The Latin-speakers in the northern zone sought refuge in the mountains, where they still live today under the name of Vlachs. The modern Greek-speaking Sarakatsani are probably the descendants of the Greek-speaking populations who also survived by taking to the mountains.

In the Byzantine period, the old ethnic distinctions were replaced by new ones. The inhabitants of Macedonia were now Latin-speaking Vlachs, Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, Greek-speaking Byzantines of varied ethnic origin, Slavs, and Albanians.



Map 9: The Armenians and the Persians in Macedonia

In the centuries that followed, the ethnic mosaic of Macedonia was enriched by large numbers of Orientals, mainly Armenians and Persians; though far fewer of them settled here than in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace. More specifically, it was in the tenth century that the Persians arrived in Macedonia, the reason being that Islam was still trying to dislodge the old Persian religions in Persia and a large number of Ghebers (Persian Zoroastrians), refusing to convert to Islam, sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire. Some 30,000 of them settled in the Axios valley alongside the Christians there. As a result, they gradually embraced Christianity themselves.³³

Noting that this large group of Persians was showing signs of seeking independence, the Byzantines dispersed them for reasons of security to various parts of Macedonia. Those who stayed in the Yannitsa-Goumenitsa area were classified as Turks and became known as

33. Lejean G., (1861), *Ethnografie der Europäischen Türkei Pettermans Geografische Mitteilungen*, σελ. 33: «Seit dem 10. Jahrhundert waren Auswanderer aus Persien in das Thal des Wardar gekommen; sie bekannten sich zur Religion der Ghebr (Parsen) und flohen vor den Verfolgungen der Muhammedaner. Diese Einwanderer, 30.000 Seelen stark, waren Anfangs auf das Wardar-Thal beschränkt, später aber, als sie dem Staat gefährlich wurden, zerstreute man sie, wie es scheint, zum Theil in Trupps von 2.000 Personen über die Provinzen».

'Vardariotes', and they later acquired their own bishop. All trace of these settlers has vanished, apart from a small group of Christian Vardariotes recorded in the twentieth century by H. R. Wilkinson south of Kastoria.³⁴ These Christian Turks may well have been Kumani, Petchenegs, or Uzi, however. Wilkinson does not mention whether they spoke Turkish or Persian. A race of people does not usually vanish from the face of the earth unless there has been a devastating hostile invasion, as there was in this area when the Bottiaei were driven out by the Macedonians and the Macedonians were wiped out by the Slavs. The most reasonable conclusion is that, having embraced Christianity, the Vardariotes were gradually assimilated into the neighbouring Slavonic linguistic culture.³⁵

The conclusion to be drawn from this historical review is that in all likelihood one segment of the now Hellenised Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of the lower Axios valley (Idomeni, Goumenitsa, Yannitsa) are not Slavs, but Slavonicised Persians.

Another Asian element that settled in Macedonia in the tenth century was the Armenians. Around 988, some non-Paulician (i.e. Monophysite) Armenians settled in Macedonia,³⁶ though we do not know exactly where. We do know, however, that Armenians settled outside Thessaloniki.³⁷

34. Wilkinson, H. R., (1951), *Maps and politics. A review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, σελ. 127: «The Bardariotes living in small groups south of Kastoria were also depicted on Meinhard's map. They had generally been classified as Turks».

35. Wilkinson, H. R., (1951), *Maps and politics. A review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, σελ. 43: «He drew attention to the Vardariotes, pre-Osmanli Turks, who had become Christianized, had settled in the Vardar valley and then had been assimilated by the Slavs. (F. Meinhard distinguished a similar group in south-western Macedonia but referred to them as Bardariotes. See p. 127)».

36. Charanis P., (1972), *The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire. Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 146: «And some years later, perhaps in 988, Basil II removed a number of Armenians from the eastern provinces and settled them in Macedonia²⁸. The Armenians settled in Crete and in Macedonia were not Paulicians».

37. Charanis, P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire. Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 238: «There were Armenians in most of the large towns of the empire. They were particularly numerous in Constantinople and also in Thessalonica where they are known to have possessed in the thirteenth century a church of their own²¹². But besides the Armenians who lived in Thessalonica there were others who dwelt in villages nearby».

Outside Lagadas is the village of Ayvatovo or Ayvadzik. In the nineteenth century, the villagers spoke Slavonic.³⁸ The name Ayvadzik is of Armenian origin and is found in areas of Asia Minor that were inhabited exclusively by Armenians, such as the Dardanelles, for instance, and outside Bursa. The people of Ayvadzik may well be descended from these mediaeval Armenians, who gradually became Slavonicised, and adopted Greek culture in the twentieth century.

The Byzantine literature tells us that there were large numbers of Armenians in the Moglena, or Karadjova, area, which corresponds today to the Aridaia valley, beside Mount Païko. Specifically, in 1150, St Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena, waged intensive battles against the local heretics, who included Manichaeans, Bogomils, and Armenian Monophysites.³⁹

The Bogomils were negligible in number. Like the Monophysites, the Manichaeans too were Armenian, and it was upon their particular heresy that Paulicianism was based. These Armenians later disappeared from Moglena, which means that they certainly embraced Orthodox Christianity, as an inevitable consequence of which they were linguistically assimilated by the Orthodox Slavs around them.

The Armenian Paulicians of Plovdiv did not undergo this kind of religious assimilation, for they were far more numerous and nursed an implacable hatred for all things Orthodox, avoiding all contact with the Orthodox inhabitants of the surrounding areas for centuries. As we shall see in the section on Thrace, although the Paulicians of Plovdiv eventually converted to Roman Catholicism, they did not escape Bulgarianisation. Today they are known as 'Bulgarian Catholics', though they are in fact Armenian.

Although a thousand years have passed since then, there are still traces of Armenian presence in Macedonia. Specifically, apart from the village of Ayvadzik near Thessaloniki, just outside Aridaia there is Kostourian, a placename that is very probably of Armenian origin. There is mention of the villages of Armensko (Alonas) and Armenovo in Florina prefecture in 1899, the inhabitants of which, according to Copcevic, spoke

38. Gopcevic, S., (1889), *Makedonien und Alt Serbien*, σελ. 362.

39. Jirecek C., (1893), *Review of G. Weigands Vlach-Meglen. Eine ethnografische-philologische Untersuchung*, σελ. 98: «Der Bischof,... führte heftige Kämpfe gegen zahlreiche Häretiker, Manichäer, Bogomilen und Armenier; viele wurden bekehrt und an ihrem Sammelplatz eine Apostelkirche gegründet».

Slavonic. And the author of a modern essay on Greek town houses in western Macedonia mentions 'the Andzevadzik residence', which is a name of purely Armenian provenance. Andzevadzik was also the name of a Thracian general (of Armenian origin) who defected to the Arabs.

On the basis of this ethnological review, then, we can say with something approaching certainty that many of the Slavonic-speakers in the Aridaia area, who are now firmly ensconced in Greek culture, are neither of Slavonic nor of Greek origin, but descendants of Armenian Monophysites and Manichaeans.

This particular hypothesis cannot be scientifically proven, owing to lack of hard evidence; but such is not the case with the Armenian Paulicians of Plovdiv. A serious, in-depth anthropological study that compared the anthropological characteristics of the inhabitants of Kostourian, Armensko (Alona), Armenovo, and Ayvadzik with those of the 'Bulgarian Catholics' of Plovdiv could in all probability prove the common Armenian origin of these Greek and Bulgarian populations.

Finally, in 1015, Orientals known as the Kondarati settled near Edessa and proceeded to terrorise the local people. Their ethnic origin is unknown and no trace of them survives today. But there is a village outside Edessa called Sarakinovo or Sarakino, whose name is probably not fortuitous, but reflects the presence of Slavonicised Arabs.

Bulgarian dominion in Macedonia

Some historical information will assist our ethnological investigation of the period 610–1025.

The Byzantines' recognition of Asparuch's Protobulgarian Empire brought the Byzantino-Bulgarian wars to an end, and peace reigned between the two states for a time. It was shattered, however, in 769, when the leader of the anti-Byzantine faction in the Bulgarian court ascended the throne of Bulgaria, and became Tsar Telesdji. Peaceful co-existence ceased when he adopted a policy of military confrontation with the Byzantine Empire, which led to an endless series of wars and countless atrocities, such as those perpetrated by Krum and Basil the Bulgar-slayer: Krum drank his wine out of the silver-plated skull of Emperor Nicephorus,

while Basil put out the eyes of 15,000 Bulgar soldiers captured at the Battle of Clidium.

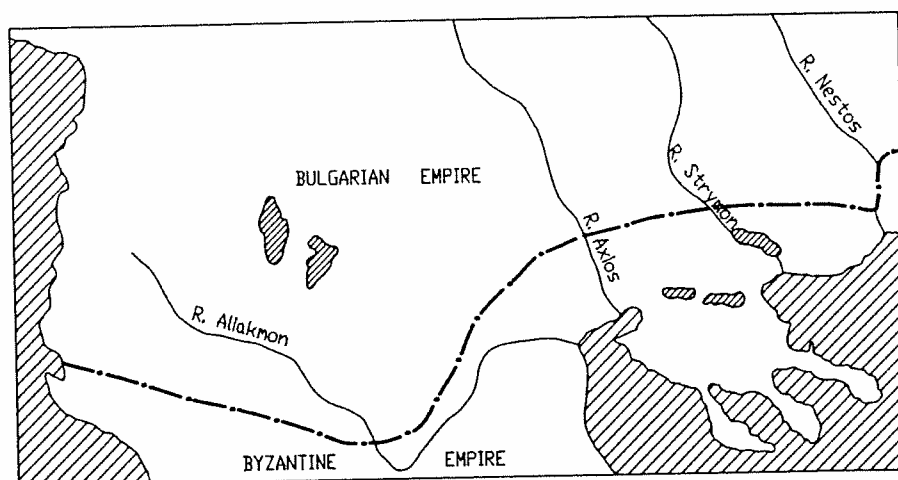
Chauvinistic circles on both sides have capitalised on these atrocities *ad nauseam* for propaganda purposes. Yet if we look at them in the context of the customs of their time, we see that Krum's action simply reflected the Protobulgarian belief that a victor could keep the spirit of his vanquished foe in his power, precisely by drinking wine from the dead man's skull; while Basil was merely implementing the law, according to which high treason was punishable by blinding (a punishment that Empress Irene, who was of Greek origin, also inflicted on her son in order to seize the throne from him).

After the lawful Tsar of Bulgaria, Boris II, had been dethroned and imprisoned in Asia Minor, the Byzantines refused to recognise the Tsar of Ohrid, Count Nicolas, or his successor, Samuel; this was why the Bulgarian soldiers who were captured at Clidium were regarded as rebels and therefore guilty of high treason, with the consequences described above.

The Bulgarian Empire achieved its maximum expansion in the reign of Simeon the Great, when most of Macedonia came under Bulgarian governance for 150–200 years.

The conflict between the Byzantines and the Bulgars culminated in 971, when John Tsimisces, on the pretext of driving out the Russians who had seized Preslav, attacked the Bulgarian capital and, having beaten the Russians, captured the Bulgar Tsar Boris II and, at a stroke, brought down the Bulgarian Empire.

After this, a feudal lord from northern Bulgaria, known as Count Nicolas, left his own area and went to Ohrid, which was not under Byzantine military occupation. Having consolidated his position in this new base, Nicolas pronounced himself tsar, and in 976 launched a rebellion against the Byzantines. Nicolas's son and successor, Samuel, and Basil II 'the Bulgar-slayer' were the protagonists in the long and bloody drama that unfolded thereafter, ending in 1018 with the surrender of Ohrid to the Byzantines and the abolition of the second Bulgarian Empire for the next 170 years.



Map 10: The political map of Macedonia in 927

If we now subject the protagonists in this strife to an ethnological investigation, we shall find that their origins were in fact anything but Bulgarian or Greek. Armenian sources of the eleventh century assert that Samuel was of pure Armenian descent,⁴⁰ while according to Bulgarian sources his father was of Kumanic origin. What is certain is that Samuel was not Bulgarian on his father's side; and his mother bore the purely Armenian name of Ripsimi. In other words, this 'Bulgar' tsar was certainly half Armenian and probably Kumano-Armenian.

After Samuel's time, the struggle against the Byzantines was continued, without success, by his nephew Alusian, whose generals included Ivadjis and Gabr. The names of all three of these 'Bulgars' are strongly suggestive of Armenian and Chaldean origins. They also survive to this day in all three countries: in Greece as Gavras and Ayvadzidis; in Bulgaria as Gabrakov and Ayvazov; and in Turkey as Ayvajoglou and Anzevajik.

Of the protagonists on the Byzantine side, the most representative descendant of the Armenians was Basil II himself (976–1025), 'Bulgar-

40. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 119: «Ο Ἀρμένιος ὁμῶς ἱστορικὸς Asolik (11ος αἰ.) διατείνεται πὺς ὁ Σαμουήλ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ ἦταν Ἀρμένιοι, μισθοφόροι στὸν βυζαντινὸ στρατό, οἱ ὁποῖοι τάχθηκαν στὸ πλεῦρό τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ τοὺς ὠδήγησαν ἐναντίον τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας. Ἡ θεωρία αὐτὴ τῆς ἀρμενικῆς καταγωγῆς ἐνισχύεται ἀπὸ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητέρας τοῦ (Ριψίμη), ποὺ ἦταν συνηθισμένο στοὺς Ἀρμένιους ἀλλὰ ὄχι στοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς ἢ στοὺς Βουλγάρους...».

slayer' and last member of the Macedonian dynasty.

The Macedonian dynasty was founded by Basil I (867–886), whose Armenian origin is in no doubt whatsoever.⁴¹ Basil was succeeded by his son, Leo VI 'the Wise' (886–912), who was in turn succeeded by his own son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913–959). They led the Empire to new heights of glory.

The emperor who really restored the Byzantine Empire to its old territory, however, was Constantine's son, Basil II 'the Bulgar-slayer', who was not only Armenian on his father's side, but also had an Armenian mother.

During the time of the Armenian Macedonian dynasty (867–1025), it was not only the members of the imperial family who were Armenian, but many members of the Empire's upper social strata too.

When Samuel was besieging Thessaloniki, the commander of the Byzantine garrison in the second city was a man named John Tornikios. The besiegers killed him and captured his son Asot, whom Samuel then married to his daughter and appointed commander at Dyrrachium. Asot Tornikios belonged to the Georgian branch of the Armenian Tornikios family, who came from Taron.⁴² The name Tornikidis still survives in Greece today, and Tornik and Tornev in Bulgaria.

Other notable Byzantines of Armenian origin were Emperor John Tsimiskes, Emperor Romanus Lecapenus, the latter's son and perpetrator of a number of scandals Patriarch Theophylact,^{43, 44} Patriarch John

41. Charanis P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 218: «That Basil I, the founder of the most brilliant dynasty of the Byzantine empire, was indeed Armenian and Armenian on both sides, can be regarded as an established fact».

42. Charanis P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 230: «In 1047 one of them, Leo Tornikios, attempted to seize the throne. His failure was less heroic than that of another Armenian, George Maniakes, the famous general, who had attempted the same thing several years earlier (1042). The John Tornikios who aided the imperial forces at the time of the rebellion of Bardas Skleros belonged to the Georgian branch of the family, in its origins also Armenian».

43. Charanis P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 119: «Two of these Emperors, Romanus Lecapenus (919-944) and John Tzimiskes (969-976) are definitely known to have been of Armenian origins... Romanus had four sons,... the fourth, Theophylact, he eventually made patriarch».

Grammaticus, the historian Genesius, and from Mother Armenia herself the eminent Patriarch Photius.⁴⁵

This brief ethnological review has shown us that in this period, many members of the ruling class both in Bulgaria and in the Byzantine Empire were of Armenian descent, which simply serves to underscore these two peoples' blood kinship.

THE INVASIONS OF THE TURCO-MONGOLIAN PEOPLES AND THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTION (1025-1204)

The death of Basil the Bulgar-slayer in 1025 ended the dominion of the (Armenian) Macedonian dynasty, which had taken the Byzantine Empire to such glorious political heights. The Empire's political stability now began to totter and its role as a world power gradually to weaken, a process that was hastened when the Seljuk Turks invaded Asia Minor almost simultaneously with the various Turco-Mongolian peoples' invasion of the Balkans.

The Byzantine defeat at Manzikert in 1071 at the hands of the Seljuk Turks lead rapidly to the loss of all Asia Minor. The Seljuks managed to do in ten years what the Arabs had failed to do in three hundred, namely to advance as far as Nicaea on the Propontis, which they made their first capital.

44. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 52: «... έπλασαν τον μύθο ότι καταγόταν από τον άρμενικό βασιλικό οίκο των Άρσακιδών. Κάτω από αυτό το μυθικό περίβλημα είναι δυνατό να ξεχωρισθούν τα εξής δεδομένα: ο Βασίλειος γεννήθηκε, πιθανότατα το 836, σε ένα χωριό της Άδριανουπόλεως, πρωτεύουσας του θέματος Μακεδονίας. Προερχόταν από οικογένεια χωρικών, που κατάγονταν ίσως από την Άρμενία... Ο Ρωμανός Α΄ Λακαπηνός (το επίθετό του προέρχεται από το τοπωνύμιο Λακάπη κοντά στη Μελιτηνή), γιός χωρικού από την Άρμενία,...».

45. Charanis P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 22: «Photios, the future patriarch and no doubt the most encyclopaedist erudite the Byzantine empire produced. John the Grammarian, patriarch from 837 to 843,... Caesar Bardas... and Leo the Philosopher,... All four were, at least in part, of Armenian descent. Bardas's Armenian origin has already been pointed out; that of Leo can be inferred from the fact that he was a cousin of John the Grammarian of whose Armenian origins there can be little doubt⁷⁹, and as for Photios, the fact is that his mother, Irene, was the sister of Arsavir,...».

A number of historians attribute the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert to the passive stance of the Armenians in eastern Asia Minor, who gave the Byzantines no military assistance. This is a very superficial theory, however, for it does not look into the reasons for what the Armenians did. As we know, the Armenian kingdoms of Armenia proper were overthrown by John Tsimiscas and Basil the Bulgar-slayer, who, by 1025, had forced the Armenian kings in such areas as Ani, Kars, and Erzerum to emigrate with their subjects to Cappadocia. It is ironic that this first Armenian diaspora was brought about not by the Seljuk Turks but by the Armenian Emperors of the Byzantine Empire, of whom Tsimiscas (Tchemtchik) was a first-generation Armenian.

With this background in mind, one could hardly expect the Armenians, a mere fifty years after the overthrow of their kingdoms by the Byzantines and their mass expatriation, to be eager to shed their blood for the Empire, as they had done in Thrace and on Crete in days of yore.

Another notable historical phenomenon is the fact that the Seljuk Turks reached Nicaea in ten years without having to fight a single serious battle; which shows the lack of resistance by the Byzantine populations of Asia Minor and bears witness to the profound crisis that was taking place between rulers and subjects.

In this chapter, we shall deal mainly with the incursions of the various Turco-Mongolian peoples into the Balkans.

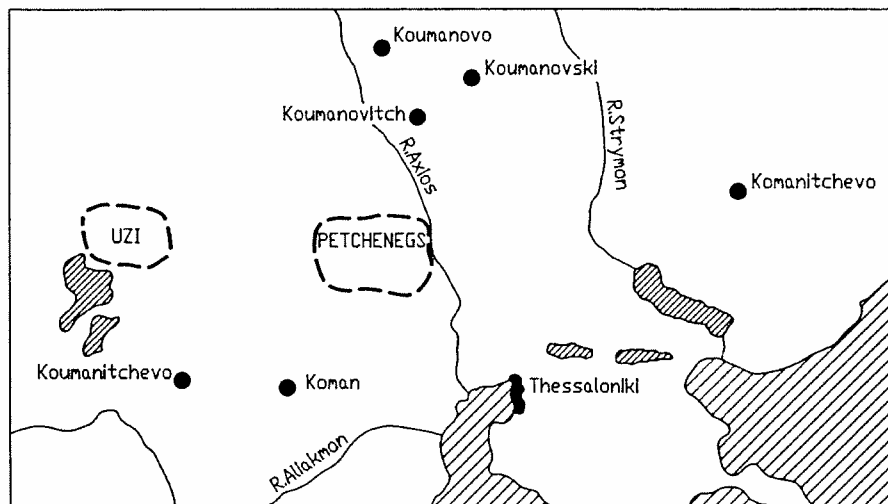
The incursions of the Petchenegs, the Uzi, and the Kumani

Some thirty years before the Battle of Manzikert, the Byzantine Empire was assailed by another tribe of Turco-Mongolian origin, the Petchenegs. They came from Asia and gradually, via southern Russia, made their way to Romania, where some of them abandoned their own language and learnt the Daco-Romanian Wallachian dialect. In 1036, a hundred thousand or so Petchenegs settled in northern Dobrudja in Bulgaria, where they live to this day, and are known as the 'Turks of Bulgaria'.

Having settled in north-eastern Bulgaria, these Petchenegs, or Patchinaks, warred constantly with the Byzantines. They overran Thrace in 1087; occupied Plovdiv in 1089, with the help of the local Paulicians,

Bogomils, and Kumani; and were thoroughly trounced by the Byzantines in 1091, when the Kumani changed sides at the last moment. Alexius Comnenus took many of the Petchenegs prisoner, and forced some of them to settle on Mount Païko, close to modern Idomeni on the Greek–Macedonian border.

They are still there today, known as Karadjova Vlachs, and they still speak the Daco-Romanian dialect they learnt while living in Romania. We shall hear more about the Greek, Yugoslavian, and Bulgarian populations of Turco-Mongolian origin in later chapters.



Map 11: The Petchenegs, Kumani, and Uzi settle in Macedonia

The literature gives no information about the Kumanian invasion of Byzantine territory, though some writers report that some sixty thousand Kumani settled in northern Bulgaria and the Evros valley in 1064.⁴⁶ Kumani must have settled sporadically in Macedonia as well, though we have no historical information about this since it must have happened peacefully.

46. Cvijic T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique Geographie Humaine*, σελ. 471: «En 1064, de nombreux Koumanes franchirent encore le Danube; environ 60.000 d'entre eux se fixèrent dans la Bulgarie du Nord et dans les environs de Philippopoli et d'Andrinople. De nombreux Koumanes pénétrèrent en Dobrudja. La Bulgarie du Nord fut presque «koumanisée»; le bassin de la Marica était rempli de Koumanes».

What we do know is that there was a village called Koumanitchevo and another further east called Koman near Kastoria; the village of Koumanitchevo in the Bulgarian sector of Macedonia; and the villages of Koumanovitch and Koumanovski and the town of Koumanovo in the Republic of Macedonia (see Map 11). Bearing in mind that in olden times a whole village or tribe would emigrate *en bloc*, as the Asia Minor refugees did in 1922, then, despite the lack of written evidence, there can be no doubt that the original inhabitants of these particular villages were of Kumanian origin.

Finally, the names Koumanos, Koumanis, Koumanelis, and Koumanakos in Greece; Kumanov, Komanov, Kumanski, and Kumanovski in Bulgaria; and Kuman, Koman, Kumanli, and Kumanovali in Turkey, offer indelible evidence of the common origin of one segment of the modern Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish races.

The third group of Turco-Mongolian invaders who passed through the Byzantine Empire at this time was the Uzi. In 1065, some six hundred thousand of them crossed the frozen Danube and set about ravaging Thrace and Macedonia. The Bulgars and Petchenegs pursued them, but what ultimately drove them back to southern Dobrudja in north-eastern Bulgaria was sickness, hunger, and cold.

There is no mention of Uzi settling anywhere in Macedonia, other than in the Ohrid and Monastir area, where they gradually lost their Turco-Mongolian ethnic identity and were assimilated by the Slavs around them, just as happened to many Armenians, Petchenegs, and Kumani.

The uprising of the Bulgars and the Vlachs under Asan (1188–1241)

The death in 1025 of the last member of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil the Bulgar-slayer, was followed by serious political instability, as a result of which twelve emperors mounted the throne in the space of fifty-six years.

The Comnene dynasty (1081–1185) managed to bring about the desired stability, which went hand in hand with the Empire's final flare of glory as a world power. The Comnens consolidated all Basil's dominions in the Balkans and recovered half of Asia Minor from the Seljuks, who

retreated to Iconium, which became their final capital.

In 1188, the emperor who had succeeded the last Comnene imposed a special tax to pay his daughter's dowry, and this led directly to a revolt in northern Bulgaria, which was headed by a man named Asan.

Historians are almost unanimously agreed that the members of the Asan dynasty were Vlachs;⁴⁷ Bulgarian historians alone differ, believing them to have been of Bulgaro-Kumanian origin.⁴⁸

This time, the rebels overthrew Byzantine sovereignty in northern Bulgaria once and for all and, in the reign of Kaloyan the *Romaeus*-slayer (1197–1207), extended the bounds of the Bulgarian Empire as far as Trikala in Thessaly (Map 12).

Commenting on these historical events, Bulgarian historians report that in this period the Bulgarian people had spread as far as Thessaly. This is ethnologically incorrect, because the expansion of the Bulgarian Empire down to Trikala was due only to the fact that the Vlach principality of the Pindos now joined forces with the Bulgar tsar (who was himself of Vlach origin), which it had not done in the reign of the half-Armenian tsar of Ohrid, Samuel.

Relations between the Vlachs and the 'Bulgars' of Ohrid were anything but peaceful, as is attested by the Kolindros incident in 976, when the Vlachs killed David, Samuel's brother.

The existence of a Vlach principality in the Pindos Mountains is confirmed by the Byzantine writer Cecaumenus in 980.

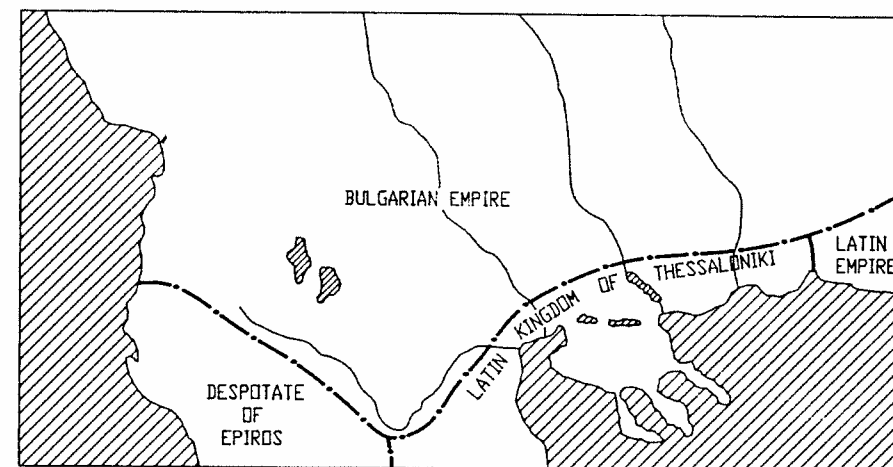
In conclusion, we may say that Asan's 'Bulgarians' in the Pindos were none other than the ancestors of the modern Vlachs who live in that area; and the rest of the Slavs of Macedonia had no ethnic affinity with the Turco-Mongolian Bulgars.

47. Hammond, N. G. L., (1975), *Migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas*, σελ. 39: «In 1186 the Bulgarians and the Vlachs rose against the Byzantine emperor under the leadership of two Vlachs*, Peter and Asan».

48. Dimitrov e.c., (1979), *Geschiedenis van Bulgarij*, σελ. 95: «Toen in de lente van 1185 de Bulgaarse bevolking in de gebieden ten noorden van het Balkangebergte door de keizer aan een bijzondere belasting onderworpen werd, kwam het tot massale onlusten, waarop door twee bojaren van Bulgaars-Koemaanse afkomst, Petar en Asen, werd ingespeeld».

LATIN RULE IN MACEDONIA (1204–1224)

The Byzantine Empire was menaced many times, both from the East and from the Danube, but none of these invaders ever managed to take Constantinople. What the pagans from the Danube and the Moslems from the East failed to do was achieved by the Christian Crusaders from western Europe, who, on the pretext of waging religious wars, overran Constantinople, eastern Thrace, western Thrace, southern Macedonia, Thessaly, and the whole of southern Greece in 1204. This turn of events upset the balance of world forces, and the centre of gravity of European political power began gradually to shift towards western Europe.



Map 12: Macedonia in 1204

Macedonia was divided into two sectors: the south, which constituted the Latin kingdom of Thessaloniki, under the leader of the Crusade, Boniface of Montferrat; and the north, which was part of the third Bulgarian kingdom.

The Bulgars, led by General Sisman, took Serres, but in 1207 they were unsuccessful in their siege of Thessaloniki, during which Tsar Kaloyan was assassinated by a Kuman feudal lord.

Latin rule in Macedonia was short-lived, for it was overthrown in 1224 by the Byzantine Despot of Epiros, Theodore Comnenus Ducas.

Twenty years of Latin domination in the southern sector of Macedonia can have had no more than minimal ethnological impact, for the Crusaders must have confined themselves to Thessaloniki or other fortified places, such as the fortress of Methone. The commander of the Latin garrison in Thessaloniki in 1224 was Palabatsines, nephew of the Duke of Bodonitsa.

Many Latin names still survive in Thessaloniki, such as Palavatsinis, for instance, showing that the Latin Crusaders who stayed in the city became Hellenised. They must have been relatively few in number, however.

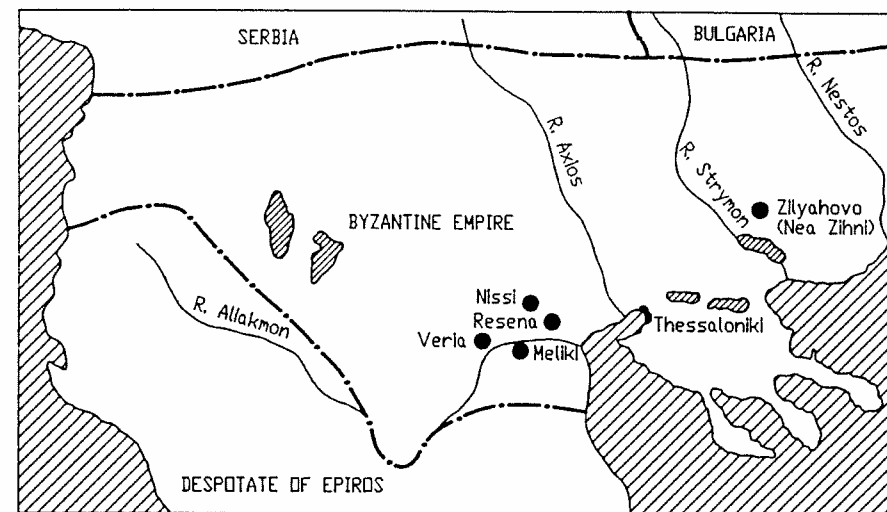
THE RESTORATION OF BYZANTINE RULE IN MACEDONIA (1224–1342)

As we have said, the Latin kingdom of Thessaloniki was restored to Byzantine rule under the Despot of Epiros in 1224.

The creation of the Despotate of Epiros meant that there were two Byzantine Empires at that time, and two emperors, namely the heir to the Byzantine throne of Constantinople in Nicaea and the Despot of Epiros, who was crowned emperor by the Patriarch of Ohrid.

The collapse of the Asan dynasty's Bulgaro-Vlach empire in 1241 and the unexpected recovery of Constantinople by the Byzantines in Nicaea in 1261 resulted in the complete restoration of Constantinopolitan Byzantine dominion in Macedonia.

The ethnic make-up of the population of Macedonia must have remained almost unchanged until 1261, apart from the few Crusaders who settled mainly in Thessaloniki. Further pieces were added to the ethnic mosaic of the region in 1261 with the arrival of Seljuk Turks seeking refuge in the Byzantine Empire.



Map 13: Macedonia in 1261

The Seljuk Turks settle in Veria and Zihni

The Seljuk Empire in Asia Minor, with its capital at Iconium, lasted for about two hundred years, until it was brought down by the Mongols, who defeated the Seljuks at the Battle of Kushendag in 1243.

The collapse of the Seljuk sultanate must have been a gradual process, because the Sultan of Iconium, Izzedin Kaikavuz did not flee to the Byzantine Empire until 1259. The Emperor in Nicaea granted him asylum, probably in return for the Sultan's protection on a former occasion, when Michael Palaeologus had deserted from the Byzantine army and fled to Izzedin's court, under suspicion of conspiring to seize the throne. After the imperial seat had been transferred to Constantinople in 1261, Palaeologus permitted Izzedin to bring his people and his fleet to Varna in Dobrudja and settle there.⁴⁹ We shall return to this subject in the chapter on Thrace.

One segment of the Seljuk population, led by members of the

49. Hoppe, E. M., (1957). *Die türkische Gagauzen-Christen*, σελ. 126: «Der Kaiser von Byzanz siedelte einen Teil von ihnen im Gebiet von Karwuna und im Gebiet von Adrianopel an, wo sich bis zum heutigen Tage Christen befinden, die türkisch sprechen. Dieser neugeschaffene Staat von Kaikawuz wurde der kirchlichen Oberhoheit des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel unterstellt. Izzeddin gab sich als Christ aus».

Karaferia or Karaferis family, settled in Veria.⁵⁰ The Karaferides were probably descendants of Constantine Melik, son of Izzedin; other sources, indeed, refer to the Turkish leaders in Veria in terms of the Melikis and Lizikos families and 'sultans', who were probably members of the royal family of Kaikavuz.

In contrast to the case of the Seljuks who settled in Varna, it is not a historically established fact that Seljuk Turks settled in Veria. The belief is based solely on the information given by the mediaeval Turkish historian Yazijioglu, which in turn stems from the oral tradition or the stories he heard in 1450 in Mohammed's court in Adrianople.⁵¹

Stories do not constitute historical proof, but this does not mean that they contain unreliable information. In this particular case, recently examined Athonite documents confirm that in 1328, land owned by the Monastery of St John the Baptist at Petra near Veria was next to land owned by the Christianised Seljuk Turks Astrapiris Melikis and Miha'il Lizikos. The same documents also mention a number of Seljuk sultans who had been given providence estates north-east of Veria at Ressen and Nissi, place-names that still exist today.⁵² The documents confirm the historicity of

50. Charanis P., (1972), *The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 150: «Descendants of the followers of Izzedin were settled in Verroia in Macedonia where we still find them during the later part of the fourteenth century. Others, including descendants of Izzedin himself, found their way into Morea, established themselves there, and intermarried with the Byzantines. The famous family of the Melikidae, whom we find in the fifteenth century, were apparently an offshoot of these Turks».

51. Wittek, P., *Yazijioglu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, σελ. 652: «The story was obviously told to him by the two brothers from Zikhna when, after the accession of Murad II in 1421, they came to the capital, i.e. Adrianople, in order to have their privilege renewed at the chancery... One thing is fairly certain: the Seljuk origin of the family was mentioned in their diploma since, as we are expressly told, it was for this reason that Bayezid I had granted the privilege».

52. Ζαχαριάδης Ε., *Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι του Ιζζεδίν Καϊκαούς Β' στην Βέροια*, σελ. 66: «δ) Χρυσόβουλλος λόγος του 'Ιωάννου Ε' Παλαιολόγου του Έτους 1344, για τη Σουλτανίνα Ξένη μοναχή, χήρα του 'Αλεξίου Σουλτάνου του Παλαιολόγου, που ήταν προνοιάριος στην περιοχή της Ρέσνας και του Νησιού (ΒΑ της Βέροιας)». Μετά τον θάνατό του «έδόθη» η πρόνοια στον γιό του. Το χρυσόβουλλο διατάζει να πάρη μέρος από την πρόνοια η Σουλτανίνα Ξένη... πρέπει να ήταν η ίδια οικογένεια, από την οποία καταγόταν ο Δημήτρης Σουλτάνος κι ο Μίχος Σουλτάνος, που παρουσιάστηκαν στον Μουράτ Β'. Συνεπώς, σύμφωνα με την παράδοση του Γιαζίτζιόγλου, τα μέλη της οικογένειας αυτής πρέπει να ήταν απόγονοι —πλησιέστεροι ή μακρυνότεροι— του Σελτζούκου σουλτάνου Καϊκαούς Β', ...».

Yazijioglu's reports and thus make it reasonable to conclude that one segment of the Greek population of Veria is of Seljuk descent, though of course these Hellenised Turks cannot be pinpointed today.

One segment of the Seljuk Turks of Veria, led by the Karaferis family, moved to Thessaloniki, where, around 1320, the Byzantines appointed a man named Lizikos from Veria (probably a Seljuk Turk who had converted to Christianity) governor of the city.

As we know, in 1384, Thessaloniki was surrendered voluntarily to the Ottoman Turks in exchange for some special privileges. A year later, the Ottomans transferred the Christian Seljuk Turks from Thessaloniki to Zihni, near Serres, and the surrounding villages, where their leader, Lizakos, was appointed governor of the area.⁵³ Although a Christian, Lizakos was granted tax exemption, probably owing to his Seljuk origin. In 1450, Dimitris and Mikho, sultans from Zihni and members of the Lizakos family, arrived at the court of the Ottoman Sultan of Adrianople, seeking a renewal of the tax exemption that had been granted to Lizakos in 1385. They were very probably the oral sources on which Yazijioglu based his history of the Seljuk Turks of Veria.

Contemporary writers confirm that this ethnological information is not legend, but fact. Cvijic reports the existence of Christian Turks at Zihni and the area corresponding to the villages of Nea Zihni, Messorahi, and so

53. Wittek, P., *Yazijioglu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, σελ. 650: «The prince and his son live and die at Karaferia as Muslims, but the children of the latter are baptized on the order of the basileus in the year of his coming to Salonica. It is from one of their descendants, a certain Lizagos, that the town is taken (by the Ottomans) in the time of the grandfather of our Sultan. This Lizagos and his brothers, all valiant infidel warriors, are transferred to Zikhna and Lizaqos, the eldest of them, is made governor (*subashi*) of that place».

54. Rizoff, D., (1917), *Die Bulgaren in Ihren historischen, ethnografische und politische Grenzen*, σελ. 52.

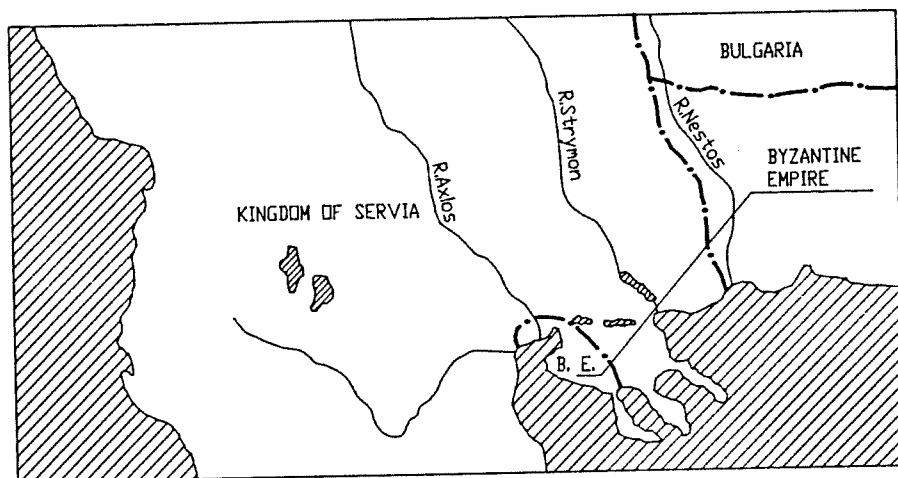
55. Κυριακίδης, Σ., (1919), *Η δυτική Θράκη και οι Βούλγαροι*, σελ. : «εύρισκουν οι ολιγάριθμοι τουρκόφωνοι Έλληνες της Χάφσας παρά την 'Αδριανούπολιν, ους διά να μη όνομάσωσιν Έλληνας άποκαλοϋσι Τούρκους όρθόδοξους».

* Peterm. Mitt. Ergänzungsheft No 130 σ. 57. Δυστυχώς εις τὸ αὐτὸ σφάλμα παρεσύρθη καὶ πολλοῦ λόγου ἄξιος Σέρβος ἐπιστήμων ὁ I. Cvijic ἐν Geographie und Geologie von Mazedonien und Altserbien ἐν Peterm. Mitt. Ergänzungsheft 162, 1908, σ. 364, ὅστις εἰς τὴν παρά τὰς Σέρρας Ζιλιάχοβαν εὕρισκει 2.800 κατοίκους, κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον Osmanlis, οἱ ὅποιοι εἶναι Έλληνες ὀρθόδοξοι τὴν θρησκείαν, ἔχουσιν Έλληνικὰ σχολεῖα καὶ ὁμιλοῦσι τουρκιστὶ καὶ Έλληνιστί».

on, even in the twentieth century.^{54, 55} Kalostipis mentions 2,800 'Turkish-speaking Greeks' in the village of Zelyahova or Zelyahovo, i.e. Nea Zihni.⁵⁶

There can be no doubt that the Turkish-speaking Greeks of Nea Zihni were the descendants of the Christianised Seljuk Turks, who, although they embraced Greek culture, maintained their language for some seven hundred years. I have unconfirmed information that Turkish is spoken in Nea Zihni to this day. And what is more, I have ascertained that the names of the Seljuk princes Lizikos and Lizakos still survive in Nea Zihni, though the people who bear them probably have no idea of the origin of their distant ancestors.

No further proof is needed of the close blood ties between the modern Greeks and Turks, who, together with the Bulgarians, belong to a single ethnic mosaic that produced three modern peoples with three different cultures.



Map 14: Macedonia in 1342

56. Καλοστύπη, Ι. Ν., (1886). *Μακεδονία, ήτοι μελέτη οικονομική, γεωγραφική, ιστορική και εθνολογική της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 68: «'Εν τῷ συμφυρμῷ τῶν πολυνύμων φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀπαντᾷσι πλὴν τῶν καθαρῶς Ἑλληνοφῶνων καὶ κοινότητες Βλαχόφωνοι (Κρούσοβον, Μεγάροβον κλ.), Ἀλβανόφωνοι (Κορυτσᾶ κλ.), Βουλγαρόφωνοι (Βοδενά, Στρώμνιτσα) καὶ Τουρκόφωνοι ἔτι, ὡς τὸ παρὰ τὰς Σέρρας Ζελάχοβον, ἐνθα οἱ κάτοικοι, Ἕλληνες ὄντες, λαλοῦσιν ἐν τῇ οἰκογενείᾳ τὴν τουρκικὴν».

SERBIAN DOMINION IN MACEDONIA (1342–1384)

The restored Byzantine dominion in Macedonia began to falter with the Catalan raids and two civil wars. The Byzantines were forced to seek the military assistance of the Serbs in order to cope with the raids conducted by the Catalan mercenaries in Macedonia in 1307; and that same Serbian help served them during both the first (1321–8) and the second (1341–54) civil war.

This intervention in Macedonia paved the way for Serbian expansion, which was completed in 1342. Serbian domination in Macedonia was also facilitated by the local people, for many areas and fortified cities willingly opted for Serbian rule and closed their doors to the Byzantines.⁵⁷ The behaviour of the people of Thebes and Asia Minor towards foreign invaders was repeated here — which just goes to show how deplorable was the relationship between rulers and ruled.

Serres became the seat of the Serbian rulers, specifically of the widow of Stefan Dushan, who established her court there. Mention is also made of the so-called *Servohoria*, or 'Serbian villages', whose inhabitants were probably settlers who came with Dushan.

Serbian dominion in Macedonia lasted only forty-two years before it was overthrown by the Ottoman Turks in 1384.

TURKISH RULE IN MACEDONIA (1384–1912)

The various states and statelets in the Balkans were crushed beneath the expansionist onslaught of the Ottoman Turks, who divided the land among the 'victors' and thus redistributed the ownership of land. The keenest warriors were the Janissaries, Christians turned Moslem from Bithynia, the birthplace of the new Ottoman Empire.

After the Bulgarian mini-states and the Gagauz state at Varna had been overthrown and the Byzantine Empire confined to Constantinople, the only powerful state in the Balkans, the Kingdom of Serbia, was demolished

57. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*: (1981), Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 179: «Οἱ κάτοικοι τῶν πόλεων τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἄλλωστε, κατὰ καιροὺς ἔδειξαν ὅτι ἦταν διατεθειμένοι νὰ προτιμήσουν τοὺς Σέρβους ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰωάννη Καντακουζηνὸ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους του».

in 1384. The following year, Thessaloniki was surrendered to the Ottomans in exchange for some special privileges, and at the same time the Ottomans seized Monastir and Kastoria, the overlords of which were not Greeks but Albanians named Stoya and Mouzaki.⁵⁸

In 1394, the Ottomans restored Thessaloniki to the Byzantines, who sold the city to the Venetians a few decades later, much to the wrath of the Turks. The Ottoman military occupation of Venetian Thessaloniki in 1430 completed the conquest of the whole of Macedonia. The population of the city was no more than 7,000, and most of the inhabitants converted to Islam.

Once again, the province of Thessaloniki determined the form of the city's ethnic mosaic.

The Vlachs of Macedonia

The Vlachs constitute a particularly large and important ethnic element in Macedonia, and we shall discuss them at length in this chapter.

For the last thousand years, the Vlachs have made up the overwhelming majority of the local population of north-eastern Epiros, Pindos, western Thessaly, and the Sperhios valley, without ever having been able to establish their own recognised kingdom. Short-lived exceptions were the Vlach principalities of the Pindos in 980 and Ipati in 1241, the latter ruled by the Vlach prince Taron.

As far as the Vlach language is concerned, both Theophanes and Procopius record its existence as early as the sixth century AD. This is further supported by an incident recounted by Simocates: 'In the Rhodope in AD 580, the muleteer of a Byzantine military detachment addressed his confrères and the soldiers and warned them, in the Vlach tongue: "Torna, torna, frater."'

This use of the Vlach language in an everyday context in the Byzantine Rhodope clearly attests the presence of Vlach populations in that area. The disappearance of the ethnic identity both of the Vlachs and of the

58. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 191: «Τότε επίσης κατέλαβαν την Καστοριά και επέβαλαν ίδιους όρους στους Άλβανούς δυνάστες της, τους αδελφούς Στόγια (Stoja) και Θεόδωρο Μουζάκη».

ancient Thracians is due on the one hand to the close proximity of major cultures, such the Greek and the Latin, and on the other to their lack of a written language, which is a prerequisite for the continuation of any people's culture.

A number of theories have been advanced regarding the ancestry of the Vlachs of Macedonia, many of them purely for propaganda purposes. On the Greek side, most historians acknowledge that the Vlachs are not of Greek origin. In recent decades, the curious theory has been formulated that they are descendants of the ancient Greeks of Pelagonia (the Florina-Monastir area), who were Latinised, only to be re-Hellenised two thousand years later.⁵⁹ It is a theory that has been devised for political purposes and is used chiefly for domestic consumption. No compact Greek populations were Latinised in the ancient period, because the influence of Hellenic culture was so dazzling that even the Roman colonists were Hellenised at Pella in Macedonia, at Corinth, and in Ionia.^{60, 61}

On the Romanian side, it has been posited that the Vlachs emigrated from Romania to the Prespa and Ohrid area. This hypothesis has served as the theoretical armoury of the Romanianising Vlachs of Monastir, Vermio, Samarina, and Neveska (Nimfaio) and cost the lives of a number of people who have fallen victim to clashes, or more frequently political murders, between the two Vlach factions.

There is nothing in the literary sources to prove or even support the Romanian theory, and indeed the Romanian historians' sole argument was the linguistic similarity between the Koutsovlach dialect spoken in the Pindos and the Daco-Romanian dialect of Romania. The viewpoint that the

59. Κατσουγιάννη, Τ. Μ., (1964), *Περί των Βλάχων των ελληνικών χωρών*, σελ. 25: «...υπάρχει και ή γνώμη ότι οι Βλάχοι των ελληνικών χωρών τουλάχιστον είναι Έλληνες εκλατινισθέντες κατά την ρωμαϊκήν εποχήν...».

60. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 166: «Ο ρωμαϊκός αποικισμός δεν έγινε με την ίδια ένταση σε όλες τις ρωμαϊκές αποικίες. Έντονότερος και σε μεγάλη έκταση έγινε στους Φιλίππους, αρκετά περιορισμένος στο Δίο. Στην Πέλλα μέρος των αποίκων τουλάχιστον ήταν ελληνόγλωσσοι. Ιταλιώτες που εκφράζονταν με δυσκολία στη λατινική...».

61. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 224: «Όπως ήδη ποτε, με το διάταγμα του Καρακάλλα (212 μ.Χ.), οι ρωμαϊκές κοινότητες της Ανατολής εξεφανίσθηκαν όριστικά, καθώς μάλιστα ήταν στην πραγματικότητα έτοιμες να άφομοιωθούν από το ελληνικό στοιχείο».

Koutsovlach populations of Macedonia have no recent ethnic connection with the Daco-Romanians of Romania may be argued as follows.

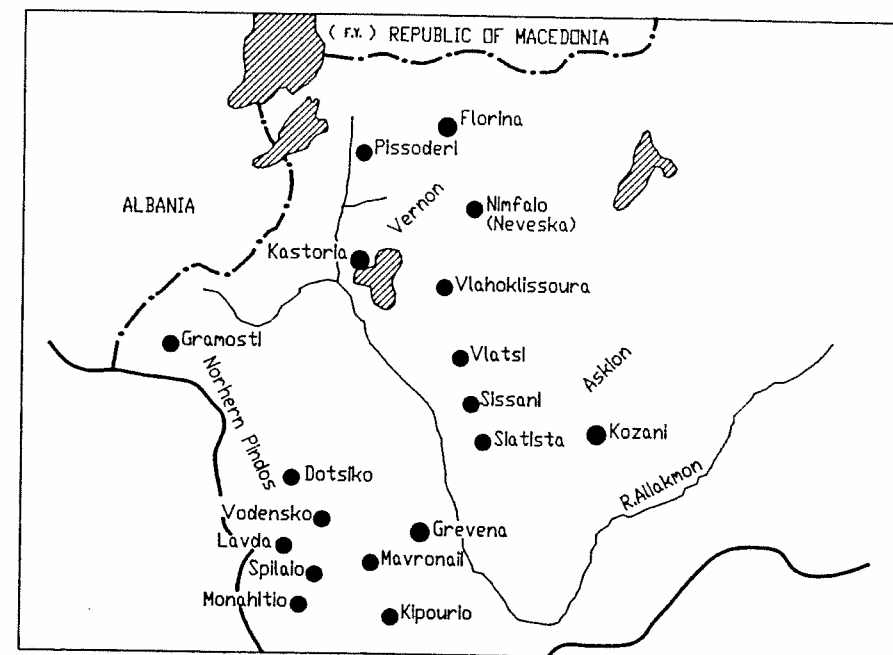
As we know, until the sixth century AD, all the various ethnic groups in the Roman Empire between Romania and the modern Greek-Macedonian border spoke Latin in the form of the various local dialects. Following the Slavs' invasions, which began in 517, the Latin-speaking lowlanders gradually disappeared, either being slain or fleeing to the mountainous areas of the Rhodope, the Adriatic, and northern Macedonia, where local Latin-speaking populations already existed. These populations, who were known as Bulgarian Vlachs, Mavrovlaachs on the Adriatic, and Koutsovlachs in Macedonia, maintained their local dialects, all of which originated from the Latin language of the Roman Empire. Two of these enclaves must have been formed by the Romanovlaachs of the Carpathians (Dacians) and the Koutsovlachs of Macedonia (Illyrians, Paeones, Thracians), and their creation may be regarded as the end result of the ethnic upheavals that led to the complete Slavonicisation of the lowlands in between, which came into the possession of the Slav invaders.

These views are also supported by most non-Greek historians — which does not necessarily prove anything, owing to lack of literary evidence.

The centres of the Vlach populations

The centre of gravity of the Koutsovlach or Aromunian population was formerly in the eastern part of northern Epiros and around the Prespa and Ohrid Lakes, their neighbours to the west being the Albanians and to the east the Slavs. As the centuries passed, and certainly before 1241, the Vlachs gradually moved south towards the northern and southern Pindos (Agrafa) and the Sperhios valley (Ipsti).

The Vlach population of northern Epiros and the Pindos will be described in the chapter on Epiros.



Map. 15: The Vlachs of western Macedonia

Grevena - Kastoria - Florina

After the Pindos, the next major concentration of Vlachs is around Grevena.

North of Grevena, between Kozani and Kastoria, is Mount Askion, in the foothills of which live the Vlachs of the Vlahoklissoura group, which includes Vlahoklissoura, Blatsa (Vlatsi), Sissani, Pipiliste, and Siatista⁶² (see Map 15). These Vlahoklissoura settlements are among the oldest Vlach settlements of all,⁶³ though it is unknown when these Vlachs abandoned their

62. Weigand, G., (1985), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*. σελ. 286: «a) rein aromunische Gemeinden.

1) Auf dem Höhenzuge zwischen Ostrovo- und Kastoria- See:

* Blatsa (die Hälfte der Bewohner ist bereits gräzisiert)	800
* Sisani (Schainli) siehe p. 129	100?
* Pipiliste soll in der Nähe liegen	100?
Vlacho-Klissura (auf der I. Reise besucht) früher 8000	5000»

63. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 43: «...the group by Klissoura and Sisanion to the east of Kastoria had been settled there for some centuries before the refugees came; they had ceased to be nomadic and were engaged mainly in trade».

nomadic way of life, became urbanised, and started to engage mainly in trade. The Vlahoklissoura group was very large at one time. If one considers that the village of Vlahoklissoura itself once numbered 8,000 inhabitants and neighbouring Kastoria only 7,000, it is easy to appreciate the size of the local Vlach population. In 1889, Vlahoklissoura had only 5,000 inhabitants, because so many of the people were moving to the cities, particularly Thessaloniki and Constantinople.

The second largest Vlach village was Vlatsi or Vlasti, which had about 800 inhabitants in 1889, while Sissani and Pipiliste had only 200. Sissani had once been a large Vlach village, but it fell into decline when its inhabitants moved to nearby Siatista, which had 3,000 Aromunian Vlachs in 1889.⁶⁴ They became so thoroughly Hellenised that many present-day inhabitants of Siatista have no idea of their Vlach origin. The links between Sissani and Siatista are revealed by the title of the bishop of Siatista, who is still termed 'Bishop of Siatista and Sissani'.

Moving in the direction of Florina, we encounter only two Vlach villages, namely Pissoderi and Neveska (Nimfaio). In contrast to the Vlahoklissoura group, which became thoroughly Hellenised, there was a large group of Romanianising Vlachs in Nimfaio, some hundred families in all.

Kupatshari

In the southern part of the prefecture of Grevena, and more specifically to the south-west of the town of Grevena, we meet a distinct group of Vlachs, the Kupatshari. They abandoned the nomadic life sometime after 1770 and settled down in the low foothills of the northern Pindos, where they began to farm the land. This invited the scorn of the Pindos stock-breeders, who had little respect for lowland farmers. There was never any intermarriage between Aromunian Vlachs and farmers, but the

64. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 287: «b) Gemeinden mit gemischter Bevölkerung.

Grevena 20 Häuser (im Winter 200 Familien) 100

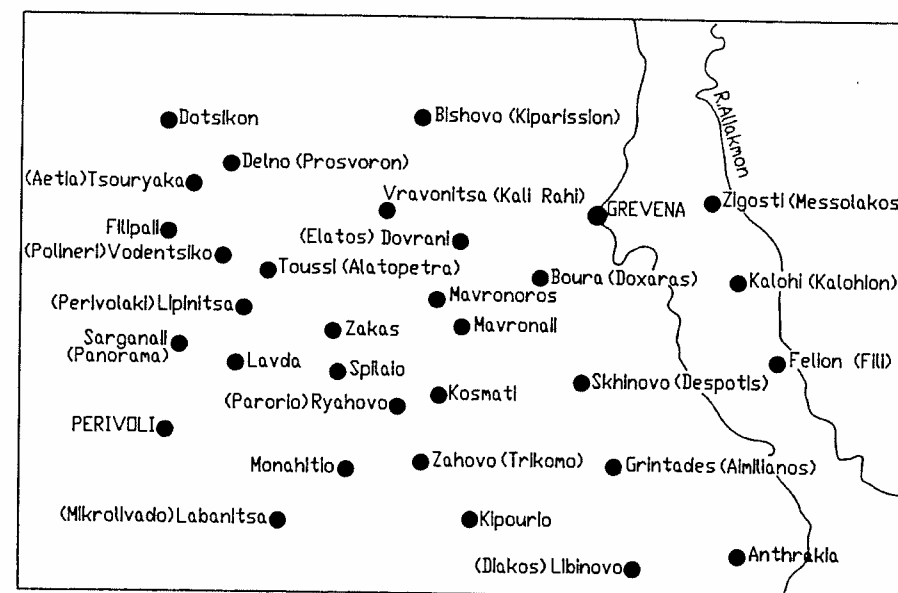
Chrupista (im Winter durch Fam. aus Gramosti vermehrt) 1000

* Schatista früher rein aromunisch, fast ganz gräzisiert.

Gopcevič giebt 600 aromunische Häuser an 3000?»

Kupatshari constituted a rare exception to this rule.

D. A. Poulianou (herself a Kupatshari) mentions the following Kupatshari villages in this specific area: Anthrakia, Vravonitsa (mod. Kali Rahi), Grintades (mod. Aimilianos), Zahovo (mod. Trikomo), Zakas, Zigosti (mod. Messolakos), Kalohi, Kipourio, Kosmati, Bishovo (mod. Kiparission), Libinovo (mod. Diakos), Mavronaii, Mavronoros, Paliohori, Spilaio, Skhinovo (mod. Despotis), and Felion (mod. Fili) (see Table 1).⁶⁵



Map 16: The Kupatshari villages of Grevena prefecture

65. Πουλιανού, Δ. Α., (1994), *Κοπατσαράοι*, σελ. 9: Τα χωριά που κατοικούν οι κοπατσαράοι, τα κοπατσιοχώρια, είναι το Δεσπότι (Σχίνοβο), το Κυπαρίσι, Αιμιλιανός (Γκριντάδες), Κηπουριό, Φιλί, Παλαιοχώρι, Ανθρακιά, Διάκος (Αμπίνοβο), Καληράχη, Τρίκωμο (Ζάλοβο), Μανρανάοι, Μανρονόρο, Μεσόλακκος (Ζγκόστι), Καλόχι, Κοσμάτοι, Ζιάκα, Σπήλαιο κ.λπ. Τα κοπατσιοχώρια φτάνουν ως το Μαυρόλογγο.

Table 1
The Kupatshari villages of Grevena prefecture

Anthrakia	Lipinita (Perivolaki)
Bishovo (Kiparission)	Mavronaii
Boura (Doxaras)	Mavronoros
Delno (Prosvoron)	Monahitio
Dotsikon	Ryahovo (Parorio)
Dovrani (Elatos)	Sarganaii (Panorama)
Felion (Fili)	Skhinovo (Despotis)
Filipaii	Spilaio
Grintades (Aimilianos)	Tsouryaka (Aetia)
Kalohi (Kalohion)	Toussi (Alatopetra)
Kipourio	Vodentsiko (Polineri)
Kosmati	Vravnitsa (Kali Rahi)
Labanitsa (Mikrolivado)	Zahovo (Trikomo)
Lavda	Zakas
Libinovo (Diakos)	Zigosti (Messolakos)

Wace and Thomson, who explored the area, write that in 1914 most of the villages were completely Hellenised, though in some of them, such as Labanitsa/Mikrolivado, all the older men and many of the women still spoke Vlach,⁶⁶ while others, such as Zahovo/Trikomo, were more or less completely Hellenised. Wace and Thompson also include Mavronovo and Filipaii among the Kupatshari villages, and note that the customs in the latter more closely resembled the customs of Samarina than those of the other Kupatshari villages.⁶⁷

66. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 30: *The Kupatshari are hellenized or semi-hellenized Vlachs*. That is to say that through intermarriage and the influence of the church and Greek education they have abandoned their native language. They still however retain the *Vlach national costume*, and many Vlach words occur in their dialect as well as many non-Greek sounds such as *sh, zh, tsh, and dzh*. They inhabit the district *between Ghrevena and the pure Vlach villages of Pindus*. At one of their villages, *Labanitsa*, which is only half hellenized we obtained some insight as to the process by which denationalisation occurs. In the school and church Greek is the only language used. All the older men in the village know Vlach and so do many of the women.

67. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 45: «They are called

Weigand mentions the following as Kupatshari villages in 1895: Lavda, Lipinita (mod. Perivolaki), Sarganaii (mod. Panorama), Kipourio, and Vodentsiko (Polineri).⁶⁸

All this information in the literature is rounded off by the information provided by Major Skhinas, who, following on-the-spot investigations, published a book in 1886, in which, with regard to the area south-west of Grevena, he refers to the *Vlach Koli*, which comprised twenty-four Vlach and Kupatshari villages. Most of these are recorded by the aforementioned writers; the rest are: Toussi (mod. Alatopetra), Boura (mod. Doxaras), Dovrani (mod. Elatos), Delno (mod. Prosvoron), Ryahovo (mod. Parorio), and Tsouryaka (mod. Aetia).⁶⁹ The positions of

Kupatshari, "men of the oak tree" (kupatshu being Vlach for oak tree), because the district Grevena is covered in oak scrub and forest". The people of the highest of their villages, such as Kipourio and Philippaei...

68. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologische Untersuchung*, σελ. 130: Von den Griechen sind die allermeisten, wenn nicht alle, sogenannte "Kopatsar" d. h. Aromunen, die ihre Sprache zu Gunsten der griechischen aufgegeben haben aber vielfach die Tracht und Gebräuche bewahrt haben. Auch hört man in ihrem jetzigen griechischen Dialekte sowohl ar. Wörter wie: oāte, piduklju, šopot etc., als auch erinnert ihre Aussprache lebhaft an die aromunische, da...š ž, tš, dž und selbst ä ganz gewöhnlich sind. Von einer ganzen Anzahl von Dörfern weiß man bestimmt, daß sie früher ar. waren, weil sich verwandtschaftliche Verhältnisse zwischen diesen und den rein aromunischen bewahrt haben wie s. B. in Lavda, Lipinita, Schárganli, Kipurjó, Vudinisko u.a.

69. Σχινάς, Ν. Θ., (1886), *Οδοιπορικά Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας - Ηπείρου*, σελ. 50:

Βλάχ κóλι

	κάτ.		
1. Σπήλαον	253	14. Λαμπανίτσα	28
2. Περιβόλι	1520	15. Τίστα	220
3. Αβδέλλα	830	16. Ριάχοβον	25
4. Σμίξι	310	17. Παληοχώρι	50
5. Σαμαρίνα	3200	18. Ζάχοβον	260
6. Μεσολούρι	130	19. Κουμάτι	170
7. Φίλιππαιοι	230	20. Μαυρανέοι	130
8. Δέλνο	90	21. Μαυρονύρο	100
9. Τσούρλακα	30	22. Βραβόνιστα	130
10. Βουδινσκό	190	23. Ντόβρανι	90
11. Τούσι	60	24. Μπούρα	40
12. Σαργαναίοι	90		
13. Λάβδα	140		8310

all the Kupatshari villages referred to by the above-mentioned scholars can be seen on Map 16.

Once they had embraced the agricultural life, the Kupatshari became Hellenised to such an extent that, by 1912, the Aromunian or Vlach language was spoken only by the old people. Today, the young Kupatshari are not even aware of their Vlach origins.

Many Kupatshari moved to urban centres, where such surnames as Koupatsaras, Koupatsaris, and Koupassaris still survive.

In the Grevena area, there was one more interesting group of Vlachs, the Turko-Vlach Valahades, who lived alongside the Kupatshari. There were about 12,000 of them, and they lived in the low foothills of the Pindos near Siatista. Until 1924, when they left for Turkey under the terms of the exchange of populations, they spoke Greek.⁷⁰ Though they had embraced Islam, the Valahades kept their churches in good condition, particularly in the villages of Vrostena, Vrontitsa, and Vinani,⁷¹ but their standard of living was very low, even though they rather complacently referred to themselves as 'beys'. The fact that the Valahades lived in close proximity to the Kupatshari offers evidence of their Kupatshari origins. Theirs was an eventful ethnic history: descended probably from the ancient Thracians and Illyrians, they were first Latinised, then embraced Greek culture, only to turn Turk in the end.

This ethnic survey of the Kupatshari and the Valahades has shown us, once again, the close blood ties between some of the modern Greeks and Turks.

Kozani – Veria – Olympus

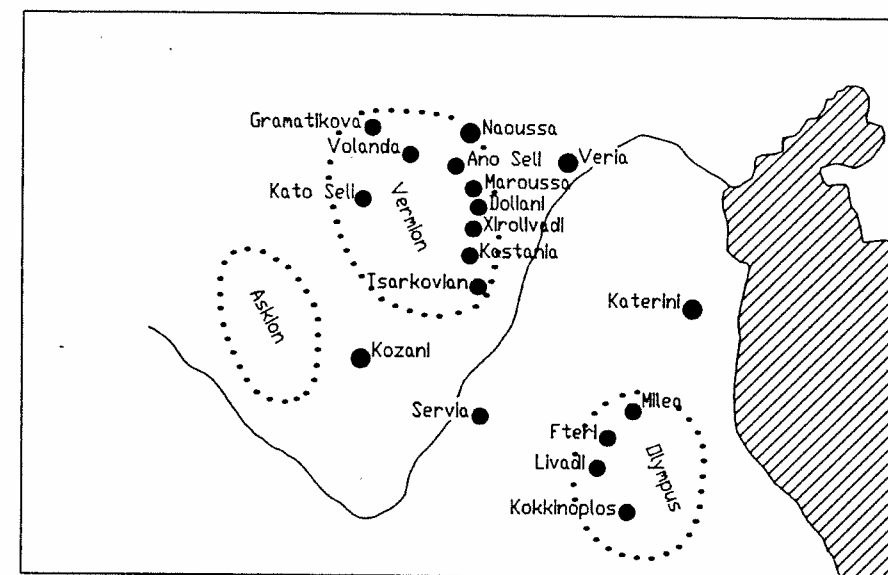
There is no mention of Vlachs' having migrated to the Kozani

70. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΙΑ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 124: «...μετά τὸν τουρκοαυστριακὸ πόλεμο τοῦ 1737-1739. Τότε ἡ λίγο παλαιότερα ἐξώμοσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι Βαλαάδες τῆς περιοχῆς τῶν Γρεβενῶν (ποὺ διατήρησαν ὡστόσο τὴν ἐλληνικὴ τους γλῶσσα ὡς τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς τῶν πληθυσμῶν τὸ 1923)...».

71. Hasluk, F. W., (1921), *The crypto-christians of Trebizond*, σελ. 202: «...that the Valachadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrostena, Brontiza and Vinani, and frequent them at certain seasons —or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapou Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls».

tableland. The people of this area were almost exclusively Turks from Konya, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kozani itself, who were mostly of Vlach origin.⁷²

Kozani and Veria are separated by Mount Vermion, where the Vlachs of the Vermion group lived. They were very sympathetic towards Romanian propaganda and in 1905 were one of the most important centres of the Romanianising faction.



Map 17: The Vlachs of Kozani, Vermion, and Olympus

The Vlach villages of Vermion are: Volanda, Kato Seli, Ano Seli, Maroussa, Doliani, Xirolivadi, Kastania, and Tsarkovian. The inhabitants of the Vermion villages originally came from Moskhopoli, Samarina, Avdela, and Frashëri, and settled here after 1770 to avoid persecution by Ali Pasha. In 1889, there were four thousand Vlachs on Vermion: two thousand lived in Ano Seli, one thousand in Kato Seli, and the rest in the

72. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 46: «...and in Shatishta and Kozhani in which two latter towns the hellenized Vlachs form the strongest part of the Greek population».

other six villages.⁷³ As for the provenance of the inhabitants of each of the villages, the Vlachs of Ano Seli were from Samarina and Avdela in the Pindos, while those of Kato Seli were from Frashëri in northern Epiros. The inhabitants of the more northerly Gramatikova were also Albanian Vlachs.⁷⁴

This ethnological survey shows that the whole of the population of Vermion was of non-Greek origin. It was also a large population, if one considers the fact that in the same period nearby Veria had only 6,500 inhabitants, of whom five hundred were Aromunian Vlachs and 2,500 were Greeks.⁷⁵

Moving southwards, we come to Olympus, which was the home of the Olympus group of Vlachs. Purely Vlach villages were Livadi, Milea, Fteri, and Kokkinoplos, whose inhabitants had settled on Olympus long ago and not maintained contact with the main body of the Pindos Vlachs. In 1895, the population of the Vlach villages on Olympus numbered 4,833, of whom three thousand lived in Livadi.⁷⁶ Livadi had once had eight thousand inhabitants and been the biggest centre in the area. It produced many merchants and fighters for Greek liberation, the latter including Yeoryios Olimbios, an eighteenth-century *armatolos* from Fteri.⁷⁷ The

73. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 287: «3) Gruppe der Dörfer des Neagus-Gebirges westlich von Verria: Xerolivadhi auf dem Doxaberger (150 Nufus)

* Doljani (82 Nufus)	250
* Selja a, 400 Familien b, 200 Familien der Farserioten	3000
* Voladha (41 Nufus)	120
* Kastanja (64 Nufus)	200
* Marusa (121 Nufus)	400
* Tsarkovean (41 Nufus)	120».

74. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 212: «The only other Vlach village in these hills is Gramatikova which is a Farsherot settlement».

75. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 219: «Was die Bevölkerung von Verria betrifft, so besteht diese zu fast gleichen Teilen aus Griechen und Türken und zwar je 2500 Seelen von beiden Nationalitäten. Dazu kommen etwa 100 Familien Juden und ebenso viele Bulgaren und Aromunen».

76. Philipson, A., (1950), *Die Griechischen Landschaften*, σελ. 90: «Vier Dörfer (außer dem seit Jahrzehnten eingegangenen Neochóni) sind fast ausschließlich von ihnen bewohnt, in der Reihe von N nach S: Miliá auf der Ostseite des Gebirges nördlich des Mavronéri (1920: 545, 1928: 612 Einw.), Phtéri (1920: ?, 1928: 214 Einw.), Livádi (2985 bzw. 2388 Einw.) und Kokkinoplós (1349 bzw. 1619 Einw.), zusammen 1928: 4833 Einw.».

77. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 211: «Georgios Olympios, eines Aromunen aus Fteri, von den Türken Vlach-Bey genannt, eines Andrutsu und dessen Sohnes Odysseus aus Vlach-Livadhon».

inhabitants of Livadi migrated chiefly to Servia and Katerini, which explains why the population fell from eight thousand to three thousand.

Thessaloniki – Paiko (Karadjova)

Leaving the Olympus area, we now come to Thessaloniki, which was always one of the Aromunian Vlachs' favoured destinations. Thessaloniki had always had a very large Vlach population. Even at the end of the fifteenth century, Vlachs from the Agrafa and the Aheloös are mentioned in Thessaloniki and Asvestohori; while in 1605, half of the city's Christian population was of Vlach origin.⁷⁸ There was a mass influx after 1770, mainly of Vlachs from Moskhopoli in northern Epiros, but also from



Map 18: The Karadjova Vlachs of Paiko

78. Σακελαρίου, Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), *Μακεδονία, 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, σελ. 355: «Βλαχόφωνοι από τὰ Ἀγραφα καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷο ἐγκαταστάθηκαν στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ γύρω ἀπὸ αὐτήν. Τὸ 1605 ἀποτελοῦσαν τὸ μισό τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλης».

Livadi on Olympus and Vlahoklissoura near Kastoria. Even today there are five thousand Thessalonians whose distant roots lie in Vlahoklissoura. Weigand reports that in 1889 a large number of Hellenised Vlachs in Thessaloniki lived in the Ayia Fotini, Ayos Nikolaos, and Ayos Athanassios districts.⁷⁹

A considerable proportion of the Vlachs from Moskhopoli and Monastir settled in Sofia, where they live to this day, completely Bulgarianised and involved mainly in trade. There are thousands of Vlach names in Thessaloniki and Sofia, which underline once again the common origin of many of the modern inhabitants of both cities, who, though completely divided into Greeks and Bulgarians, have not only relations but also common ancestors from Monastir and Moskhopoli.

Leaving Thessaloniki and following the Axios, we come to Idomeni (Sehovo) on the Greek-Macedonian border. The town stands at the foot of Mount Païko, which is the home of the Turko-Mongolian Karadjovalides, Vlachs who used to call themselves Vlaski or Vlaskides. Apart from the Aromunian Vlachs of Megalo Livadi, all the inhabitants of Païko are Vlaski.

As mentioned earlier, at the Battle of the Maritsa in 1091 Alexius Comnenus captured large numbers of Petchenegs, some of whom he settled in Moglena, now Karadjova, on Païko. This is why the captives were referred to as 'Moglena Vlachs'.⁸⁰ The Petchenegs were termed 'Vlachs' because they spoke the Daco-Romanian dialect they had learnt in Romania, a dialect that is incomprehensible to the Aromunian Vlachs of Livadi. By 1898, the Hellenised descendants of Alexius's Petcheneg prisoners numbered 14,000 and lived in the villages of Nonte (Notia), Osin (Arhangelos), Lountsi (Lagadia), Lounnitsa (Skra), Borislav (Periklia),

79. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 222: "...doch kann man in den Bezirken St. Nikola, St. Athanas und St. Theodor noch genug aromunisch sprechen hören".

80. Κατσουγιάννη, Τ. Μ., (1964), *Περὶ των Βλάχων των ελληνικῶν χωρῶν*, σελ. 35: «Εἶναι γνωστὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ὅτι οἱ Μογλενῖται Βλάχοι εἶναι ἀπόγονοι τῶν Πατινῶν φυλῆς τουρκικῆς... Ὁ Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνὸς ἐκστρατεύσας κατετρόπωσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μάχην τοῦ Λεβουνίου (1091 μ.Χ.). Μετὰ τριάκοντα δὲ περίπου ἔτη (1122 μ.Χ.) ἀποστατήσαντας ὁ Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς κατενίκησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μάχην τῆς Βεροίας καὶ τοὺς ὑπεδούλωσεν. Τότε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπέτρεψε τὴν ἐγκατάστασιν των εἰς τὸ θέμα τῶν Μογλενῶν, ὑπολογίζων ἀσφαλῶς διὰ τούτου εἰς τὴν ἐξυπηρέτησιν στρατιωτικῶν ἀναγκῶν ἢ ἀναγκῶν γεωργίας. Ἐκτοτε παραμένουν εἰς τὰς παλαιὰς ἐγκαταστάσεις των μέχρι τῶν τελευταίων χρόνων...».

Koupa, Tsernareka, Tsouma, Marovitsa, Sirminina, and Koinsko.⁸¹ The last two villages are on the Macedonian side of Païko; and the completely Slavonicised villages of Kornitselovo and Krova are also mentioned in other literary sources as 'Mogleno-Vlach' villages.⁸²

All the Païko Petchenegs became Christians, apart from the inhabitants of Nonte, who were Moslems. The conversion of the Vlachs of Nonte to Islam occurred in about 1750 in a rather dramatic way. It was Holy Week and Turkish soldiers had surrounded the village church. During the liturgy, the bishop emerged from the church and, instead of continuing the liturgy, pronounced a Moslem blessing upon the unsuspecting congregation, thus announcing his intention to become a Moslem. The bishop became the local pasha and the newly converted Moslems of Nonte became the terror of their Christian compatriots. In 1892, the Moslem inhabitants of Nonte numbered 3,900, and in 1924 they all left for Turkey under the terms of the exchange of populations.

Apart from the Nonte 'Turks', the completely Slavonicised inhabitants of Koinsko and Sirminina, in Macedonian territory, were also Petchenegs. And there were colonies of Bulgarianised Petchenegs around Sofia.⁸³

81. Jirecek, C., (1893), *Review of G. Weigands Vlach-Meglen Eine ethnografische philologische Untersuchung*, σελ. 94: «Im Quellgebiet der Meglenica bewohnen mohammedanische Wlachen, meist Ackerbauer und Töpfer, den Hauptort Nonte (Notje) mit ungefähr 3900 E., und christliche die Ortschaften Borislav, Lunsj oder Lugunsi und Osin. Andere christliche Wlachen, Gebirges gegen den Fluss Vardar zu, in den Orten Ljumnica (Hauptort, an 3000 E.), Sirminina, Huma, Kupa und Crnareka; Koinsko (Konica) am Nordende des Gebietes beginnt bulgarisirt zu werden und in Barovica am Südende sprechen nur mehr ältere Leute wlachisch!). Es sind im Ganzen 11 Ortschaften mit ungefähr 14.000 Einw.».

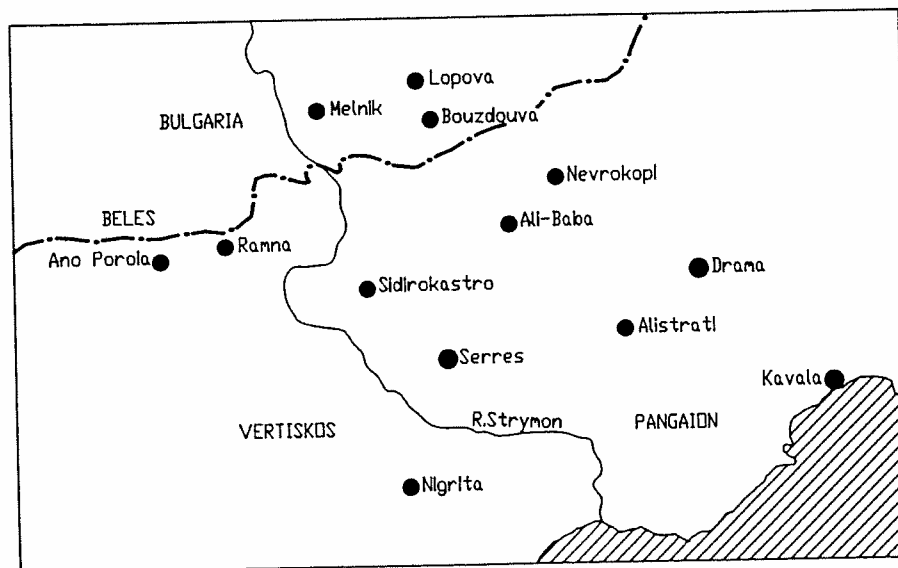
82. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεώτερη ιστορία της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 56: «Οι βλαχόφωνοι κάτοικοι της Καρατζόβας ασχολούνταν με τη γεωργία και ζούσαν στα χωριά της περιοχής Λούγουντσα (Λαγκάδια), Μπερίσλαβ (Περίκλεια), Κοντσικό (Γαλατινή), Χούμα, Κούπα, Όσσιανη (Αρχάγγελιοι), Λούμνιτσα (Σκρα) και Σερμενίν. Βλαχόφωνη ήταν και η μουσουλμανική κωμόπολη Νότια με 900 περίπου οικογένειες εξισλαμισμένες στα 1759 καθώς και η γειτονική Φούστανη... Στην Καρατζόβα η βλαχική είχε δεχθεί περισσότερες επιδράσεις από τη βουλγαρική, ώστε ολόκληρα χωριά, όπως το Κορνιτσέ-λοβο, η Κρόβα και η Τσέρνα Ρέκα είχαν τελείως εκσλαβιστεί».

83. Jirecek, C., (1893), *Review of G. Weigands Vlach-Meglen, Eine ethnografische - philologische Untersuchung*, σελ. 98: «Ebenso haben sich andere Petschenegcolonisten bei Sofia slavisiert».

This review, once again, shows the close blood ties between certain segments of the modern Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek, and Turkish peoples. The names Patsinakidis and Petsinakis in Greece, Petchenek in Turkey, and Petchenikov and Petchenyakov in Bulgaria help to confirm this.

Serres and Drama

Large numbers of Aromunian Vlachs settled both in Serres and in the surrounding district. So great, indeed, was the influx of Vlachs into the town that in 1878 the majority of the population was Vlach or Slavonic-speaking, though their precise ethnic identity is not specified.⁸⁴



Map 19: The Vlach settlements around Serres

84. Vercovic, S. J., (1887), Statistische - ethnografische Daten des Sandschaks - Seres, σελ. 305: «In der Stadt Seres war es nicht möglich, die Nationalitäten genau zu sondern, ...die überwiegende Mehrheit den Bulgaren und Walacho-Zinzaren angehört, ...».

Moving out of Serres town, we find numerous Vlachs in the northern part of the prefecture: 500 in Sidirokastro, 800 in Ano Poroia, 325 in Ramna (Omalo), and 200 in Ali-Baba.⁸⁵

Large numbers of Vlachs are also mentioned in the Bulgarian part of the Serres area. In 1912, the Bulgarian villages of Lopova and Bouzdouva had a total population of 1,500 Vlachs, who were completely Bulgarianised. There were also one thousand Vlachs from Vovoussa in the Pindos living in Djoumaya in the Bulgarian sector, likewise completely Bulgarianised;⁸⁶ and also an unspecified number of Vlachs at Melnik (Meleniko).

Returning to the Greek sector, we find five hundred Vlachs living in Nigrita, five hundred in Alistrati, and an unspecified number in Nevrokopi.

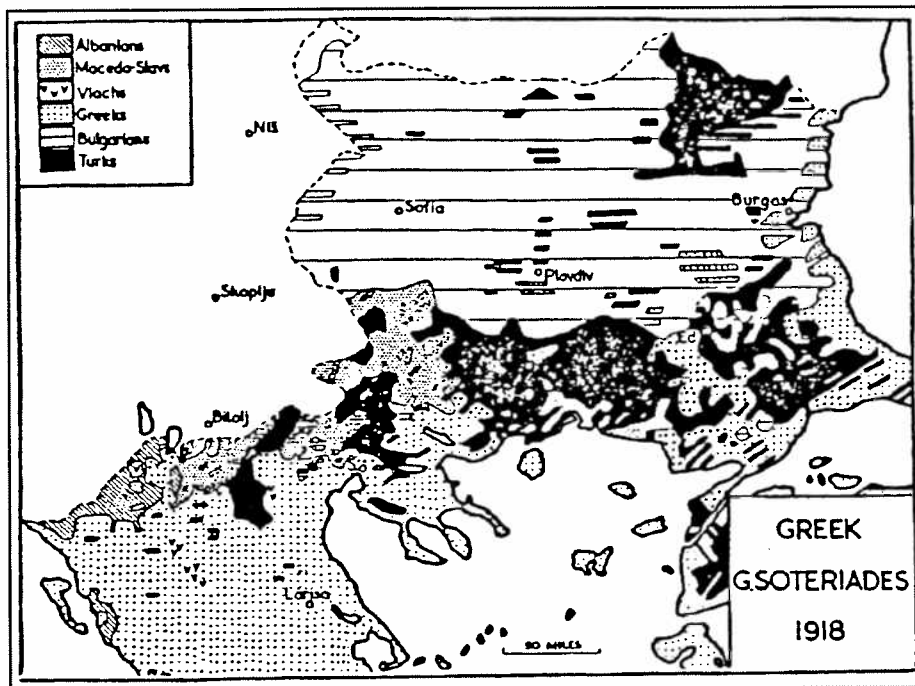
The ethnic composition of Macedonia in the nineteenth century

An ethnological study of Macedonia in the nineteenth century is of purely historical interest, because, following the arrival in Greek Macedonia of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Asia Minor and the thorough Hellenisation of many of the ethnic groups in the region, over 90 per cent of the present population has completely identified with Greek culture — a widespread phenomenon both in Bulgaria and in the Republic of Macedonia.

Our ethnological analysis of Macedonia will be based on the information given in the previous chapters and on the ethnological maps of G. Sotiriadis and J. Cvijic.

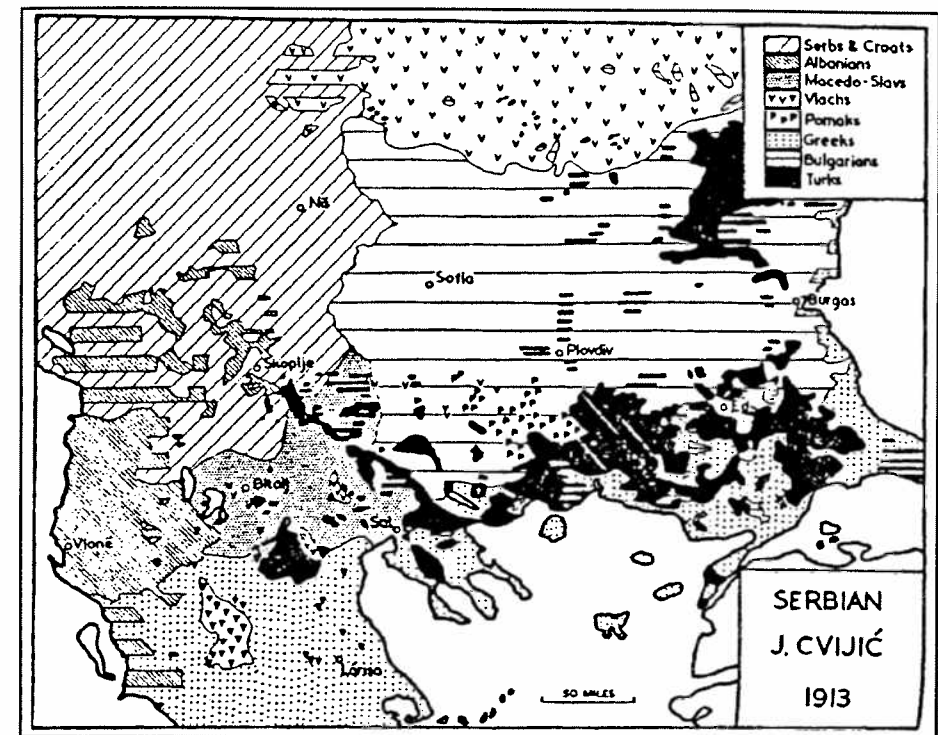
85. Weigand, G., (1895), *Die Aromunen, Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 231: «...Sie stammen ebenso wie die in Demir-Hissar, wo man etwa 500 Köpfe zählt, und in Nigrita mit gleicher Zahl aus den westlichen Pindusdörfern».

86. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 198: «... at Dzhumaia which has three hundred families from Baicasa, Poroi, Nigrita, Melenik, Nevrekop and at Peshtera on Rhodope».



Map 20: The ethnological map drawn by Sotiriadis

The credibility of the map drawn by Professor Sotiriadis of Athens University cannot be disputed, because it is the official map used by Eleftherios Venizelos's government in international negotiations. The map drawn by Professor Cvijic of Belgrade University, a scholar of international repute, reflects the views expressed in most of the European literature. One notable inconsistency on Cvijic's part is that, probably for political reasons, he presents the Slavonic-speakers in the prefecture of Serres and in the Bulgarian sector of Macedonia as 'Bulgarians'. Sotiriadis's map reveals similar inconsistency, likewise politically motivated.

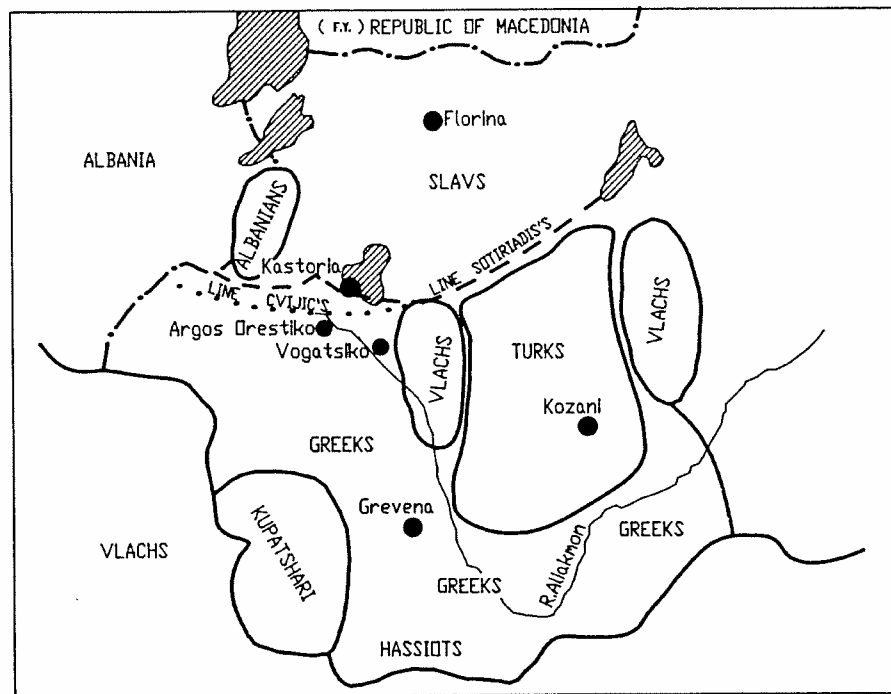


Map 21: The ethnological map drawn by Cvijic

The Grevena area

On all the ethnological maps of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of the Grevena area are described as being of Greek origin. They were Greek-speakers, certainly, and had identified with Greek culture; but their Greek origin is a matter of some doubt. Serious evidence of their non-Greek origin is furnished by the Athenian bishop Bardanes, who in 1210 elected to go to the see of Grevena, on the grounds that the local people did not speak Greek and were uncivilised.⁸⁷ Bardanes preferred to go and preach the gospel in a rugged, non-Greek-speaking region, just as missionaries do today.

87. Vacalopoulos, A., (1970), *Origins of the Greek Nation 1204-1461*, σελ. 32: «He preferred the more challenging apostolate in Grevena among a people who were predominantly uncivilized and spoke a foreign language».



Map 22: The ethnological map of western Macedonia

There is no mention anywhere in the literature of a mass migration of Greeks to the barren, mountainous area of Grevena in the centuries that followed. It would have been demographically absurd, anyway, because peacetime migrations are always from barren areas to fertile plains and cities.

A closer look at the ethnic composition of the Grevena area reveals that the low foothills of the Pindos, directly opposite the town of Grevena, were inhabited by the Greek-speaking Kupatshari, who were not of Greek but of Vlach origin. The Greek-speaking Kupatshari, who are referred to as 'Greeks', were not Hellenised until after 1770.

Further north of the Kupatshari lived 12,000 Vlach-Turkish Valahades, who spoke Greek until 1924, when they left for Turkey. They were Islamicised Vlachs, who had previously, together with the Kupatshari, embraced Greek culture by way of religion. Religion played a major role in the process of Hellenisation, for church services were always conducted in

Greek, the Patriarchate of Constantinople forbade the use of Vlach in church, and the religious texts were written exclusively in Greek.

Moving towards the eastern part of the Grevena area, we meet the Vlachs of the Vlahoklissoura group, who lived in Vlahoklissoura, Vlatsi, Sissani, and Siatista. These Vlachs abandoned the nomadic life very early on and embraced Greek culture to the point where many modern natives of Siatista have no idea of their Vlach origins.

The rest of the inhabitants of the *kaza*, or district, of Grevena were Greeks. In 1895, it had about 37,500 inhabitants, of whom 12,500 were Vlachs, 10,000 Turks, and 15,000 Greeks.⁸⁸ As far as the Greeks of Grevena are concerned, most of them were Kupatshari and Hassiots.⁸⁹ The ethnic origin of the Kupatshari is well known; that of the Hassiots, however, has not been scientifically established. They always spoke Greek, worked as bondsmen on Turkish estates, and their cultural level was particularly low. Weigand maintains that the Hassiots were of Vlach origin, though no other writer has confirmed this.

As for the Grevena Turks, they included, apart from the Valahades, some of the Turkish inhabitants of the town of Grevena, who had come from Lala in the Peloponnese. The Laliots had settled in the area in 1837.⁹⁰ They were not in fact Turks, but Albanians, led by Ali Farmaki, who was closely related to the celebrated freedom fighter Theodoros Kolokotronis.⁹¹

The foregoing review has shown that a very large segment of the Greeks of the Grevena area were not of Greek origin and almost all the Turks were not of Turkish origin.

88. Weigand, G., (1895). *Die Aromunen, Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung*, σελ. 130: «Der ganze Kasar (Bezirk) zählt 15.000 Griechen, 12.500 Aromunen und 10.000 Muhamedaner. (Türken und Albanesen)*».

* Von den Griechen sind die allermeisten, wenn nicht alle, sogenannte "Kopatsar" d.h. Aromunen, ... Von einer ganzen Anzahl von Dörfern weiß man bestimmt, daß sie früher ar. waren, ... wie z. B. in Lavda, Lipinitza, Schárganlji, Kipurjó, Vudinisko u. a. m.».

89. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 29: «The christians consist of Greek from the Hashiot and Kupatshar villages, and Vlachs».

90. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans* σελ. 28: «After the freedom of Greece Turks from Lala in the Peloponnese unable to live under a christian government came and settled in Ghrevena and occupied the centre of the town».

91. Λαμπρινίδης, Μ. Γ., (1907), *Οι Αλβανοί κατά την κυρίως Ελλάδα και την Πελοπόννησο*, 'Υδρα - Σπέτσας, σελ. 84: «...τοῦ Θεοδώρου Κολοκοτρώνη, ὡς ἀντιπροσώπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀρματολῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐκ Λάλα Τουρκαλβανοῦ φυλάρχου Ἀλῆ-Φαρμάκη, στενῶτατα συνδεομένου μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἥρωος δι' ἀρχαίων οἰκογενειακῶν δεσμῶν».

The Kastoria area

We leave the Grevena area and come to the Vogatsiko–Argos Orestiko line and from there enter the Kastoria area.

A better understanding of the origins of the local populations will perhaps be assisted by a brief review of the ethnic make-up of the inhabitants of Macedonia during the period of Turkish rule.

As a multiethnic state, the Ottoman Empire, unlike the Byzantine Empire, showed considerable religious tolerance towards its subjects, dividing them into *millets* along ethno-religious lines. There were four *millets* in all: the *millet* of the Moslems, the Jews, the Armenians, and the Orthodox Christians or *Romii* (i.e. *Romaei*).

The Orthodox Christians of Turkish Macedonia, the so-called *Romii*, included the Greek-speaking, the Slavonic-speaking, the Albanian-speaking, the Vlach-speaking, and the Turkish-speaking Christians, none of whom had a distinct national consciousness as we understand the term today.

As we know, the Greek-speaking Macedonians lived exclusively in Halkidiki, the Grevena area, the southern part of the Serres area, and the Katerini area (known as the *Rumluki*).

For several centuries, the Patriarchate of Constantinople defined all Orthodox Christians as *Romii*, regardless of their mother tongue. The subsequent identification of *Romios* with 'Greek' meant that the Patriarchate lost its oecumenical aspect and became an essentially insignificant Greek church.

By contrast, the Vatican in Rome continued to use Latin, refusing to identify itself culturally with the Italian nation, and thus preserved its oecumenical appeal. This is symbolically reflected in the fact that the present Pope is a Pole, which would be absolutely inconceivable for the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the French Revolution acted as the ideological trigger for the emergence of national movements everywhere, particularly in those parts of Europe that were under the governance of multiethnic empires with a theocratic feudal system.

In the Ottoman Empire, the first national identity consciously to emerge was Greek, and this happened outside mainland Greece. Greek national consciousness was created first and foremost in Constantinople, in

Smyrna, and in other cities of the diaspora, such as Odessa and Alexandria. The vehicles of this modern Greek national consciousness were intellectual *Romii*, scions of the emerging bourgeoisie, who were beginning to feel like Greeks. It is no accident that the *Filiki Etaireia* was founded in Odessa in Russia and that the first armed uprising against the Ottomans took place at Dragatsani in Romania, led by the young intellectuals of the Sacred Company.

As regards the birth of Bulgarian national consciousness, the catalyst was the work and activities of the Athonite monk Païsy Velitchkovsky. This intellectual monk was the first Bulgarian at the time of the national enlightenment, which coincided with the French Revolution, to start teaching the Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of modern Bulgaria not to be ashamed of feeling like Bulgarians and to resist being Hellenised.

Emulating the ethnological ploys used by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Bulgarians defined any Slavonic-speaking inhabitant of Macedonia as Bulgarian. They were forgetting, however, that the modern Bulgarian language was introduced into Bulgaria in the time of Tsar Boris and was simply the Slavonic dialect spoken in and around Thessaloniki, into which Cyril and Methodius translated the Scriptures with the intention of converting the Slavs of Moravia to Christianity. Until then the Bulgars had spoken a form of Turkish, because Asparuch's Protobulgarians were of Turco-Mongolian origin.

The creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 was a landmark event in the ethnic differentiation of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians. It led in 1880 to the founding of the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki, which became an intellectual nucleus that produced the intelligentsia of a whole generation, the shapers and propagators of Bulgarian national consciousness. Some of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians later cast off their newly adopted Bulgarian national consciousness, exchanging it for the rival Macedonian national consciousness.

The Slavonic-speaking Macedonians' confused consciousness was given a voice in 1893 by the creation in Thessaloniki of IMRO (the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation), which was made up mainly of students and alumni of the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki of a socialist or anarchist persuasion. IMRO was counterbalanced by the Verhovists' *Komitato* (the Supreme Macedonian Committee). The *Komitato* was established in 1895 in Sofia and was controlled by the

Bulgarian government, its aims and principles being purely nationalist and much the same as those of similar Greek organisations.

As a result of this cultural confusion, the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians divided into three conflicting factions: Patriarchists with Greek national consciousness, Exarchists with Bulgarian national consciousness, and Exarchists with Macedonian national consciousness.

During the civil war that broke out in Macedonia in 1904, in the Kastoria area, and indeed all over Macedonia, all sides sought by violent means to win over the national consciousness of the adherents of the rival factions, despite the fact that even today all nationalist propaganda attempts to convince itself that the people of Macedonia opted for their chosen culture of their own free will.

The barbarity with which each faction dealt with its rivals was unprecedented. The exploits of the Greek side at least are described by the Metropolitan of Kastoria, Yermanos Karavangelis himself, in his memoirs, in a manner that is more appropriate to the Dark Ages than to a man of God. He cynically describes how he wrecked the Bulgarian high school in Kastoria with his own hands, and follows this with: 'Then we killed the director general of the Bulgarian Committee for Kastoria and Florina, Lazo Trajkov . . . they cut off his head and brought it to the Cathedral.'⁹²

In the early twentieth century, the nationalist rivalry between these three Slavonic-speaking cultural factions in Macedonia, who were joined by the Greek-speaking, the Albanian-speaking, and the Vlach-speaking Macedonians, took on particularly inhuman forms that cost thousands of lives. Hundreds of thousands of people became refugees, caught up in a maelstrom of murder, persecution, and population exchanges, whether compulsory or otherwise.

92. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα. Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 52:

Τώρα όμως μετά τη Βουλγαρική Επανάσταση επωρελήθηκα της οργής των Τούρκων, μπήκα μέσα στο γυμνάσιο και σκόρπισα ό,τι βρήκα. Έπιπλα, σκεύη, θρανία, όργανα διδασκαλίας, χάρτες, βιβλιοθήκες, εικόνες του εξάρχου Ιωσήφ. Τέτοια ήταν η καταστροφή που από τότε το σχολείο αυτό δεν ξανάνοιξε ποτέ. Μα και τα σχολεία της υπαίθρου χώρας τους τα έκαψαν.

Τότε σκοτώσαμε και το γενικό διευθυντή του Βουλγαρικού Κομιτάτου της Καστοριάς και Φλώρινας Λάζο Παπά Τράϊκοφ..... είχε πάει κάπου εκεί σ' ένα βουνό να νοσηλευθή. Στο βουνό όμως τον βρήκαν τρεις Ζελοβίτες (το Ζέλοβο ήταν η ακρόπολις του Ελληνισμού στα Κορέστια και η έδρα του Κώτα), ο Ναούμ, ο Τράϊκος κι ο Παύλος Κύρου, που αναδείχθηκε έπειτα σε οπλαρχηγό, του έκοψαν το κεφάλι και το έφεραν στη Μητρόπολι.

It hardly needs saying that none of the minorities were consulted about their future. The decisions were all taken in the propaganda centres of Athens, Constantinople, and Sofia.

Even during a later period of nationalist arrogance, when the Great Idea was the be-all and end-all — when the militarily reckless campaign to occupy Ankara took place in 1922, despite the terrible difficulty of keeping the Greek troops supplied and in defiance of the Great Powers' wishes — the fate of the Greeks of Asia Minor was a classic example of decision-taking in the absence of those concerned.

There is a myth that has been cultivated for decades now, to the effect that it was the Turks who requested and then insisted that the Greeks of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the Black Sea should become homeless refugees. But a book by Konstandinos Svolopoulos, published by the Society for Macedonian Studies, clearly shows that it was not the Turkish but the Greek government that officially tabled the compulsory exchange of refugees, without consulting any of the people whose lives, property, and future were at stake.⁹³ In the Kastoria area, as everywhere else in Macedonia, the grip of nationalism was such that even the savage murders of innocent villagers during the Macedonian Struggle were committed with equal zeal by all three factions and even today are regarded as acts of 'pure patriotism'.

Each faction made use of the factors that suited it as far as Macedonia was concerned. The factor of race never made a particularly popular ideology, because the staff of the propaganda centres who knew anything about history knew full well that the theory of the historical continuity of the Greek or the Bulgarian race was no more than a propaganda myth. Both the Protobulgarian and the ancient Greek race have essentially vanished, consisting in their present form of a mosaic of dozens of races. These are mainly the descendants of various invaders, but also of

93. Σβολόπουλος, Κ., (1981), *Η απόφαση για την υποχρεωτική ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών μεταξύ Ελλάδος και Τουρκίας*, σελ. 26: 'Όταν, στη Λωζάννη, στις αρχές Δεκεμβρίου του 1922 τα μέλη της Συνδιασκέψεως εγκαινίαζαν τις διαβουλεύσεις τους γύρω από το επίμαχο θέμα της τύχης των προσφύγων, οι θέσεις των αμεσότερα ενδιαφερομένων κυβερνήσεων ήταν ήδη βασικά διαμορφωμένες. Η Ελλάδα είχε επίσημα εισηγηθεί τη λύση της ανταλλαγής, ενώ η Τουρκία, πέρα από την προγενέστερα εκφρασμένη πρόθεσή της....

Αλλ' επιπρόσθετα, η απόφαση για την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών προσλαμβάνει και μια δραματική διάσταση στο μέτρο που η τελική λήψη της υπαγορεύτηκε κάτω από την πίεση της ελληνικής κυβερνήσεως.

primeval inhabitants of the Balkans, such as the Thracians (the Vlachs) and the Illyrians (the Albanians). In some areas, indeed, these racial mosaics are absolutely identical from an ethnogenetic point of view.

The prevailing historiography of Greece and Bulgaria attempts to demonstrate that there is no such thing as Macedonian national consciousness, arguing that it is an artificial fabrication dating from only a hundred years ago. Theoretically, this is correct; the point is that both the modern Bulgarian and the modern Greek national consciousness are equally artificial and date from slightly more than two hundred years ago.

I have been trying to show that, two hundred years ago, the great majority of the ancestors of the present-day Greeks neither spoke Greek nor had Greek national consciousness — without in any way calling into question the Greek national consciousness of the modern Greeks. By the same token, the consciousness or national identity of other peoples, such as the Macedonians, also cannot be called into question.

In this day and age, the cultural identity or even the national consciousness of any individual cannot be imposed by the majority; in accordance with the right to self-determination, it must be defined by the individual concerned — who must, in turn, respect the laws and the borders of the country in which s/he lives.

The study which follows is not intended to define the national consciousness of the modern inhabitants of Greek Macedonia: its purpose is to present the existing historical data without any propagandist slant, in an effort to develop mutual understanding and respect between individuals who believe themselves to belong to different cultures or nations.

The southern and south-western part of the Kastoria area

We must start our study of the ethnic origins of the population of the Kastoria area by pointing out that, according to almost all the ethnologists of the nineteenth century, there was not a single Greek-speaking village north of the Vogatsiko–Argos Orestiko line.

This is confirmed by Sotiriadis, who places the dividing line between the Slavonic-speaking and Greek-speaking zones approximately level with

the Vogatsiko–Argos Orestiko line. According to him, north of this line dwelt Slavonic-speaking populations, interspersed with Albanian and Greek enclaves. This is confirmed by Cvijic and by almost all the European literature.⁹⁴

The Greek enclaves were undoubtedly made up of Hellenised populations of Vlach, Slavonic, and Albanian origin, as has recently been confirmed by Merdzos, who asserts that in 1892 the Greek government cut off subsidies to forty-four villages in the province of Kastoria, twenty-six of which were Slavonic-speaking and eleven Albanian-speaking.⁹⁵

With regard to the mother tongue and the number of the inhabitants in the villages of the Kastoria area in 1900, Kantchev's information is universally considered to be the most accurate.⁹⁶ More specifically, he describes the following villages in the area south and south-west of the lake of Kastoria as Slavonic-speaking: Doupyak (mod. Dispilio), Zdraltsi (mod. Ambelokipi), Shkrapari (mod. Asproneri), Bela Tserkva (mod. Asproklissia), Osnitchani (mod. Kastanofito), Gosno (mod. Lahanokipi), Psophori (mod. Ipsilo), Staritchani (mod. Lakkomata), Ludovo (mod. Kria Nera), Galishta (mod. Omorfoklissia), Radigozhe (mod. Ayia Anna), Zhouzheltsi (mod. Spilaia), Doleni (mod. Zevgostassi), Dranitchi (mod. Kranohori), Gratche (mod. Ftelia), Stensko (mod. Stena), Nestram (mod. Nestorio), and Ezerets (mod. Petropoulaki) (see Map 23).

Modern Greek writers have produced extensive studies confirming Kantchev's information.⁹⁷

Later Greek statistics dating from 1912 that mention 19 per cent Slavs in the prefecture of Kastoria⁹⁸ have nothing to with ethnology, for they were compiled solely on the basis of political criteria — which is to say, they are inaccurate.

94. Wilkinson, H. R., (1951), *Maps and politics. Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia*, σελ. 36, 44, 50, 80, 130, 140, 174, 196, 199, 220, 224, 282, 244.

95. Μέρτζος, Ν. Ι., (1986), *Εμείς οι Μακεδόνες*, σελ. 111: «Τέσσερα χρόνια αργότερα, το 1892, διακόπτεται εξίσου αιφνιδιακτικά η κρατική επιχορήγηση προς 44 χωριά της επαρχίας Καστοριάς. Από αυτά τα 26 ήσαν σλαβόφωνοι και τα 11 αρβανιτόφωνοι».

96. Κάντσεφ, Β., (1900), *Μακεδονία Εθνογραφία και Στατιστική*, Σόφια, (Επανεκδοση 1970).

97. Λιθοξόου, Δ., (1992), *Η μητρική γλώσσα των κατοίκων της Μακεδονίας προ και μετά την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών*.

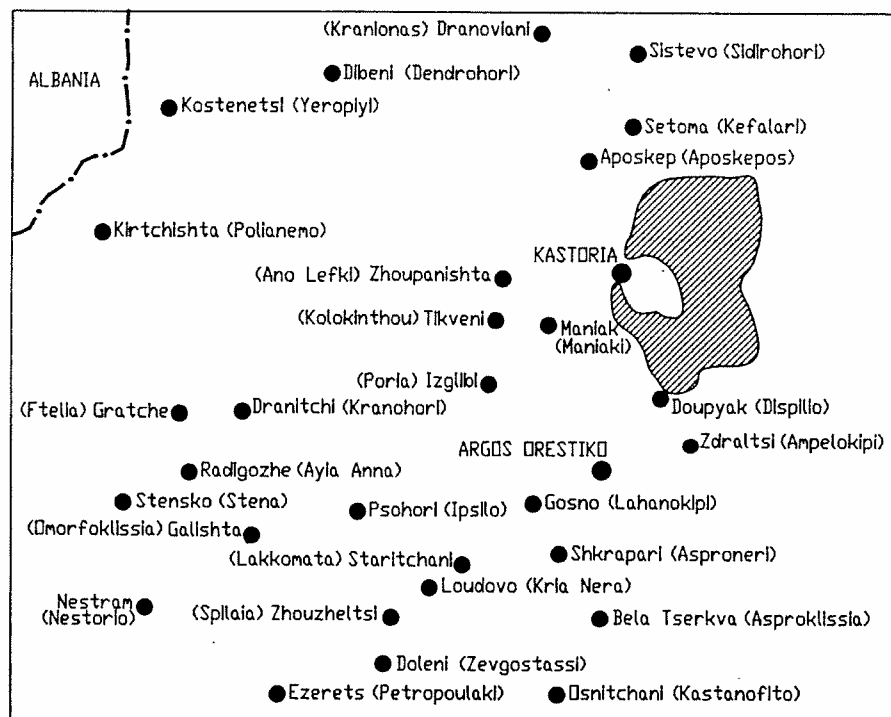
98. Pentzopoulos, D., (1962), *The Balkan exchange of minorities and its impact upon Greece*, σελ. 137.

Table 2

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the western part of Kastoria prefecture

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Aposkep (Aposkepos)	0 + 740	465	360	0
Bela Tserkva, Bela Tsrkva (Asproklissia)	—	257	273	0
Dibeni, D'mbeni (Dendrochori)	0 + 1,650	1,207	885	11
Doleni, Doliani (Zevgostassi)	0 + 224	—	207	0
Doupyak, Doupaki (Dispilio)	0 + 480	—	263	1
Dranitchi, Drenitchevo (Kranohori)	20 + 280	301	288	17
Dranoviani, Drenoveni (Kranionas)	0 + 280	—	471	1
Ezerets (Petropoulaki)	0 + 105	209	235	0
Galishta (Omorfoklissia)	160 + 600	763	293	113 (27.9%)
Gosno (Lahanokipi)	0 + 152	121	196	0
Gratche, Grentchi (Ftelia)	0 + 195	318	301	32
Izglibi, Izglibe (Poria)	0 + 168	218	206	0
Kirtchishta, Krtchishta (Polianemo)	30 + 385	—	248	1
Kostenetsi, Kosinets (Yeropiyi)	0 + 1,360	1,021	451	50 (10%)
Ludovo, Lutovo (Kria Nera)	0 + 168	—	81	1
Maniak (Maniaki)	0 + 128	178	110	2

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Nestram, Nestrami (Nestorio)	0 + 2,700	2,731	1,880	8
Osnitchani (Kastanofito)	0 + 840	354	249	0
Psohori, Psora (Ipsilo)	0 + 84	108	121	0
Radigozhe (Ayia Anna)	0 + 85	137	129	0
Setoma, Sestoma (Kefalari)	150 + 190	408	290	81 (22%)
Shkrapari (Asproneri)	0 + 90	46	47	0
Sistevo, Sesteovo (Sidirochori)	0 + 390	—	628	0
Staritchani (Lakkomata)	0 + 350	340	290	0
Stensko (Stena)	0 + 126	145	148	0
Tikveni (Kolokinthou)	0 + 190	207	219	1
Zdraltsi (Ambelokipi)	—	246	345	0
Zhoupanishta (Ano Lefki)	0 + 630	557	471	0
Zhouzheltsi (Spilaia)	0 + 560	566	240	0



Map 23: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the southern and western part of the Kastoria area in 1913

According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the inhabitants of the Slavonic-speaking village of Dranitchi/Kranohori were Exarchists.⁹⁹

A report by the Greek General Staff refers to Osnitchani/

99. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετιών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 100:

2. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

Μπλάτσι (βουλγαρικών) 650 σχισματ. βουλγαρίζοντες.

Δρανίτσι 230 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες και 25 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Ζαγοριτσάνη, 500 ορθόδοξ. Έλληνες υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν από του 1903 και 2.500 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ζέλοβον, 550 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες και 500 σχισματικοί από του 1907 ένεκα βουλγαρικής τρομοκρατίας. Η μία των Ελληνικών Εκκλησιών τω 1907 κατελήφθη υπό των Βουλγάρων, η ετέρα κατέχεται υπό των Ελλήνων.

Κουμανίτσοβον άνω, 300 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Kastanofito as an 'Exarchist village', which was attacked by Greek partisans.¹⁰⁰ The same report describes Staritchani/Lakkomata and Ezerets/Petropoulaki as 'schismatic villages',^{101, 102} meaning Slavonic-speaking and at the same time Bulgarian-minded.

Of the Slavonic-speaking villages mentioned by Kantchev, only Galishta/Omorfoklissia, according to the 1928 census, received a significant number of Asia Minor refugees (27.9 per cent of the total population), who replaced the departing Moslems. In the rest of the villages, the population was made up almost exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, for few or no refugees settled in them (Table 2).

The 1928 census also gives the precise numbers of refugees who settled in each province before 1922, though it does not specify which villages they settled in, merely including them among the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the category of 'indigenous inhabitants of Macedonia'. This drawback is of no practical significance as far as the province of Kastoria is

Ντύμπενι, 1.000 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ορμάνι, 60 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Τούρια, 325 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ίσγλιμπι, 150 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Βύσιανι, 950 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Δρανόβιανι, 577 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Σμαρδέσι, 850 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν από του 1904 και 750 σχισματικ. βουλγαρίζοντες.

Τσερνόλιστα, 100 ορθόδ. Έλληνες, υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν από του 1904 και 200 σχισματικ. βουλγαρίζοντες.

100. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 216: 134. Την 4ην Μαΐου ο Βλαχάκης έλαβε διαταγήν του Κέντρου Μοναστηρίου να προσβάλη το Εξαρχικόν χωρίον Οσνίτσανη (Καστανόφυτον).

101. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 248: Την 18ην Μαΐου προσέβαλε το σχισματικόν χωρίον Σταρίτσανη (Λακκώματα), εις το οποίον, παρά την σοβαράν ένοπλον αντίστασιν των εντός αυτού κοιμητατζήδων, επιρπόλησε τρεις οικίας. Την επομένην τμήμα του σώματός του υπό τον οπλαρχηγόν Δηληγιαννάκην εισήλθεν εις το σχισματικόν χωρίον Λουβράδες (Σκιερόν) και μετά μικράν αντίστασιν επιρπόλησε δέκα οικίας.

102. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 215: Τα σώματα Βλαχάκη και Λουκά Κόκκινου εξηκολούθησαν την από κοινού δράσιν των και την 20ήν Δεκεμβρίου προσέβαλον το σχισματικόν χωρίον Έζερετς (Πετροπουλάκη), όπου επιρπόλησαν δύο οικίας και εφόνευσαν ωρισμένους εκ των φανατικών σχισματικών. Την 1ην Ιανουαρίου 1906 πληροφορηθείς ο Βλαχάκης ότι η Τσέτα του Μήτρου Βλάχου εστρατώνιζετο εντός του Έζερετς, προσέβαλε και πάλιν το χωρίον τούτο.

concerned, because only 333 people settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster,¹⁰³ eighty-eight of them in Hroupishta (Argos Orestiko).¹⁰⁴

As I have already said, the subject of this book is not the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of these villages. Its purpose is to make a stand against the myth that the modern Greek people have no kin because they are supposedly the direct descendants of the ancient Greeks.

The nomenclature of these villagers' mother tongue is still a problem today. The 1928 census recorded 82,009 Greek-speaking inhabitants in the Florina and Kastoria area and 38,566 who spoke the 'Macedonoslavonic' language;¹⁰⁵ but in the census of 1951, the 'Macedonoslavonic' language spoken in the prefecture of Kastoria had been

103. Στατιστικά Αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής του Πληθυσμού της Ελλάδας του 1928, Τόμος I.

104. Έκθεσις περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείο Οικονομικών, Αθήνα, 1916, σελ. 27.

105. Στατιστικά Αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής του Πληθυσμού της Ελλάδας του 1928, Τόμος IV, σελ. 271:

Ζ'. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΛΩΡΙΝΑΣ	
Ελληνική	82.000
Αγγλική	25
Αθιγγανική	19
Αλβανική	340
Αρμενική	51
Ισπανική	964
Ιταλική	1
Κουτσοβλαχική	1.847
Μακεδονοσλαβική	38.566
Ρωσική	60
Τουρκική	1.797
Λοιπαί ξένοι γλώσσαι	43
Σύνολον ξενογλώσσων	43.713
ΓΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΝΟΛΟΝ	125.722

renamed 'Slavonic', and was spoken by 1,009 inhabitants.¹⁰⁶

This sort of ploy was not a matter of chance; it was part of the policy of forcible or peaceful Hellenisation of the non-Greek-speaking populations of Macedonia.

Even today, the Balkan peoples, particularly the modern Greeks, have still not worked out the difference between the 'Greek nation' or 'Greekness' — a concept that actually means something — and the 'Greek race' — which is biologically non-existent today.

The Greek people cannot really be faulted for this when Greek university professors make the same mistake. Professor Lena Divani, for instance, who teaches the History of Greek and Balkan Foreign Policy in the Law Faculty of Athens University, has written: 'To complete the picture, it must be noted that there are theories which question whether the whole of the population of Epiros is Greek.' And she goes on to cite part of the second edition of the present volume:

106. Στατιστικά αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής του Πληθυσμού της Ελλάδας του 1951, Τόμος II, σελ. 230:

Μητρική γλώσσα

5. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ	
Γενικό σύνολον	46.407
Ελληνική	44.130
Τουρκική	861
Σλαβική	1.009
Κουτσοβλαχική	301
Αλβανική	67
Πομακική	2
Αρμενική	—
Αθιγγανική	10
Ρωσική	5
Γαλλική	2
Ρουμανική	5
Αγγλική	1
Ισπανική	3
Γερμανική	1
Ιταλική	—
Εβραϊκή	10
Λοιπαί	—
Σύνολον ξενογλώσσων	2.277

According to these [theories], even the Greeks of Epiros are a mélange of Hellenised Albanians, Slavs, and Vlachs. Descendants of the ancient Greeks, if they exist at all, are to be found only on the coast.¹⁰⁷

The text she refers to quite clearly concerns 'the Greeks of Epiros', a phrase which brooks no misunderstanding whatever as regards its acceptance of the 'Greekness' of the modern population of Epirus. But the mere mention of the historically established Albanian, Vlach, and Slavonic origin of the modern Greeks of Epiros provokes the usual confusion of terms on the part of Professor Divani.

The western and north-western part of the Kastoria area

Again according to Kantchev's data, the following villages west and north-west of Lake Kastoria were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Maniaki, Zhoupanishta (mod. Ano Lefki), Tikveni (mod. Kolokinthou), Izglibi (mod. Poria), Aposkep (mod. Aposkepos), Setoma (mod. Kefalari), Sistevo (mod. Sidirohori), Dranoviani (mod. Kranionas), Dibení (mod. Dendrohori), Kostenetsi (mod. Yeropiýi), and Kirtchishta (mod. Polianemo) (see Map 23).

Modern Greek writers confirm what Kantchev says, for they describe Zhoupanishta/Ano Lefki, Aposkep/Aposkepos, and Sistevo /Sidirohori as

107. Διβάνη, Λ., (1995), *Ελλάδα και Μειονότητες*, σελ. 220: 4. Πρόκειται για απόψεις που διέτυψε ο γνωστός ελληνιστής Nicholas Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford, 1967, σελ. 24-5. Ο συγγραφέας βλέπει τον ελληνόφωνο παράγοντα —που ήταν προϊόν επιμιξίας με σλαβικά φύλα κυρίως— ως πιο καλλιεργημένο, προοδευτικό και ευέλικτο. Οι Αλβανόφωνοι, που ήταν κατά τη γνώμη του απόγονοι των Αλβανών που κατέβηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της Τουρκοκρατίας και εγκαταστάθηκαν κυρίως στα παράλια, ήταν πιο κλειστοί και οπισθοδρομικοί. Για να συμπληρωθεί η εικόνα, σημειώνουμε ότι υπάρχουν και οι θεωρίες που αμφιβάλλουν για την ελληνικότητα ολόκληρου του πληθυσμού της Ηπείρου. Σύμφωνα με αυτές ακόμα και οι Έλληνες της Ηπείρου είναι μίγμα εξελληνισμένων Αλβανών, Σλάβων και Βλάχων. Απόγονοι των αρχαίων Ελλήνων υπάρχουν, αν υπάρχουν, μόνο στα παράλια (Γ. Νακρατζάς, *Η στενή εθνολογική συγγένεια των σημερινών Ελλήνων, Βουλγάρων και Τούρκων*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1992, σελ. 26-41).

purely Bulgarian — i.e. Slavonic-speaking — villages.^{108, 109}

According to Halkiopoulou, in 1910 the inhabitants of the Slavonic-speaking villages of Dibení/Dendrohori, Orman/Kato Lefki, and Izglibi/Poria were all Exarchists.⁹⁹

In the Greek General Staff's publication, the village of Kostenetsi/Yeropiýi is described as a strong centre of Bulgarian partisans that was attacked by Greek partisans;¹¹⁰ and the Slavonic-speaking villages of Zhoupanishta/Ano Lefki, Vapsori/Pimeniko, and Aposkep/Aposkepos as Exarchist villages.¹¹¹

Of the Slavonic-speaking villages mentioned by Kantchev, according to the 1928 census a significant number of refugees settled only in Kostenetsi/Yeropiýi, making up 10 per cent of the population, and in Setoma/Kefalari, making up 22 per cent of the population and replacing the departing Moslems. The populations of the rest of the villages consisted exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, because the number of refugees was negligible (Table 2).

108. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεώτερη Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 315: Περί την (13) τρέχοντος ο στρατός ήρχισε να εξέρχεται της Καστοριάς. Τα μεν χωριά βουλγαρικά έκαψε καθώς και τα μικτά, όπου ήταν μισά βουλγαρικά, και τα άλλα ελληνικά εκαίγοντο, και τα καθαρώς ελληνικά δεν απόφευγαν την λεηλασίαν. Και από τον στρατόν και από τους Κομήτας αρκετά χρήματα εισέπραξαν τα Κομητάτα εκ των ελληνικών χωρίων. Κατά την ημέραν της αναχωρήσεώς μας εκ Καστοριάς είχαν καί τα εξής χωριά: Μόκρινα -βουλγαρικών, Πρεκοπάνια -μικτόν, Μπόμπιστα -βουλγαρικών, Ζαγορίτσανη -λίγες ελληνικές οικίες, Μπόμπηκη -μικτόν, Κερεσίντζα -μικτόν, Απόσκεπος -βουλγαρικών, Βουλγαρομπλάτσι -βουλγαρικών, Βίσηνη -βουλγαρικών, Ντύμπηνη -βουλγαρικών, Κωστενέτσι -μικτόν, Ζουπάνιστα -βουλγαρικών, Λουμπάνιστα -βουλγαρικών και το Σμαρδέσι πρότερον μικτόν.

109. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεώτερη Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 221: 3) τα καθαρά βουλγαρικά χωριά, δηλαδή, το Άνω Κουμανίτσοβο, το Τσετιρόκι, το Δρανίτσι, το Ζελίνι, η Γκάλιστα, το Ίσγκλιμπι, το Σίστεβο, το Βουλγαροβλάτσι, η Τσερνόλιστα και η Μπόμπιστα.

110. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 288: Ακολούθως απεφάσισαν να κινηθούν προς τα Κορέστια και να προσβάλουν το χωρίον Κωστενέτσι (Ιεροπηγή), το οποίον απετέλει ισχυρόν κέντρον των βουλγαρικών Τσετών.

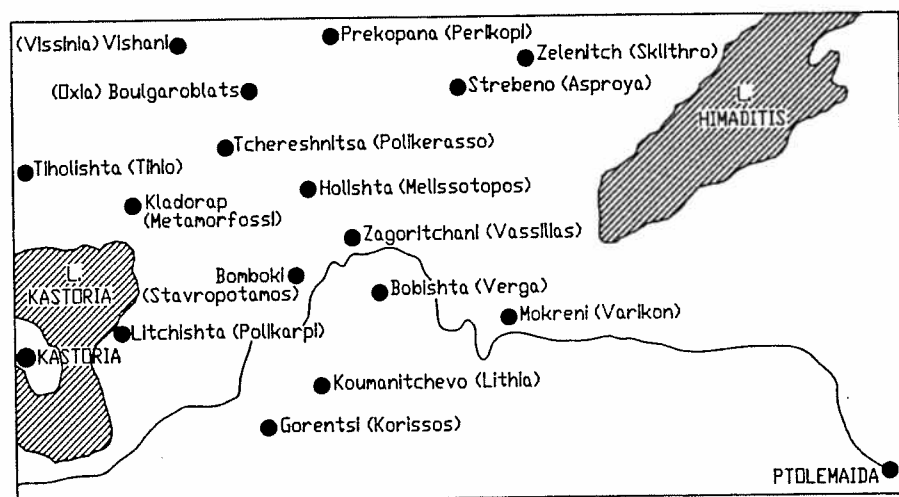
111. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 84: Εις την Δυτικήν Μακεδονίαν ησπάσθησαν το σχίσμα τα χωρία Ζουπάνιστα (Άνω Λεύκη), Βίμπελ (Μοσχοχώρι), Βερνίκι (επί Αλβανικού εδάφους), Απόσκεπος, Γκαμπρέσι (Γαύρος), Κονοπλάτη (Μακροχώρι) και Βαψόρι. Εις την Κεντρικήν Μακεδονίαν επίσης τα χωρία Γοργόπη, Μποέμισα (Αξιούπολις), Όσσανη (Αρχάγγελος), Κούπα, Χούμα, Λούγκουντσα (Λαγκάδια), Σούμποσκον (Αρδέα), Στογιάκοβον, Ματσίκον (Εύζανον), Τοσσίλοβον (Στάθη) και Γερακάρτσι (Γερακώνας).

The number of refugees who settled in the area before the Asia Minor Disaster was likewise negligible.

The eastern and north-eastern part of the Kastoria area

In the area north and east of Lake Kastoria, Kantchev lists the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Kladorap (mod. Metamorfossi), Tiholishta (mod. Tihio), Litchishta (mod. Polikarpi), Bomboki (mod. Stavropotamos), Koumanitchevo (mod. Lithia), and Gorentsi (mod. Korissos); and north-east of the lake, from south to north: Mokreni (mod. Varikon), Bobishta (mod. Verga), Zagoritchani (mod. Vassilias), Holishta (mod. Melissotopos), Tchereshnitsa (mod. Polikerasso), Boulgaroblats (mod. Oxia), Vishani (mod. Vissinia), Prekopana (mod. Perikopi), Strebeno (mod. Asproya), and Zelenitch (mod. Sklithro) (see Map 24).⁹⁶

That these villages were indeed Slavonic-speaking is confirmed by some extremely nationalistic Greek writers, who describe Boulgaroblats/Oxia, Vishani/Vissinia, Prekopana/Perikopi, Bomboki/Stavropotamos, Bobishta/



Map 24: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the eastern and north-eastern part of the Kastoria area in 1913

Table 3

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the western part of Kastoria prefecture

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Bobishta (Verga)	0 + 684	228	155	0
Bomboki, B'mboki (Stavropotamos)	0 + 260	317	—	—
Boulgaroblats, Blatcha (Oxia)	0 + 555	424	215	3
Gorentsi (Korissos)	550 + 1,800	1,731	1,216	252 (17.2%)
Holishta, Olishta (Melissotopos)	0 + 390	412	335	1
Kladorap (Metamorfossi)	0 + 190	212	232	3
Koumanitchevo (Lithia)	150 + 1,020	1,297	583	59 (9.2%)
Litchishta (Polikarpi)	120 + 270	380	390	195 (33.4%)
Mokreni (Varikon)	0 + 1,180	764	918	6
Prekopana (Perikopi)	0 + 1,100	542	423	0
Strebeno, Srebeno (Asproya)	0 + 560	693	643	0
Tchereshnitsa (Polikerasso)	0 + 520	660	328	0
Tiholishta, Tiolishta (Tihio)	0 + 500	443	697	0
Vishani, Visheni (Vissinia)	0 + 1,150	960	640	2
Zagoritchani (Vassilias)	0 + 3,300	2,320	663	72 (9.4%)
Zelenitch (Sklithro)	572 + 1,800	2,232	1,001	346 (25.7%)

Verga, Koumanitchevo/Lithia, Strebeno/Asproya, and Zelenitch/Sklithro as purely Bulgarian — i.e. Slavonic-speaking — villages.^{108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115}

Halkiopoulos reports that in 1910 the Slavonic inhabitants of Boulgaroblats/Oxia and Koumanitchevo/Lithia were exclusively Exarchists, while in the villages of Zagoritchani/Vassilias and Zelenitch/Sklithro the Exarchists made up about 75 per cent of the population.^{99, 116}

112. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 45: 13. Από το Λέχοβο πήγαμε στο Στρέμπανο, το σλαβόφωνο χωριό του Καπετάν Βαγγέλη, έπειτα στη Νέβεσκα κι από κει έγινε η εξόρμηση προς τα βουλγαροχώρια: «Πού θα πάμε τώρα;» με ρωτούν, «Στο Ζέλενιτς». «Μα είναι Βουλγαροχώρι», λέει ο Βαγγέλης. «Δεν έχει πια Βουλγάρους» του απαντώ. Εικοσιπέντε χρόνια δεν είχε μπη πατριαρχικός αρχιερέυς στο Ζέλενιτς, ένα χωριό από 350 οικογένειες.

113. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 50: Ο Χουσεΐν Χουσνή πασάς κατά παράκλησι και υπόδειξι δική μου δεν έκαψε τα μικτά χωριά ούτε τα άλλοτε ελληνικά, παρά μόνον τα καθαρά βουλγαρικά, τη Μπόμπιστα, τη Μπόμποκη, τη Βίσηνη, τη Νταρνόβνη, το Βουλγαρομπλάτς και άλλα καμμιά εικοσιπενταριά εν όλω.

114. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 95, 96: Το Εξησού ήταν φωλιά κομιτατζήδων και η νύχτα επλησίαζε. Αποφασίζω λοιπόν να περάσω τη νύχτα από τα στενά του Τσερνέσβου και της Μπάνιτσας, χωριών βουλγαρικών, που δεν ήταν δυνατόν να υποπτευθούν πως θα περνούσα μέσα από τα λημέρια τους.....

....Από κει κατεβήκαμε στο βουλγαρικό χωριό Μπαψόρι και χωρίς να σταματήσουμε τρέξαμε και φτάσαμε στο χωριό Βίσανι, κι αυτό βουλγαρικό. Μα ευτυχώς οι Βούλγαροι δεν μας πήραν χαμπάρι....

115. Χολέβας, Ι. Κ., (1991), *Οι Έλληνες Σλαβόφωνοι της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 158: Η βουλγαρική παρουσία ήταν ιδιαίτερα έντονη στα χωριά Άνω Νεβόλιανη, Πεσόσνιτσα (Αμμοχώρι), Μπορέσνιτσα, Άνω και Κάτω Καλληνίκη, Σακούλεβο, Νεοκάζη, Ζαμπέρδην, Βέρμπιανη (Ιτιά), Εζί-Σού (Ξυνό Νερό), Μπάνιτσα (Βεύη), Πάτελι (Αγ. Παντελεήμων), Βοστάραν (Μελίτη), Ζέλενιτς (Σκλήθρο), Ζηβόνια, Πρεκοπάν (Περικοπή), Κρούσορατ (Αχλάδα).

116. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετιών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 90:

4. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΦΛΩΡΙΝΗΣ

Μπούφ, 1870 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Βακούφ-κιοϊ, 783 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Σακκούλοβον, 248 σχισματικοί.

Νεοκάζι, 400 σχισματικ. βουλγαρίζοντες και 230 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Ρόσνα, 349 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ζαμπέρδανι, 332 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Μπάνιτσα, 472 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες διατελούντες από του 1904 υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν και 800 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Εξήσουϊ, 150 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, υποκύψαντες εις το σχίσμα τω 1904. Η Ελληνική Εκκλησία εκλείσθη, αλλά μετά το Σύνταγμα αυθαιρέτως ηρπάγη υπό των Βουλγάρων — και 1300 σχι-

As regards the villages in Table 3, according to the 1928 census a significant number of refugees settled only in Gorentsi/Korissos (making up 17.2 per cent of the population), Zagoritchani/Vassilias (9.4%), Zelenitch/Sklithro (25.7%), Koumanitchevo/Lithia (9.2%), and Litchishta/Polikarpi (33.4%), replacing departing Moslems in all cases.

In the rest of the villages in Table 3, the population consisted exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, for the number of refugees who settled in them after the Asia Minor Disaster was negligible.

The 1928 census presents an accurate picture of the total number of refugees who settled in the area, because, as we saw in the previous chapter, before the Asia Minor Disaster only 333 refugees settled in the whole of the province of Kastoria, eighty-eight of them in Hroupishta/Argos Orestiko.

During the Macedonian Struggle, this area witnessed acts of unbelievable barbarity on the part of both Greeks and Bulgarians. Needless to say, they were all committed in the name of some 'homeland' or other.

In this book I shall mention the barbaric acts committed chiefly by the Greek side, because, painful though it is, only self-criticism can exert some degree of moral influence on the younger generations in the Balkan countries and help them to shake off the 'Balkan syndrome' à la Yugoslavia.

Zelenitch/Sklithro was the scene of a massacre that starkly reveals the pitiless cruelty of some aspects of the Macedonian struggle. This village was an important centre of the pro-Bulgarian faction, and on 13 November 1904 a wedding was to take place there. The joyful guests were to include the Slavonic-speaking Macedonian and leading pro-Bulgarian partisan Kole from Mokreni/Varikon and eighteen fellow fighters. As soon as Katehakis's Greek partisans heard of it, they determined to go to the village and confront their adversaries. Rather than fighting outside the village, as one might have expected, to avoid civilian losses, the Greek corps, with the help

σματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες κατέχοντες από ετών ετέρας δύο Ελληνικάς Εκκλησίας.

Πατελί, 150 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες και 1125 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες. Η Ελληνική Εκκλησία εκλείσθη μετά.

Βοσταράνη, 644 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, υποκύψαντες εις το σχίσμα τω 1904 και 1000 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ζελενήτσι, 400 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 1120 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες και 500 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Λιουμπέτινι, 221 αθίγγανοι σχισματικοί.

Νεβολιάνη κάτω, 140 αθίγγανοι σχισματικοί και 137 Μουσουλμάνοι.

of a local Albanian gendarme, burst into the house in which the wedding was taking place and, shooting indiscriminately, killed not only the Bulgarian partisans but also a further twenty-five villagers (including three women), who happened to be there as guests.¹¹⁷ Such hideous deeds were routinely committed by the other side too, and the protagonists may well have been decorated in Athens or in Sofia for their 'heroism'.

A similarly barbaric incident took place at the same period in the village of Zagoritchani/Vassilias. Yermanos Karavangelis, Metropolitan of Kastoria, tells us that many of the Zagoritchani/Vassilias villagers had helped to burn down the Patriarchal monasteries of Tsirilovo and Sliveni (Koromilia), and two or three monks had been burnt alive. On 25 March 1905, Captain Vardas led three hundred partisans into Zagoritchani/Vassilias and, by way of reprisal, killed seventy-nine villagers who resisted the attack, and burnt down their houses.

The partisans in the Greek corps had been recruited from the Kozani area, from the Vlach-speaking village of Blatsa/Vlasti, and from Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists in Kastoria and Strebeno/Asproya. Karavangelis himself supplied Vardas with a list of those whom he 'should

117. *Καραβίτης, Ι.*, (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών*, Απομνημονεύματα, σελ. 161:

η) Ζέλενιτς, 13 Νοέμβρη 1904.

Το πρωί ο εξαρχόπαπας έκανε γάμο και κηδεία μαζί. Έτρεμε ο γαμπρός, μέχρι τη μέση έφθανε της νύφης, ήταν μπροστά και δεν είχε δει τίποτα. Τίποτα δεν ήξερε να πει. Η νύφη φόραγε μεσοφόρια κι από πάνω μια κάπα. Δεν κράταγε λουλούδια, αλλά τη μικρή της αδελφή αγκαλιά κι όλο κλαίγανε. Ψηλή, φαρδιά γοφιά, στητά στήθια, παχιά, μεγάλα, πεταχτά, όμορφη, κόκκινα αφράτα μάγουλα, μάτια μεγάλα, σκούρα, μακρυνά, κατάμαυρα μαλλιά. Έτρεμαν τα πόδια. Στέκονταν πίσω το χωριό, σαράντα άνδρες, γυναίκες τρεις, σε ξύλα απλωμένοι νεκροί, γάμος και κηδείες γίναν μαζί, τα παπαδίστικα ακούστηκαν μισά-μισά, κατάρες κι ευχές, πάντρευε ο παπάς την ανιψιά και κήδευε αδελφό και την παπαδιά του (...).

Γώγος Δημήτριος:

«Όταν μεγαλώσαμε, λέμε να πάψει το μίσος. Πώς; Παντρευτήκαμε και με το καλό ή με το ζόρι γίναμε ένα, κάναμε παιδιά κι εγγόνια, τα καταφέραμε. Πέρασαν χρόνια όμως. Εδώ υπηρετούσε ένας της Χωροφυλακής. Ήξερε από βεντέτες. Χανιώτης. Λέει, εγώ θα πάρω μια από δω να σταματήσει το μίσος. Την πήρε με το μπιστόλι του. Σηκώθηκε το μισό χωριό. Οι Κρητικοί μάς σφάζανε, λέγανε, μας παίρνουν τώρα και τις γυναίκες; Αυτή όμως τον αγάπησε. Ήταν άντρας. Βγάλανε γιο αρεοπαγίτη [Χρήστο Σαρτζετάκη]. Νομίζω διαλέξαμε σωστά».

(...) «Αθώοι. Να τι ήταν. Κι επειδή, μωρέ, ήταν η Τσέτα του Κόλε; ήταν κι αθώοι. Ο Σούλιος μισούσε και πήρε στο λαιμό του αθώους (...). Και χίλιοι χωροφύλακες να 'ρθούν, αυτό θα φωνάζω. Αθώοι. Γράψ' το. Είσαι έγγονος φονιά». (...)

not kill'. The obsession and ruthless inhumanity of that time are clearly apparent in the memoirs of Karavangelis, who wrote, shockingly, of the events at Zagoritchani/Vassilias: 'And so our people remained free and strolled about the village all day long killing people.'¹¹⁸

One of the partisans in Vardas's corps was a man named Gavdas, who, prior to becoming a professional patriot, had been a common thief. People of this sort, who distinguished themselves in the struggle for their 'homeland', are also mentioned on the other side.

The historical work published by the Greek Army's Directorate of History reports that 'only' seventy-nine men were killed in the Zagoritchani/Vassilias operation and about twenty houses were burnt.¹¹⁹ The official report issued by the Austrian consulate at Monastir describes the

118. *Καραβαγγέλης, Γερμανός*, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 74: Επειδή στην πυρπόληση αυτή των μοναστηριών είχαν λάβει μέρος και πολλοί Βούλγαροι χωρικοί από τη Ζαγορίτσανη, ο Βάρδας απεφάσισε να τους τιμωρήσει. Η Ζαγορίτσανη ήταν ένα χωριό από εξακόσια πάνω κάτω σπίτια βουλγαρικά και ελληνικά. Στην εκκλησία, μια Κυριακή, λειτούργούσαν οι Βούλγαροι, μια οι Έλληνες. Στο τέλος οι δικοί μας έμειναν μόνον εξήντα σπίτια κι αυτοί άρχισαν να δειλιούν. Ήταν οι χειρότεροι Βούλγαροι της επαρχίας μου. Όταν ο Βάρδας απεφάσισε την τιμωρία τους μου έγραψε και του έστειλα τα ονόματα των δικών μας, για να μην τους πειραξη. Την παραμονή λοιπόν της 25ης Μαρτίου του 1905 κρύφτηκε στο απέναντι του χωριού δάσος με τριακόσιους πάνω κάτω άντρες μεταξύ των οποίων ήταν κι ο καπετάν Καούδης, ο καπετάν Μακρής, ο καπετάν Μπούλακας, ένας ληστής Γαύδας με το παιδί του κι άλλοι πολλοί. Πρωί πρωί μπαίνουν στο χωριό κι αρχίζει το τουφέκι. Όσους αντιστέκονται τους σκοτώνουν και βάζουν φωτιά στα σπίτια. Εκείνη την ημέρα σκοτώθηκαν εβδομήντα εννιά Βούλγαροι και δυστυχώς και μερικοί δικοί μας, σλαβόφωνοι μεν αλλά πολύτιμοι. Δικοί μας δεν σκοτώθηκαν πολλοί.....

....τραβούν μια μπαταριά κι αμέσως φεύγουν οι Τούρκοι. Το ίδιο και με το στρατό της Κλεισούρας. Έτσι οι δικοί μας έμειναν ελεύθεροι και σεριάνιζαν σκοτώνοντας όλη μέρα στο χωριό.

119. *Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 189: Η επιχείρησις κατά της Ζαγορίτσανης (Βασιλειάδος) εμείωσε το ηθικόν των Βουλγάρων και ανεπτέρωσε τας ελπίδας των Ελληνικών πληθυσμών. Η Βουλγαρική Κυβέρνησις εθρομβήθη και προέβη εις εντόνους διαμαρτυρίας προς την Τουρκικήν, εξεμεταλλεύθη δε προπαγανδιστικώς το γεγονός εις τας Ευρωπαϊκάς εφημερίδας, ομιλούσα περί σφαγής εκατοντάδων γυναικοπαίδων. Εις την πραγματικότητα μόνον εβδομήντα εννέα άνδρες εφονεύθησαν και εγυρπολήθησαν περί τας είκοσι οικίας. Ο δημιουργηθείς θόρυβος ήταν τόνος μεγάλος, ώστε όλοι οι εχθροί του Ελληνισμού ήρχισαν να τον εκμεταλλεύωνται.

Zagoritchani/Vassilias massacre in horrifying detail and mentions fifty-three men, seven women, and a number of children killed.¹²⁰

At this point, perhaps we should observe a moment of silence, as a sign of remorse to the descendants of those people, in the hope that those on the other side will also feel the need to make the same gesture for similar crimes committed by their own faction.

All the statistics, regardless of the criteria on which they are based, simply reflect the final phase of the turbulent ethnological development of the populations in these areas.

That not all the Slavonic-speakers in the Kastoria area were of Slavonic origin is also confirmed by some information that has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter: namely the fact that there was a village named Komanitchevo (Lithia) not far from Kastoria, its name suggesting that its Slavonicised inhabitants were probably of Kumanian origin. A few Kumani did settle in Macedonia, though they were much more numerous in the area of eastern Thrace, Bulgaria, and the Republic of Macedonia.

120. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 239:

Η σφαγή στη Ζαγορίτσανη πλησίον της Βλαχοκλεισούρας.

Όταν οι κάτοικοι άκουσαν σάλπιγγες, πίστεψαν ότι ένα τμήμα του στρατού έφθασε στο χωριό, πολλοί μάλιστα βγήκαν να τους υποδεχθούν, αλλά αμέσως πυροβολήθηκαν. Οι Έλληνες έβγαλαν αυτούς και όσους άλλους μπόρεσαν από τα σπίτια, καθώς και γυναίκοπαιδα, και τους σκότωσαν κατά βάρβαρο τρόπο. Άλλα σπίτια, που δεν μπόρεσαν να καταλάβουν, τα ανατίναξαν με δυναμίτη ή τα πυρπόλησαν. Επιπλέον δε, περί τους 20 άνδρες οδηγήθηκαν στο βουνό, όπου και σφαγιάστηκαν. Ταυτόχρονα πήραν λάφυρα, πλιατσικολόγησαν και εκβίασαν για χρήματα...

Οι κάτοικοι εντωμεταξύ αρνήθηκαν να θάψουν τους νεκρούς μέχρι την άφιξη των αρχών.

Πήγαμε αμέσως μετά την άφιξή μας από σπίτι σε σπίτι και είδαμε αρκετά πτώματα, όπως και τραυματίες. Το σύνολο των νεκρών ήταν 60, εν των οποίων 53 άνδρες και 7 γυναίκες. Επίσης, εφονεύθησαν και αρκετά παιδιά. Είδαμε επίσης αρκετά διαμελισμένα από βόμβες και κοντινούς πυροβολισμούς πτώματα. Σε ένα σπίτι είδαμε μια πενταμελή κατακρεουργημένη οικογένεια. Η συμμορία τους έριξε βόμβα δυναμίτη. Ένα κοριτσάκι 5 ετών που έφευγε απ' το σπίτι σκοτώθηκε με λόγχη. Ένας από τους παπάδες εφονεύθη με λογχισμούς. Παντού υπήρχαν βίαια φονευθέντες, από πυροβολισμούς και λόγχες. Μια αβάσταχτη μυρωδιά από τα καμένα και τα αλλοιωμένα πτώματα απλωνόταν σε όλο το χωριό. Παρ' όλα αυτά πήγαμε συνοδευόμενοι από μια τεράστια μάζα ανθρώπων σε όλα τα μέρη του χωριού για να καθησυχάσουμε, όσο ήταν δυνατόν, τους κατοίκους. Στο τέλος διατάξαμε την ταφή των νεκρών. Από τους 7 τραυματίες οι δύο ήταν γυναίκες και το ένα κορίτσι.

[Μετάφραση: Κώστα Καίσαρη]

[Αυστρογγρικό, βλ. σελ. 975 αρ. 6]

Apart from this, to the south of Kastoria there is mention of remnants of Christian Vardariot Turks,¹²¹ i.e. Slavonicised Persians. During his tour of more or less the same area, Pouqueville describes the village of Yango on the right bank of the Aliakmon, which had eighty families of Vardariot Turks.

The existence of the Andjevadjik residence in Kastoria, which has now been turned into a museum, suggests that there were Armenians within the Slavonic culture, because Andjevadjik is an Armenian family name that is still used today.

The Vlach-speaking villages of Vlahoklissoura and Blatsa (mod. Vlatsi) and the Albanian-speaking village of Lehovo had non-Slavonic populations.¹²²

In conclusion, we may say that the population of the Kastoria area was simply a multicoloured demographic mosaic made up of Slavs, Slavonicised Persians, Slavonicised Kumani, Slavonicised Armenians, Vlachs, Albanians, and others.

A large proportion of this local population has identified with Greek culture, even though Slavonic is still used today in everyday life.

Only the Patriarchist Slavonic-speaking Macedonians adapted voluntarily to Greek culture: the Exarchist Slavonic-speakers adapted voluntarily up to a point, but most of them simply had no choice. Neither the Greeks in Bulgaria nor the ethnically Greek Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, who are contemptuously known as *Grekomani*, nor, finally, the Vlachs in the same area with Greek ethnic identity had any freedom of choice as regards their ethnic identity.

121. Wilkinson, H. R. (1951), *Maps and politics, A Review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, σελ. 127.

122. Τσάμη, Π., Α., (1975), *Μακεδονικός Αγών*, σελ. 452. «Επί των ανατολικών κλιτύων του Βίτσι κείται η Ελληνοβλαχική κομόπολις Νεβέσκα (Νυμφαίον) και προς βορράν αυτής το Αλβανικόν χωρίον Νεγκοβάνι (Φλάμπουρο). Προς νότον δε της Νεβέσκας και επί της αυτής ορεινής μάξης κείται έτερον Αλβανικόν χωρίον το Λέχοβον...».

The Florina area

From the area around Lake Kastoria, we now move on to the Florina area, where, until the eighteenth century, the population had no conception of national consciousness. With the Patriarch of Constantinople at their head, the local Orthodox Christians felt themselves to be *Romii*, without having the faintest notion of what we now call Greek or Bulgarian ethnic identity.

With the outbreak of the French Revolution, the phenomenon of nationalism began to emerge in Europe, its aspiration at that time being to liberate the peasantry from the grip of feudalism. By the second half of the nineteenth century, nationalism had gradually spread as far as the Florina area.

These social ideals were expressed, in theory at least, by the leadership of IMRO. Their most representative theorist and exponent was Gotse Deltchev, a Slavonic-speaking Macedonian from Kilkis, who proclaimed that the organisation's social aim was to liberate Macedonian soil from the hands of the Turkish landowners and redistribute it among the peoples of Macedonia.

In contrast to Macedonian nationalism, neither Bulgarian nationalism (as expressed by the Verhovist *Komitato*) nor Greek nationalism (which was represented by the Greek partisan bands in Macedonia and the feudally organised Patriarchal Church) proclaimed aspirations of a social nature, and, in the initial stage at least, were financed by the *grande bourgeoisie*. One well-known example on the Greek side was the Duchess of Athens who provided funding for the first partisan bands in Macedonia.

One negative consequence of the emergence of nationalism in the Florina area was total confusion about the definition of the ethnic identity of the population, a confusion that still exists today to a certain extent, despite the Greek authorities' assurances to the contrary.

After 1870, when the Bulgarian Church broke away from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and created the autocephalous Bulgarian Exarchate, the population of Florina started to divide up into Patriarchists and Slavonic-speaking Exarchist Macedonians. At the beginning of the twentieth century, this division led to a ruthless struggle that cost thousands of lives as a result of armed clashes and murders.

In the Florina area, the Macedonian Struggle was simply a civil war between the Greek-speaking, Slavonic-speaking, Vlach-speaking, and Albanian-speaking Macedonians, usually under the leadership of officers and partisans sent from Athens and Sofia, in their efforts to persuade (i.e. force) the opposing faction to accede to their own national consciousness.

In the official documents of the Greek Foreign Ministry in the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of what was then Turkish Macedonia are distinguished as 'Greeks' and 'Macedonians'. The latter term referred to the Slavonic-speaking Exarchist Macedonians.

In 1886, Nikolas Skhinas, a Greek army major, made a tour of Macedonia and then wrote a report about the Florina area, in which he mentions 36,000 Greek-Bulgarians, 3,000 Bulgaro-Slavs, and 14,000 Ottomans,¹²³ thus effectively stating that the whole of the Christian population of the area was Slavonic-speaking.

On his official Greek ethnological map of 1919, Sotiriadis states that almost the whole of the population of the Florina area was Slavonic-speaking, apart from a few Greek, Albanian, and Vlach enclaves. This is confirmed by Cvijic and by almost all the European literature.⁹⁴

Greek statistics compiled in 1912 which report 35 per cent of the population of the Florina area as Slavs¹²⁴ have nothing whatever to do with ethnology, for they were based exclusively on political criteria and are therefore inaccurate.

Lastly, according to the 1928 census, 82,009 inhabitants of the provinces of Florina and Kastoria spoke Greek and 38,566 'Macedonoslavonic';¹⁰⁵ and according to the 1951 census, 14,476 people in

123. Σχινάς, Ν. Θ., (1886), *Οδοιπορικαί Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας Ηπείρου*, σελ. 242:

ΦΛΩΡΙΝΑ Πρωτεύουσα ομωνύμου Καζά,
έχοντος πληθυσμόν 36.000 Ελληνοβουλγάρων,
14.000 Οθωμανών και 3.000 Βουλγαροσλάβων.

124. Pentzopoulos, D., (1962), *The Balkan exchange of minorities and its impact upon Greece*, σελ. 137.

the prefecture of Florina spoke 'Slavonic',¹²⁵ as the 'Macedonoslavonic' language was renamed without the knowledge or consent of the people who spoke it.

The Vlach villages of Pissoderi and Neveska (mod. Nimfaio) and the Albanian villages of Belkameni (mod. Drossopiyi) and Negovani (mod. Flambouro) had non-Slavonic populations.¹²²

Belkameni was the scene of a violent incident which reveals the degree of degradation to which extreme nationalism can sink. Yermanos Karavangelis recounts in his memoirs the exploits of a man named Boulakas, who, during the Macedonian Struggle, went by himself to the houses of two priests in Belkameni/Drossopiyi and decapitated them, because one was pro-Romanian and the other pro-Albanian.

Karavangelis extols Boulakas's 'intrepid pluck' in beheading the two priests, adding that the murderer himself was slain while gambling in Athens. So here we have a bishop idealising the savage slaughter of two

125. Στατιστικά Αποτελέσματα της Απογραφής του Πληθυσμού της Ελλάδος του 1951, σελ. 234:

Πίναξ 7. Πραγματικός πληθυσμός κατά θρησκείαν, μητρικήν γλώσσαν:

11. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΛΩΡΙΝΗΣ	
Μητρική γλώσσα	
Γενικών σύνολον	60.301
Ελληνική	48.081
Τουρκική	789
Σλαβική	14.476
Κουτσοβλαχική	906
Αλβανική	831
Πομακική	—
Αρμενική	2
Αθιγγανική	8
Ρωσική	4.303
Γαλλική	1
Ρουμανική	6
Αγγλική	1
Ισπανική	7
Γερμανική	1
Ιταλική	—
Εβραϊκή	25
Λοιπαί (1)	4
Σύνολον ξενογλώσσων	21.310

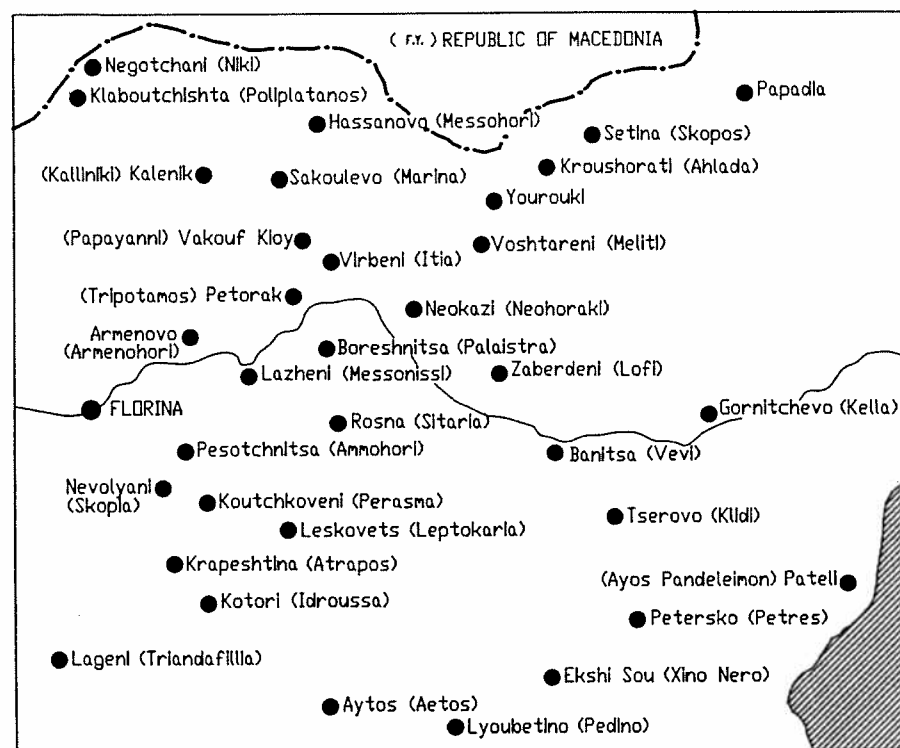
priests who were not supporters of Greek national identity by someone who was an *habitué* of a gambling den in Athens, where he was later murdered.¹²⁶

The eastern part of the Florina area

North-west

Kantchev discusses in detail the villages in the eastern part of the Florina area, which were exclusively Slavonic-speaking in 1900. In the north-west of the eastern part of the Florina area, which is bounded to the south by the town of Florina and to the north by the Republic of Macedonia, he distinguishes the following Slavonic-speaking villages: Armenovo (mod. Armenohori), Petorak (mod. Tripotamos), Virbeni (mod. Itia), Vakouf Kioy (mod. Papayanni), Gorno Kalenik (mod. Ano Kalliniki), Sakoulevo (mod. Marina), Klaboutchishta (mod. Poliplatanos), Hassanovo (mod. Messohori), and Negotchani (mod. Niki) (see Map 25 and Table 4).⁹⁶

126. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 81: ήταν δύο παπάδες, ένας ρουμανίζων κι ένας αλβανίζων. Μια μέρα σε χειμώνα βαρύ, που έπεφτε πυκνό χιόνι, ο Μπούλακας πήγε στο Νεγκοβάνι, μπήκε μέσ' στα σπίτια τους και τους αποκεφάλισε. Κι άμα γύρισε στη Μπελκαμένη και τον είδαν οι χωρικοί μέσ' στα αίματα, κυριολεκτικά τρομοκρατήθηκαν. Είχε κι αυτός δικό του σώμα. Μια μέρα όμως κατέβηκε από το Κωσταράτσι ολομόναχος, χωρίς κανένα σύντροφο, στον κάμπο της Χρούπιστας ντυμένος καλόγερος, γυρεύοντας Βουλγάρους κι έφτασε σχεδόν έξω από την Καστοριά με κίνδυνο να συλληφθεί (περπατούσε πεζή). Αυτό το αναφέρω εις απόδειξι της παλληκαριάς του. Όταν γύρισε στην Αθήνα πιάστηκε με τους Μανιάτες σ' ένα χαρτοπαίγνιο και τον σκότωσαν. Φοβερό πράγμα.



Map 25: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the eastern part of the Florina area

Table 4

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the eastern part of Florina prefecture

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Aytos (Aetos)	60 + 950	830	941	0
Armenovo, Ermenovo (Armenohori)	125 + 780	820	987	58
Banitsa (Vevi)	0 + 1650	1617	1979	16
Boreshnitsa (Palaistra)	0 + 348	375	445	2
Ekshi Sou (Xino Nero)	65 + 1900	1735	1688	30
Gornitchevo (Kella)	0 + 960	1103	1090	3
Hassanovo (Messohori)	50 + 540	562	637	2
Kalenik (Kalliniki)	0 + 394	446	419	4
Klaboutchishta (Poliplatanos)		688	561	181 (24.4%)
Kotori Dolno (Kato Idroussa)	174 + 600	894	842	4
Kotori Gorno (Ano Idroussa)	60 + 168	286	316	1
Koutchkoveni (Perasma)	0 + 840	566	637	8
Krapeshitina (Atrapos)	0 + 320	430	543	0
Kroushorati, Kroushoradi (Ahlada)	0 + 650	606	689	1
Lageni (Triandafillia)	0 + 520	560	320	2
Lazheni (Messonissi)	0 + 200	489	189	0
Leskovets (Leptokaria)	0 + 330	249	294	0
Lyoubetino (Pedino)	30 + 325	277	308	0
Negotchani (Niki)		630	641	21
Neokazi (Neohoraki)	180 + 650	494	567	18
Nevoliani (Skopia)	300 + 1260	1833	1404	74 (5%)

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Papadia		73	130	5
Pateli (Ayos Pandeileimon)	0 + 1750	1791	1481	20
Pesotchnitsa (Ammohori)	200 + 850	741	936	156 (14.3%)
Petersko, Pet'rsko (Petres)	550 + 400	1024	712	147 (17.1%)
Petorak (Tripotamos)	0 + 210	127	318	1
Rosna (Sitaria)	0 + 400	552	586	4
Sakoulevo (Marina)	80 + 350	230	329	0
Setina (Skopos)	0 + 750	575	846	3
Tserovo (Klidi)	0 + 300	402	484	8
Vakouf Kioy (Papayanni)	0 + 1100	887	930	19
Virbeni, Vrbeni (Itia)	0 + 690	490	675	2
Voshtareni (Meliti)	600 + 810	1511	1206	182 (13.2%)
Zaberdeni (Lofi)	0 + 325	358	417	0

Modern Greek writers allude to a considerable Bulgarian presence in the villages of Virbeni/Itia, Klaboutchishta/Poliplatanos, and Sakoulevo/Marina. In other words, the inhabitants were not only Slavonic-speakers but Exarchists.^{115, 127}

According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the villages of Vakouf Kioy/Papayanni and Sakoulevo/Marina were populated exclusively by Exarchists.¹¹⁶

127. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεότερη Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 223: 'Ελληνες πρόκριτοι, δάσκαλοι και ιερείς της Βορειοδυτικής Μακεδονίας, οι οποίοι προέρχονταν από τα σλαβόφωνα χωριά Ολέβνη, Κάνινο, Ζιάμπνη, Λάζετς, Γραδέσνιτσα, Κιρκλίνο, Βελουσίνα, Λισολάι, Ζέλοβο, Μπροντ, Σταράβινα, Μπάνιτσα (Βεύη), Ζαμπέρδνη, Κρούσορατ (Αχλάδα), Ράκοβο, Κλαμπουτσίτσα (Πολυπλάτανος), Κλέστινα (Άνω Κλειναί) και Κλαδοράπη (Κλαδοράχη)...

The Greek General Staff's publication describes the village of Gorni Kalenik/Ano Kalliniki as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.¹²⁸

According to the 1928 census, of all the villages mentioned in this part of the Florina area in Table 4, after the Asia Minor Disaster a significant number of refugees settled only in Klaboutchishta/Poliplatanos, making up 24.4 per cent of the population, and replacing the departing Moslems. In the rest of the villages, the population consisted almost exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, for the number of refugees was negligible.

The number of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the above-mentioned villages as indirectly revealed by the 1928 census is not far removed from reality, but nor is it absolutely accurate, for this category also includes some of the 4,021 refugees who settled all over Florina prefecture before the Asia Minor Disaster.¹⁰³ The specific places where this first wave of refugees settled are unknown, because the data gleaned by the 1920 census regarding the languages spoken by the inhabitants of Macedonia were never published, for the usual unknown reasons.

North-east

If we now move eastwards from Florina, we come to the north-east part of the area which, according to Kantchev, had the following Slavonic-speaking villages in 1900: Gornitchevo (mod. Kella), Zaberdeni (mod. Lofi), Neokazi (mod. Neohoraki), Voshtareni (mod. Meliti), Yourouki, Kroushorati (mod. Ahlada), Setina (mod. Skopos), and Papadia (see Map 25).

Modern Greek writers refer to Neokazi/Neohoraki, Zaberdeni/Lofi,

128. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 253:

Την 6ην Απριλίου ο Υπολοχαγός Τσόντος προσέβαλε δι' ολόκληρου της δυνάμεώς του το σχισματικών χωρίον Μπαρέσανη, την δε 28ην του αυτού μηνός το Κάλενικ (Καληνίκη). Και εις τα δύο χωρία επιρροπήθησαν οικίαι σχισματικών και εφονεύθησαν στελέχη των βουλγαρικών κομιτάτων.

Voshtareni/Meliti, Kroushorati/Ahlada, Setina/Skopos, Papadia, and Sovits as Slavonic-speaking villages.^{115, 127, 129}

According to Halkiopoulos, all the inhabitants of Neokazi/Neohoraki, Zaberdeni/Lofi, and Voshtareni/Meliti were Exarchists in 1910.

According to the 1928 census, of the above-mentioned villages, a significant number of refugees settled only in Voshtareni/Meliti, making up 13.2 per cent of the population and replacing the departing Moslems. The population of the other villages consisted exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, because the number of refugees was negligible (Table 4).

It is not known how many of the 4,021 refugees in the first wave of immigration before the Asia Minor Disaster settled in this part of Florina prefecture.

South-west

Again according to Kantchev, this part of the eastern Florina area, which is south-west of the town of Florina, had the following Slavonic-speaking villages in 1900: Lazheni (mod. Messonissi), Boreshnitsa (mod. Palaistra), Rosna (mod. Sitaria), Pesotchnitsa (mod. Ammohori), Nevolyani (mod. Skopia), Koutchkoveni (mod. Perasma), Leskovets (mod. Leptokaria), Krapeshtina (mod. Atrapos), Kotori (mod. Idroussa), Lageni (mod. Triandafillia), and Aytos (mod. Aetos) (see Map 25).

Greek writers refer to Koutchkoveni/Perasma, Pesotchnitsa/Ammohori, Kotori/Idroussa, Boreshnitsa/Palaistra, and Lageni/Triandafillia as 'Bulgarian', i.e. Slavonic-speaking, villages.^{130, 115}

129. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 475: 366. (...) Την νύκτα εισήλθομεν εις τα Καλύβια Σαλτογιάννη. Εκεί δ' ἐμάθομεν ότι 5-6 ώρας μακράν παρά τα Σαρακατσάνικα καλύβια Φαρμάκη ευρίσκεται ο καπετάν Φιωτάκης (...) προσπαθών διά διαφόρων ενεργειών και μεσολαβούντων προσώπων να πείση τον καπετάν 'Ηλιον (Ηλίαν), οπλαρχηγόν των βουλγαροφώνων χωρίων Σετίνης, Παπαδιάς και Σόβιτς, να επανέλθει εις την ορθοδοξίαν (...).

130. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 876:

576. Εν Μοναστηρίω τη 28η Σεπτεμβρίου 1907
Αριθ. 803.

According to Halkiopoulos, all the inhabitants of Rosna/Sitaria were Exarchists in 1910.¹¹⁶

The Greek General Staff's publication refers to the village of 'Boressani' — i.e. Boreshnitsa/Palaistra — as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.¹²⁸

According to the 1928 census, of the above-mentioned villages, refugees settled in Pesotchnitsa/Ammohori and Nevolyani/Skopia, making up 14.3 and 5 per cent of the population respectively and replacing the departing Moslems. The population of the other villages consisted exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians after 1928 too, apart from a small number of refugees who had probably settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster.

South-east

According to Kantchev, the south-east part of the Florina area had the following Slavonic-speaking villages in 1900: Banitsa (mod. Vevi), Tserovo (mod. Klidi), Pateli (mod. Ayos Pandleiimon), Ekshi Sou (mod. Xino Nero), and Lyoubetino (mod. Pedino).

Greek writers refer to Banitsa/Vevi, Pateli/Ayos Pandleiimon, and Ekshi Sou/Xino Nero as Slavonic-speaking or Bulgarian villages.^{114, 115, 127}

According to Halkiopoulos, 90 per cent of the inhabitants of these villages were Exarchists in 1910.¹¹⁶

No refugees at all settled in these villages, with the possible exception of a small number of the refugees who may have settled in this

Διά τηλεγραφήματός μου της 22ας τρέχοντος έσχον την τιμήν ν' αναγγείλω τω Β. Υπουργώ την καταστροφήν του παρά την Φλώριναν ημετέρου χωρίου Νεγοβάνης. (...).

Ο λυμαινόμενος την περιφέρειαν της Φλωρίνης βούλγαρος βοεβόδας Τζόλες είχε πέμψει τοις κατοίκους πρό τινων μηνών επιστολήν, προτρέπων αυτούς να υποταχθώσιν εις την βουλγαρικήν οργάνωσιν, απειλών δε εν εναντία περιπτώσει θάνατον και καταστροφήν. Αλλ' οι κάτοικοι περιεφρόνησαν τας απειλάς του κακούργου, όστις δεν ώκνησε να πραγματοποιήσιν τα σχέδιά του. Συγκεντρώσας, λοιπόν, τη 19η τρέχοντος, ημέρα Τετάρτη, 300 και ίσως πλείονας χωρικούς εκ των γειτονικών βουλγαρικών χωρίων Έξι Σου, Μπανίτσης, Κουτσκοβαίνης, Λάγγενι, Κάτω Κότορι, επέδραμεν κατά του χωρίου.

area before the Asia Minor Disaster. We know, for instance, that sixty-eight refugees settled in Pateli/Ayos Pandeileimon in 1914.¹³¹

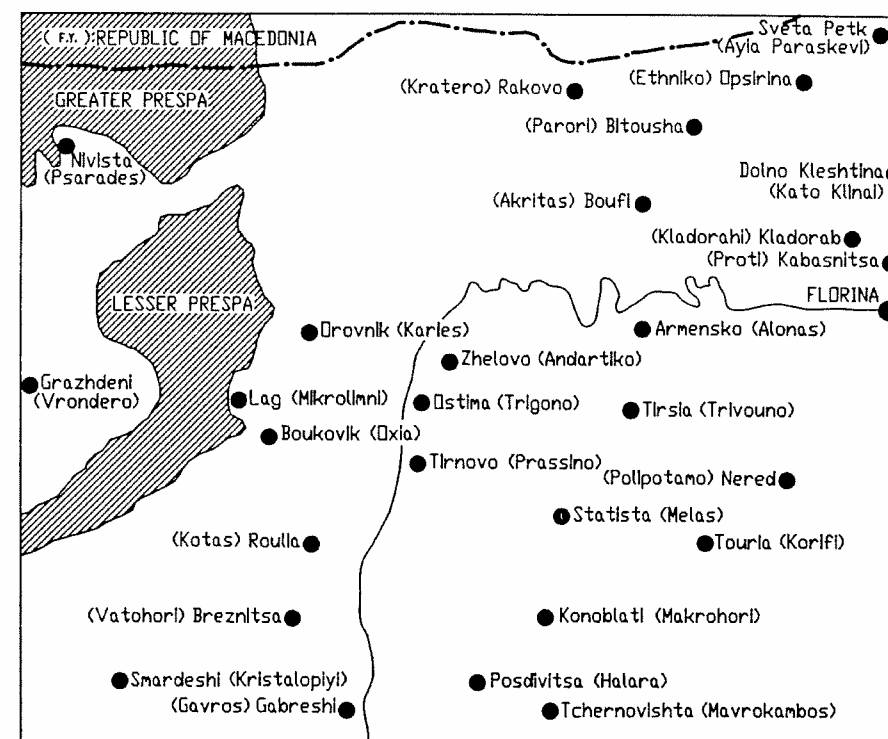
The western part of the Florina area

North-east

Heading towards the Republic of Macedonia in a north-easterly direction, we come to the following villages, which Kantchev described as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Kabasnitsa (mod. Proti), Kladorab (mod. Kladorahi), Dolno Kleshtina (mod. Kato Klinai), Boufi (mod. Akritas), Bitousha (mod. Parori), Opsirina (mod. Ethniko), Rakovo (mod. Kratero), and Sveta Petk (mod. Ayia Paraskevi) (Map 26; Table 5).

131. Έκθεσις περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείο Οικονομικών, Αθήνα, 1916, σελ. 26:

	Καϊλαρίων	
157	Δέρβη	57
158	Εμπόριον	121
159	Λύγκα	32
160	Καϊλάρια	742
161	Κατράνυτσα	63
162	Πάτελη	83
163	Ρακίτα	46
164	Σόροβιτς	54
165	Χασάν Κιόι	77



Map 26: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the western part of the Florina area in 1913

Table 5

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the western part of Florina prefecture

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Armensko (Alonas)	0 + 1080	990	885	0
Bitousha (Parori)		482	490	0
Boufi, Bouf (Akritas)	0 + 1900	2288	1759	1
Boukovik (Oxia)	0 + 120	151	133	0
Breznitsa (Vatohori)	0 + 620	761	601	4

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Dolno Kleshtina (Kato Klinai)	0 + 400	750	684	133 (16.3%)
Gabreshi (Gavros)	0 + 455	648	398	7
Grazhdeni, Grazhdano (Vrondero)	0 + 276	437	415	3
Kabasnitza (Proti)	0 + 620	637	673	10
Kladorab, Kladorobi (Kladorahi)	0 + 340	346	407	2
Konobladi, Konomladi (Makrochori)	0 + 1100	1202	784	18
Lag, L'k (Mikrolimni)	0 + 150	203	375	5
Nered (Polipotamo)	0 + 1950	2075	1695	2
Nivista, Nivitsi (Psarades)	0 + 400	674	582	3
Opsirina (Ethniko)		293	294	2
Orovnik (Kariës)	0 + 150	222	226	0
Ostima, Ostchima (Trigono)	0 + 384	520	421	0
Posdivitsa, Pozdivishta (Halara)	0 + 700	968	676	0
Rakovo (Kratero)		1008	738	2
Roulia (Kotas)	0 + 500	572		
Sveta Petk, Sveta Petka (Ayia Paraskevi)		504	543	3
Smardeshi, Smrdesh (Kristalopiyi)	0 + 1780	1488	588	10
Statista, Dolna Statitsa (Melas)	0 + 600	609	564	0
Tchernovishta, Tchnovishta (Mavrokambos)	0 + 260	207	328	0
Tirnovno (Prassino)	0 + 395	505		
Tirsia, Trsie (Trivouno)	0 + 960	902	611	0
Touria, Tourie (Korifi)	0 + 325	476	411	0
Zhelovo (Andartiko)	0 + 1250	1415	1134	2

According to the 1928 census, a significant number of refugees settled only in Dolno Kleshtina/Kato Klinai, making up 16.3 per cent of the population, and replacing the departing Moslems under the terms of the compulsory exchange of populations, which was sought and imposed by the Venizelos administration, not by the Turkish government. The rest of the inhabitants of Dolno Kleshtina/Kato Klinai, like all the inhabitants of the other villages, were exclusively Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, with the possible exception of a small proportion of the 4,021 refugees from before 1922. None of the 150,000 or so refugees who came to Greece in 1914 settled in this area, apart from the 126 individuals who settled in Florina town.

Halkiopoulos attests that all the inhabitants of Boufi/Akritas were Slavonic-speaking Exarchists.¹¹⁶

According to Karavitis, the Slavonic-speaking population of Boufi/Akritas had gone over to the Exarchate some thirty years previously, and also supplied a number of pro-Bulgarian partisans.¹³² For that artless Cretan partisan, this was an unpardonable sin, in view of the fact that he himself was offering similar services to the Greek side.

On 30 July 1905, a band of Greek partisans led by Karavitis irrupted into Kladorab/Kladorahi with the intention of killing five partisans on the other side. During the raid, fifteen unarmed villagers were seized and butchered in the village square by way of reprisal for the possible harbouring of Bulgarian partisans in the village. Karavitis himself gives a particularly repulsive account of the slaughter in his memoirs, and attempts to present it as an 'act of heroism'.^{133, 134}

132. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 319: Το Μπουφ έχει προσχωρήσει προ 30 ετών εις το βουλγαρικό σχίσμα. Είναι καλά οργανωμένο υπό του Κομιτάτου και προ παντός εφρόντισαν να φέρουν στρατό να μένη μονίμως εις το χωριό να τους φυλάγη, να φυλάγη δηλαδή τους κομιτατζήδες, διότι ζουν εις το χωριό μέσα ανενόχλητοι, αφού δεν φοβούνται προδοσία και έτσι έχουν καταφύγιο, που το φυλάγει ο στρατός. Αυτά όλα τα χωριά πρέπει να τα καθαρίσω από τα αγκάθια που έχουν.

133. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 352:

291. α) 30-7-1905. Επιστολή του Τάκη εκ Νεβέσκας λέγει ότι εις Κλοντοράπ, παρά την Φλώριναν, οι Δικάνυμος και Καραβίτης συνεπλάκησαν μετά κομιτών και εφόνευσαν 25 βουλγαρούς.

[Βάρδα, βλ. σελ. 975, αρ. 10]

Fifty years later, the Germans inflicted similar reprisals on the village of Hortiatitis outside Thessaloniki, where they burnt many innocent villagers alive because a German military officer had been murdered near the village. This barbarous act by the Germans is rightly commemorated every year in Thessaloniki; but one feature of modern Greek society is total historical amnesia with regard to the slaughter of the villagers of Kladorab/Kladorahi in retaliation for something that may not even have been done by the victims themselves, but by other villagers, who were expressing their own ideals — ideals that were different from those of the Greek or Greek-minded Slavonic-speaking villagers.

β) Καισαροβασιλικό Προξενείο Αυστροουγγαρίας
Τηλεγρ. 35

Στις 11 του μηνός περίπου 100 άνδρες ελληνικής συμμορίας εισόρμησαν στο Κλαδοράπ κοντά στη Φλώρινα και σκότωσαν 17 εξαρχικούς χωρικούς με μαχαίρι. Λεηλάτησαν το χωριό.

[Μετάφραση: Κώστα Καίσαρη]

[Αυστροουγγρικό, βλ. σελ. 975 αρ. 6]

γ) Ελλ. Βασιλικό Προξενείο
Αρ. 751

Μοναστήρι 5-8-1905

(...) Την νύκτα της 30ής Ιουλίου ελληνομακεδονικών σώμα εισελθόν εις το παρά τ ην Φλώριναν χωρίον Κλαδοράπ συνέλαβε πλείστους χωρικούς βουλγάρους συνεργαζόμενους μετά του Κομιτάτου και εφόνευσε δεκαεπτά (...).

[Κοντογούρη, βλ. σελ. 978 αρ. 52]

δ) 'Υστερ' από λίγες ημέρες, αφού ξεκουράστηκε το σώμα, περιεκυκλώσαμε με τον Καραβίτη το χωριό Κλαδοράπ, που ήταν υπό την κυριαρχία του Ναούμ. Μας είχε στείλει το Κέντρο ένα σημείωμα να πάμε εκεί να σκοτώσουμε πέντε βουλγάρους που περιθάλπαν τους κομιτατζήδες. Δυστυχώς όμως μόνον δύο πιάσαμε από αυτούς τους πέντε. Οι άλλοι δεκαπέντε που πιάσαμε, γιατί πιάσαμε εν όλω δεκαεπτά, ήταν απλοί χωρικοί.

134. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 351:

— Εφέντιμ.

— Σφάξε τους όλους.

Του δίνω ένα γερό μαχαίρι, τρικκαλινό, που είχα. Ο Αράπης παίρνει το μαχαίρι, το περιστρέφει και διαγράφει κύκλους, κατόπιν το φιλεί και μου το δίνει πίσω.

— Είναι κρίμα, μου λέγει, να λερωθεί τέτοιο μαχαίρι στο αίμα τέτοιων ανθρώπων. Αυτοί θέλουν έτσι, και αρπάζει έναν από τα μαλλιά και του δίνει μια γροθιά στο μηλίγγι σαν να κτύπησε κανένα σανίδι. Πέφτει κάτω ο βούλγαρος τέζα χωρίς να προφέρει ωχ.

— Μη, βρε ανόητε, έτσι, δεν είναι τρόπος αυτός, του λέγω. Και βάζω τους Μοναστηριώτες να τους δώσουν από μια μαχαίριά στο αριστερό πλευρό και όποιος ζήσει, χαλάλι του. Έτσι θα πάρουν οι νεοσύλλεκτοι τον αέρα του μαχαίριού.

The pro-Bulgarian faction committed equally or even more barbaric acts: but these should be recounted and condemned by objective and peace-loving intellectuals in the Republic of Macedonia and, particularly, Bulgaria, which shares joint responsibility for crimes such as these.

South-east

Kantchev mentions the following Slavonic-speaking villages in the south-east of the western part of the Florina area, moving from north to south: Armensko (mod. Alonas), Zhelovo (mod. Andartiko), Ostima (mod. Trigono), Tirново (mod. Prassino), Tirsia (mod. Trivouno), Nered (mod. Polipotamo), Statista (mod. Melas), Touria (mod. Korifi), Konoblati (mod. Makrochori), Posdivitsa (mod. Halara), and Tchernovishta (mod. Mavrokambos).

Greek writers refer to Zhelovo/Andartiko, Tirsia/Trivouno, Tirново/Prassino, Posdivitsa/Halara, and Tchernovishta/Mavrokambos as Slavonic-speaking villages.^{127, 135, 136, 137}

According to Halkiopoulos, all the inhabitants of Touria/Korifi were Exarchists in 1910, as were 50 per cent of the population of Zhelovo/

135. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 34:

Κι έτσι εξακολούθησε να μένη στα Κορέστια, στην περιφέρειά του, που ήταν όλα βουλγαρόφωνα χωριά.

5. Στις αρχές του 1901 έκανα μια μεγάλη περιοδεία σ' όλα τα σλαβόφωνα χωριά των Κορεστίων. Κι έτσι η Ρούλια και το Τύρνοβο, η Τύρσια και η Δρανόβενη, το Γαμπρέσι και η Τσαρνόβιστα, ξαναγύρισαν στην ορθοδοξία. Τ' άλλα χωριά, Κοστέντσι, Σμάρδεσι, Πρέσνιτσα, Μπρο-δίβιτσα κτλ. ήταν μικτά.

136. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανός, *Απομνημονεύματα, Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας*, σελ. 40:

Με τον ίδιο πάνω-κάτω τρόπο διοργάνωσα την άμυνα και στ' άλλα χωριά, στο Ζέλοβο, βουλγαρόφωνο αλλά ελληνικότατο χωριό.

137. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α. (1986), *Νεότερη Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 254: 'Όταν ο Καραβαγγέλης επιχείρησε στις αρχές του 1901 μια μεγάλη περιοδεία στα σλαβόφωνα χωριά των Κορεστίων, η Ρούλια, το Τύρνοβο (Αγκαθωτό), η Τύρσια, η Δρανόβενη (Κραγιώνα), το Γαμπρέσι (Γάβρος) και η Τσερνόβιστα (Μαυρόκαμπος) επέστρεψαν και πάλι στους κόλπους του πατριαρχείου, ενώ σε άλλα μεικτά χωριά, όπως στο Κωστέντσι, στο Σμάρδεσι, στη Ποζδίβιστα (Χαλάρα), στο Μπαψόρι (Βαψόρι) και στο Κόνομπλατ, ο ελληνικός πληθυσμός αναθάρρησε.

Andartiko.⁹⁹ This is in contrast to the nationalist Greek literature, which persistently describes Zhelovo/Andartiko as exclusively Patriarchist.

The Greek General Staff's publication refers to the villages of Konoblati/Makrochori, V'mbel (mod. Moskhohori), and Ostima/Trigono as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.^{111, 138}

According to the 1928 census, no refugees settled in this part of the Florina area, with the result that the whole population later on consisted of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians.

We do not know whether any of the 4,021 refugees from before the Asia Minor Disaster settled in this area. What we do know, however, is that only 126 of the refugees of 1914 settled exclusively in Florina town.

West and the Prespa area

As regards the west of the western part of the Florina area, including the area around the Prespa lakes, Kantchev lists the following villages as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Nivista (mod. Psarades), Grazhdeni (mod. Vrondero), Orovnik (mod. Kariës), Lag (mod. Mikrolimni), and Boukovik (mod. Oxia).

Slavonic-speaking villages further south were Roulia (mod. Kotas), Breznitsa (mod. Vatochori), Smardeshi (mod. Kristalopiyi), and Gabreshi (mod. Gavros).

According to Halkiopoulos, Smardeshi/Kristalopiyi and Tchernovishta/Mavrokambos were Exarchist and Slavonic-speaking in 1910, and he describes them as victims of Bulgarian violence.⁹⁹ Other Greek writers refer to Smardeshi/Kristalopiyi, Gabreshi/Gavros, Roulia/Kotas, and Orovnik/Kariës as Slavonic-speaking villages.^{135, 137} According to the Greek General Staff, the Slavonic-speaking village of Gabreshi/Gavros was Exarchist.¹¹¹

No refugees settled in these villages, so even after 1928 they were

138. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 254: Την 3ην Ιουνίου ο Τσόντος προσέβαλε με ολόκληρον την δύναμιν του το σχισματικόν χωρίον Όστιμα (Τρίγωνον), επυρπόλησε δύο οικίας και εφόνευσε τον σχισματικόν ιερέα και εννέα μέλη των βουλγαρικών κοιμιτάτων.

populated exclusively by Slavonic-speaking Macedonians. There is no information in the literature as to whether or not any of the 4,021 pre-1922 refugees settled in this area; we do know, however, that none of the refugees of 1914 settled here.

Roulia/Kotas was the native village of the Greek-minded and at the same time Slavonic-speaking Captain Kotas. He and Captain Agras (the *nom de guerre* of Telis Agapinos, a Greek army officer) were the most tragic figures in the Macedonian Struggle. Kotas apparently realised how pointless and inhumane was the mutual butchery of the two factions and sought to make contact with his close friend Mitros Vlahos, a local chieftain in the Bulgarian faction, with a view to putting a stop to the mutual destruction of the Slavonic-speaking, Vlach-speaking, and Greek-speaking Macedonians — a destruction that had been instigated by Athens and Sofia to serve their own territorial claims in the region.

That Kotas was right about the futility of the Macedonian Struggle was borne out later on, because the fate of Macedonia was decided not by the course of the Struggle, but by the battles fought between the Turkish army and the armies of the three Balkan countries. The Turks did not capture Kotas by chance, as official Greek propaganda suggested: he was delivered into their hands by Yermanos Karavangelis himself, probably because of his aforementioned attitude, with which the Metropolitan of Kastoria seems to have disagreed.¹³⁹

The ethnic classification of the local Macedonians was based on various statistics at various times; but these were not used for an objective recording of the actual data in the various censuses, but served purely political goals of the Greek and the Bulgarian state.

At any rate, regardless of the criteria used to compile them, the

139. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεώτερη Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 260: Αρχειακή μαρτυρία που ανέσυρε από τα ελληνικά Αρχεία του υπουργείου Εξωτερικών ο συγγραφέας Ν. Κοεμτζόπουλος, αναφέρει ότι ο Κώτας πιάστηκε από τους Τούρκους ύστερα από καταγγελίες του Γερμανού Καραβαγγέλη. Πρόκειται για σχετικό τηλεγράφημα του προξένου του Μοναστηρίου Δ. Καλλέργη προς το υπουργείο Εξωτερικών (15 Ιουνίου 1904), στο οποίο τονίζει ότι είχε αντλήσει την πληροφορία του από τον Τούρκο γενικό διοικητή Χαλμή πασά. Με νεότερο τηλεγράφημά του ο Δ. Καλλέργης επιβεβαιώνει και πάλι τη σχετική είδηση. Αναπάντεχα γεγονότα είχαν οδηγήσει τελευταία στην απομόνωση του Κώτα από τους πιστούς συντρόφους του και ίσως έτσι μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί και ο βαρύς χαρακτηρισμός του «προδότη», που αποδίδει ο Π. Μελάς στον Π. Κύρου, όταν πληροφορείται τη σύλληψη του Κώτα.

statistics as a whole simply reflect the final stage of the eventful process of ethnological evolution undergone by the populations of these areas.

That the Slavonic-speakers of the Florina area are not necessarily of Slavonic origin is also supported by a fact that has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter, namely that mention is made in 1899 of the Slavonic-speaking villages of Armensko/Alonas and Armenovo/Armenohori near Florina, two place-names denoting that the inhabitants were probably of Armenian origin.

In conclusion, we may say that the population of the Florina area too was made up mainly of Slavs, followed by Vlachs, Albanians, Slavonicised Armenians, and so forth. According to the Greek authorities, the majority of the local population has completely identified with Greek culture, despite the fact that the Macedonian language (which is of Slavonic origin) continues to be used, mainly in the villages.

The official view that the entire Slavonic-speaking population has completely identified with Greek culture is a classic example of Balkan-type nationalist propaganda, because the existence or non-existence of an 'ethnic' or 'cultural' group or minority is something to be determined not by the majority, via the local police authorities, but by the actual minority in question. The presence in Greece of Rainbow, an official political party that has fielded a candidate in a number of elections, offers the most categorical refutation of the official view regarding the non-existence of 'the others'.

In this respect, a report compiled in September 1992 at the behest of the European Commission offers some interesting information. It was compiled following on-the-spot investigations by two Dutch anthropologists and stresses that the figures quoted have nothing to do with the ethnic consciousness of the local people. According to their investigations, out of 94 villages with 36,212 inhabitants, 43 villages with a total population of 15,228 are inhabited by Slavs, 13 villages with a total population of 5,554 are inhabited by refugees, 3 villages with a total population of 2,114 are inhabited by Albanians, 6 villages with a total population of 787 are inhabited by Vlachs, and 29 villages with a total population of 12,527 are mixed.

According to the same report, the minority languages (the so-called 'lesser used' languages) will die out if the Greek state continues its oppressive education policy. As a member of the European Union, it should

be noted, Greece has undertaken to preserve the lesser used languages.¹⁴⁰

The Kozani and Ptolemaïda area

In the nineteenth century, the Kozani area was inhabited almost exclusively by Turks from Konya, who returned to Turkey. The sole exception was the town of Kozani itself, where the Greek-speaking inhabitants were almost all Hellenised Vlachs.

The Ptolemaïda area had a considerable Turkish and Slav population. According to Kantchev, in 1900 the following villages were exclusively Slavonic-speaking with a Turkish element: Debrets (mod. Anarahi), Douroutovo (mod. Proastio), Embore (mod. Emborio), Katranitsa (mod. Pigos), Koman (mod. Komanos), Kounouy (mod. Drossoero), L'ka (mod. Milohori), Lipintsi (mod. Asvestopetra), Biraltsi (mod. Perdikas), Boshovtsi (mod. Mavropiyi), Palyor (mod. Foufas), Rakita

140. *Report to the European Commission, (1993), Minority Languages in Northern Greece*, σελ. 2:

To avoid any misunderstanding, let me state immediately that the data follow below concern only the ethnic origin of inhabitants, not their ethnic feeling or consciousness.

FLORINA

The present ethnic composition of the district is as follows:

Out of a total of 94 villages with 36,212 inhabitants:

43 are Slav (15,228)

13 are refugee (5,554)

2 are Albanian (2,114)

6 are Vlach (789)

(2 «old» Vlach villages and 4 inhabited by Vlach settlers)

29 are mixed (12,527)

(19 Slav/refugee, 2 Slav/Albanian, 2 Slav/Vlach,

3 refugee/Vlach, 2 Slav/refugee/Vlach, 1

Slav/refugee/Albanian)

ARIDEA

The present ethnic composition of the district is as follows:

Out of a total 45 villages with a total population of 24,728:

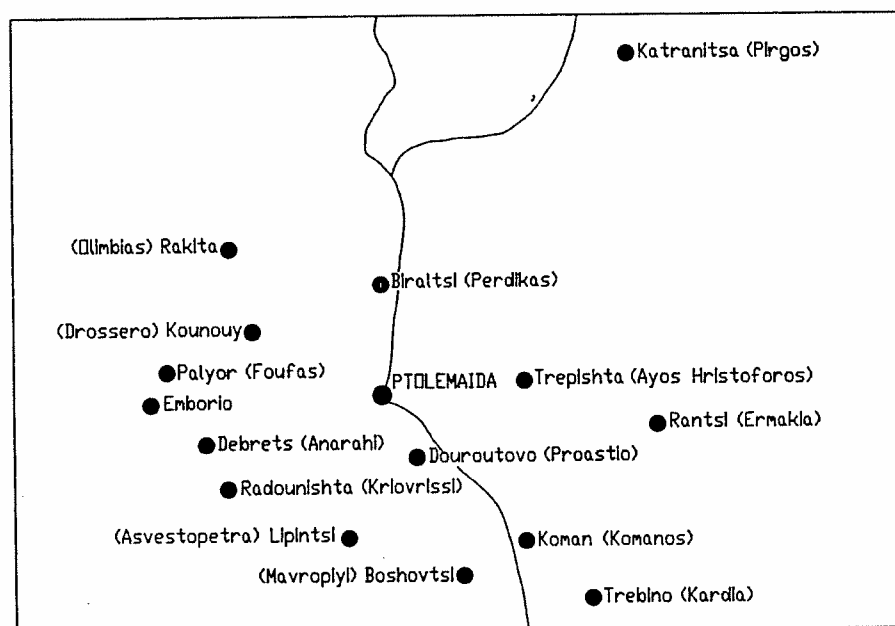
10 are Slav (5,502)

15 are refugee (5,515)

3 are Vlach (1,181)

17 are mixed (12,430)

(mod. Olimbias), Rantsi (mod. Ermakia), Trebino (mod. Kardia), and Trepishta (mod. Ayos Hristoforos) (Map 27; Table 6).



Map 27: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Ptolemaïda area in 1913

Table 6
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Ptolemaïda area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Biraltsi, Nalbant Kioy (Perdikas)	420 + 380	638	659	453 (40.7%)
Boshovtsi, Kara bournar (Mavropiyi)	80 + 210	471	577	48 (7.6%)
Debrets (Anarahi)	700 + 740	1414	630	641 (50.4%)
Douroutovo (Proastio)	150 + 165	367	270	225 (45.4%)
Emborio	200 + 1320	977	1078	182 (16.8%)
Katranitsa (Pirgos)	1100 + 940	2094	1040	450 (30.2%)
Koman (Komanos)	0 + 360	326	489	66 (11.8%)
Kounouy (Drossero)	265 + 270	464	203	234 (53.5%)
Lipintsi, Hassan Kioy (Asvestopetra)	270 + 240	979	586	475 (39.5%)
L'ka (Milohori)	300 + 160	434	274	246 (55.3%)
Palyor (Foufas)	180 + 600	948	346	112 (24.4%)
Radounishta (Kriovrissi)	0 + 91	44	79	121 (60.5%)
Rakita (Olimbias)	0 + 700	715	730	66 (8.3%)
Rantsi, Frangotch (Ermakia)	80 + 600	1164	1125	3
Trebino (Kardia)	0 + 220	290	416	5
Trepishta (Ayos Hristoforos)	250 + 280	559	383	321 (47%)

According to Halkiopoulos, Emborio, Palyor/Foufas, and Nalbant Kioy/Perdikas were Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist villages in 1910.¹⁴¹

When Skhinas travelled around the area in 1886, he reported that Trebino/Kardia, Koman/Komanos, Trepishta/Ayos Hristoforos, Boshovtsi/Mavropiyi, Lipintsi/Asvestopetra, Palyor/Foufas, and Rakita/Olimbias were Bulgarian-speaking (i.e. Slavonic-speaking).¹⁴² Identical information is supplied by the late Todor Simovski, a modern writer from the Republic of Macedonia.¹⁴³

According to the 1928 census, a considerable proportion of the 20,348 refugees who came to the Ptolemaïda area after 1922 settled in some of the aforementioned villages, specifically: Debrets/Anarahi (accounting for 50.4 per cent of the population), Douroutovo/Proastio (45.4%), Emborio (16.8%), Katranitsa/Pirgos (30.2%), Kounouy/Drossero (53.5%), L'ka/Milohori (55.3%), Lipintsi/Asvestopetra (39.5%), Biraltsi/Perdikas (40.7%), Palyor/Foufas (24.4%), Radounishta/Kriovrissi (60.5%), and Trepishta/Ayos Hristoforos (47%).¹⁰³

The other Slavonic-speaking villages — i.e. Rantsi/Ermakia,

141. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 108:

2. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΚΑΪΛΑΡΙΟΥ

Εμπορίον, 400 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 400 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες, 400 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Παλαιοχώρι, 30 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 300 σχισματικοί.

Ναλμπάν-κιοϊ, 150 σχισματικοί βουλγαρίζοντες και 600 Μουσουλμάνοι.

142. Σχινάς, Ν. Θ., (1886), *Οδοιπορικά Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας Ηπείρου*, σελ. 154:

Φραγκότσι έχει 30 οικογενείας χριστιανικές βουλγαροφώνους και εκκλησίαν, και 20 οθωμανικές και τέμενος

Τρίμπινον απέχει 1/2 ώραν της οδού και 1/6 του κατωτέρω και έχει 30 οικογενείας χριστιανικές βουλγαροφώνους και εκκλησίαν

Κομανί απέχει 5' ώρας της οδού και έχει 300 κατοίκους χριστιανούς βουλγαροφώνους, εκκλησίαν και μύλους

Τρίπιτσα οικείται υπό 60 οικογενειών, ων αι ημίσεις οθωμανικά, αι δε λοιπαί χριστιανικά βουλγαρόφωνοι

Καραμπουνάρ εις τας υπωρείας του Ασκίου, και έχει 400 κατοίκους χριστιανούς βουλγαροφώνους εκκλησίαν και οικήματα ιδιοκτήτου (σελ. 10).

Χασάν-Κιοϊ Κείται εις τας υπωρείας του Ασκίου, έχει 50 οικογενείας οθωμανικές και χριστιανικές βουλγαροφώνους

Παλαιοχώρι έχει 60 οικογενείας οθωμανικές και χριστιανικές βουλγαροφώνους και τέμενος

Ρακίτα και έχει 80 οικογενείας χριστιανικές βουλγαροφώνους.

143. Σιμόφσκι, Τ., *Χασελενιτε μεστα, βο Εγεγισκα Μασεντόνια* (1978).

Trebino/Kardia, Boshovtsi/Mavropiyi, Emborio, Koman/Komanos, and Rakita/Olimbias — remained exclusively, or almost exclusively, Slavonic-speaking after 1928.

The 1928 census, from which we may indirectly ascertain the number of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the area at that time, has the disadvantage that it includes in the category of 'local inhabitants' the 2,937 refugees who settled in the district of Ptolemaïda before 1922, without specifying which villages they settled in. What we do know is that in 1914, 1,275 people settled there, 742 of them in Ptolemaïda itself, 57 in Debrets/Anarahi, 121 in Emborio, 63 in Katranitsa/Pirgos, 77 in Lipintsi/Asvestopetra, 46 in Rakita/Olimbias, and the rest in non-Slavonic-speaking local villages.¹³¹

The data from the 1920 census regarding the language spoken by the inhabitants of Macedonia were never published. During the fratricidal turmoil known as the Macedonian Struggle, this area was the arena of a conflict that was quite simply an endeavour to physically exterminate people asserting a different national consciousness.

With regard to the village of Palyor/Foufas, one of the Greek captains, a man named Zakas, who was probably of Vlach origin, wrote in his memoirs:

After failing to reach any agreement with Bokas, we agreed with Foufas to conduct a second strike against the Kailaria plain, so that it would be terrorised and the schismatic villages upon it would return to their ancestral ways. We thus decided that on the evening of 7 May we should attack the schismatic village of [Palyor].¹⁴⁴

In that attempt to wipe out the schismatic villagers, four Greek partisans and Captain Foufas himself were wiped out. In 1917, the Greek state changed the name of the village from Palyor to Foufas by royal decree, thus contributing as little as possible to reconciliation between the Slavonic-

144. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1944), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 672:

β) Μετά την αποτυχία πάσης συνεννοήσεως μετά του Μπόκα απεφασίσαμεν εκ συμφώνου μετά του Φούφα να δώσωμεν και δεύτερον κτύπημα εις την πεδιάδα Καϊλαρίων ίνα ούτω τρομοκρατουμένης ταύτης επανέλθωσιν εις τα πάτρια τα εν αυτή σχισματικά χωρία. Απεφασίσαμεν όθεν την 7ην Μαΐου το εσπέρας να επιτεθώμεν κατά του σχισματικού χωρίου Παλαιοχώρι....

speaking and Greek-speaking inhabitants of the village.

This extract from Zakas's memoirs clearly reveals the logic behind the Balkan way of thinking: any ethnic group is entitled to murder any opponent who persists in belonging to a different ethnic group, such murders being regarded as acts of heroism.

This behaviour is accurately described in a letter written by Britain's Acting Consul-General in Thessaloniki in 1914, which was recently published by some members of the younger generation of Greek historians:

Each Balkan people is, within its own boundaries, persecuting the adherents of its neighbours, and each is endeavouring to obtain its own justification before the world, the sympathy of Europe for itself and European condemnation of its neighbours, by loudly calling attention to its neighbours' acts and by concealing its own.¹⁴⁵

Similar behaviour may be observed, ninety years on, in Cyprus too, where the Greek side condemns in the harshest terms the crimes of the Turks with regard to the murder of the Greek Cypriots captured in 1974, while carefully avoiding any mention of the crimes they themselves committed before 1974 — such as, for instance, the burning in 1967 of the Turkish Cypriot village of Kofino and the massacre of its inhabitants by General Grivas (as reported in the reputable Dutch newspaper *NRC* on 27 April 1996).

And the same behaviour is also to be seen in Bosnia, where all three factions condemn the genocidal crimes perpetrated by the 'others', while carefully concealing their own.

145. Γούναρης, Β., Μιχαηλίδης, Ι., Αγγελόπουλος, Γ., (1997), *Ταυτότητες στη Μακεδονία*, σελ. 48:

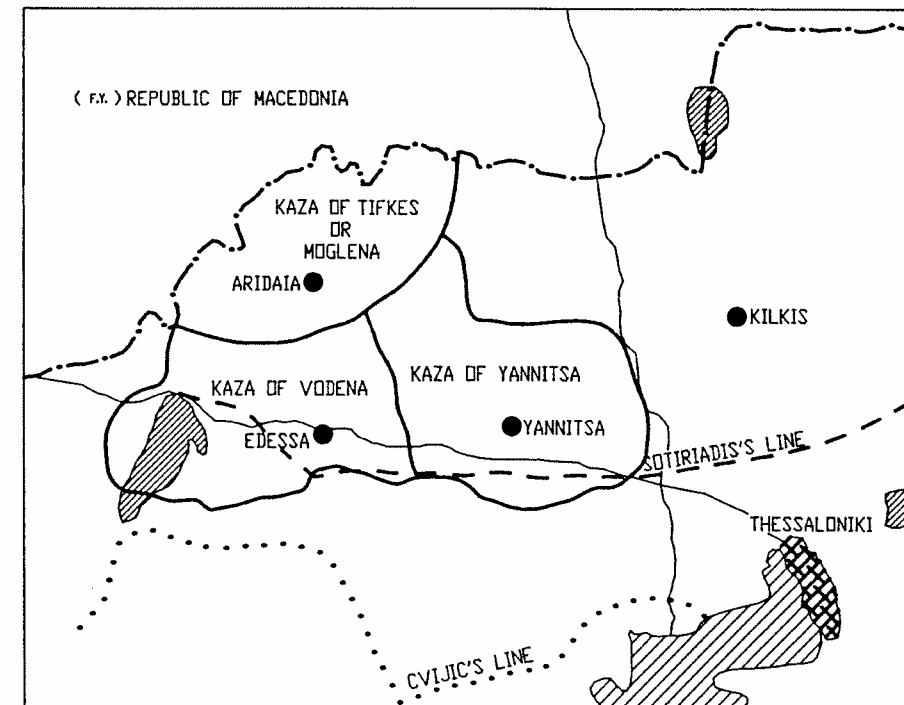
Έγραφε ο Βρετανός αναπληρωτής Γενικός Πρόξενος στη Θεσσαλονίκη την άνοιξη του 1914:

«Ο κάθε βαλκανικός λαός, εντός της επικρατείας του, διώκει τους οπαδούς των γειτόνων του και προσπαθεί να πετύχει τη δικαίωσή του ενώπιον του κόσμου, [επιδιώκει] τη συμπάθεια της Ευρώπης για τον ίδιο και την καταδίκη των γειτόνων του από τους Ευρωπαίους, εφιστώντας με-γαλοφώνως την προσοχή τους στις πράξεις των γειτόνων και αποκρύπτοντας τις δικές του».

The area of Edessa, Aridaia, and Yannitsa (the modern prefecture of Pella)

As already mentioned, the purpose of this study is not to examine the ethnic identity of the modern inhabitants of the region. Its sole objective is to investigate their ethnic origin.

The modern cultural principles of the European Union are the fundamental ideology on which its policy rests. The humanistic principles of the EU are no new phenomenon, they are not a phenomenon of our own time: they first emerged in western Europe in the sixteenth century, the century that saw the birth of philosophical humanism, the century in which those great thinkers, Erasmus and Shakespeare, lived.



Map 28: The kazas of the modern prefecture of Pella in 1912 and the spread of the Slavonic-speaking population in Central Macedonia, according to Sotiriadis and Cvijic

The most fundamental of all the cultural values of our time is considered to be the principle of self-determination, a principle from which is derived the right of every minority and every citizen to personally define their own cultural or ethnic identity, with the concomitant obligation to respect the laws and the territorial integrity of the country in which they live.

The Balkan states and their inhabitants have never respected this principle, and the result has been the survival into our own time of an excessive nationalism, an almost pathological attitude that denies 'others' the right to exist.

The devastating consequences of such a diseased hypernationalistic mindset have shown themselves in Bosnia; and the tired old notion that 'the foreign powers are to blame' for the consequences of this nationalism confirms in its own way how deeply mentally disturbed are the hypernationalists, who, by denying any personal responsibility, inculcate anyone but themselves for the suffering that their own outlook has caused.

During the period of Ottoman rule, what is now the prefecture of Pella consisted of three administrative districts known as *kazas*: these were the *kaza* of Vodena (Edessa), the *kaza* of Yannitsa, and part of the *kaza* of Tifkes or Moglena (Aridaia) (Map 28).

According to the official Greek ethnological map drawn by Sotiriadis, the mother tongue of the inhabitants of most of this whole area was Slavonic (Map 20). The Slavonic-speaking Macedonians were shown as living to the north of a line that began roughly at Dorkada, went past Ayos Athanassios (Kavakli) and Yannitsa, and ended somewhere between Edessa and Aridaia. This was a deliberate inaccuracy on Sotiriadis's part, presenting the spread of the Slavonic-speaking population of Macedonia at that time as much more limited than it really was.

The area of Vodena (Edessa)

Lithoxöou presents Stefanos Dragoumis's statistics, according to which there were no Greek-speaking Christians in the *kaza* of Vodena/Edessa,¹⁴⁶ because both the Exarchists and the Patriarchists were exclusively Slavonic-speakers.

On the same subject, it is interesting to note the information supplied by Skliros in his book *The New Greece* (in Greek). With regard to 1913, he states:

The sub-district of Vodena numbers 142 small towns and villages, of which three-fifths are Christian and two-fifths Moslem. The Christians are Bulgarian-speakers, but most of them are Orthodox.

Regarding the town of Edessa, he says:

The modern-day visitor to this city is astonished to find here people profoundly imbued with Greek convictions, yet regrettably speaking Bulgarian! For, as we have said, two-thirds of the inhabitants of this

146. Λιθοξόου, Δ., (1992), *Η μητρική γλώσσα των κατοίκων της Μακεδονίας προ και μετά την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών*, σελ. 42:

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ 2

καζάς	% συν. χριστιανών βουλγαροφώνων	% ορθόδοξοι ελληνόφωνοι	% ορθόδοξοι βλαχόφωνοι
Θεσσαλονίκης	11,3	29,3	—
Κασσανδρείας	—	93,2	—
Λαγκαδά	19,6	25,0	—
Αβρέτ Ισάφ	47,9	0,1	—
Δοϊράνης	23,3	0,2	—
Γευγελής	38,8	—	20,4
Τίκφες	49,4	0,2	—
Βοδενών	55,1	—	1,4
Γενιτζών	48,6	—	1,9
Βεροίας	10,0	61,5	14,1
Κατερίνης	—	74,6	9,9

town are Bulgarian-speakers, and the rest are Moslems, most of whom also speak Bulgarian.¹⁴⁷

Kalostipis tells us that in 1886 the people of Vodena/Edessa spoke the Slavonic tongue exclusively.¹⁴⁸

Finally, document No. 991 from the governmental delegate at Vodena to the Prefect of Thessaloniki reports that, according to a census of the area based on estimates by the local teachers, the population of the town of Vodena/Edessa consisted of 3,000 Turks, 3,000 Bulgarians, and 6,000 Greeks. Only 100 of the latter spoke Greek, which means that to all intents and purposes the whole of the Christian population was Slavonic-speaking.¹⁴⁹

These figures provide the most objective proof that there was not the slightest trace of Greek-speaking inhabitants north of Sotiriadis's line.

The tables and maps hereafter do not include the villages with an exclusively or largely refugee population after 1928.

147. Σκληρός, Σ., (1913), *Η Νέα Ελλάς*, σελ. 119:

Η υποδιοίκησις Βοδενών.....

Αριθμεί 142 κομποπόλεις και χωριά εξ ων τα τρία πέμπτα Χριστιανοί και τα δύο πέμπτα Μουσουλμάνοι. Οι Χριστιανοί είνε Βουλγαρόφωνοι, αλλ' οι πλείστοι είνε ορθόδοξοι...

Η πόλις των Βοδενών έχει 3.800 Έλληνας, 5.460 Μουσουλμάνους 1.530 Σχισηματικούς Βουλγαρίζοντες, 18 Σέρβους, 15 Ρουμανίζοντας και 10 Διαμαρτυρουμένους (Προτεστάντας).

Η πόλις αυτή εκαλείτο το πάλαι *Αιγαί* και *Έδεσσα*, μετωνομάσθη δε Βοδενά κατά τον 9ον αιώνα, κατακτηθείσα υπό των Βουλγάρων, οίτινες διά φρικτών μέσων επέβαλλον την γλώσσα των. Διά τούτο σήμερον ο επισκεπτόμενος την πόλιν ταύτην μετ' εκπλήξεως ευρίσκεται προ ανθρώπων μεστών Ελληνικών φρονημάτων, αλλά δυστυχώς βουλγαροφώνων! Διότι, ως είπομεν, τα δύο τρίτα των κατοίκων της πόλεως ταύτης είνε βουλγαρόφωνοι, οι δε λοιποί Μουσουλμάνοι, λαλούντες και αυτοί ως επί το πλείστον την Βουλγαρικήν.

148. Καλοστύπη, Ι. Ν., (1886), *Μακεδονία, ήτοι μελέτη οικονομική, ιστορική και εθνολογική της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 66: «Τα Βοδενά (Έδεσσα,) καταλέγεται εν ταις βουλγαροφώνοις κοινότησιν, ένθα προ είκοσιν ή τριάκοντα ετών αραιότατα ηκούετο η εμμελής γλώσσα των Ελλήνων».

149. *Ιστορικό Μουσείο Μακεδονίας, Φάκελ. 53, Πίνακας απογραφής πληθυσμού περιφέρειας Βοδενών.*

β) Συνοικισμοί μικτοί έχοντες Ελλην. σχολ. και διδασκάλους (μητρική γλώσσα των Ελλήνων η Βουλγαρική).

Πληθυσμός Νομάρχου, πληθυσμός διδασκάλων.

6) Έδεσσα (Βοδενά) Έλλην. 3.697, Τούρκ. 2.778, Β. 1.485, Βλαχόφ. 273, Αθίγ. 290, Σ. 8.523. — Έλλην. 6.000, ων 100 ομιλούντες την Ελλ., 30 την Κουτσοβλ., Τούρκοι 3.000, Βούλγ. 3.000, Βλαχόφ. 100, Αθίγ. Τούρκ. 100. Σύνολον 12.230

Table 7
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Vodena (Edessa) area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Dolno Gramatikovo (Kato Gramatikon)	300 + 480	917	710	168 (19.2%)
Dolno Rodino, Dolno Rodivo (Kato Korifi)	0 + 250	491	501	0
Gougovo, Goutovo (Vrita)	0 + 260	231	472	51 (9.7%)
Kamenik (Petrea)	0 + 220	126	468	48 (9.3%)
Krontselovo (Kersee)	280 + 300	311	359	115 (24.2%)
Messimer (Messimerion)	0 + 880	856	958	3
Nissya (Nission)	0 + 340	353	492	5
Novo Selo, Eni Kioy (Arhangelos)	0 + 75		84	52 (38.2%)
Osliani (Aya Fotini)	0 + 50	119	107	0
Ostrov (Arnissa)	450 + 750	1498	984	305 (23.6%)
Pod (Flamourio)	0 + 350		345	36 (9.4%)
Potchep (Margarita)	0 + 200	148	219	26 (10.6%)
Roussilovo (Xanthoya)	0 + 250	281	378	0
Samar (Samarion)	0 + 244	87	182	28 (13.3%)
Sarakinovo (Saragini)	0 + 700	921	760	14
Segan, Tchegan (Ayos Athanassios)	0 + 750	1043	1024	0
Sorovitch, Sourovitchevo (Amindaion)	35 + 750	1105	1971	177 (8.9%)
Teovo (Karidia)	0 + 604	517	525	0
Valkoyanev (Liki)	0 + 300	181	136	92 (40.3%)
Vertekop (Skidra)	0 + 300	338	566	267 (47.1%)
Vladovo (Agras)	0 + 740	879	862	4
Yavoryani (Platani)	0 + 66	145	321	1
Zervi	0 + 290	256	304	0

The northern part of the Voden area

Kantchev reports that in the northern part of the Voden area (i.e. north of the modern Edessa–Armissa road) the following villages were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Valkoyanev (mod. Liki), Gougovo (mod. Vrita), Zervi, Krontselovo (mod. Kerasseë), Nissya (mod. Nission), Dolno Rodino (mod. Kato Korifi), Potchep (mod. Margarita), and Roussilovo (mod. Xanthoya) (Map 29; Table 7).⁹⁶

Simovski's information is similar to Kantchev's.¹⁴³

Halkiopoulos tells us that the following villages in this area were Slavonic-speaking and schismatic in 1910: Dolno Rodino/Kato Korifi, Sarakinovo (mod. Sarakini), Potchep/Margarita, and Gougovo/Vrita.^{150, 151}

Finally, according to the statistics produced by the governmental delegate in Voden in 1913, the population of Sarakinovo/Sarakini comprised 1,023 schismatic Bulgarians, that of Potchep/Margarita 148, and that of Gougovo/Vrita 280. At that time, 'Bulgarians' meant schismatic

150. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 23:

7. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΒΟΔΕΝΩΝ

Μεσημέριον, 520 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες μετά Ναού και Σχολής, 330 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, εκκλησιαζόμενοι από διετίας εις την παρανόμως αυτοίς χορηγηθείσαν υπό Χιλμή Πασά Μονήν της Αγίας Τροιάδος.

Όστροβον, 234 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 670 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, 595 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Γκούγκοβο, 245 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

151. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 26:

8. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΚΑΡΑΤΖΟΒΑΣ

Πόζαρ, 1270 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Άνω Ρόδοβον, 125 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Κάτω Ρόδοβον, 135 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Τρέσινον, 50 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 650 υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν, και 500 Μουσουλμάνοι. Ο Ελληνικός Ναός εκλείσθη υπό της εξουσίας μετά την ανακήρυξιν του Συντάγματος συνεπεία αποπειρών Βουλγάρων κομητατζήδων προς αρπαγήν αυτού.

Σαρακινόβον, 350 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Πότσεπ, 150 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Τσάκονι, 200 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Βούλτσιστα, 220 ορθόδοξοι, Ελληνίζοντες.

Σπόρσκο, 220 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, τρομοκρατούμενοι από το 1905 και 980 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Slavonic-speaking Macedonians with Bulgarian national consciousness.¹⁴⁹

According to the 1928 census, after the Asia Minor Disaster refugees settled only in Gougovo/Vrita, making up 9.7 per cent of the population, Krontselovo/Kerasseë (24.2%), Potchep/Margarita (10.6%), Samar/Samarion (13.3%), and Valkoyanev/Liki (40.3%). The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like the whole of the population of the other villages in the area, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians after 1928 too (Table 7).

According to the 1928 census, before the Asia Minor Disaster, 2,717 refugees settled in the province of Edessa, being subsumed under the heading 'local Macedonians' with no reference to the specific places where they settled. This is something of a drawback, as it means that we cannot determine the number of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928 more precisely. However, according to the figures in the Ministry of Finance report on the refugees in Macedonia, of these 2,717 refugees, 1,648 settled in the area of Edessa and Aridaia in 1914. Of these, 421 settled in Edessa town, 137 in Soubotsko (Aridaia), 102 in Kamenik (Petrea), and 64 in Ostrovo (Armissa);¹⁵² and the rest in non-Slavonic-speaking villages.

In this same area reference is made to the village of Patetchina (Patima), where a dreadful massacre of dissenters and civilians took place. It

152. Έκθεσις περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείον Οικονομικών, Αθήνα, 1916, σελ. 22:

Εδέσσης (Βοδενών)	
17 Άρσεν	120
18 Βοδενά	421
19 Βήγγενη	98
20 Δραγουμάντζι	23
21 Κάμενικ	102
22 Λοποχώριον	153
23 Μπάνια	67
24 Όστροβον	64
25 Πατσαρέσκιοι	44
26 Πράχνα	45
27 Προφήτης Ηλίας	235
28 Ρίζοβον	27
29 Σούμποσκον	137
30 Τρέμπολιτς	82
31 Φούστανη	30

Εις μεταφοράν

is described by Karasevdas, one of the participants in the butchery, in a document published recently by Petsivas.¹⁵³ He gives a most cynical and detailed account of the incident, in a desperate attempt to present it as a patriotic deed, describing how the women and children wept and lamented as they watched their fathers being butchered and their houses going up in flames while they were still inside, and reporting that the perpetrators were quite unmoved by the sorry spectacle.

The same kind of ruthless savagery in the name of some other 'homeland' is idealised in similar incidents instigated by the other side. A historical condemnation of such odious crimes must be the duty of all peace-loving, conscientious historians in the Republic of Macedonia and, particularly, in Bulgaria, since the latter country was the primary instigator of all these incredible crimes against humanity.

As long as the official historians of the Balkan countries persist in idealising such deeds, the spectre of nationalism will continue to hover menacingly over the Balkan peoples.

It is a relief to see that the rising generation of scholars in Greece are showing signs of a changing outlook. A group of historians has recently published a fine book titled *Identities in Macedonia* (in Greek), in which they note: 'For over a hundred years now, much of the literature on the Macedonian Question has consisted of bleak lists of crimes and all manner of ethnic cleansing.'¹⁵⁴

153. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίβα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών*, Απομνημονεύματα, σελ. 494:

Ένεκα τούτου την 25η Ιουλίου 1906 ότι μόλις ανασυνταχθέντες μετά την καταστροφήν του Γκορνιτσόβου συνηντήθημεν ο Καραβίτης και εγώ μετά του Μπολάνη, επί των προς το άνω χωρίον κλιτών του όρους Νίτσε (του Μοριχόβου) απεφασίσαμεν επαφεληθέντες της ευκαιρίας ότι εύρομεν εκεί καταλλήλους οδηγούς να προσβάλωμεν την Πατατσίναν (...).

Οι ημέτεροι, λυσσόντες εκ της αντιστάσεως, επιτίθεντο μανιωδώς, ακράτητοι εισέβαλλον εις τας εκβιαζομένας οικίας και εφόνευον πυροβολούντες ή έσφαζον τους ανθισταμένους, όπου δεν ηδύναντο να εισέλθωσι έθετον πυρ εις τας ευφλέκτους οικίας.

Εκ τούτου τα γυναικόπαιδα τρομαγμένα έκλαιον και ωδύροντο, αι δε κραυγαί των ενούμεναι με τας οίμωγας των σφαζομένων ή καιομένων απετέλουν θλιβεράν συνοδείαν εις τον ακατάπαυστον πυροβολισμόν, ενώ οι ουρανομήκεις φλόγες των καιομένων οικιών εφώτιζον και υπεβοήθουν το έργον της καταστροφής. Το θέαμα βεβαίως ήτο φρικτόν, εν τούτοις εις ημάς, ορκισθέντας ανοικτήρμονα εκδίκησιν κατά των ανηκούστων θηριωδιών των ληστών της Σόφιας, ουδεμίαν προξένει αίσθησιν.

154. Γούναρης, Β., Μιχαηλίδης, Ι., Αγγελόπουλος, Γ., (1997), *Ταντότητες στη Μακεδονία*, σελ. 28:

The southern part of the Voden area

Kantchev describes the following villages in the area south of Edessa as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Kamenik (mod. Petrea), Messimer (mod. Messimerion), Novo Selo (mod. Arhangelos), Pod (mod. Flamourio), Vladovo (mod. Agrads), Yavoryani (mod. Platani), and, further to the west, Dolno Gramatikovo (mod. Kato Gramatikon), Osliani (mod. Aya Fotini), and Sorovitch (mod. Amindaion).

According to Halkiopoulos, the following villages were schismatic and Slavonic-speaking: Messimer/Messimerion, Ostrovo/Arnissa, and Vladovo/Agrads.¹⁵⁵

Simovski agrees with Kantchev as regards the Slavonic-speaking villages.

In the publication by the Greek General Staff it is noted that Greek partisans launched attacks in 1906 on villages around Edessa that 'were the subject of ethnic dispute', which means that they were not only Slavonic-speaking but also Exarchist. The villages in question were Messimer and Vladovo/Agrads.¹⁵⁵

According to the 1928 census, refugees in Dolno Gramatikovo/Kato Gramatikon made up 19.2 per cent of the population, in Kamenik/Petrea 9.3%, in Novo Selo/Arhangelos 38.2%, in Ostrovo/Arnissa 23.6%, in

Εξάλλου η υπεραιώνобία ήδη βιβλιογραφία του Μακεδονικού Ζητήματος αποτελείται κατά ένα μεγάλο μέρος από μαύρες βίβλους εγκλημάτων και πάσης φύσεως εθνικών εκκαθαρίσεων.

155. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 225:

Τα επιτεύγματα των σωμάτων διαφαίνοντο από τον κατάλογον των επιθέσεων, τας οποίας ενήργησαν εναντίον χωρίων, τα οποία ετέλουν υπό εθνικήν αμφισβήτησιν. Αι επιθέσεις αυταί επυκνώθησαν από της ανοίξεως του 1906. Συγκεκριμένως την 12ην Μαρτίου προσέβαλον το χωρίον Γκόλο-Σέλο (Γυμνά) Γιαννιτσών, την 13ην Μαρτίου την Αγίαν Μαρίναν Βεροίας και την 14ην Μαρτίου την Γκολεσάνην (Λευκάδια) Ναούσης. Την 8ην Απριλίου το Μεσημέρι Εδέσσης και την 24ην Απριλίου το Κονίκοβον (Στίβα) Γιαννιτσών. Την 3ην Μαΐου και πάλιν το Γκόλο-Σέλο (Γυμνά) Γιαννιτσών και την 10ην Μαΐου το Μάκρος Βεροίας. Την 9ην Ιουλίου το Τρέσινον (Όρμα) Αλμωπίας (Καρατζόβας), την 10ην Ιουλίου το Βλάδοβον (Αγρα) Εδέσσης και την 26ην Ιουλίου το Κλειδί Θεσσαλονίκης. Την 8ην Αυγούστου το Πατετσίν (Πάτσημα) Εδέσσης, την 11ην Αυγούστου το Σαρακίνοβο (Σαρακίνοι) Αλμωπίας (Καρατζόβας) και την 30ήν Αυγούστου την Δόλιανην (Κουμαριά) Βεροίας. Την 29ην Σεπτεμβρίου το Μπόζετς (Αθυρα) Γιαννιτσών και την 30ήν Σεπτεμβρίου και πάλιν το Γκόλο-Σέλο (Γυμνά) Γιαννιτσών. Την 6ην Οκτωβρίου το Γενή-Κιόι (Κριθιά) Λαγκαδά.

Pod/Flamourio 9.4%, and in Sorovitch/Amindaion 8.9%. The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like the whole of the population of the other villages in the area, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928 (Table 7).

We do not know precisely where in this sector of the province of Edessa any of the 2,717 pre-Asia Minor refugees settled. What we do know is that, of the 1,648 refugees who came to the area of Edessa and Aridaia in 1914, 102 settled in Kamenik/Petrea and 64 in Ostrovo/Armissa.¹⁵²

It was in the general area of these Slavonic-speaking villages that one of the most enlightened and peace-loving figures in the Macedonian Struggle was slain. Captain Agras (Telis Agapinos), a Greek officer, was despatched from Athens to commit acts of violence against the Bulgarian faction, and indeed he performed his mission with exemplary zeal at first. However, seeing the frightful crimes perpetrated by both sides, including himself, in the name of one homeland or another, he apparently underwent a crisis of conscience and tried to effect a reconciliation between the two factions that were slaughtering each other.

In the Greek General Staff's publication, as in many other nationalistic publications, Agras is supposed to have visited the Bulgarian partisans in their hideout with the intention of persuading them to go over to the Greek side. This is thoroughly implausible, of course, for an experienced guerrilla like Agras would never have gone alone and almost unarmed into the lair of armed adversaries with whom he had been at daggers drawn until recently.

In his memoirs, Karavitis describes Agras as a man with a sick imagination, in an effort to convince himself that he, Karavitis, was normal.

The real reasons for what Agras did are recounted by Penelope Delta in her novel *The Secrets of the Marsh*.

Captain Agras's new stance caught the attention of a number of people and stirred them deeply. The rural populations especially were weary of the Greek and Bulgarian fighting, the Romanian betrayals, the Serbian propaganda, and the Turkish pressure. They had had enough. They pronounced themselves Gypsies, said they didn't want to be called either Greeks or Bulgarians, nor did they send their children to school, lest they be tarred with one brush or another and fall victim to the vengeance of the opposing faction. In the towns, racial hatred was still keeping the separate populations apart and loosing Bulgarians and

Greeks against each other like raging wolves. But in the countryside, feelings of hatred did not run so high. Many Bulgarian-speaking and Bulgarian-minded villages had embraced Agras's peaceful policy and sought reconciliation... Dyed-in-the-wool *komitadjis* had been forced to flee, to take to the mountains. Others, more rational or less bigoted, wanted to hold consultations with Agras, wanted peace, peace in the name of God, love, and harmony, so that they could live...¹⁵⁶

Agras was seized in the mountains near Naoussa, and Delta recounts how he was frog-marched through the 'Bulgarian villages' in the area — Gorno Gramatikovo/Ano Gramatikon, Gougovo/Vrita, Patetchina/Patima, Gorno and Dolno Rodino/Ano and Kato Korifi, Sarakinovo/Sarakini, and Potchep/Margarita — held up to public ridicule, and finally hanged from a walnut tree between Teovo/Karidia and Vladovo/Agras.¹⁵⁷ The term

156. Δέλτα, Π., (1984), *Τα μυστικά του Βάλτου*, σελ. 462.

Η καινούρια στάση του καπετάν-Άγρα είχε συγκινήσει και προσελκύσει πολύν κόσμο. Οι αγροτικοί προπάντων πληθυσμοί είχαν αποκάμει από το ελληνοβουλγάρικο αλληλοφάγωμα, τις ρουμούνικες προδοσίες, τη σερβική προπαγάντα, τις τούρκικες πιέσεις. Δε βαστούσαν πια. Δήλωναν πως ήταν Γύφτοι, πως ούτε Έλληνες ούτε Βούλγαροι δεν ήθελαν πια να λέγονται, ούτε στα σχολεία πια δεν έστελναν τα παιδιά τους, μη χρωματιστούν και πέσουν στην εκδίκηση της αντίθετης παρατάξεως. Στις πόλεις μέσα, το φυλετικό μίσος κρατούσε ακόμα συμπαγείς τους πληθυσμούς, Βουλγάρους και Έλληνες, τους έριχνε σα λυσσασμένους λύκους, τους μεν εναντίον στους δε. Μα στην ύπαιθρο, τα μίση δεν ήταν τόσο εξημμένα. Πολλά βουλγαρόφωνα και βουλγαρόφρονα χωριά είχαν προσχωρήσει στην ειρηνική πολιτική του Άγρα, ζητούσαν συμφιλίωση, συνεργασία, ενότητα δράσεως εναντίον του κοινού εχθρού και τυράννου, του Τούρκου. Φανατικοί κομιτατζήδες είχαν αναγκαστεί να φύγουν, να πάρουν τα βουνά. Άλλοι, πιο λογικοί, ή λιγότερο φανατισμένοι, ζητούσαν συνεννόηση με τον Άγρα και ειρήνη στ' όνομα του Θεού, αγάπη και ομόνοια, που να μπορούν να ζήσουν και αυτοί, να βόσκουν τα πρόβατά τους, να καλλιεργούν τα χωράφια τους, χωρίς να τρέμουν κάθε νύχτα πως θάρθει ο αντίπαλος να τους κάψει σπίτι κι εσοδεία, να τους σφάξει τα πρόβατα, και, χειρότερα, τις γυναίκες και τα παιδιά τους!

157. Έκδοση Διεθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 262.

Κατά τας απογευματινάς ώρας οι κομιτατζήδες απηλευθέρωσαν τους υπολοίπους και εκράτησαν μόνον τον Άγραν και τον Μίγγαν, τους οποίους ωδήγησαν εις το χωρίον Άνω Γραμματικόβον (Άνω Γραμματικόν). Σκοπός των ήτο να επιδείξουσιν εις τους τρομοκρατημένους οπαδούς των του χωρίου τούτου τον αιχμάλωτον Έλληνα αρχηγόν, διά να αναπερώσουν το ηθικόν των. Διά τον ίδιον σκοπόν τους περιέφερον διά των χωρίων Γιούγκοβο (Βρυτά), Ποτετσίν (Πάτημα), Άνω και Κάτω Ράδοβον (Κορυφή) και εστάθμευσαν επί εικοσιτετράωρον εις Σαρακινόβον (Σαρακινοί), το οποίον απετέλει ορμητήριον κομιτατζήδων. Κατά την περιφοράν των εβασάνιζον συνεχώς τους αιχμαλώτους, η στάσις όμως του Άγρα ήτο υπέροχος. Συνεχώς εξύβριζε τους

'Bulgarian villages' at that time meant the Slavonic-speaking villages, and (with the exception of Dolno Gramatikovo) those mentioned were indeed Slavonic-speaking.

Finally, as regards the origin of the inhabitants of this area, we can only conclude that they were descended from the Slavonic Berzites, who settled hereabouts *circa* AD 600, after they had wiped out the ancient Macedonians, both Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking. The descendants of the Latin-speaking Macedonians still survive today, and are known as Vlachs; the descendants of the Greek-speaking Macedonians are probably the modern Sarakatsani.

One minor exception was the Arabs who settled in the area, for, as we know, Orientals known as Kondarati settled outside Edessa in 1015. There is a village named Sarakinovo or Sarakino in the area to this day, whose existence suggests that its Slavonic-speaking Macedonian inhabitants are of Arab descent.

The area of Tifkes or Moglena (Aridaia)

With regard to the Greek part of the *kaza* of Tifkes or Moglena (the Aridaia area), Stefanos Dragoumis's statistics tell us that there were no Greek-speaking Christians here in 1913.¹⁴⁶ Both the Exarchists and the Patriarchists were exclusively Slavonic-speakers. In his book, *Macedonia* (published in Greek in 1906), Filippidis states that there were 250 Greeks, 19,386 schismatics, and 19,462 Moslems living in the *kaza* of Tifkes or Moglena.¹⁵⁸ Despite the strongly nationalistic tone of his book, Filippidis

βασανιστάς του ως ανάνδρους και δειλούς και τους έπτνε κατά πρόσωπον. Εκ Σαρακινόβου οι αιχμάλωτοι οδηγήθησαν εις Πότσεπ (Μαργαρίτα) και Κροντσέλοβον (Κερασιές) και τελικώς μετεφέρθησαν εις Τέχοβον (Καρυδιάν), όπου την νύκτα της 7ης Ιουνίου τους απηγχόνισαν εκ μιας υψηλής καρυδιάς, μεταξύ Τεχόβου και Βλαδόβου (Άγρα).

158. Φιλίππιδης, Δ., (1906), *Η Μακεδονία*, σελ. 69, 72:

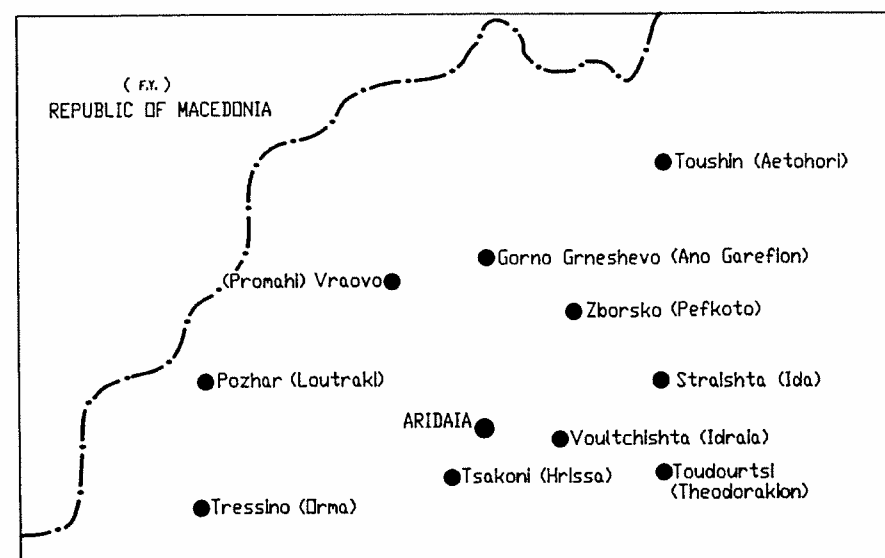
Υποδιοικήσεις Αβρέτ Ισάρ. Έλληνες 1.080. Σχισματικοί 15.892. Σερβίζοντες 100. Ουνίται 1.300. Μουσουλμάνοι 19.779.

Κιλκίσιον, πρωτεύουσα της υποδιοικήσεως. Κάτοικοι 40 Ελληνικά οικογένεια, 1.000 Σχισματικά, Ουνιτικά, Σερβίζουσα, 250 Μουσουλμανικά.

Υποδιοικήσεις Τίκφες. Έλληνες 250. Σχισματικοί 19.386. Μουσουλμάνοι 19.462.

Τίκφες, πρωτεύουσα της υποδιοικήσεως.

does mention the almost total absence of Greeks in the area. As for the 250, they were simply Slavonic-speaking Patriarchist Macedonians who had opted for Greek national identity.



Map 30: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Aridaia (Tifkes) in 1913

Table 8

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Tifkes
or Moglena (Aridaia)

	Turkish and Slavonic- speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic- speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Gorno Grneshevo, Gorno Tsmeshevo (Ano Garefion)			316	110 (25.8%)
Pozhar (Loutraki)	0 + 2004	1803	1441	3
Straishta (Ida)	130 + 150	506	391	112 (22.2%)
Toudourtsi (Theodorakion)	0 + 336	436	548	26
Toushin (Aetohori)	0 + 1200	1057	595	29
Tressino (Orma)	250 + 430	1182	967	205 (17.4%)
Tsakoni (Hrissa)	0 + 260	346	419	153 (26.7%)
Voultchishta, Voltchishta (Idraia)		118	159	132 (45.3%)
Vraovo, Baovo (Promahi)	0 + 560	1082	1160	5
Zborsko (Pefkoto)	0 + 880	1102	189	1

To take a detailed look now at the *kaza* of Tifkes or Moglena, according to Kantchev, the following villages were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Gorno Grneshevo (mod. Ano Garefion), Pozhar (mod. Loutraki), Straishta (mod. Ida), Toudourtsi (mod. Theodorakion), Toushin (mod. Aetohori), Tsakoni (mod. Hrissa), Voultchishta (mod. Idraia), Vraovo (mod. Promahi), and Zborsko (mod. Pefkoto) (Map 30; Table 8).

Halkiopoulos describes Voultchishta/Idraia, Zborsko/Pefkoto, Pozhar/Loutraki, Tsakoni/Hrissa, and Tressino/Orma as schismatic and Slavonic-speaking in 1910.¹⁵¹

The Greek General Staff's publication describes Soubotsko (Aridaia) itself as Slavonic-speaking and schismatic; and Tressino/Orma as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.^{151, 155}

According to the 1928 census, refugees who settled in Voultchishta/Idraia made up 45.3 per cent of the population, in Gorno Grneshevo/Ano Garefion 25.8%, in Tressino/Orma 17.4%, in Straishta/Ida 22.2%, and in Tsakoni/Hrissa 26.7%. The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like the whole of the population of the other villages in the area, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928.

14,529 refugees settled in the area after the Asia Minor Disaster, drastically changing its ethnic make-up. The villages that were inhabited mostly or exclusively by refugees are not mentioned in this study.

The 1928 census gives the precise number of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in this area, because refugees prior to the Asia Minor Disaster numbered 1,351 (a statistically insignificant figure), 137 of whom settled in Soubotsko/Aridaia.¹⁵²

This area — specifically the villages of Pozhar/Loutraki and Tressino/Orma — witnessed atrocities by both sides that show just how far the bestial instincts of human beings can be aroused under the influence of excessive nationalism.

On 30 May 1908, a Greek partisan band that was passing through Pozhar/Loutraki interrogated some of the villagers to find out whether there were any Bulgarians left. On finding that there were, they burnt down twenty houses, together with the fifteen people occupying them, in retribution, despite the fact that they had received contrary instructions from the centre in Thessaloniki.

In reprisal, Bulgarian partisans from neighbouring villages irrupted into nearby Tressino/Orma and burnt down a school and two houses. While they were about it, they also slew six Slavonic-speaking Patriarchist Macedonians (out of a total of eight Patriarchist families), none of whom had had anything to do with the atrocities committed by the Greek partisans at Pozhar/Loutraki; they had simply been unwise enough to remain Patriarchist when 90 per cent of their fellow villagers went over to the Exarchate.¹⁵⁹

Another factor that exacerbated this inhuman conduct by the

159. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίδα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 787:

partisan bands was the fact that partisans who had come from Athens or Sofia were not all characterised by purely patriotic feelings and a peace-loving disposition.

The moral substance of some of the Cretan partisans was described by one of their number, Ioannis Hristoulakis, before he was killed by his own leader for protesting about irregularities. In a letter to the Greek consul in Monastir, published by Petsivas, Hristoulakis wrote:

I consider it my duty to inform you about the situation created by the two corps under Skalidis and Nikoloudis, to one of which [Nikoloudis's] I have the misfortune to belong. First of all, both these corps consist of unruly men who hold nothing sacred. Of the twenty-six men who make up the two corps together, I do not believe that there are more than two or three who have come here truly to fight for the motherland; the rest are here purely and simply to thief and to plunder... In the name of God, Mr Consul, let it not be known that I have written to you, for my life is in danger. For such pitiless criminals as these are capable of anything.¹⁶⁰

The same, and worse, information is to be had from Nikolaos

534. α) ΚΑΡΑΤΖΟΒΑ: Το εν τω διαμερίσματι τούτω ενεργούν σώμα υπό τον Καραπάνον ενήργησε δια μερικών εμφανίσεων εν τοις πέριξ του μονίμου αυτού ορμητηρίου. Η προσπάθεια ημών περιωρίσθη εις μάλλον ειρηνικήν ενέργειαν προς ενίσχυσιν του φρονήματος των εκεί ημετέρων. Και πράγματι ου μόνον ουδέν απώλεσαμεν, αλλά και διαπραγματεύσεις ήρξαντο περί προσχωρήσεως του χωρίου Πόζαρ, καλλιεργείτο δε το έδαφος ομοίως δια το χωρίον Τρέσινον ου η προσχώρησις θ' απετέλει σημαντικήν επιτυχίαν.

Ατυχώς την 31 Μαΐου ήκιστα μεμελετημένον και λίαν άστοχον γεγονός έλαβε χώραν. Η επίθεσις παρά σώματος 60μελούς, διερχομένου του ημετέρου διαμερίσματος και μεταβαίνοντος ίνα αναλάβει υπηρεσίαν εν τω του Μοναστηρίου, κατά του χωρίου Πόζαρ, ου έκαψε περί τας 20 οικίας και εφόνευσε περί τους 15 χωρικούς. Τούτου αντεκδίκησις ήτο η μετά δύο ημέρας εισβολή βουλγαρικής συμμορίας εις Τρέσινον, η πυρπόλησις εν αυτώ του σχολείου, δύο οικιών και ο φόνος 3 ανδρών και 3 γυναικών εκ των 8 εν όλω υπαρχουσών οικογενειών εκεί. Εννοείται ότι πάσα προς το παρόν εκεί διαπραγματεύσεις ματαιούται.

160. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίβα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 923:

Αντίγραφον επιστολής
Ιωάννου Χρηστούλακη,
οπλίτου του εν Μοριχόβω σώματος Νικολούδη
Κύριε Πρόξενε

Δεν γνωρίζω τι εντύπωσιν θα σας κάμη η επιστολή μου. Ό,τιδήποτε όμως και αν υποθέσητε, εθεώρησα καθήκον μου να σας κατατήσω γνωστήν την κατάστασιν, την οποίαν εδημιούργησαν τα δύο σώματα Σκαλίδη και Νικολούδη, εις το έν των οποίων δυστυχώς ανήκω (του Νι-

Xidakis's letter to the consul in Monastir, from which we learn that Nikoloudis did indeed murder the unfortunate Hristoulakis.¹⁶¹

Leaving the Aridaia plain and heading towards the border with the Republic of Macedonia, near Idomeni we come to Mount Paiko, the home of the Karadjovalides. Of Turko-Mongolian origin, these Vlachs descended from the Petcheneg prisoners of Alexius Comnenus and made up the entire population of Paiko, apart from the Aromunian Vlachs of Megalo Livadi, who are of Indo-European origin.

As the centuries passed, the Karadjovalides separated into two groups, the larger of which is established in Greece. Its members are thoroughly Hellenised and live in the following villages on Paiko: Osin (mod. Arhangelos), Lountsi (mod. Langadia), Loumnitsa (mod. Skra), Koupa, Tsouma, Tsernareka (mod. Karpi), Barovitsa (mod. Kastaneri), and

κολούδη).

Και εν πρώτοις, αμφοτέρα τα σώματα ταύτα αποτελούνται από άνδρας ανυποτάκτους, μηδέν όσιον και ιερόν έχοντας. Εκ των είκοσι έξ ανδρών των αποτελούντων τα δύο σώματα δεν πιστεύω να είναι δύο ή τρεις ελθόντες εδώ να αγωνισθούν πράγματι υπέρ πατρίδος, οι δε λοιποί ήλθον μόνον και μόνον για να κλέψουν, να πλατασκολογήσουν. Δεν εννοούν κατ' ουδένα τρόπον ν' ακούσουν τας επιτροπάς των χωρίων, όταν τους συνιστούν προσοχήν, ίνα αποφύγωμεν την σύγκρουσιν μετά του στρατού και όχι μόνον τούτο, αλλά υβρίζουν τας επιτροπάς, δέρουν τους διδασκάλους και ενίοτε δεν πληρώνουν ό,τι τρώγουν.

Δι' όνομα του Θεού, κ. Πρόξενε, να μη γνωσθή ότι εγώ σας έγραψα, διότι κινδυνεύει η ζωή μου. Διότι, κακούργοι ως αυτοί, είναι ικανοί το παν να πράξουν.

161. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίβα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 297:

Β. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΕΙΟΝ

Εν Μοναστηρίω τη 28η Δεκεμβρίου 1905

Αριθ. 1233

Κύριε Υπουργέ,

... Αλλά θεωρώ σκόπιμον να διαβιβάσω Υμίν αντίγραφον επιστολής οπαδού των τινός, Ιωάννου Χριστούλακη καλουμένου, Κρητός και τούτου, όστις φαίνεται να είχε πλειοτέραν συνείδησιν και όστις διά τούτο ίσως εύρεν ο ατυχής οικτρόν θάνατον, φονευθείς υπό του τέρατος αρχηγού του.

Οι χωρικοί του Μοριχόβου, όσων τα οικίας επεσκέφθησαν οι αγαθοί ούτοι άνθρωποι, εκφράζονται περί αυτών μετ' αποστροφής και φρίκης, προτιμώνσι δε νυν να προσκαλώσι τον στρατόν, όπως εγκαθιστάμενος μονίμως εν τω χωρίω των φυλάττη αυτούς από των βουλγαρικών επιδρομών και των ελληνικών επισκέψεων ή να καλέσωσι το ελληνικόν σώμα, προς ο άλλοτε μετά τοςαύτης στοργής απέβλεπον.

Ευπειθέστατος

Ν. Ξυδάκης

[Φάκελος Μοναστηρίου 1905, ΑΥΕ]

Borislav (mod. Periklia). Konstandinos Vakalopoulos describes Kornitchelovo, Krova, and Tsernareka/Karpi as Slavonicised villages.⁸² Jirecek describes Barovitsa/Kastaneri as Slavonicised.⁸¹

The smaller group of Karadjovalides is established in the geographical territory of the Republic of Macedonia, specifically in the villages of Koinsko (mod. Houma) and Sermenin (mod. Sirminina), whose inhabitants are completely Slavonicised.

Although the Karadjovalides in Greek Macedonia have become Greeks and those in the Republic of Macedonia Macedonians, in fact they are one and the same people, a people that was assimilated by two different cultures, having first lost their own.

This analysis of one small area alone incontestably demonstrates how historically unfounded are such modern Greek nationalistic clichés as the notion that the 'Skopjans' are 'Gypsies' or that the Republic of Macedonia is an 'ethnic hotchpotch'. As far as the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of this region is concerned, 'Slavonic-speaking' does not necessarily mean 'of Slavonic origin'.

We know that the Aridaia valley was inhabited in 1150 by large numbers of Armenian Monophysites and Manichaeans. The literature tells us that St Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena, waged intensive battles against the numerous heretics in the area, specifically the Armenian Manichaeans and Monophysites. Unlike the Armenian Paulicians of Plovdiv, the Armenians of Karadjova disappeared, which simply means that they embraced Slavonic culture.

So we can say with certainty that some of the local Slavonic-speaking inhabitants are not Slavs, but rather Slavonicised Armenians, even though the Armenian villages cannot be identified, unlike the Bulgarianised villages around Plovdiv.

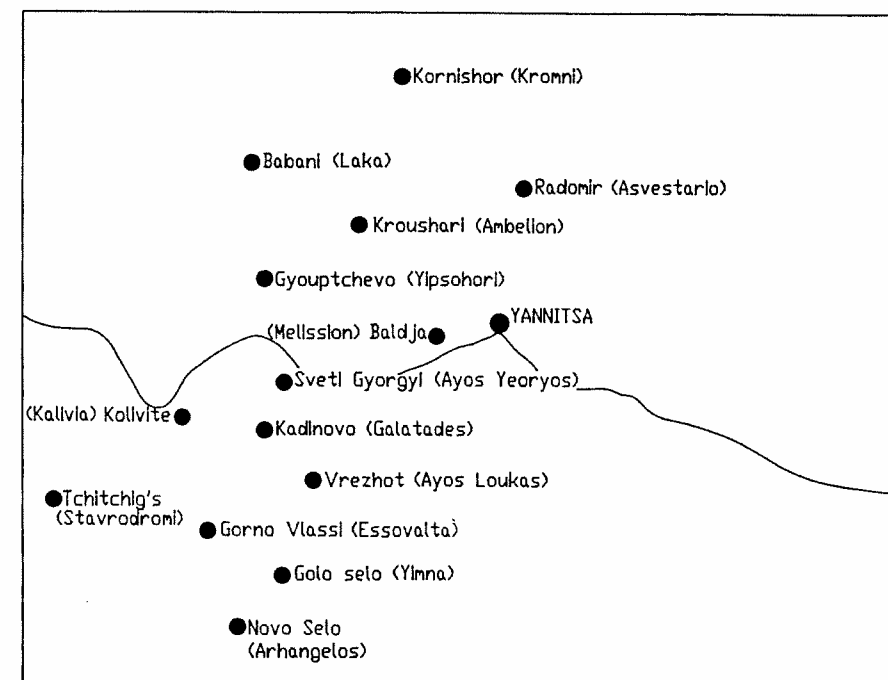
In *Measurements of Macedonian Men*, an anthropological study of the Bulgarian Moslems in this area written in 1930, M. M. Hasluck mentions the villages of Polyan, Kostouryan, and Kapinyan. We may easily conclude that, if the inhabitants of these villages were descended from the Armenian Monophysites and Manichaeans, they embraced Islam because of the undying hatred they nursed for Orthodox Christianity. These Moslems left for Turkey in 1924, being defined as Turks, abandoning the refugee villages of Polyani (Polikarpi), Kostourino (Xifonia), and Kapinyani (Exaplatanos).

In the end, it may be asserted that, from a racial point of view, both

the Slavonic-speaking and the Vlach-speaking Macedonians on the Karadjova plain and on Mount Paiko are not only of Slavonic origin, but are descended to a certain extent from Slavonicised Armenian Monophysites, Slavonicised Armenian Manichaeans, and Hellenised Vlachs of Turko-Mongolian origin. The latter still speak the local Vlach language, known as the Daco-Romanian dialect. The Vlachs of Indo-European descent living in Megalo Livadi are an exception, for they speak the Aromunian Vlach language.

The Yannitsa area

Stefanos Dragoumis tells us that there were no Greek-speaking Christians in the Yannitsa area in 1913,¹⁴⁶ because it was inhabited exclusively by Slavonic-speaking Christians and Moslems. The Moslems regarded the town of Yannitsa as holy, for it was the burial place of Evren Pasha, the Ottoman conqueror of Macedonia. Even on Sotiriadis's official Greek ethnological map, in 1919 the Yannitsa area is almost entirely within the Slavonic-speaking zone of what is now Greek Macedonia.



Map 31: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Yannitsa area in 1913

Table 9
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Yannitsa area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Babani, Babyani (Laka)	0 + 168	173	269	1
Baltsa (Melission)	0 + 94	103	52	3
Golo Selo (Yimna)	0 + 380	318	282	143 (33.6%)
Gorno Vlasi (Essovalta)	0 + 330	88	239	6
Gyoutchevo (Yipsohori)	0 + 260	227	243	43 (15%)
Kadinovo (Galatades)	0 + 248	337	457	389 (45.9%)
Kolivite (Kalivia)	40 + 30	212	359	106 (22.7%)
Kornishor (Kromni)	0 + 400	675	330	4
Kroushari (Ambelion)	0 + 320	103	469	0
Radomir (Asvestario)	0 + 165	329	268	118 (30.3%)
Sveti Gyorgyi (Ayos Yeoryos)	0 + 160	100	168	3
Tchitchig's (Stavrodromi)	0 + 420		299	1
Vrezhot (Ayos Loukas)	0 + 160	330	158	5
Yannitsa	5100 + 4000	7167	5280	3848 (42.1%)

With regard to the demographic make-up of the town of Yannitsa in 1910, Halkiopoulos reports 800 Orthodox Greeks and 2,690 Slavonic-speaking Exarchists or adherents of other churches.¹⁶² By 'Orthodox Greeks', he means Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists, for, as has already been

162. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετιών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 28:

9. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΓΙΑΝΕΤΣΩΝ

Γιανετσα, πρωτεύουσα του Καζά, έδρα αρχιερατικού Επιτρόπου του Έλληνος Μητροπολίτου Βοδενών υφ' ον υπάγεται εκκλησιαστικώς. Κάτοικοι: 800 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 1960 υπό την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν από του 1904 και εντεύθεν 300 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, επίσημως αναγνωριζόμενοι, 300 Καθολικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, 30 διαμαρτυρόμενοι βουλγαρίζοντες, 100 ορθόδοξοι σερβίζοντες και 6.000 Μουσουλμάνοι.

pointed out, there were no Greek-speaking Christians in the town.

With reference to the Christian population of the town of Yannitsa at that time, a contemporary Greek writer mentions 1,000 families, 600 of which spoke Slavonic and 150–200 were distinguished 'for their steadfast loyalty and devotion to their motherland and their faith'.¹⁶³

Kantchev, by contrast, reports that the town of Yannitsa had 5,100 Turks, 4,000 Bulgarians, and 15 Greeks in 1900. He means, of course, that the town had 4,000 Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, whom all the centrally directed literary propaganda referred to as either Bulgarians (i.e. Exarchists) or Greeks (i.e. Patriarchists).

In 1928, 3,848 refugees and 5,280 locals were recorded in the town of Yannitsa, accounting for 57.8 per cent of the total population. However, since the census included the 1,325 refugees who had arrived in 1914 among the 'locals', we must conclude that the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the town accounted for 43.3 per cent, not 57.8 per cent, of the inhabitants.^{103, 164}

Χωρία επί των υπωρειών του όρους Πάικου.

Γουμέντσα, λίαν ονομαστή καμόπολις. Κάτοικοι: 700 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 750 τρομοκρατούμενοι υπό των Βουλγάρων από του 1904 και εντεύθεν, 1530 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

163. Χολέβας, Ι. Κ., (1991), *Οι Έλληνες Σλαβόφωνοι της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 151:

(2) Γενιτσα (Γιαννιτσα). Αγ. Απόσ. (Πέλλα), Οι Αγ. Απόστολοι (όπου η παλαιά πρωτεύουσα των μακεδόνων βασιλέων, Πέλλα) κατοικούνται από 80 οικογένειες που μιλούν το σλαβόηχο γλωσσικό ιδίωμα, αλλά, ορισμένοι μόνο προσχώρησαν στη βουλγαρική εξarchία. Τα Γενιτσα (από το τούρκικο Βαρδάρ-Γενιτζέ) είναι κυρίως πόλη οθωμανική γιατί τα 2/3 του πληθυσμού τους είναι τούρκοι. Ο χριστιανικός πληθυσμός περιλαμβάνει το 1/3 του πληθυσμού, δηλ. περ. 1000 οικογένειες. 500-600 οικογένειες μιλούν το σλαβόηχο ιδίωμα, ορισμένες από τις οποίες, με δόλο, προσχώρησαν στο βουλγαρικό σχίσμα, αλλά πολλές επανήλθαν στην ορθοδοξία. 150-200 οικογένειες διακρίνονται για αναλλοίωτη πίστη και αφοσίωση στην πατρίδα και τη θρησκεία.

164. *Έκθεσις περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείον Οικονομικών, Αθήνα*, σελ. 23:

Όνομα πόλεως ή χωρίου	Αριθμός προσφύγων Μερικός Ατόμων
Εκ μεταφοράς Γενιτσών	
32 Βοέμιτσα	510
33 Γενιτσα	1328
34 Γοργόπη	160
35 Γουμέντσα	38
36 Ισπερλίκ	265
37 Καλύβια	152
38 Ορμάνοβον	102
39 Ράμελ	269

As in the rest of Macedonia, so savage clashes took place here too, as one ethno-cultural group sought to subdue the other, if not to wipe it off the face of the earth. Even today, the theorists of each of the factions are still trying to present the crimes committed by their own side as patriotic deeds pleasing in the sight of Got. Such was the callousness of the nationalists at the dawn of this century that even priests, who by definition should teach love, tolerance, and concord, were ringleaders in all manner of violent acts.

As has repeatedly been stressed, nationality is the conscious choice of the individual, who must be absolutely free to choose which nation or which culture s/he wishes to belong to, as long as the frontiers and the laws of the country which s/he lives in and is a national of are respected. Yet every nationality in the Balkans claims that right for itself alone, and denies it to the 'others'.

North and south parts of the Yannitsa area

According to Kantchev, the following villages in the north of the Yannitsa area (north of the modern Yannitsa–Edessa road) were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Baltsa (mod. Melission), Kroushari (mod. Ambelion), Radomir (mod. Asvestario), Gyauptchevo (mod. Yipsohori), Babani (mod. Laka), and Kornishor (mod. Kromni). Slavonic-speaking villages in the south of the Yannitsa area were: Sveti Gyorgyi (mod. Ayos Yeoryos), Kadinovo (mod. Galatades), Vrezhot (mod. Ayos Loukas), Gorno Vlassi (mod. Essovalta), Golo Selo (mod. Yimna), Novo Selo (mod. Arhangelos), Tchitchig's (mod. Stavrodromi), and Kolivite (mod. Kalivia).

The Greek General Staff's publication mentions an attack by Greek partisan groups on the 'contested' village of Golo Selo/Yimna.¹⁵⁵

According to the 1928 census, of the villages in the northern part, refugees settled only in Radomir/Asvestario, making up 30.3 per cent of the population, and in Gyauptchevo/Yipsohori (15%); in the southern part, refugees settled in Golo Selo/Yimna (33.6%), Kadinovo/Galatades (45.9%), and Kolivite/Kalivia (22.7%). The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the other villages, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians, with the exception of Gorno Vlassi/Essovalta, whose

population consisted of approximately 50 per cent Vlachs (Table 9).

Two thousand and thirty-five refugees settled in the Yannitsa district before the Asia Minor Disaster, 1,325 of them in the town of Yannitsa in 1914;¹⁶⁴ which means that the remaining 710 refugees do not statistically affect an assessment of the demographic make-up of the Slavonic-speaking villages in the Yannitsa district.

In their memoirs, some of the warlords involved in the Macedonian Struggle state that the standard equipment of the Greek partisan corps included containers of kerosene, so that they would always be able to set fire to the houses of Slavonic-speaking Exarchists. This barbaric act was committed in Bozets (mod. Athira) in the Yannitsa area and Zagoritchani (mod. Vassiliada) in the Kastoria area, against people who were defending their own ideals, which happened to be different from those of the Greeks or of the Patriarchist Slavonic-speaking Macedonians with Greek national consciousness.

One detail of these 'heroic' acts which really must be mentioned is the fact that, in the houses that fell prey to the flames, it was not only grown men who were killed, but little children, women, and old folk. Yet even today, the so-called historians of Athens, Sofia, and Skopje still sing the praises of these feats of heroism.

It must be said that the Bulgarian faction did not lag behind in committing similar heroic acts against houses whose occupants had had the unfortunate idea of being Patriarchists, or, as they were contemptuously termed, *Grekomani*.

The area of Naoussa and Veria

Almost all the European maps place Naoussa in the Greek zone; but Aravandinos, strangely enough, speaks of 2,000 Christian Bulgarian families among the inhabitants of Naoussa in 1856.¹⁶⁵

Kantchev mentions the following villages in the area between Veria

165. Αραβαντινός, (1856), *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου, Τόμος δεύτερος*, σελ. 116: «Νιάουστα —Νέα της Μακεδονίας πόλις οικουμένη εκ δύο χιλιάδων χριστιανικών οικογενειών φυλής Βουλγαρικής...»

and Naoussa as Slavonic-speaking: Ayia Marina, Gorno Kopanovo/Ano Kopanos, Veshista (mod. Angelohori), Yantchishta (mod. Yanissa), Goleshani (mod. Lefkadia), Zervohori, and Dolno Kopanovo (mod. Hariessa).

According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the following villages were Exarchist (i.e. Slavonic-speaking): Ayia Marina, Yantchishta/Yanissa, Zervohori, Veshista/Angelohori, Gorno Kopanovo/Ano Kopanos.¹⁶⁶ He defines the ethnicity of the inhabitants of these villages by describing them as 'terrorised Orthodox Greeks', a designation more appropriate to a nationalist propaganda report than to a serious historical essay.

More recent nationalistic literature tell us that the inhabitants of Ayia Marina, Yantchishta/Yanissa, and Monospito were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians.¹⁶⁷

166. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 20:

Τα εν τη πεδιάδι Βεροίας εμπερίστατα χωρία.

Τα χωρία ταύτα κατά το 1905-6 εξεβιάσθησαν εις το σχίσμα υπό των τρομοκρατών Βουλγάρων, ορμωμένων από της λίμνης Γιαννεσών.

Τα χωρία ταύτα είνε:

Λυκοβίστα, κάτοικοι 134 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Αγία Μαρίνα, 170 ορθόδ. Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Μονόσπητον, 240 ορθόδ. Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Γιάντισστα, 325 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Ζερβοχώρι, 180 ορθόδ. Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

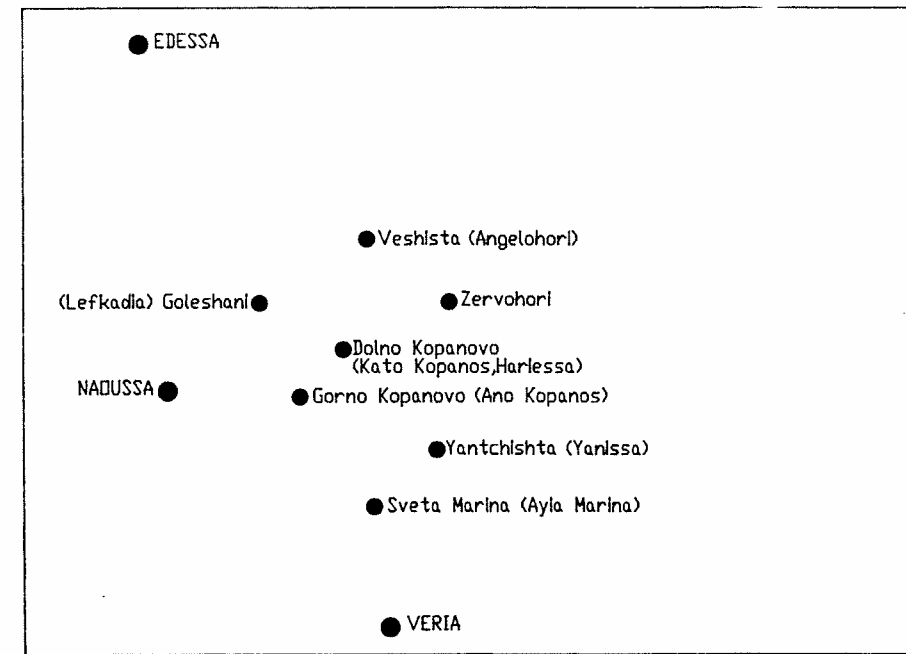
Βέσιστα, 244 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Ανω Κοπανός, 185 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

Κάτω Κοπανός, 245 ορθόδ. Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι.

167. Χολέβας, Ι. Κ., (1991), *Οι Έλληνες Σλαβόφωνοι της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 157:

Στον καζά της Βέροιας υπάγονταν και ορισμένα σλαβόφωνα χωριά, τα οποία βρίσκονταν στην πεδιάδα των Γιαννιτσών όπως η Γιάντισστα (Γιάννισσα), το Μονόσπιτο, η Αγ. Μαρίνα και άλλα.



Map 32: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Naoussa and Veria in 1913

Table 10

The Slavonic-speaking villages in area of Veria and Naoussa

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Dolno Kopanovo (Kato Kopanos, Hariessa)	0 + 240	338	489	102 (17.2%)
Goleshani, Golishani (Lefkadia)	+ 50	131	325	54 (13.6%)
Gorno Kopanovo (Ano Kopanos)	0 + 175	210	461	186 (28.7%)

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Sveta Marina (Ayia Marina)	0 + 185		232	211 (47.6%)
Veshista, Veshtitsa (Angelohori)	0 + 320		336	385 (53.3%)
Yantchishta (Yanissa)		311	858	272 (31.7%)
Zervohori	0 + 240	247	236	230 (49.3%)

Even the publication by the Greek General Staff gives the lie to Halkiopoulos's information by stating that the schismatic village of Zervohori was assailed by Greek partisans.¹⁶⁸ It also reports that the following 'ethnically contested' (i.e. Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist) villages in the Naoussa and Veria area suffered Greek attacks in 1906: Ayia Marina, Zervohori, Makros, and Goleshani/Lefkadia, as also the Vlach-speaking and pro-Romanian village of Doliani (mod. Koumaria).¹⁵⁵

We also know from Penelope Delta that the local Bulgarian *komitadjis* used the Slavonic-speaking villages of Zervohori, Golo Selo/Yimna, and Prishna on the north side of Yannitsa Lake as their base of operations. The information Delta gives in *The Secrets of the Marsh* is particularly interesting because it comes from the official archives of the Macedonian Struggle. She gives a masterly literary account of both the self-sacrifice and the atrocities on both the Greek and the Bulgarian side.

The Slavonic-speaking Macedonians who lived in the villages on the north side of Yannitsa Lake fought in the Macedonian Struggle on the side

168. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 234:

Οι Βούλγαροι όμως απέφευγον την αναμέτρησιν και είχαν περιορισθή εις άμυναν. Διά να τους προκαλέση, προσέβαλε το σχισματικόν Ζερβοχώριον, εις το οποίον, με την συνεργασίαν και του εξ εντοπίων σώματος Γκόνου Γιώτα, επυρπόλησε μερικάς οικίας και συνέλαβεν αιχμαλώτους.

of the Bulgarian Committee in defence of their then national identity, in the belief that they were also of Bulgarian origin. The patriotic sentiments of these people, who risked their lives in defence of their ideals, cannot be disputed; nor can the patriotism of the Greek-speaking Macedonians on the south side of Yannitsa Lake, who fought alongside the Greek partisans in the Macedonian Struggle. What can be challenged is the Bulgarian origin of the Slavonic-speakers and the Greek origin of the Greek-speakers in this locality, which was known as the *Rumluki*.

According to the 1928 census, a significant number of refugees settled in all these villages after the Asia Minor Disaster: in Ayia Marina they accounted for 47.6 per cent of the total population, in Gorno Kopanovo/Ano Kopanos 28.7%, in Veshista/Angelohori 53.3%, in Yantchishta/Yanissa 31.7%, in Goleshani/Lefkadia 13.5%, in Zervohori 49.3%, and in Dolno Kopanovo/Kato Kopanos 17.2% (Table 10).

However, since 4,034 refugees settled in this area before the Asia Minor Disaster, we cannot say exactly how many Slavonic-speaking Macedonians there were, because the 1928 census subsumed the refugees from 1914–22 under the heading of 'local Macedonians'. At all events, we do know that of the 862 refugees who settled here in 1914, only 33 settled in a Slavonic-speaking village, namely Dolno Kopanovo/Kato Kopanos. It remains unknown precisely where the other 3,172 refugees settled.

Near Veria rises Mount Vermion, the inhabitants of which were not of Greek origin but were Hellenised Vlachs. As we have already seen in the relevant chapter, they lived in the villages of Gramatikova/Ano Grammatiko, Volanda, Ano Seli/Ano Vermion, Kato Seli/Kato Vermion, Maroussa, Doliani/Koumaria, Xirolivadi, Kastania, and Tsarkovian/Mikri Sanda. They numbered about 4,000, and a considerable number of them were Romanian-minded at that time. Another 500 Vlachs lived in the town of Veria, which had 3,000 Greeks and 1,100 Laliot Turkish (i.e. Albanian) families in 1889.¹⁶⁹

As regards the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of this area, it should be noted that the Slavonic Drogovitae settled around Yannitsa Lake, and more specifically between Veria and Thessaloniki, in 620; while the Slavonic

169. Αραβαντινός, (1856), *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου, Τόμος δεύτερος*, σελ. 32: «... καλείται παρά των Τούρκων Καράφερη, και κατοικείται υπό 1100 οικογενειών των πλείστων Οθωμανικών, καταγομένων εκ της εν Πελοποννήσω Άλάας».

Sagoudatae settled around Veria. According to the Byzantine sources, many of the latter were Byzantinised, which means that later on they were Hellenised.

In the tenth century, 30,000 Persians settled in the valley of the lower Axios, i.e. north and south of Yannitsa Lake. They converted to Christianity and have gone down in history as Vardar Turks. In fact, those who stayed in the area were Slavonicised.

A little to the south of this area was the Greek-speaking zone, the *Rumluki*, which included, among others, the villages of Nissi, Reshani/Vrissaki, and Meliki.

Athonite documents of 1328 record land owned by the Christianised Seljuk Turks of Meliki at Nissi and Reshani. These Seljuk Turks had settled in Veria in 1261 and later embraced the local culture. It seems reasonable to suppose, though it cannot be proven, that some of the Greeks of Nissi, Reshani, and Meliki are descended from these Hellenised Seljuk Turks, as opposed to the Hellenised Seljuk Turks of Nea Zihni, known as Gagauz, traces of whom still survive today.

With regard to ethnic origin, it may be asserted that the population of this area consists of: descendants of the Slavonic Droguvitae and Sagoudatae, who still preserve the Slavonic language alongside Greek; descendants of Vlachs, who have also maintained their language; descendants of Seljuk Turks, who were assimilated into Greek culture; and Persians, who became known as Vardar Turks, with a bishop based in Yannitsa, and who were assimilated into the Slavonic linguistic culture.

As for the Greeks, it is very likely that the great majority of them are simply Hellenised Droguvitae and Sagoudatae of Veria, whose Hellenisation is confirmed by the Byzantine sources. Descendants of the ancient Greeks, i.e. the ancient Macedonians, may have survived here and there; but the existence of the Greek language does *not* provide evidence of this, because Greek was the only language permitted by the Church.

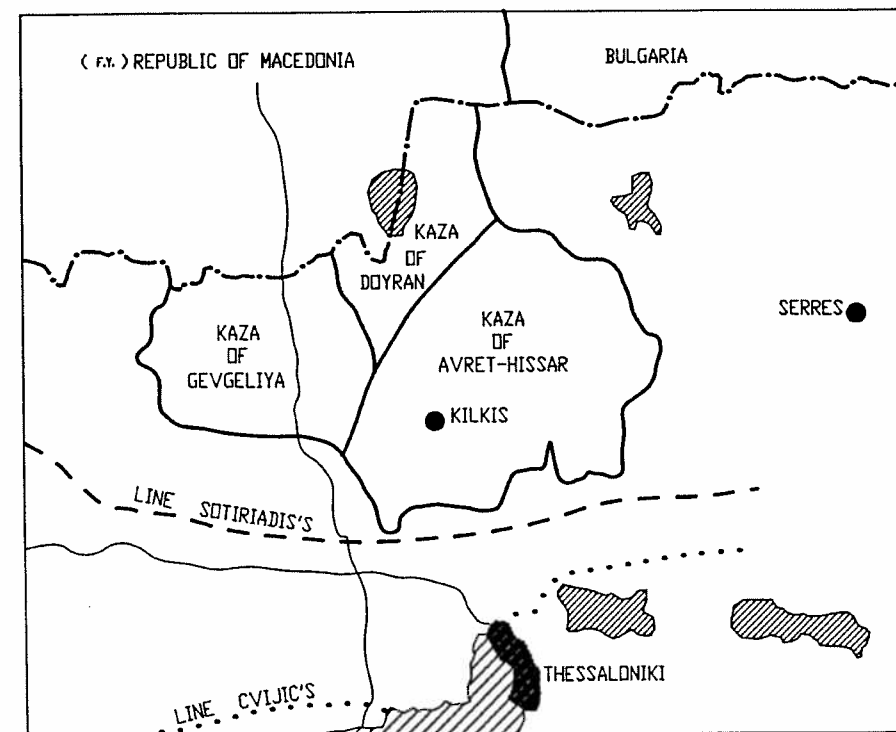
The area of Gevgeliya and Avret-Hissar (Kilkis)

When Macedonia was under Ottoman rule, the present-day prefecture of Kilkis comprised three *kazas*: Gevgeliya, Doyran, and Avret-Hissar (the Kilkis area) (Map 33).

The Turks regarded the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in Kilkis prefecture as *Romii* — i.e. Orthodox Christians, headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on whom the Sultan had conferred an almost feudal religious and civil authority.

With the outbreak of the French Revolution, the social phenomenon of nationalism reared its head in Europe and gradually made its way across to Kilkis prefecture. The resulting ethnic differentiation of the local people reached its height in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Such were the social conditions at this time that they fully justified nationalism's being regarded as a progressive movement, a movement that aspired to liberate rural populations in particular from the feudalism of theocratic regimes as exemplified by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires.



Map 33: The Ottoman administrative division of Kilkis prefecture into the kazas of Avret-Hissar (Kilkis), Gevgeliya, and Doyran

In the industrially developed countries of the modern European Union, nationalism is an utterly inappropriate political philosophy, the disastrous repercussions of which became painfully clear in former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia.

The vast majority of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians of Kilgis were peasants living under conditions that Kalostipis describes in his book *Macedonia*. He describes the social conditions prevailing in what was then Turkish Macedonia from a hypernationalistic and very reactionary point of view as follows:

As a rule, the Greek of Macedonia is the owner of either urban or rural property, whereas the Slav, for the most part, has no property at all. . . . The peasantry are at the lowest level of moral culture, intellectual development, social progress, and political power.

Descended from impoverished peasants of Gortinia, an area that was known as Skorta in the Middle Ages and was the bastion of the Slavs who overran Arcadia in the seventh century, Kalostipis gives a very disrespectful account of the social rights of the class from which he himself came:

The urban and landed class, which includes the commercial, industrial, creative, and advanced strata of society, is the morally and materially superior social group; while the landless and uneducated class, being a mere supplement to the social décor, has no claim on social leadership, nor is there any example of such a thing anywhere on earth.¹⁷⁰

Kalostipis's view of the role of the Slavonic-speaking peasantry as a mere supplement to the décor of the Greek urban class in Macedonia not only betrays the standard of the social principles of a son of poor peasants, but is also utterly implausible, because even the founders of IMRO, the Slavonic-speaking Macedonian nationalist movement established in Thessaloniki in 1893, came from well-to-do families and were themselves alumni of the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki. The founders in

question were Gotse Deltchev from Kilgis, who later graduated from the Military Academy of Sofia, Gruev from Smilevo, a printer's proof-reader, and Tatartchev, a doctor.

A close study of the literary data relating to the ethnicity of, and the language spoken by, the population of the modern prefecture of Kilgis at the dawn of the twentieth century produces quite specific conclusions.

Almost all the ethnological maps compiled by nineteenth-century European scholars place the *kazas* of Gevgeliya, Doyran, and Avret-Hissar/Kilgis in the Slavonic-speaking zone of Macedonia. Furthermore, Stefanos Dragoumis reports that in 1913 the *kaza* of Gevgeliya had not a single Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian inhabitant, the *kaza* of Doyran had 0.2 per cent, and the *kaza* of Avret-Hissar/Kilgis 0.1 per cent.¹⁴⁶

On the official Greek ethnological map drawn by Sotiriadis and published in 1919, the whole of the Kilgis area is placed in the Slavonic zone, with a few Greek enclaves made up of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians who had remained Patriarchists and gradually acquired Greek national consciousness.

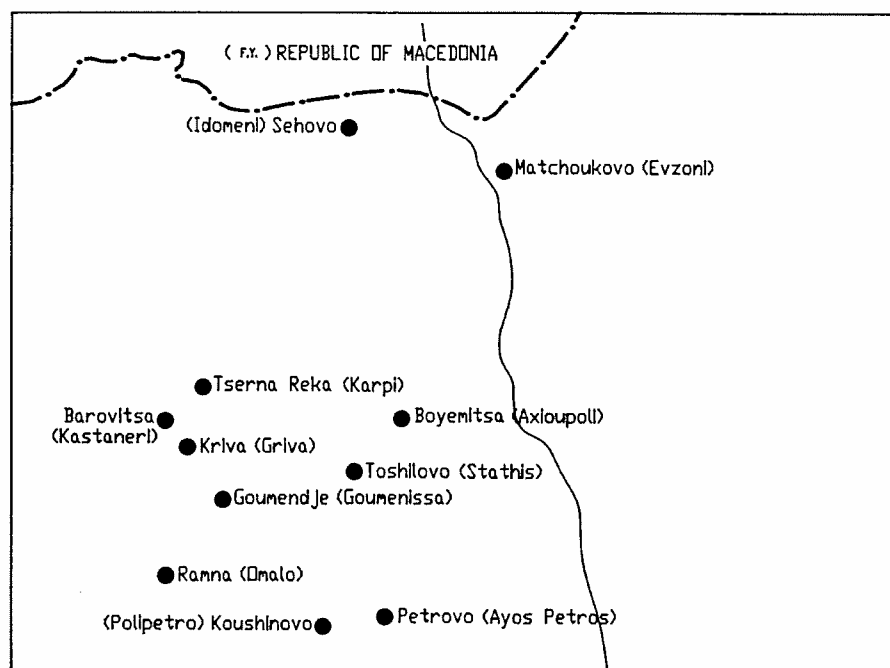
Given these data from the literature, it cannot be disputed that there were only the faintest traces of Greek-speaking or even Slavonic-speaking Patriarchist Macedonians in what is now the prefecture of Kilgis in 1910.

As has already been pointed out in earlier chapters, the purpose of this study is not to examine the ethnic identity of the modern inhabitants of the area, because ethnic identity is a matter of personal choice by the individual concerned, or by his or her ancestors if the choice has already been made. This book is concerned with the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of the modern prefecture of Kilgis and tries to use objective criteria to disprove the nationalist myth of the historical continuity of any race or any nationality in the Balkans, a myth that is the ideological cornerstone of all manifestations of nationalist bigotry.

170. Καλοστύπη, Ι. Ν., (Επανεκδόση 1993), *Μακεδονία*, σελ. 142.

The area of Gevgeliya

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Gevgeliya area and the Kilkis area together formed the bastion of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonian faction, and the Greek partisan forces were therefore only sporadically active there, being unable to gain a permanent foothold.



Map 34: The Slavonic-speaking villages of the area of Gevgeliya (Paionia) in 1913

Table 11

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Gevgeliya (Paionia)

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Barovitsa (Kastaneri)	0 + 750	896	678	8
Boyemitsa (Axioupoli)	625 + 1120	1516	1108	837 (43%)
Goumendje (Goumenissa)	0 + 3150	3415	3105	1328 (29.9%)
Koushinovo (Polipetro)	0 + 130	234	393	18
Kriva (Griva)	0 + 1300	1049	723	154 (17.5%)
Matchoukovo (Evzoni)	0 + 1300	511	602	105 (15.3%)
Petrovo (Ayos Petros)	0 + 620	787	675	422 (38.4%)
Ramna (Omalo)	106 + 100	168	135	10
Sehovo (Idomeni)	0 + 800		305	227 (42.6%)
Toshilovo (Stathis)	0 + 220	354	227	82 (26.5%)
Tserna Reka (Karpi)	0 + 400	812	845	1

The entire population of the Gevgeliya area was Slavonic-speaking and the vast majority Exarchist. Captain Apostol Petkov Terziev, an adherent of the Bulgarian *komitato*, was a native of the village of Boyemitsa/Axioupoli. He was active mainly on Paiko and around Yannitsa Lake, acting as a counterforce to Captain Agras (Telis Agapinos) and defending a rival national ideology.

With regard to the language spoken by the general population, Kantchev lists the following villages in the Gevgeliya/Paionia area as Slavonic-speaking: Goumendje (mod. Goumenissa), Kriva (mod. Griva), Koushinovo (mod. Polipetro), Matchoukovo (mod. Evzoni), Barovitsa (mod. Kastaneri), Boyemitsa (mod. Axioupoli), Petrovo (mod. Ayos Petros), Ramna (mod. Omalo), Sehovo (mod. Idomeni), Toshilovo (mod. Stathis), and Tserna Reka (mod. Karpi).

According to Halkiopoulos, the following villages were Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist in 1910: Sehovo/Idomeni, Matchoukovo/Evzoni, and Boyemitsa/Axioupoli.¹⁷¹ With regard to Goumendje/Goumenissa, he notes the presence of 700 Orthodox Greeks and 2,250 inhabitants 'terrorised by the Bulgarians' and Bulgarian-minded Schismatics.¹⁷² (By 'Orthodox Greeks' he means Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists.)

The General Staff's publication records Matchoukovo/Evzoni and Boyemitsa/Axioupoli as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.¹⁷³

With regard to Matchoukovo/Evzoni, V. Aarbakke's doctoral thesis tells us that, according to the 1884 referendum ordered by the Vali of Thessaloniki, out of a total of 163 households in the village, 150 declared themselves to be Exarchists and only 13 Patriarchists.¹⁷³

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Goumendje/Goumenissa (making up 29.9 per cent of the population), Kriva/Griva (17.5%), Matchoukovo/Evzoni (15.3%), Boyemitsa/Axioupoli (43%), Petrovo/Ayos Petros (38.4%), Sehovo/Idomeni (42.6%), and Toshilovo/

171. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 35:

Σέχοβον, 85 ορθ. Έλληνες, ετέρων 100 προ τριετίας υποκυψάντων βία εις το σχίσμα, 486 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, 45 Σερβίζοντες και 95 Βουλγαροκαθολικοί.

Μποέμισσα, 109 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 221 τρομοκρατούμενοι υπό των Βουλγάρων από του 1904, 523 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Ματσίκοβο, 42 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες και 658 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

172. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 28:

Χωρία επί των υπωρειών του όρους Πάικον.

Γουμέντσα, λίαν ονομαστή κομόπολις. Κάτοικοι: 700 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, 750 τρομοκρατούμενοι υπό των Βουλγάρων από του 1904 και εντεύθεν, 1530 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες.

Μπαροβίτσα, 120 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες και 790 υποκείμενοι εις την βουλγαρικήν τρομοκρατίαν από του 1904. Ο Ελληνικός Ναός κεκλεισμένος.

Κρίβα, 120 Ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες μετά της Εκκλησίας και 790 τρομοκρατούμενοι υπό των Βουλγάρων από του 1904.

Ράμνα, 118 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες τρομοκρατούμενοι από του 1905. Ο Ελληνικός Ναός κεκλεισμένος.

173. Aarbakke, V., (1992), *Ethnic Rivalry and the Quest for Makedonia*, σελ 64:

Two months later the villages sent a delegation to Salonika and complained to the vali because the church had been taken away from them by force. The vali ordered a referendum to see how many of the villagers belonged to each of the church communities. 150 households recognised the Exarchate while only 13 the Patriarchate.

Stathis (26.5%). The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like the whole population of the villages mentioned previously, were almost exclusively Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928.

This assertion is based on the fact that, before the Asia Minor Disaster, only 1,105 refugees arrived in the Greek sector of the *kaza* of Gevgeliya/Paionia, of whom 58 had settled in Goumendje/Goumenissa in 1914, 85 in Matchoukovo/Evzoni, and 510 in Boyemitsa/Axioupoli.¹⁰⁴

Lastly, the Ethnological Statistics of the population of the educational district of Goumendje in 1913–14 (History Museum of Macedonia, file 49) describes the inhabitants of the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Goumendje/Goumenissa, Koushinovo/Polipetro, Barovitsa/Kastaneri, Boyemitsa/Axioupoli, Petrovo/Ayos Petros, Ramna/Omalo, Sehovo/Idomeni, Toshilovo/Stathis, and Tserna Reka/Karpi.

As regards the racial origin of the inhabitants of this area, it is important to note that 'Slavonic-speaking' does not necessarily mean 'of Slavonic origin'. This is illustrated by the cases of Barovitsa/Kastaneri and Tserna Reka/Karpi, whose inhabitants, though Slavonic-speaking, are, from a racial point of view, Karadjova Vlachs, i.e. people of Turko-Mongolian descent who spoke the local Vlach dialect (regarded as a Vlach Daco-Romanian dialect) until the end of the nineteenth century.

Many centuries ago, this same area was settled by the nucleus of the Vardar Turks, who first converted to Christianity, with Yannitsa as their bishop's seat, and later gradually embraced the Slavonic linguistic culture. The Vardar Turks are referred to as 'Persians' in the Byzantine literature, but they are in fact Turks from the area of what is now Azerbaijan.

The area of Avret-Hissar (Kilkis)

During the period of Ottoman rule, the literature, both foreign and Greek, assures us that the population of the *kaza* of Avret-Hissar (i.e. the Kilkis area) was made up exclusively of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians and Moslems.

Despite the strongly nationalistic tone of his book, Vlahos publishes a Greek statistical table relating to the demographic make-up of the *kaza* of Avret-Hissar, in which he records the Christian inhabitants as numbering 625 Greeks and 16,136 Slavonic-speaking Exarchists.¹⁷⁴

Stefanos Dragoumis reports that in 1913 the area of Kilkis/Avret-Hissar had 0.1 per cent Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian and 47.9 per cent Bulgarian-speaking Christian inhabitants.¹⁴⁶ The rest of the population was Moslem, i.e. Turkish.

According to Halkiopoulos, the town of Kilkis had 30 Orthodox Greeks, 3,000 Bulgarian-minded schismatics, 1,500 Bulgarian-minded Catholics, and 1,120 Moslems. He also describes as Exarchist and Slavonic-speaking the villages of Popovo (mod. Miriofito), Moutilovo (mod. Metaxohori), Strezovo (mod. Aryiroupolis), and Seslovo (mod. Sevasto).^{175, 176}

174. Βλάχος, Ν.Β., (1945), *Η εθνολογική σύνθεσις των ανηκόντων εις την Ελλάδα τμημάτων της Μακεδονίας και της Δυτικής Θράκης*, σελ. 27:

Πίναξ Ι.

Ανάλυσις του πληθυσμού του ανήκοντος εις το ελληνικόν κράτος τμήματος της Μακεδονίας κατά επαρχίας συμφώνως προς την ελληνικὴν στατιστικὴν.

Επαρχία	Ἑλληνες	Σλαβόφωνοι ἐξαρχικοί
17) Φλωρίνης	17.690	16.855
25) ½ Γεβγελής	8.862	4.073
4) Αβρέτ - Ισσάρ	625	16.136
10) Δεμίρ - Ισσάρ	10.240	15.110
26) ½ Νευροκοπίου	1.073	8.578

175. Χαλκίopoulos, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετιών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 39:

12. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΑΒΡΕΤ-ΙΣΑΡ

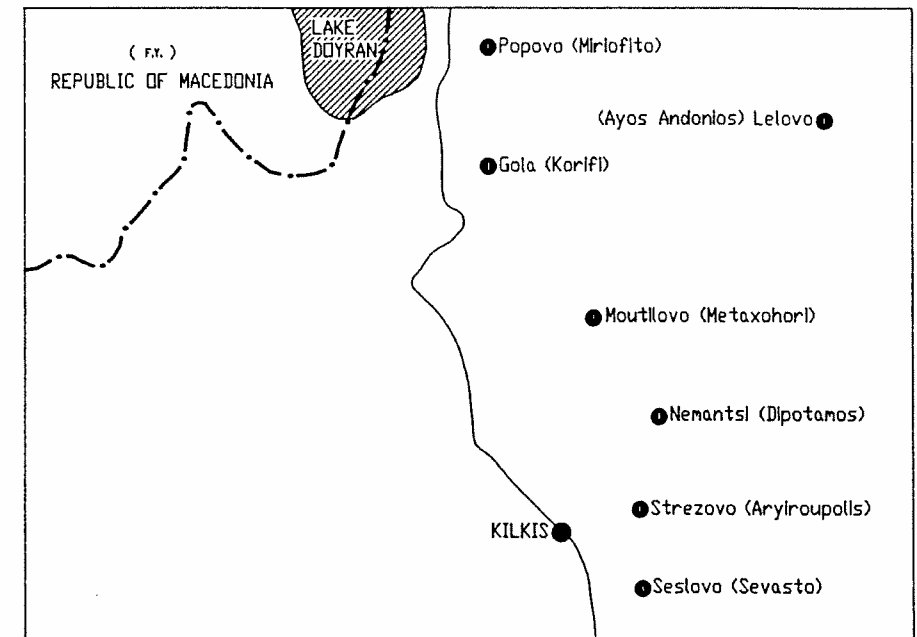
Κιλκίσιον, πρωτεύουσα του Καζά και έδρα Ἑλληνοσ Αρχιερατικού Επιτρόπου του Επισκόπου Πολυανής. Κάτοικοι 30 ορθόδοξοι Ἕλληνες, 3.000 σχισματικοί Βουλγαρίζοντες, 1500 Καθολικοί βουλγαρίζοντες, 50 ορθόδοξοι σερβίζοντες, 1120 Μουσουλμάνοι.

Χωρία αμιγῆ σχισματικά.

Σέσλοβον, 176. Στρέζοβον, 88. Μουτούλ 616. — Γκόολα, 120.

Χωριά μικτά.

Λέλοβον, 115 Βουλγ. 460 Μουσουλμ.



Map 35: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Kilkis area in 1913

Table 12
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Kilkis area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Gola (Korifi)	+ 340	84	102	100 (48.5%)
Lelovo (Ayos Andonios)	250 + 400	475	135	130 (49%)
Moutilovo (Metaxohori)	0 + 850	122	212	35 (14.1%)
Nemantsi (Dipotamos)	0 + 160		175	177 (50.2%)
Popovo (Miriofito)	40 + 360	191	327	146 (30.8%)
Seslovo (Sevasto)	0 + 200	93	222	86 (27.9%)
Strezovo (Aryiroupolis)	0 + 135	63	107	152 (58.6%)

In the area of Avret-Hissar/Kilkis, Kantchev describes the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Gola (mod. Korifi), Lelovo (mod. Ayos Andonios), Moutilovo/Metaxohori, Nemantsi (mod. Dipotamos), Popovo/Miriofito, Seslovo/Sevasto, and Strezovo/Aryiroupolis.

According to the 1928 census, after the Asia Minor Disaster, refugees settled in Gola/Korifi, making up 48.5 per cent of the population, Lelovo/Ayos Andonios (49%), Moutilovo/Metaxohori (14.1%), Nemantsi/Dipotamos (50.2%), Popovo/Miriofito (30.8%), Strezovo/Aryiroupolis (58.6%), and Seslovo/Sevasto (27.9%).

The rest of the population of these villages consisted of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, together with an unknown, though certainly small, number of refugees who had arrived before the Asia Minor Disaster. The precise number of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in these villages remains unknown, because the findings of the 1920 census, which included a record of the local people's mother tongue, were never published.

According to the 1928 census, 23,521 refugees settled in the province of Kilkis after the Asia Minor Disaster and 15,084 before it.

A report by the Ministry of Finance, 'On the Refugees in Macedonia', records the Kilkis villages in which the 13,788 individuals in the 1914 wave of refugees settled: of the Slavonic-speaking villages in Table 12, refugees (64 in number) settled only in Lelovo/Ayos Andonios. No mention is made of which local villages were populated mostly or exclusively by refugees.

As a direct result of the arrival of these two waves of refugees in the Kilkis area, and of the voluntary departure and expulsion of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians from Kilkis, the demographic make-up of the area underwent a dramatic change: of the 16,136 Slavonic-speaking Macedonians whom Vlahos reports as living in the area after its incorporation within Greece, only 1,280 remained in 1928.¹⁷⁴

When Nikolaos Pirzas, a Slavonic-speaking fighter on the Greek side in Florina, protested to the Greek *komitato* in Monastir about the

176. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετιών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 41:

13. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΔΟΚΡΑΝΗΣ

Πόποβον, 256 σχισματ. βουλγαρίζοντες και 80 Μουσουλμάνοι.

murder and rape being committed by some of the Cretan partisans in the locality, the official in charge replied: 'It is not the Macedonians that we need, but Macedonia.'¹⁷⁷ In the case of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in the Kilkis area, this kind of mentality was implemented to perfection.

Before they step up their activities commemorating the genocide of the Pontic Greeks, the modern hypernationalists would do well to recall those age-old words of advice: 'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone.'

177. Καραβίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πετσίβα 1994), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Απομνημονεύματα*, σελ. 932:

Τω Εξοχωτάτω Πρωθυπουργώ Κυρίω Γ. Ν. Θεοτόκη.

Εξοχώτατε,

Ο βαθυσεβάστως υποφαινόμενος, κάτοικος και έμπορος Φλωρίνης της Μακεδονίας, λαμβάνω το θάρρος και την τιμή ν' αναφέρω Υμίν τα εξής:

... Τα γεγονότα ταύτα, Εξοχώτατε, είναι μία αμυδροτάτη μόνον εικόν των όσων διαπράττονται εν Μακεδονία υπό των Κρητών, οι οποίοι αληθής μάστιξ κατήντησαν εν τη ταλαίνη χώρα, αποινεί και υπό τα όμματα των συμπατριωτών των αρχηγών φονεύοντες, ληστεύοντες, αρπάζοντες και ατιμάζοντες παρθένους και γυναίκας. Η ιστορία της παρουσίας αυτών εν Μακεδονία είναι πλήρης τοιούτων ατίμων και βαρβάρων έργων.

Η Επιτροπή (ήτοι το Κομιτάτον) ουχί μόνον τούτο ποτ' έπραξεν, αλλά, ωσεί πομπωδώς επιδοκιμάζουσα τας πράξεις αυτών, κατά το παρελθόν έτος διμελή επιτροπήν εκ Μακεδονίας ελθούσαν και διαμαρτυρηθείσαν διά τα εκτρόπως γινόμενα εν τω Νομώ Μοναστηρίου, μετά σατραπικού στόμφου απήντησεν ως εξής: «Ημείς δεν έχομεν ανάγκην των Μακεδόνων, αλλά της Μακεδονίας»!

Και εγώ μεν, Εξοχώτατε, πάνυ απογοητευμένος από την μέχρι τούδε δράσιν των Κρητών, ιδία τινών αρχηγών, αποσύρομαι οριστικώς του ιερού αγώνος και οσονούπω απέρχομαι εντεύθεν. Εύχομαι όμως, όπως ούτος εις το μέλλον καταστεί συνετώτερος, αποβή δ' ούτω και λυσιτελής, δικαίωνων τας πανελληνίους προσδοκίας.

Επί τούτοις διατελώ μετ' απείρου προς Υμάς σεβασμού.

Ταπεινότατος

Νικόλαος Α. Πύρζας

Εν Αθήναις τη 2 Μαΐου 1906

οδός Μαυρομιχάλη αριθ. 16Α.

[Φάκελος Κ59Β. ΓΑΚ]

The area of Thessaloniki and Lagadas

We have seen in earlier chapters that Slavonic Droguvitae settled in Macedonia after AD 616, in an area that came to be known as the 'sclavinia' of the Droguvitae. It extended from Veria to Thessaloniki and in the nineteenth century included the Greek-speaking villages of Halastra, Yida, and Plati, and the Slavonic-speaking villages of Tekeli/Sindos, Youndoular/Valmada, and Youndjoular/Kimina.

It is inconceivable that any ancient Macedonians could have survived in the sclavinia of the Droguvitae, if one considers that when the Slavs descended *en masse* to the Macedonian seaboard, even Thessaloniki itself was saved only by a miracle from its 100,000 besiegers.

The Byzantine sources tell us that Slavonic tribes were living right up against the walls of Thessaloniki in the Middle Ages. During the conquest and destruction of the Empire's second capital in 904, the Byzantine historian, John Cameniates, was captured by the Arabs; in the historical essay he wrote after his release from the Oriental slave-markets, he ascribes most of the blame for the destruction of Thessaloniki to the Slavonic tribes living around the city, because they did not hasten to the aid of the beleaguered citizenry.²⁵ But what that blue-blooded Byzantine priest did not take into account was the social relations of that period. In those days, the authority of the great landowners and the Church was imposed by the military might of the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty. Whether of Greek or of Slavonic origin, neither the serfs of the overlords nor those in thrall to the Church would ever have laid down their lives in defence of their fetters.

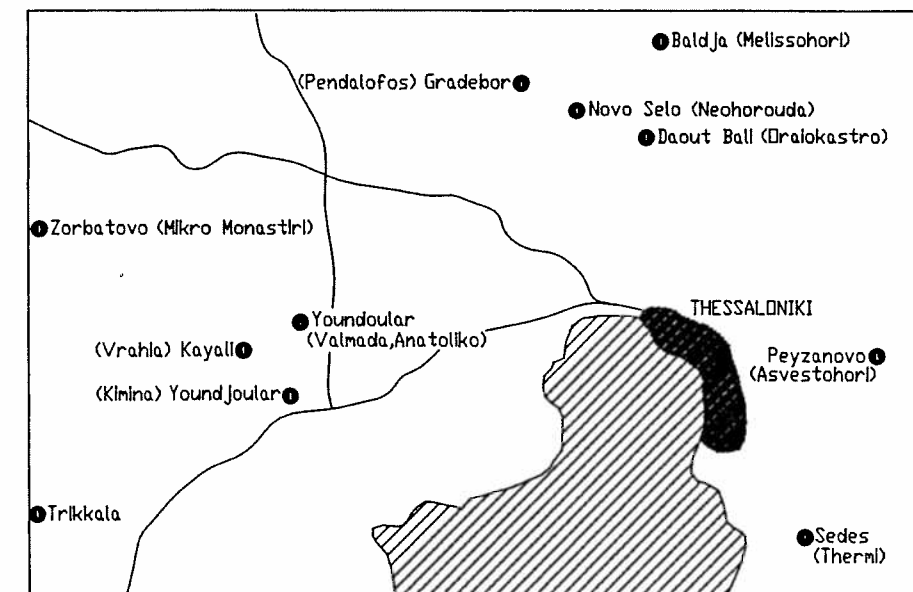
In the early part of the twentieth century, and specifically during the so-called Macedonian Struggle, scenes of blood-curdling violence were enacted both in the city of Thessaloniki itself and in its immediate environs, owing to the political mindset that makes the Balkan peoples impose their own will even on their close fellows, refusing to recognise even their right to exist. As in the past, so too today, the various Balkan populations are not known for their tolerance or respect for any of their close fellows who may happen to think differently, and this has been made starkly clear of late in Bosnia, with all three factions committing the most inhuman crimes, underlining their cultural and humanitarian backwardness.

The well-worn arguments about foreign interference simply confirm the Balkan peoples' intellectual inability to practice the honest self-criticism

that helps a nation to learn from past errors and avoid repeating them.

The Thessaloniki area

As we have seen, the French Revolution catapulted nationalist movements into existence all over Europe, especially in regions that were under the feudal governance of multinational empires.



Map 36: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Thessaloniki area in 1913

Table 13

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Thessaloniki area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Baldja (Melissochori)	—	2,675	1,495	57
Daout Bali (Oraiokastro)	0 + 250	—	489	297 (38%)
Gradebor, Gradobor (Pendalofos)	0 + 800	822	841	66
Kayali (Vrahia)	0 + 240	271	221	21
Novo Selo (Neohorouda)	0 + 772	727	919	7
Peyzanovo (Asvestohori)	0 + 4,200	4,800	2,705	0
Sedes (Thermi)	0 + 200	191	510	646 (55.8%)
Trikkala	0 + 215	162	310	252 (44.8%)
Youndjoular (Kimina)	0 + 890	1,247	1,570	17
Youndoular, Konyari (Valmada, Anatoliko)	0 + 1,220	968	1,140	9
Zorbatovo (Mikro Monastiri)	0 + 225	274	304	303 (49.9%)

Thessaloniki offered the right conditions for nationalist ferment, because it was a cosmopolitan, multiethnic megalopolis with 135,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the twentieth century, whereas Athens had a population of about 70,000 and Sofia 68,000. Thessaloniki's 20,000 Greek inhabitants accounted for about 15 per cent of the population, and the 6–8,000 Bulgarians about 5–7 per cent, while by far the largest and most significant demographic element was the Jews.

The first moves to awaken Slavonic national consciousness in what was then Turkish Macedonia were made in Thessaloniki and spearheaded by the Dinga, or Drzhilovitis, brothers, Slavonic-speakers from the village of Drzhilovo (mod. Metamorfossi) near Naoussa.

Although the Dinga brothers are known to have been Slavonic-speakers from Drzhilovo/Metamorfossi, Halkiopoulos tells us that Drzhilovo was inhabited by 125 Vlach summer residents, whose permanent place of abode was Naoussa.¹⁷⁸

In 1852, Kiriakos Drzhilovitis printed the first Gospel in the Bulgarian language but in Greek script, and in 1869 Konstandinos Drzhilovitis founded the first Bulgarian primary school, with his daughter, Slavka Dinkova, as the teacher. However, the first official Bulgarian primary school was opened in 1871, likewise in Thessaloniki, by Syalandjiev, following the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate.¹⁷⁹

The creation of the Exarchate in 1870 gave an enormous boost to the emergence of Bulgarian national consciousness in Macedonia, and the process was further accelerated in 1880, when the Bulgarian high school was founded in Thessaloniki opposite what is now the Experimental School.

The Slavonic-speaking Macedonians soon became victims of a dramatic complication of their ethnic identity when they separated into three conflicting groups with rival national consciousnesses. The groups were: Patriarchists with Greek national consciousness; Exarchists with Bulgarian national consciousness; and Exarchists with the newly-created Macedonian national consciousness.

This confusion in the consciousness of the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians found expression in 1893 with the creation in Thessaloniki of IMRO, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. Its founding

178. Χαλκιάπουλος, Α., (1910), *Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βιλαετίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου*, σελ. 22:

Δραζίλοβον, παραθερίζουσιν 125 ορθόδοξοι Έλληνες, πιστότατοι Κουτσόβλαχοι, παραχειμάζοντες εις Νάουσαν.

Γραμματίκοβον—καλύβαι, 60 Κουτσόβλαχοι Ρουμανίζοντες.

179. Μέγας, Γ., (1994), *Οι Βαρκάρηδες της Θεσσαλονίκης, η αναρχική βουλγαρική ομάδα και οι βομβιστικές ενέργειες του 1903*.

cadres were Deltchev, Gruev, and Tatartchev, and it was opposed by the Verhovist *Komitato* (the Supreme Macedonian Committee), which was founded in Sofia in 1895 and controlled by the Bulgarian government.

Both the Verhovist *Komitato* and the Greek organisations were purely nationalist in character and received their financial backing from the Greek and the Bulgarian *grande bourgeoisie*. Their political philosophy was aptly summed up by Kalostipis, who described the rural Slavonic-speaking Macedonians thus:

The urban and landed class, which includes the commercial, industrial, creative, and advanced strata of society, is the morally and materially superior social group; while the landless and uneducated class, being a mere supplement to the social décor, has no claim on social leadership, nor is there any example of such a thing anywhere on earth.¹⁷⁰

In contrast to the conservative notions of Bulgarian and Greek nationalism, the founders of IMRO expressed the ideas of subversive young people who had been swayed by the economic and social situation in Ottoman Macedonia, where all the land was in the hands of a few beys, and half or more of the villages in many areas had scarcely any land of their own. Alexandros Zanas makes some revealing comments in his study of the Macedonian Struggle:

IMRO proposed the slogan 'Macedonia for the Macedonians' . . . Their aim was to liberate Macedonia from Turkish hands and redistribute their land.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, Thessaloniki was the battleground of the groups representing the three kinds of national consciousness, Greek, Bulgarian, and Macedonian.

No faction managed to impose a national identity without resorting to violence against those who did not want it. In Thessaloniki itself, the Greek side committed acts of violence, as we are told by the historical work published by the Greek General Staff, which discusses the activities of the Greek executive in Thessaloniki in 1906. We learn that the wealthy ethnic Greeks in the city were quite willing to contribute to the executive's

expenses, but on the same page we are told that the executive would beat people up from time to time, destroy their shops, and even execute them. The victims included an ethnic Greek named Papazahariou, who refused to obey orders issued by the executive.¹⁸⁰

This incident suggests that those ethnic Greeks in Thessaloniki who responded less than eagerly to the Greek organisation's 'appeals' could expect, quite simply, to be executed by the executive.

The Bulgarian side did not lag behind in violently imposing its own national consciousness. Bulgarian violence came to a head with a number of bombings by a group of young anarchists known as the *Varkarides* or *Yemidzides*. Some of these were students at the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki and their nationalist fervour had been so whipped up by their teachers that, in April 1903, they caused the deaths of dozens of citizens, innocent or not, by planting bombs all over the city — as an assertion, apparently, of their right to kill children, women, and innocent people in the name of some 'homeland' or other obsession.

The *Varkarides* had broken away from IMRO and were financed by Saravov, one of the founders of the Bulgarian nationalist organisation known as the Verhovist *Komitato*.¹⁷⁹

Another manifestation of violence with special political significance was the assassination in Sofia of Saravov and of Garvanov, a former director of the Bulgarian high school in Thessaloniki, by a member of the anti-Bulgarian wing of IMRO named Panitch, after IMRO had moved its headquarters to Sofia.

180. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 211:

Το τμήμα του Εκτελεστικού προέβη κατά καιρούς εις ξυλοδαρμούς, καταστροφών καταστημάτων, εκτέλεσιν διαφόρων ατόμων, κατόπιν σχετικής εντολής της Οργανώσεως. Ειδικότερον εφονεύθη εν μέση οδώ ο φονεύς του Μητροπολίτου Κορυτσάς Φωτίου, Σπυρίδων Κωστούρης. Επίσης ο μη συμμορφούμενος με τας εντολάς της Οργανώσεως ομογενής Παπαζαχαρίου, ο πράκτωρ των Τουρκικών Αρχών Βασίλειος Μικρομπουγιώτης και ο Βούλγαρος έμπορος δερμάτων Βέσωφ. Εκτός τούτων ετραυματίστησαν πολλοί εκ των δρώντων δραστηρίως σχισματικών της πόλεως. Επροξενήθησαν ζημιαί εις Βουλγαρικά καταστήματα και επυρπολήθη η οικία του Βουλγάρου Ιερέως της Αγίας Τριάδος....

...ποσόν επεβάρυνε τον προϋπολογισμόν του Ελληνικού Κράτους. Όταν εγένετο καταφανής η σοβαρότης της εργασίας αυτής, προθύμως ήρχισαν οι εύποροι ομογενείς να συμβάλλουν εις τα έξοδα της Οργανώσεως. Κατόπιν τούτου κατηρτίσθη κατάλογος πατριωτών, οι οποίοι ηδύναντο ανέτως να καταβάλλουν μηνιαίαν συνδρομήν.

Major Skhinas provides some information about the language spoken by the people living between the River Aliakmon and Thessaloniki, following his tour of the locality in 1886. He says that the villages of Youndjoular/Kimina, Valmada, and Koulakya (Halastra) spoke a 'corrupt' language and that a large number of villages in the area were exclusively Bulgarian-speaking,¹⁸¹ a fact which is corroborated by many other sources.

Goptchevitch reports that, in 1885, apart from Halastra/Koulakya, the inhabitants of Tekeli/Sindos, Youndoular/Valmada or Anatoliko, and Youndjoular/Kimina spoke only Slavonic. It is worth noting that Goptchevitch confirms Skhinas's information that Koulakya/Halastra was Slavonic-speaking in the nineteenth century. This is not corroborated in any of the later literature, possibly because the process of Hellenisation speeded up in these villages — always assuming, of course, that Skhinas's and Goptchevitch's information is correct.

Kantchev describes the inhabitants of Halastra/Koulakya as Greeks in 1900. The international literature regards his information as extremely reliable; but it should be noted that Kantchev sometimes describes Slavonic-speaking villages as Greek because the inhabitants were Patriarchists.

The oldest inhabitants of Valmada speak Slavonic to this day. As I have already mentioned in an earlier chapter, I found this out for myself, and indeed, on a recent visit to Halastra, I was told by local people that the inhabitants of Youndoular/Valmada still speak Macedonian, as they termed the local Slavonic dialect.

The expression 'corrupt language' has been very frequently used in Greek nationalist literature with reference to the Slavonic language known as Macedonian, which contains an admixture of Greek and Turkish words — as does modern Greek for that matter.

Even today there are some Greek historians who try to prove the

181. Σχινάς, Ν. Θ., (1886), *Οδοιπορικά Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας Ηπείρου*, σελ. 207:

Ατυχώς όμως εκτός των τριών χωρίων Κολακιάς, Βαλμάδας και Γεντσίδας, ως και του υπό Οθωμανών οικουμένου χωρίου Μουσταφάτζ, άπαντα τα λοιπά εισί τσιφλίκια υπ' ευαρίθμων οικούμενα ελληνικών οικογενειών, ων όμως τα πρώτα, ως ερρέθη, ομιλούσι διεφθαρμένην την γλώσσαν και ευάριθμα τούτων μόνον εισί βουλγαρόφωνα.

non-existence of the Macedonian language or Macedonian consciousness by means of historical criteria regarding ethnic origins; however, they neglect to apply the same criteria to the ethnic origins of their own people.

During the Macedonian Struggle, the Greek-speaking villages on the southern edge of Yannitsa Lake (Yidas, Koulakya/Halastra, etc.) sided with the Greek faction. The patriotism and national identity of these people, who risked their lives in defence of their ideals, cannot be doubted. What can be doubted is their Greek origin. The Greeks in these villages and in this area in general can only be descendants of the Hellenised Droguvitae, who were Hellenised in the Byzantine period.

With reference to the province of Thessaloniki, Kantchev goes on to describe the following villages as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Youndoular or Konyari (mod. Valmada or Anatoliko), Youndjoular (mod. Kimina), Gradebor (mod. Pendalofos), Zorbatovo (mod. Mikro Monastiri), Kayali (mod. Vrahia), Baldja (mod. Melissohori), Novo Selo (mod. Neohorouda), Daout Bali (mod. Oraiokastro), Peyzanovo (mod. Asvestohori), Sedes (mod. Thermi), and Trikkala (Table 13).

Of these villages, according to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Zorbatovo/Mikro Monastiri, making up 49.9 per cent of the population, Daout Bali/Oraiokastro (38%), Sedes/Thermi (55.8%), and Trikkala (44.8%). The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the other villages, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, possibly including the few refugees who had settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster.

As regards the village of Youndjoular/Kimina, according to the report on the refugees in Macedonia compiled by the Ministry of Finance, 1,127 refugees settled there in 1914. If these refugees stayed, then refugees must have accounted for 72 per cent of the population of Youndjoular in 1928.

Twenty-five thousand and seventy-four refugees settled in Thessaloniki and its immediate environs before the Asia Minor Disaster. However, according to the Ministry of Finance report, 31,528 refugees settled in Thessaloniki itself and 5,050 in the surrounding area. The discrepancy is due to the fact that some of the first wave of refugees were obliged to return to Eastern Thrace, whence they returned a second time a few years later.

The General Staff's publication recounts how, during the Macedonian Struggle, Boukouvalas's corps of partisans set fire to a number

of houses and executed people who had succoured Bulgarian partisans, and thus 'persuaded' the schismatic villages of Krdjilar (Adendro), Saridja (Valtochori), Tchohalar (Parthenion), Kayali/Vrahia, Zorbatovo/Mikro Monastiri, and Ayii Apostoli (Pella) to return to the Patriarchate.¹⁸² The authors give an entirely favourable account of the Greek partisans' exploits and do not seem to feel the slightest need to apologise for the acts of violence committed by Boukouvalas's corps, nor even to justify them with the argument that the other side committed the same or worse acts under the leadership of officers sent from Sofia.

The same publication informs us that Greek partisan bands attacked the 'ethnically contested' village of Klidi in 1906, a euphemism that signifies 'Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist'.¹⁵⁵

A large number of formerly Slavonic-speaking villages are not listed in Table 13, because so many refugees had settled in them by 1924 that their original Slavonic-speaking Macedonian inhabitants were now an insignificant minority. Examples include Arapli (Nea Magnissia), Doudoular (Diavata), Tekeli (Sindos), Inglis (Anhialos), Topsin (Yefira), Ilidjievo (Nea Halkidona), Krdjilar (Adendro), and Koufalovo (Koufalia).

Almost all the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians living in villages in which refugees made up the great majority of the population were completely Hellenised, irrevocably embracing Greek culture. In this day and age, it is undoubtedly every citizen's right to do so, as long as they do it of their own free will. A move from one cultural or national camp to another has for centuries been a natural development for any demographic group that becomes a small minority.

182. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 183:

Μετά την επιτυχίαν του αυτήν ο Μπουκουβάλας έστρεψε την προσοχήν του προς τα περιβάλλοντα την λίμνην χωρία, όπου συνελάμβανε και εφόνευε τους διαφόρους τροφοδότας των κομιτατζήδων, διά να αποκόψη την τροφοδοσίαν των εις την λίμνην βουλγαρικών συμμοριών. Προς τούτο έφθασε μέχρι της κομποπόλεως Κουφαλίων, όπου επυρπόλησεν αρκετάς οικίας βουλγαριζόντων. Εκ της δράσεώς του αυτής τα σχισματικά χωρία Κίρτζαλαρ (Άδενδρον), Σάριτσα (Βαλτοχώριον), Τσοχαλάρ (Παρθένιον), Καϊλή (Βραχιά), Ζορμπά (Μικρόν Μοναστήριον) και Άγιοι Απόστολοι (Πέλλα) απεκήρυξαν την Εξαρχίαν και επανήλθον εις την Ορθοδοξίαν του Πατριαρχείου.

It is a development that was foretold by a general in the Greek army when Thessaloniki was being liberated. There is anecdotal evidence of an exchange between two Greek officers at the Greek army headquarters, which was based in 1912 in the village of Topsin/Yefira. A junior officer commented in awe to a staff general that all the local people spoke Bulgarian. The general reassured him that within a couple of generations the local people's descendants would be claiming descent from Alexander the Great. This exchange was published many years ago in the Thessaloniki newspaper *Makedonia* in a historical article about the Balkan Wars.

How ironic that these prophetic words should be borne out in our own time.

The Lagadas area

According to Gopcevic, in the nineteenth century, Slavonic was the only language spoken in Sohoh and in many villages outside Lagadas. Indeed, Slav linguists made a study of the Slavonic dialect of Sohoh because of its distinctive linguistic features. There is unconfirmed information that Slavonic is still spoken alongside Greek in Sohoh.

Kantchev describes the following villages in the Lagadas area as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Ayvat (mod. Liti), Vissoka (mod. Ossa), Dremiglava (mod. Drimos), Klissani (mod. Profitis), Layinovo (mod. Lagina), Negovani (mod. Xiloupoli), and Souho (mod. Sohoh).

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Vissoka/Ossa, accounting for 15.8 per cent of the population, and Souho/Sohoh (15.5%).

Table 14
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Lagadas area

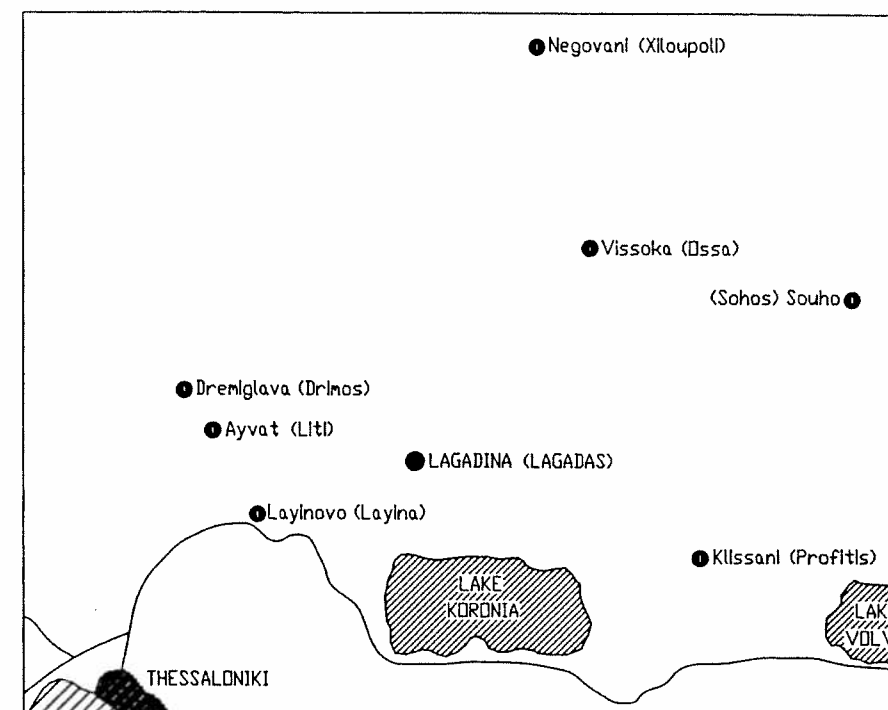
	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Ayvat, Ayvatovo (Liti)	0 + 1,580	1,503	1,579	14
Dremiglava (Drimos)		2,612	2,007	30
Klissani (Profitis)	0 + 450	590	771	13
Layinovo (Layina)	0 + 700	1,011	1,229	18
Negovani, Negovan (Xiloupoli)	280 + 1,960	759	914	65
Souho (Sohos)	1,000 + 2,600	3,750	3,121	573 (15.5%)
Vissoka (Ossa)	200 + 1,350	1,680	1,369	257 (15.8%)

The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the other villages, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, probably with a few refugees who had settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster.

The publication by the Greek General Staff reports that, in 1906, Greek partisan forces conducted assaults on the 'ethnically contested' village of Yeni Kioy (mod. Krithia) in the Lagadas area. 'Ethnically contested' meant 'Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist'.

According to the 1928 census, 4,617 refugees settled in the Lagadas district before the Asia Minor Disaster; according to the Ministry of Finance report, 8,104 people settled in the same area in 1914. The discrepancy is due to shifting refugee populations. At all events, no refugees settled in any of the villages listed in Table 14 in 1914.

Finally, we know that non-Paulician Armenians settled in Macedonia in 988, though we do not know precisely where. Armenians also settled outside Thessaloniki. In the early years of the twentieth century,



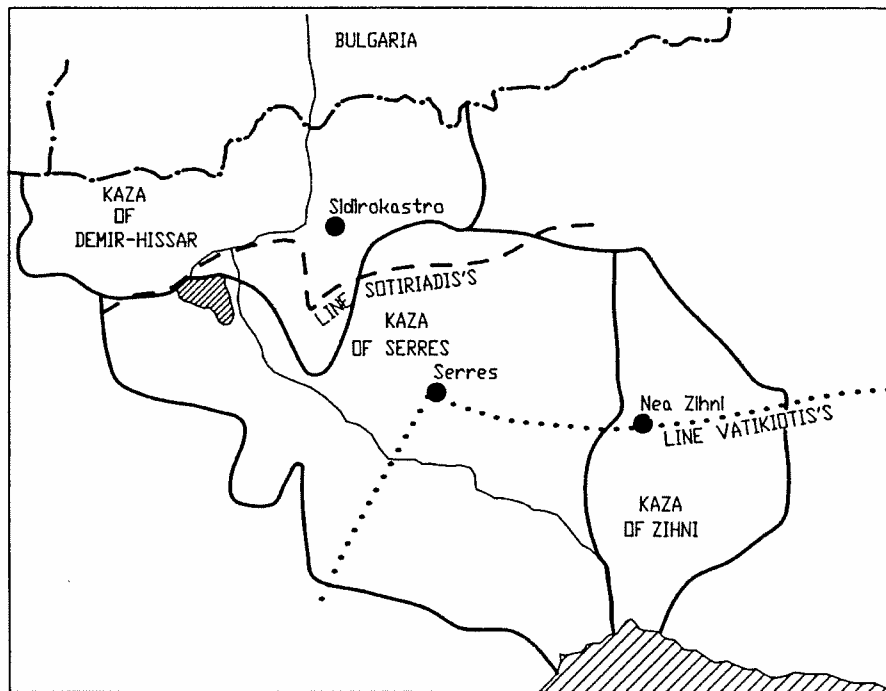
Map 37: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Lagadas area in 1913

there was a village named Armenohori in the area of the modern municipality of Sikyes.

As we have already seen in an earlier chapter, there is a Slavonic-speaking village near Lagadas named Ayvatovo or Ayvadzik (Liti), a placename of Armenian origin which means that the inhabitants are probably of Armenian descent.

The area of Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro), Serres, and Zihni

It is worth repeating yet again that the purpose of this book is not to investigate the ethnic identity of the modern inhabitants of the Serres area, because the definition of any individual's ethnicity is the conscious choice of the person concerned, and does not, of course, exempt any citizen from the obligation to respect the laws and borders of the country in which s/he lives. This is a more imperative principle than ever in this day and age, when the European Union is gradually abolishing the borders between the various countries of Europe.



Map 38: The Ottoman administrative division of Serres prefecture into the kazas of Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro), Serres, and Zihni

Unlike 'ethnicity', the word 'citizenship' is a legal term; while 'race' is a biological coincidence, when it is not the product of a wild imagination.

Before proceeding to the details of the ethnic origins of the modern population of the Serres area, it would be a good idea to carry out a brief review of the history of the peoples who lived around the Strymon from the ancient period onwards.

In the ancient period, the population of the modern prefecture of Serres consisted exclusively of Thracians, with the sole exception of the coast near Amphipolis, where Greek colonists lived. More specifically, the Nigrita area was inhabited by the Bisaltae, the area of the Darnakohoria (Ayo Pnevma, Pendapoli, and Hrisso) by the Odomantes, and the Nea Zihni area by the Edoni. These historical data are supported by the fact that the coast is the only part of the whole prefecture of Serres where traces of ancient Greek culture have been found.

The Serres area came under Macedonian domination in 348 BC, thanks to the expansionist policy of King Philip II. That domination lasted only two hundred years and had no effect on the racial make-up of the population, because the Macedonian kings did not manage to transplant a Macedonian population into the newly conquered areas.

The Thracian areas of Serres and, particularly, Bisaltia (the Nigrita area) have yielded coins stamped with the likeness of the local Thracian kings. These were minted under Macedonian domination, which shows that the Thracians retained some degree of autonomy.

These indisputable historical facts reveal how untrue is the modern Greek nationalist myth that Macedonia has been Greek for four thousand years.

As we have seen, Macedonian dominion in the prefecture of Serres lasted only two hundred years, because the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon in 148 and the Macedonised Thracians, who still spoke the Thracian language, were Latinised.

The Slavs' raids of AD 616 gave them possession of this part of Macedonia. The Latinised Thracians must have fled to the nearby Rhodope Mountains, where they later became known as the Vlachs of Rhodope.

The Slavs around the Strymon, known as the Strymonii, settled in the Serres area after 616. The Protobulgarians had not yet appeared in the Balkans, and in Krum's time the clashes between Slavs and Bulgars around the Upper Strymon were an accurate reflection of the current political

situation.

The Protobulgarians never settled in the Serres area: two hundred years after they arrived in the Balkans, they abandoned their own Turkic language and learnt the Slavonic dialect of Macedonia. They thus turned every Macedonian Slav of Indo-European origin into a Protobulgarian of Turko-Mongolian origin, an ethnological trick that the Byzantines played *ad nauseam*.

Under Bulgarian or Byzantine pressure, the Strymonii were forced to choose between cultural camps, the upshot being that those who lived in the north of eastern Macedonia came to regard themselves Bulgars and those who lived in the south as Byzantines.

The Byzantinisation of the Strymonii is certified and historically attested by Emperor Leo IV himself in his *Tactica*. It must have been only the Slavs living in the southern part of the prefecture (Nigrita and the Darnakohoria) who were Byzantinised and subsequently Hellenised, for until the nineteenth century only Slavonic was spoken north of the town of Serres.

Let us ascertain the truth of what has just been said by taking a look at the, chiefly Greek, available written sources regarding the language spoken by the modern inhabitants of Serres prefecture.

In the nineteenth century, the modern prefecture of Serres could be notionally divided into two zones, the north, where Slavonic was spoken, and the south, where Greek and Turkish were spoken. As far as the dividing line is concerned, Sotiriadis, Cvijic, and Vatikiotis give different information (Map 38).

According to Sotiriadis, the Slavonic-speaking zone was to the north of a line that ran approximately from Lake Kerkini, past Sidirokastro, to Gorno Frashtani (Ano Orini), taking in the *kaza* of Demir Hissar (i.e. the Sidirokastro area).

Cvijic and Vatikiotis's line separates the Slavonic-speaking and Greek-speaking zones much farther to the south. In his report of 24 December 1867, Vatikiotis, Greek consul in Thessaloniki, describes this isogloss as follows:

the Greek race . . . occupies . . . a sector delimited by a line ascending from Lake Volvi to Nigrita and Serres, and descending again through Zihni province to Kavala. North of this line the

Bulgarian language is spoken.¹⁸³

Sotiriadis's information regarding the position of the line separating the Greek-speaking and Slavonic-speaking populations of the Serres area is based on political criteria — i.e. inaccuracies, because it is a well-known fact that the vast majority of the population in the area between the two zones was Slavonic-speaking and regarded as Bulgarian at that time.

The Greek literature refers to the 'Bulgarian' language, with the sole exception of the *Statistics Relating to Population and Education in Serres and Nigrita*, which, with reference to the Slavonic-speaking village of Ramna (mod. Issoma) near Serres, tells us that the villagers spoke the 'Macedonian' language.¹⁸⁴

183. Βακαλόπουλος, Κ. Α., (1986), *Νεώτερη ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912)*, σελ. 83: "... η Ελληνική φυλή, εκτός του μέρους όπερ κατέχει... χωριζομένην διά γραμμής σχεδόν ευθείας αγομένης από τινος μεταξύ Ναούσης και Βοδενών σημείου σχεδόν εις Θεσσαλονίκην... τμήμα το διαχωριζόμενον διά γραμμής ανιούσης από της λίμνης Βόλβης εις Νιγρήταν και Σέρρας και εκείθεν κατιούσης διά της Επαρχίας Ζίχνης εις Καβάλλαν και Ξάνθην. Προς βορράν της γραμμής ταύτης απαντάται η βουλγαρική γλώσσα".

184. *Ιστορικό Μουσείο Μακεδονίας, Φακελ. 55, Στατιστική πληθυσμού και Εκπαιδύσεως Σερρών και Νιγρίτας*.

The Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro) area

In the statistical tables compiled by the Greek General Staff in 1919, the following villages in the subdistrict of Sidirokastro (the former *kaza* of Demir Hissar) are described as Slavonic-speaking: Gorno Poroia (mod. Ano Poroia), Kyoupri (mod. Yefiroudi), Kroushovo (mod. Ahladohori), Latrovo (mod. Hortero), Leshnitsa (mod. Faia Petra), Bouyouk Mahale (mod. Megalohori), Ramna (mod. Omalo), Saviako (mod. Vamvakofito), Spatovo (mod. Kimissi), Tsingeli (mod. Angistro), and Tchiflidjik (mod. Strimonohori).¹⁸⁵

The Slavonic-speaking villages in which refugees account for more than 60 per cent of the whole population are not mentioned here. According to Weigand, in 1895 the Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Ramna/Omalo and 800 people in Gorno Poroia/Ano Poroia were Vlachs from the villages of

185. Στατιστικοί Πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνικότητες των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αριθ. Φακελ. 5, σελ. 9:

ΥΠΟΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΣΙΔΗΡΟΚΑΣΤΡΟΥ

Πόλεις ή χωριά	Ελληνόφωνοι	Ξενόφωνοι ή Σλαβόφωνοι	Το όλον των Ελλήνων	Βούλγαροι Σχισμαστικοί, Δια- μαρτρ. κτλ.	Μωσμεθανοί	Το όλον του πληθυσμού	
47 Άνω Πορόγια	1050	—	1050	2500	450	4000	Βλαχόφωνοι εξ ων 450 Ρουμανίζοντες και Βλάχοι
5 Κιπρή	—	320	320	30	80	430	
15 Κρούσοβον	—	600	600	1600	30	2230	
2 Λάτροβον	—	260	260	—	—	260	
13 Ελέσνιτσα (Α. Ελένη)	—	—	—	430	—	430	
19 Μπουγιούκ Μαχαλέ	—	—	—	—	150	150	
30 Ράμνα	350	—	350	—	—	350	
4 Σάβιακον	—	650	650	600	—	1250	
8 Σπάτοβον	—	150	150	1000	—	1150	
66 Συγκέλι	—	80	80	1100	150	1330	
9 Τσιφλιτζίκι	—	—	—	230	—	230	
6 Κουμλή	—	350	350	250	40	640	

the western Pindus.⁸⁵

Halkiopoulos gave similar information about the inhabitants of Gorno Poroia/Ano Poroia in 1910: of the 790 Orthodox Greeks in the village, 725 were Vlach-speakers and 352 Romanianists; a further 1,487 villagers were Slavonic-speaking Exarchists and 306 were Moslems.

Table 15

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro) area

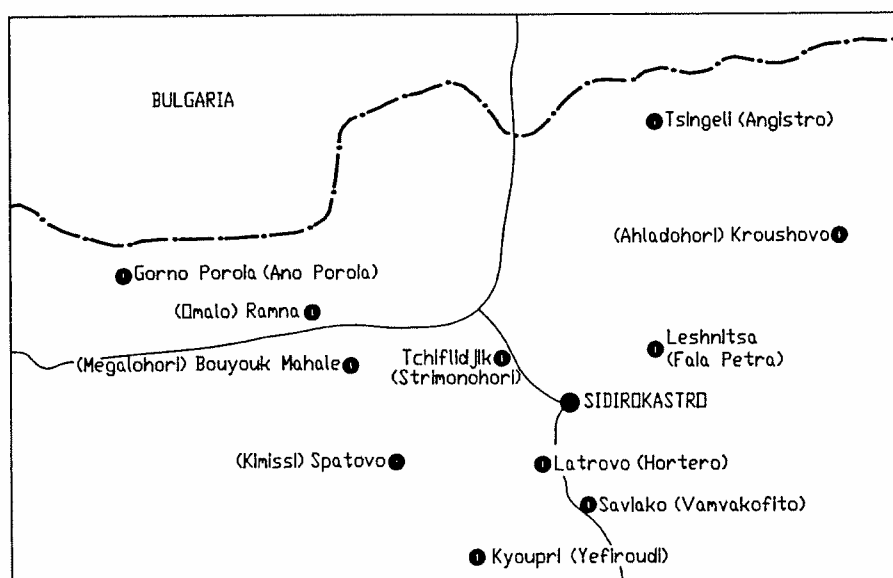
	Turkish and Slavonic- speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic- speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Bouyouk Mahale (Megalohori)		250	311	318 (50.5%)
Gorno Poroia (Ano Poroia)	480 + 2,200	2,648	1,336	837 (38.5%)
Kroushovo (Ahladohori)	0 + 2,450	1,990	827	632 (43.3%)
Kyoupri (Yefiroudi)		482	451	142 (23.9%)
Latrovo (Hortero)	0 + 360	292	312	259 (45.3%)
Leshnitsa (Faia Petra)	0 + 340	425	238	41 (14.6%)
Ramna (Omalo)	0 + 550	469	444	0
Saviako (Vamvakofito)	0 + 1,600	1,179	882	3
Spatovo (Kimissi)	0 + 1,350	1,167	765	380 (33.1%)
Tchiflidjik (Strimonohori)	0 + 180	208	305	433 (58.6%)
Tsingeli (Angistro)	200 + 1,200	1,190	894	346 (26.9%)

Of the villages which the General Staff describes as Slavonic-speaking, according to the 1928 census refugees settled in Gorno Poroia/Ano Poroia, making up 38.5 per cent of the population, Kyoupri/Yefiroudi (23.9%), Kroushovo/Ahladohori (43.3%), Latrovo/Hortero (45.3%), Leshnitsa/Faia Petra (14.6%), Bouyouk Mahale/

Megalohori (50.5%), Spatovo/Kimissi (33.1%), Tsingeli/Angistro (26.9%), and Tchiflidjik/ Strimonohori (58.6%).

The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the other villages in Table 15, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, with an insignificant number of refugees who had settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster. The sole exception is Gorno Poroia/Ano Poroia, where 336 refugees settled in 1914.

According to the 1928 census, 3,752 people settled in Sidirokastrro province before the Asia Minor Disaster; the Ministry of Finance report



Map 39: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Demir Hissar (Sidirokastrro) area in 1913

gives a figure of 5,482. The discrepancy is due to the fact that the refugees who came from Eastern Thrace in 1914 were compelled to return there when the Greek army occupied their native province. The same refugees came back to Macedonia again under the terms of the compulsory exchange of populations, which was sought by the Greek government under Eleftherios Venizelos and not by the Turkish government of Kemal Atatürk as has been asserted for decades.

The Serres area

In the statistical tables compiled by the Greek General Staff in 1919, the following villages in the central sector of the prefecture of Serres (formerly the subdistrict or province of Serres) are described as Slavonic-speaking: Gorno Vrontou (mod. Ano Vrontou), Gorno Frashtani (mod. Ano Orini), Gyoudale (mod. Vamvakoussa), Dimitrits (mod. Dimitritsion), Kakaraska (mod. Ayia Eleni), Karli Kioy (mod. Hionohori), Dolno Frashtani (mod. Kato Orini), Koumli (mod. Ammoudia), Beylik Mahale (mod. Valtotopi), Melinikitch (mod. Melenikitsion), Mirtati (mod. Xirotopos), Osman Kamila (mod. Ano Kamila), Prosnik (mod. Skotoussa), Tchoutcholi (mod.

186. Στατιστικοί Πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνικότητες των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αριθ. Φακελ. 5, σελ. 5:

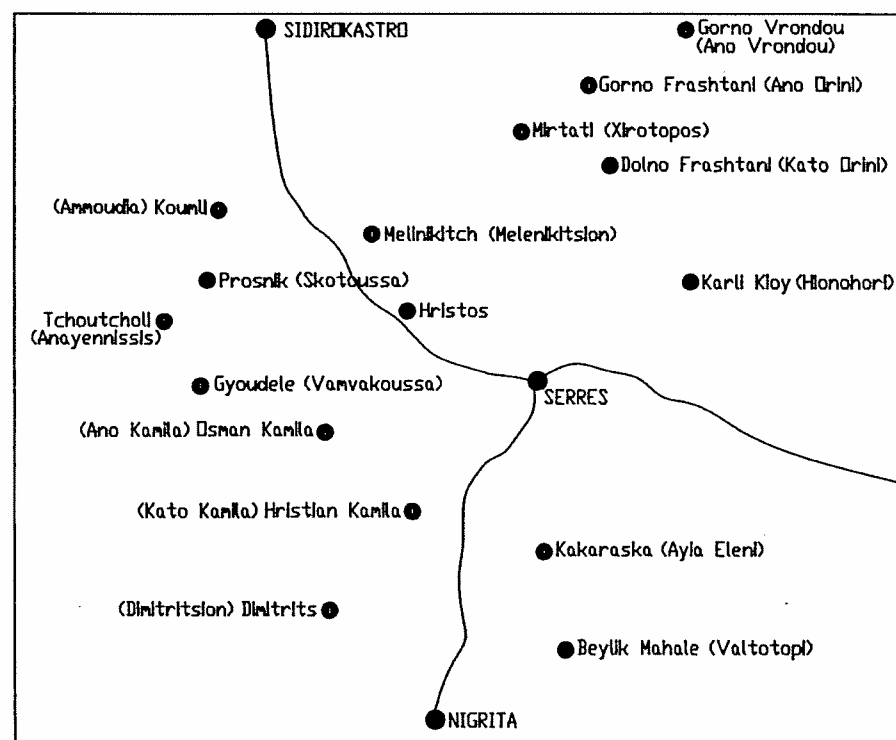
ΥΠΟΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΣΕΡΡΩΝ

Πόλεις ή χωριά	Ελληνόφωνοι	Ξενόφωνοι ή Σλαβόφωνοι	Το όλον των Ελλήνων	Βούλγαροι Σχισματικοί, Δια- μαρτ. κτλ.	Μωαμεθανοί	Το όλον του πληθυσμού	
7 Άνω Βροντού	—	—	—	4500	—	4500	Βλαχόφωνοι
52 Φράστανη Άνω	—	—	—	475	—	475	
16 Γκιούντελε	—	—	—	180	—	180	
30 Κακαράσκα	—	221	221	—	—	2221	
21 Καρλίκιοι	240	404	644	20	—	664	
53 Φράστανη Κάτω	—	15	15	676	—	691	
11 Βεηλίκ Μαχαλλέ	—	230	230	—	—	230	
35 Μιρτάτι	—	—	—	375	—	375	
36 Μελεγκίτσι	—	400	400	—	—	400	
22 Άνω Καμήλα	—	100	100	400	52	552	
42 Πρόσνικ	—	500	500	300	—	800	
50 Τσιτσουλίκο	—	—	—	302	—	302	
23 Κάτω Καμήλα	—	475	475	—	—	475	
54 Χριστός	—	—	—	210	—	210	
11 Δημητρίτσι	—	616	616	—	226	842	

Anayennissis), Hristian Kamila (mod. Kato Kamila), and Hristos.¹⁸⁶ The Slavonic-speaking villages in which refugees account for more than 60 per cent of the whole population are not mentioned here.

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Gorno Vrontou/Ano Vrontou, accounting for 27.6 per cent of the population, Gyoundele/Vamvakoussa (49.7%), Dimitrits/Dimitritsion (22.5%), Kakaraska/Ayia Eleni (21.8%), Koumli/Ammoudia (19.6%), Beylik Mahale/Valtopi (38.2%), Osman Kamila/Ano Kamila (31.7%), Prosnik/Skotoussa (20.1%), Hristian Kamila/Kato Kamila (42.8%), and Hristos (12.8%).

The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the other villages in Table 16, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, with perhaps a tiny number of refugees who had settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster.



Map 40: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Serres area in 1919

According to the 1928 census, 3,959 refugees settled in the whole of Serres province, including the town of Serres, before the Asia Minor Disaster; according to the Ministry of Finance report, 2,265 refugees settled there in 1914. None of the 1914 refugees settled in any of the villages in Table 16, and there is no indication in the literature of where the other 1,694 refugees settled.

Generally speaking, the movement of the refugees and the lack of published data from the Greek state make it impossible to calculate with any degree of accuracy, how many refugees arrived before 1922. At any rate, with regard to the province of Serres, the number was so small that it does not statistically affect the proportion of Slavonic-speaking Macedonians given in Table 16.

Lastly, next door to the Darnakohoria there is now the Greek-speaking village of Emmanouil Pappas, whose inhabitants are not of Greek origin: they are Greek Gypsies from Loulé Burgas in Eastern Thrace.¹⁸⁷

Bloody incidents took place throughout the Serres area after 1904, incidents that were part of that fratricidal turmoil (involving the Slavonic-speaking, Greek-speaking, Vlach-speaking, Turkish-speaking, and Albanian-speaking Macedonians) known as the Macedonian Struggle, which was waged under the leadership of Greek and Bulgarian officers and partisans.

With regard to this area, the Greek General Staff's publication of 1979 on the Macedonian Struggle relates that Greek partisan corps made assaults on 'contested' villages in the Serres area in 1906, between the two demarcation zones, an area that Sotiriadis presented as Greek-speaking. The 'contested' (i.e. Slavonic-speaking and Bulgarian-minded) villages that were attacked by the Greek partisan forces were Homondos (Mitroussi), Karadja Kioy (Monoklissia), Elshani (Karperi), Koumli (Ammoudia), and Savek (Vamvakofito).

187. Συναπίδης, Β., (1955), Προσφορά στην έρευνα για την φυλετική προέλευση των κασιόβελων Διδυμοτείχου Θράκης σελ. 302: «Στην περιοχή Σερρών υπάρχει ένα χωριό που λέγεται Εμμανουήλ Παππά,κατοικείται από τους πρόσφυγες αυτούς Ρωμιοκασιόβελους».

Table 16

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Serres area

	Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Beylik Mahale (Valtotopi)	0 + 450	230	289	179 (38.2%)
Dimitrits (Dimitritsion)	150 + 550	570	829	241 (22.5%)
Dolno Frashtani				
(Kato Orini)	0 + 780	691	632	0
Gorno Frashtani				
(Ano Orini)	0 + 545	532	133	0
Gorno Vrontou				
(Ano Vrontou)	0 + 6,100	794	642	245 (27.6%)
Gyoundele, Goudeli				
(Vamvakoussa)	0 + 360	189	185	183 (49.7%)
Hristian Kamila				
(Kato Kamila)	0 + 180	387	558	419 (42.8%)
Hristos	0 + 240	137	392	58 (12.8%)
Kakaraska (Ayia Eleni)	0 + 500	221	290	81 (21.8%)
Karli Kioy (Hionohori)	0 + 480	664	248	120 Vlachs
Koumli (Ammoudia)	195 + 750	871	659	161 (19.6%)
Melinikitch (Melenikitsion)	0 + 550	466	525	10
Mirtati, Mrtatovo				
(Xirotopos)	0 + 500	331	229	0
Osman Kamila				
(Ano Kamila)	110 + 210	632	335	156 (31.7%)
Prosnik (Skotoussa)	0 + 900	913	1,044	263 (20.1%)
Tchoutcholi,				
Tchoutchouligovo				
(Anayennissis)	0 + 560	361	719	48

With regard to the village of Karadja Kioy/Monoklissia, the General Staff's book gives a more detailed account of the activities of Yaglis's band. Apparently, this 'hero' of the Struggle was a former brigand chief, whose band was organised, financed, and sent to Macedonia by the Athens-based Alexander the Great Association. Early in November 1906, the brigand and his mob surrounded and destroyed the schismatic Karadja Kioy/Monoklissia and slew some twenty-five inhabitants, who were not members of the Bulgarian *komitata* — that is to say, they were unarmed, innocent villagers.¹⁸⁸

It is not known whether the Greek state has ever considered making an official apology to the descendants of those victims or paying some sort of material compensation to any survivors. The same book reports that the Greek bands did not do much material damage, they 'just' set fire to the homes of a few fanatical schismatics, seized and executed the most dangerous of these, and burnt the Exarchal church books.¹⁸⁹ The book is an official government publication written in 1979; it describes those whose

188. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979). *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 229:

Μοναδικόν μελανόν σημείον υπήρξεν η αποβίβασις εις την Χαλκιδικήν την 15ην Μαΐου 1906 του σώματος Γιαγλή, πρώην ληστήρχου. Τούτο είχε συγκροτηθή και αποσταλή εις Μακεδονίαν υπό του εδρεύοντος εις Αθήνας Μακεδονικού Συλλόγου «ο Μέγας Αλέξανδρος», χωρίς την συγκατάθεσιν και τον έλεγχον του Γενικού Προξενείου Θεσσαλονίκης. Το σώμα τούτο ενήργει αυτοβούλως και διέσπα τον αγώνα με τας αλλοπροσάλλους ενεργείας του και τας ακρότητάς του. Περί τας αρχάς Νοεμβρίου 1906, κινηθέν εις την πεδιάδα των Σερρών εκύκλωσε και κατέστρεψε το σχισματικόν χωρίον Καρατζάκιοι (Μονοκκλησιά). Επίσης εφόνευσε περί τους είκοσι πέντε κατοίκους του, χωρίς αυτοί να ανήκουν, ως επί το πλείστον, εις τα βουλγαρικά κομιτάτα. Το γεγονός αυτό προεκάλεσε μέγα θόρυβον και έβλαψε τον Ελληνικόν αγώνα κατά πολλούς τρόπους.

189. Έκδοση Διευθύνσεως Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1979), *Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις Θράκην Γεγονότα*, σελ. 226:

Εις την Ανατολικήν Μακεδονίαν ο κατάλογος των επιθέσεων εναντίον αμφοισητουμένων χωρίων επαρουσιάζετο εξ ίσου επιβλητικός. Συγκεκριμένως την 5ην Μαρτίου προσεβλήθη το Κουμλί (Αμμουδιά) Σερρών, την 14ην Μαρτίου το Εγρί Δερέ (Καλλιθέα) Δράμας και την 16ην Μαρτίου το Σάβιακον (Βαμβακόφυτον) Σερρών. Την 10ην Απριλίου το Καράκιοι (Κατάφυτον) Νευροκοπίου. Την 26ην Ιουνίου ο Βόλαξ και το Γκιουρετζίκ (Γρανίτης) Δράμας. Την 12ην Σεπτεμβρίου η Ράμνα (Ομαλόν) Σερρών. Την 16ην Σεπτεμβρίου και την 25ην Οκτωβρίου το Χόμονδος (Μητρούση) Σερρών. Την 7ην και 8ην Νοεμβρίου το Καρατζάκιοι (Μονοκκλησιά) Σερρών, την δε 12ην Νοεμβρίου η Έλσιανη (Καρπερή) Σερρών.

homes were burnt down as 'fanatics' and those who did the burning as 'heroes'.

This social callousness is a feature not only of the Greek, but also of the Turkish and the Yugoslav historians who follow state propaganda. There are Greek historians today, for instance, who affirm that there are no Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in Greece, just Greeks who speak a local dialect; and that there are no Turks in Greek Eastern Thrace, just Greek Moslems. Similarly, there are Turkish historians who affirm that there are no Kurds in Turkey, only Turks, when Istanbul alone has some four million inhabitants of Kurdish origin.

The Belgrade 'Academy' of Letters (?) has adopted precisely the same stance on similar issues, and thus bears the moral responsibility for the rivers of blood that have been shed by all the embattled factions in Bosnia, whose inhabitants are still plagued by the mediaeval 'Balkan syndrome'.

The Zihni area

Before we go on to analyse the ethnic origins of the Turkish-speaking Christians in the *kaza* of Zihni, let us recapitulate the information available in the various historical sources.

The empire of the Seljuk Turks was brought down by the Mongols at the Battle of Kushendag in 1243. In 1259, the Sultan, Izzedin Kaikavuz, whose capital was at Iconium, fled with his people and his fleet to the Byzantine Empire, where he was received after the Byzantine Emperor had compelled both him and all his people to convert to Christianity. With the permission of Emperor Michael Palaeologus, Kaikavuz eventually settled in Dobrudja in 1261, where he set up the despotate of the Gagauz.

One segment of the Gagauz population, led by the Sultan's mother and some Seljuk princes (Astrapiris, Melikis, Lizikos), settled first in Veria

Τα Ελληνικά σώματα εις όλας τας επιθέσεις των κατά των προαναφερθέντων χωρίων δεν επέφερον μεγάλας ζημίας. Απλώς επιρπόλουν ωρισμένας οικίας φανατικών σχισματικών ή κομιτατζήδων και συνελάμβανον και εξετέλουν τους πλέον επικινδύνους εξ αυτών. Όπου καθίστατο δυνατόν διαργάνωνον τα χωρία, απεκαθίσταν την Ελληνικήν κοινότητα και την ορθόδοξον εκκλησίαν και επιρπόλουν τα Εξαρχικά εκκλησιαστικά βιβλία.

and later in Thessaloniki, whence the Ottoman Turks subsequently relocated them to Zihni, near Serres, and the surrounding villages in 1384. The Turks appointed the Gagauz prince Lizikos head of the Gagauz of Zihni and made him governor of the area.

The Turkish-speaking Greeks of Nea Zihni, who are of Gagauz origin, must be descended from the Christianised Seljuk Turks; and, although they embraced Greek culture, they conserved the Turkish language for some seven hundred years and more, and the old people still speak it today.

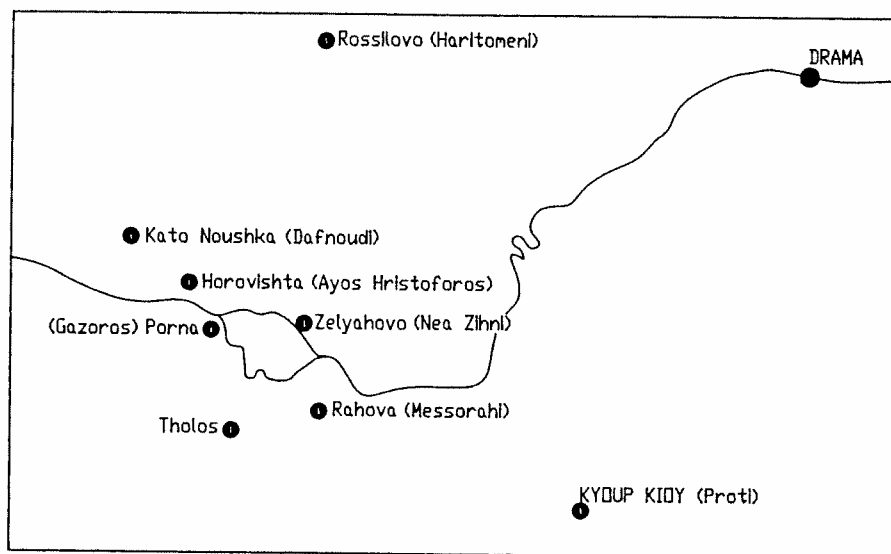
Table 17
The Turkish-speaking Gagauz villages in the Zelyahovo (Zihni) area

	Turks and Turkish- speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Turkish- speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Horovishta (Ayos Hristoforos)		376	499	92 (15.5%)
Kato Noushka (Dafnoudi)	480 + 120	546	815	332 (28.9%)
Porna (Gazoros)	180 + 450	648	956	648 (40.3%)
Rahova (Messorahi)	300 + 550	394	446	198 (29.2%)
Rossilovo (Haritomeni)	350 + 500	667	259	540 (67.5%)
Zelyahovo (Nea Zihni)	850 + 1,760	2,075	2,213	922 (29.4%)
Zihni	150 + 260	39	67	14 (17.2%)

During the period of Ottoman rule, the Christian population of the *kaza* of Zihni was divided into three linguistic zones: Slavonic-speakers in the north, Turkish-speakers in the middle, and Greek-speakers in the south.

Kalostipis refers to 2,800 'Turkish-speaking Greeks' in the village of Zelyahova or Zelahovo (mod. Nea Zihni).⁵⁶

Regarding the Christians of Zelyahovo, Skhinas in 1866 and Filippidis in 1877 tell us that they spoke only Turkish and had no knowledge of Greek.¹⁹⁰



Map 41: The Gagauz Turkish-speaking villages in the kaza of Zelyahovo (Nea Zihni) in 1900

190. Πραξιούτης, Ι. Γ., *Η Ζίχνη διά μέσου των αιώνων*, σελ. 98:

Σύμφωνα με τον Ν. Θ. Σχινά («Οδοιπορικοί Σημειώσεις», τ. Β', Μακεδονία, σελ. 446-487) το 1866 η Ζιλιάχοβα (Ν. Ζίχνη), είναι πρωτεύουσα του διαμερίσματος Ζίχνης της επαρχίας Σερρών. Έχει 42 πόλεις και χωριά.

Η κομόπολη Ζιλιάχοβα έχει γύρω στις 500 οικογένειες, από τις οποίες οι περισσότερες τουρκικές, οι δε λοιπές χριστιανικές, αγνοούν την ελληνική και μόνο τουρκική μιλάνε, μερικοί όμως μιλάνε ελληνικά.

Ο Ν. Γ. Φιλιππίδης («Μακεδονικά, Περιήγησις των εν Μακεδονία επαρχιών Δράμας, Ζίχνης και Ελευθερουπόλεως», σελ. 128-129) μας δίνει χρήσιμες πληροφορίες το 1877 για τη Ζίχνη.

Για τη Ζελιάχοβα (Ν. Ζίχνη) λέει ότι αποτελείται από Χριστιανούς και Τούρκους, βρίσκεται μεταξύ κάποιων λόφων σε θέση ωραία. Είναι έδρα του Καϊμακάμη της Ζίχνης, εκκλησιαστικά υπάγεται στη Μητρόπολη Δράμας-Ζιχνών. Οι Χριστιανοί μιλάνε τουρκικά.

According to Kantchev, the Turkish-speaking Christians in the *kaza* of Zihni lived in the following villages in 1900: 1,760 in Zelyahovo (mod. Nea Zihni); 260 in Zihni; 120 in Nato Noushka (mod. Dafnoudi); 550 in Rahova (mod. Messorahi); 150 in Tholos; 500 in Rossilovo (mod. Haritoneni) (Table 17; Map 41). With regard to Kato Noushka/Dafnoudi in particular, he tells us that of the 480 inhabitants of non-Gagauz origin, 380 were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians and only 100 were Turks.

According to Prazioutis, the Turkish-speaking inhabitants of the area still call themselves Gagauz today, and they live in Nea Zihni/Zelyahovo and in the neighbouring villages of Porna/Gazoros, Rahova/Messorahi, Horovishta/Ayos Hristoforos, and Kato Noushka/Dafnoudi.¹⁹¹ Even extremely nationalistic studies tell us that these villages were Turkish-speaking and that Greek education was introduced much later on.¹⁹²

Suggestions that the Turks forced the inhabitants of these villages to abandon Greek and learn Turkish, while retaining their Christian religion, may be relegated to the realms of modern Greek nationalist mythology. Before the emergence of the nationalist movements in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, unlike the Byzantine Empire before it, showed remarkable religious tolerance, respecting all religions and all languages.

Of the above-mentioned Gagauz villages, according to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Zelyahovo/Nea Zihni, making up 29.4 per cent of the population, Porna/Gazoros (40.3%), Rahova/Messorahi (29.2%), and Horovishta/Ayos Hristoforos (15.5%). We have no information about Kato Noushka/Dafnoudi.

191. Πραξιούτης, Ι. Γ., (1992), *Η Ζίχνη διά μέσου των αιώνων*, σελ. 97:

Τα ελληνικά χωριά Ζηλιάχοβα (Ζίχνη), η Πόρνα, η Ράχοβα, η Χοροβίστα και η Νούσκα έχασαν μόνο τη γλώσσα και έγιναν τουρκόφωνοι. Έψαλλαν στην τουρκική λόγω του φόβου και της καταπίεσης. Αυτό που έγινε στη Ζίχνη ίσως δεν έγινε πουθενά. Οι ασχήμιες που έκαναν οι Τούρκοι ήταν πρωταφανείς. Όμως δε γνωρίζουμε πότε, όπως λέει ο Κ. Βακαλόπουλος.

192. Χολέβας, Ι. Κ., (1991), *Οι Έλληνες Σλαβόφωνοι της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 151:

Στα χωριά Ζελιάχοβα, Πόρνα, Χωροβίστα, Νούσκα, οι έλληνες συνέχιζαν να μιλούν τουρκικά. Από μερικά χρόνια έχει αρχίσει η εκπαίδευση στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

The number of Gagauz given in Table 17 closely reflects the actual facts, because, according to the 1928 census, 2,391 refugees settled in the whole of the district of Zihni before the Asia Minor Disaster. The Ministry of Finance report mentions 5,180 individuals, of whom 560 settled in Zelyahovo/Nea Zihni in 1914, 163 in Kato Noushka/Dafnoudi, 46 in Porna/Gazoros, 82 in Rahova/Messorahi, and 45 in Rossilovo/Haritomeni.

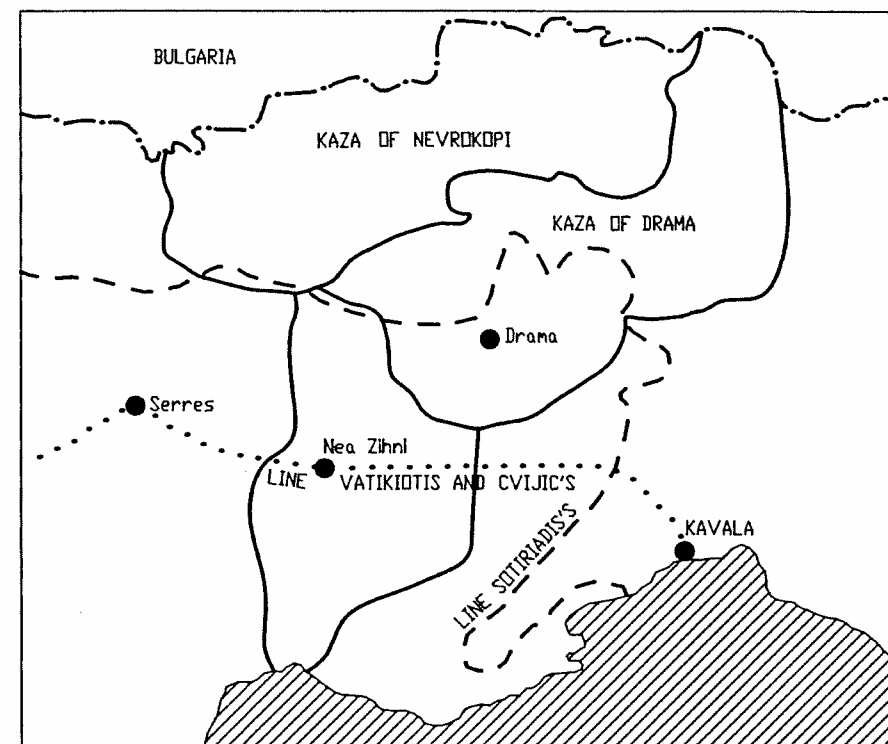
Finally, I was most impressed to learn that the historical names of the Seljuk princes Lizikos and Lizakos still survive in Nea Zihni to this day; though their holders probably have no idea of their origins or their distant forebears.

Our analysis of the ethnic origin of the Greek-speaking, Slavonic-speaking, and Turkish-speaking inhabitants of this area incontestably proves that the opinion of Greek politicians that the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia are an 'ethnic hotchpotch' has no scientific justification whatsoever. Our neighbours are indeed ethnically mixed — but no more so than our own people.

The Drama and Nevrokopi area

During the period of Ottoman rule, what is now the prefecture of Drama constituted the *kaza* of Nevrokopi towards the frontier and the *kaza* of Drama to the south (Map 42). According to Sotiriadis's official ethnological map, the inhabitants of the *kaza* of Nevrokopi spoke Slavonic and Turkish and those of the *kazas* of Drama and Kavala Turkish and Greek.

Cvijic's and Vatikiotis's line includes a very small part of Drama prefecture within the Greek-speaking zone.



Map 42: The Ottoman administrative division of the prefecture of Drama into the kazas of Nevrokopi and Drama

The Nevrokopi area

The statistical tables compiled by the Greek General Staff list the following villages in this approximate area as Slavonic-speaking in 1919: Anastassia, Alistrati, Vissotchani (mod. Xiropotamos), Volak (mod. Volax), Vovlitsion (mod. Piryi), Gyouredjik (mod. Granitis), Gornitsa (mod. Kali Vrissi), Gratchani (mod. Ayohori), Dranova (mod. Monastiraki), Egri Dere (mod. Kallithea), Zirnovo (mod. Kato Nevrokopi), Karlikova (mod. Mikropolis), Klepoushna (mod. Agriani), Plevna (mod. Petroussa), Prosotsani, and Startishta (mod. Perithori).¹⁹³

193. Στατιστικοί Πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνικότητες των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αριθ. Φακέλ. 5, σελ. 12:

ΥΠΟΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΔΡΑΜΑΣ

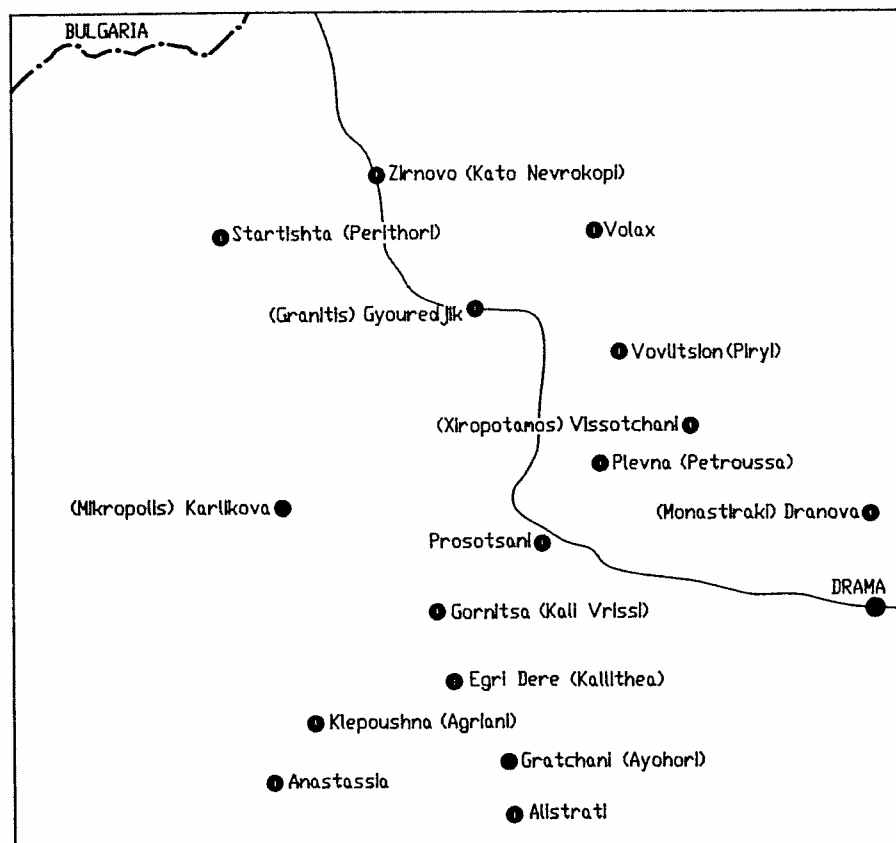
Πόλεις ή χωριά	Ελληνόφωνοι	Ξενοφώνοι ή Σλαβόφωνοι	Το όλον των Ελλήνων	Βούλγαροι Σχισματι- κοί, Αιταύροι κ.τ.λ.	Μουσουλμάνοι	Το όλον του πληθυσμού
3 Αναστασία	—	200	200	45	—	245
23 Αλιστράτη	861	800	1661	—	235	1896
7 Βυσσοτσιάνη	—	750	750	300	50	1100
11 Βιόλακκας	—	250	250	550	—	800
12 Βούβλιτς	—	160	160	—	150	310
22 Γιουρεντζίκ	—	—	—	440	—	440
34 Γόρνιτσα	—	310	310	461	—	771
28 Γράτσανη	—	282	282	—	—	282
33 Δράνοβα	—	350	350	—	180	530
27 Εγρί Δερέ	300	468	768	440	120	1328
41 Ζέρνοβον	—	150	150	1455	210	1815
30 Καρλίκοβα	—	300	300	500	832	1632
4 Κλεπούσσα	—	406	406	270	—	676
131 Πλεύνα	—	910	910	840	—	1750
134 Προσωτσάνη	700	600	1300	1000	1700	4000
155 Στάρτσι	140	100	240	1200	500	1940

Table 18

The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Zirnovo (Nevrokopi) area

	Turkish and Slavonic- speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev	No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census	Slavonic- speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census	Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census
Alistrati	500 + 3,600	1,896	2,762	1,024 (27%)
Anastassia	0 + 260	215	374	26
Dranova, Drenovo (Monastiraki)	220 + 380	612	597	79 (13.7%)
Egri Dere (Kallithea)	100 + 1,080	1,328	1,290	142 (9.9%)
Gornitsa, Gorentsi (Kali Vrissi)	0 + 950	771	993	211 (17.5%)
Gratchani, Gratchen (Ayohori)	0 + 420	282	461	17
Gyouredjik (Granitis)	0 + 500	481	364	209 (36.4%)
Karlikova, Karloukovo (Mikropolis)	660 + 1,500	1,632	1,114	1,062 (48.8%)
Klepoushna (Agriani)	0 + 1,100	484	707	2
Plevna (Petroussa)	0 + 2,140	2,121	2,683	77
Prosotsani	800 + 1,600	4,120	3,553	2,482 (41%)
Startishta, Startchishta (Perithori)	520 + 1,700	1,951	716	661 (48%)
Vissotchani (Xiropotamos)	250 + 1,150	1,544	1,529	396 (20.5%)
Volak, Volax	0 + 1,130	894	913	2
Vovlitsion, Bobolets (Piryi)	245 + 240	169	280	11
Zirnovo (Kato Nevrokopi)	170 + 1,950	2,105	1,762	506 (22.3%)

Referring to Greek statistics of 1912, Vlahos describes what is now the Greek sector of the *kaza* of Nevrokopi as an area with 1,073 Greeks and 8,578 Slavonic-speaking Exarchists. By 'Greeks' he means Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists, because there were no Greek-speakers anywhere in the Nevrokopi area, apart from a single village of Greek-speaking Moslems.



Map 43: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Drama and Nevrokopi area in 1913

A relatively recent publication on the area reports that there were 310 Slavonic-speaking families living in Zirnovo/Kato Nevrokopi, 10 Vlach-speaking and 15 Bulgarian-speaking families living in Startishta/Perithori, and 160 Bulgarian-speaking families living in Dolno Vrontou/Kato Vrontou. It also tells us that many of these villages were later forced to go over to the Exarchate.¹⁹⁴ The Greek General Staff's publication, however, reports that Greek partisan bands launched armed assaults on 'contested' villages in the area during the Macedonian Struggle, and specifies these as Egri Dere/Kallithea, Karakioy/Katafiton, Volak/Volax, and Gyouredjik/Granitis.¹⁸⁹

It seems that certain historians with nationalist leanings find it very difficult even today to accept that both sides confronted their opponents with fire and the sword, showing utter disregard for the most elementary standards of conduct that set human beings apart from wild beasts.

As far as Startishta/Perithori is concerned, in contrast to the aforementioned data, another recent publication reports 28 Patriarchist and 300 schismatic Slavonic-speaking Macedonian families.¹⁹⁵ This is in fact an accurate reflection of the true situation.

Of the Slavonic-speaking villages mentioned in the General Staff's statistical tables, according to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Vissotchani/Xiropotamos, making up 20.5 per cent of the population, Gyouredjik/Granitis (36.4%), Egri Dere/Kallithea (9.9%), Zirnovo/Kato Nevrokopi (22.3%), Gornitsa/Kali Vrissi (17.5%), Prosotsani (41%), and Startishta/Perithori (48%).

194. Καραθανάση, Α. Ε., (1991), *Ο Ελληνισμός και η μητρόπολη του Νευροκοπίου κατά τον μακεδονικό αγώνα*, σελ. 96:

Το Ζίρνοβο (Κ. Νευροκόπι), νότια και αυτό του Νευροκοπίου και σε απόσταση 7 ωρών από το Νευροκόπι, κατοικούνταν από 310 καθαρά πατριαρχικές, αλλά βουλγαρόφωνες οικογένειες.

Η Στάρτισσα (Περιθώρι), που απείχε 7 ώρες από το Νευροκόπι και προς τα νότια του, κατοικούνταν από 10 ελληνόφωνες και βλαχόφωνες οικογένειες και 15 βουλγαρόφωνους.

Από τη μελέτη της εκθέσεως αυτής προκύπτει ότι δε γίνεται πια κανένας λόγος για τα υπόλοιπα εκείνα χωριά, των οποίων η κατάσταση είχε απασχολήσει τους συντάκτες των εκθέσεων του 1885 και 1899: η Βροντού, το Τερλίτσι, η Λόφτσα, το Κουμανίτσι, το Μοναστηριτζίκι δεν αναφέρονται πλέον, έχουν προσχωρήσει στο σχίσμα και κάθε ορθόδοξη φωνή έχει πια φιωθεί από την εξαρχική τρομοκρατία.

195. Χολέβας, Ι. Κ., (1991), *Οι Έλληνες Σλαβόφωνοι της Μακεδονίας*, σελ. 115:

Στάρτισσα: η ελληνική κοινότητά της είναι μικρή (28 οικογένειες) μέσα σε 300 σχισματικές και 120 οθωμανικές.

The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like all the inhabitants of the aforementioned villages, were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1928, because, according to the 1928 census, only 605 refugees settled in this area before the Asia Minor Disaster, in contrast to the 8,772 who settled here after it.

According to the Ministry of Finance report, 12,907 refugees settled in the prefecture of Drama and the province of Nevrokopi/Zirnovovo in 1914. Of these, 65 settled in Vissotchani/Xiropotamos, 46 in Gyouredjik/Granitis, 124 in Zirnovovo/Kato Nevrokopi, 45 in Klepoushna/Agriani, 296 in Prosotsani, and 250 in Startishta/Perithori.

In the Bulgarian sector of eastern Macedonia, Greeks lived only in Melnik or Meleniko, where the names of many well-known Byzantine families were found. Whether these families were of Greek origin or not is a very debatable point: the Christomani family, for instance, were descended from Normans or Lombards; and there is evidence that the Rallis or Raoul family were of Western origin and the Petralifa family of Norman descent.¹⁹⁶

Apart from the Slavs and the Seljuk Turks, there were also many Albanians in eastern Macedonia, who were a hangover from the seven-year period of Albanian dominion in the Serres area (as also in the Peloponnese), which was brought to a violent end by the Turks. The Albanians who survived sought refuge in various villages.

In conclusion, it may be said, with a degree of probability verging on certitude, that neither in the Bulgarian nor in the Greek sector of eastern Macedonia are there any descendants of the Protobulgarians or the ancient Greeks. The modern Greeks and Bulgarians in the area are simply part of one and the same racial mosaic, that was made up of Hellenised or Bulgarianised Slavs, Vlachs, Albanians, Seljuk Turks, Kumani, and Latins,

This review has underlined once more the close racial kinship between the Greeks and the Bulgarians of Macedonia, in contradication of what is believed and touted by both sides.

THRACE

196. Nicol, D. M. (1957), *The Despotate of Epiros*, σελ. 215.

THE ANCIENT THRACIANS

The ancient Thracians ruled the greater part of the Balkan peninsula, and held onto it even after the Greeks arrived in southern Greece. The Vale of Tempe in Thessaly was the southernmost boundary of the vast Thracian dominions.

Even though they controlled most of the Balkans, the Thracians are not very well known to history. They are first mentioned by Homer, who lists the Thracian tribes of the Cicones, the Dardanii, the Phrygians, the Maedi, the Lycians, and the Moesians as allies of the Trojans. That the Thracians were unknown to historians before Homer's time is due purely and simply to the fact that — like all the other peoples of Europe, including the Greeks — they had no system of writing. Unlike the Thracians, the newly-arrived Greeks adopted the Phoenician alphabet and produced the first written history of Europe, which is our sole source of information about anything to do with the Thracians.

The ancient Greeks did not hold the Thracians in any great esteem, and termed them 'barbarians'. However, modern archaeological investigations in southern Bulgaria have found that the Thracians had a highly developed culture even when the Greeks were living a primitive life somewhere in north-eastern Europe.

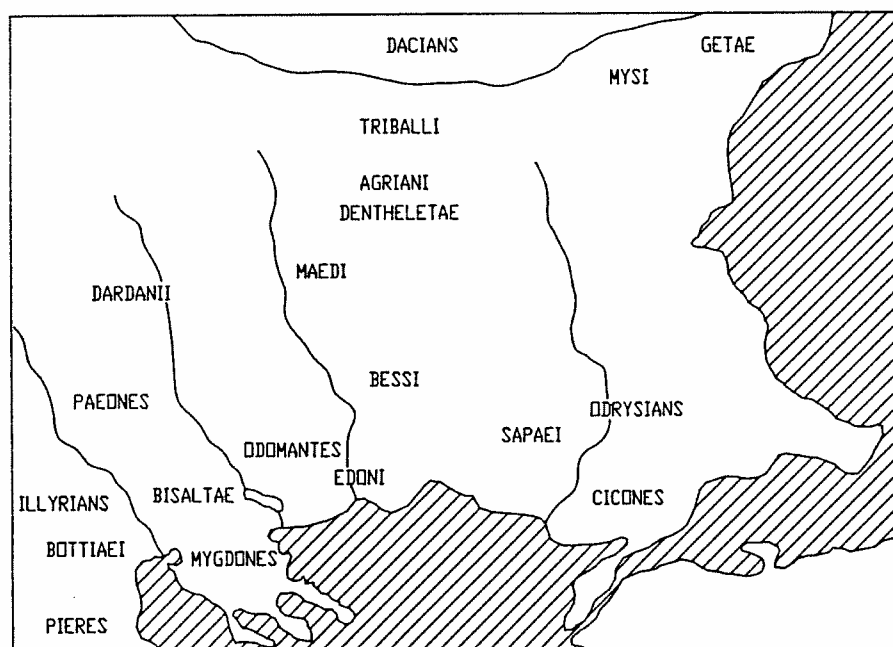
Of the ancient Greek writers, it is Herodotus (482–425 BC) who holds the most negative opinions about the Thracians, asserting that they loathed agricultural labour, esteemed idleness, and lived by war and plunder.¹⁹⁷ The father of history considered them the most numerous race in the world, after the Indians.¹⁹⁸ One might challenge the objectivity of

197. Siegert, S., (1979), *Auf den Spuren der Thraker*, σελ. 31: «der griechische Historiker Herodot (484-425 v. Chr.), urteilt über sie: "Wer faul ist, wird hoch geehrt, wer sein Feld bebaut, zutiefst verachtet. Von Krieg und Raub zu leben ist ihnen das Schönste"».

198. Siegert, S., (1979), *Auf den Spuren der Thraker*, σελ. 62: «Das Thrakervolk ist nach den Indern das größte auf Erden. Wenn es nur einen Herrscher hatte und einig wäre, wäre es unbesiegbar und meiner Meinung nach weitaus das mächtigste Volk auf Erden».

Herodotus' information about the Thracians, just as one might challenge the image of the Amerindian 'baddie' bequeathed to us by certain nineteenth-century writers.

There were countless Thracian tribes, but only about a hundred of them are historically attested, the most important of these being the Odrysians, the Dacians, the Getae, the Bessi, the Edoni, the Moesians, the Dardanii, the Maedi, the Dentheletae, the Sapaei, the Pieres, the Triballi, the Odomantes, the Bisaltae, the Crestonians, and the Agriani.



Map 44: The Thracian tribes of Macedonia and Thrace

Politically speaking, the Thracians never managed to create a centrally organised kingdom, since they were frequently at each other's throats, the classic example being the Bessi and the Odrysians.

The Bessi, the most bellicose Thracian tribe, lived at the western end of the Rhodope mountains and exerted a powerful spiritual influence on

their fellow Thracians by means of the oracle of Dionysus, which was in their territory. Indeed, the priests of the oracle were traditionally Bessi. This religious influence must have continued well into the Christian era, given that monasteries are attested in Syria with Bessian monks, who were well-known for the strictness of their monastic rule.

The most important of the Thracian tribes was the Odrysians, who numbered 700,000 and lived in the area of Adrianople. The Odrysians later created the first kingdom to unite a large proportion of the Thracians under its dominion. The Odrysian kingdom extended over almost the whole of Bulgaria and what is now Greek and Turkish Thrace, and enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity after 480 BC. The first historically attested king was Teres.

The huge numbers of the Thracians are attested by Herodotus and indirectly by the size of Sitalces' army. In 429 BC, he managed to mobilise 150,000 Thracians against the kingdom of Macedon, forcing Perdiccas II to restrict himself to defending fortified positions. Macedonia was saved from ruination by Perdiccas' diplomacy and the unruliness of the Thracian army.

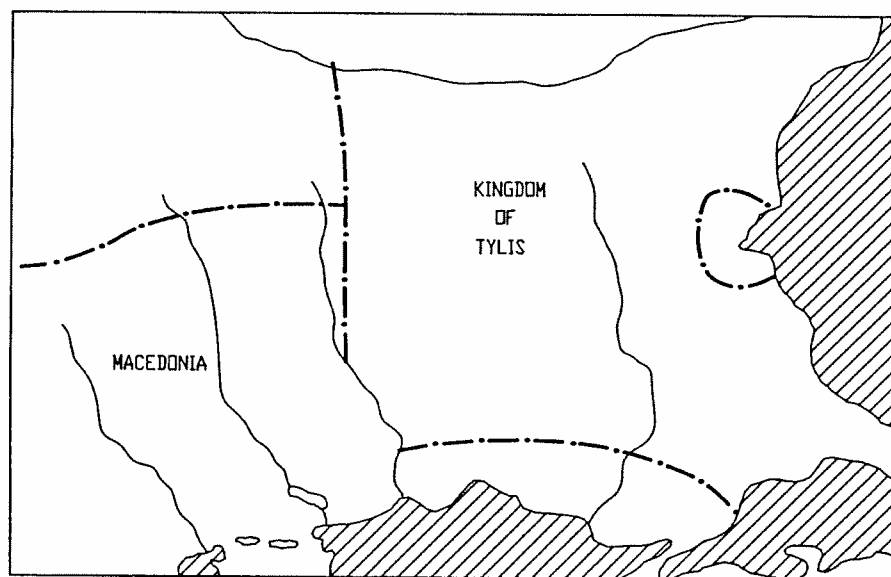
Lastly, it is recorded that the legendary Spartacus belonged to the Maedi tribe from the upper Strymon and that, before he was taken to Rome as a slave, he was a prince of his tribe.¹⁹⁹

MACEDONIAN AND GALATIAN DOMINION (350–209 BC)

Philip was the leader of the first army that ever managed to subdue the Thracians, and by 359 BC had extended his dominion throughout Thrace, with the exception of northern Bulgaria, which was inhabited by the Triballi, the Moesians, and the Scythians. Philip was unable to implement his standard ethnic policy of relocating local populations from conquered areas to the interior of the Macedonian state, owing to the vast numbers of the Thracian masses. Neither Greeks nor Macedonians ever settled in the interior of Thrace. Even in Philippopolis (Plovdiv) itself, which was founded

199. Siegert, S., (1979). *Auf den Spuren der Thraker*, σελ. 64: «etwa in der Gegend des heutigen Kjustendil - lebten die Maider, aus deren Reihen zur römischen Zeit eine der großen historischen Persönlichkeiten des Altertums hervorging: der Sklavenbefreier Spartacus».

by Philip, the only Greeks were the members of the Macedonian garrison, who did not enjoy the best of moral reputations because they frequently succumbed to the temptation of adultery. The polygamous Thracians regarded adultery as one of the most serious crimes, because a wife was the exclusive property of her husband. In contrast to the strict moral code that governed married women, unmarried Thracian girls enjoyed absolute sexual freedom. As still happens occasionally in India today, when a Thracian man died, his favourite wife was permitted to be buried alive with him, which honour was highly appreciated both by the wife and by her family.



Map 45: The Galatian kingdom of Thrace

The Thracians of Bulgaria were ultimately subjugated in 336 BC when Alexander the Great defeated the Triballi. He did not manage to subjugate the Dardanii or the Illyrians, however, and in the time of his successors they became fearsome foes of Macedon. Although the Thracians were a belligerent race, they were used on a small scale on the Persian campaign: only 8,000 of Alexander's 38,000 soldiers were Agriani, Paeones, and Odrysians.

After the death of Alexander the Great, General Lysimachus became

King of Thrace. On his death in 281 BC, seventy years of Macedonian rule in Bulgarian Thrace came to an end, with the exception of the Aegean seaboard, which became a dominion of the Egyptian Ptolemies.

As has already been pointed out, the relatively brief period of Macedonian rule had absolutely no effect on the ethnic make-up of the population within the country.

Just two years after Lysimachus' death, the Celtic tribe of the Galatae put an end to Macedonian rule and established the kingdom of Tyllis. Like the Macedonians before them, the Galatae ruled for seventy years (279–209 BC), leaving the internal political structure of the country untouched. A successful rising by the Thracian leaders in 209 brought Galatian dominion to an end and restored Thracian independence for another two hundred and fifty years.

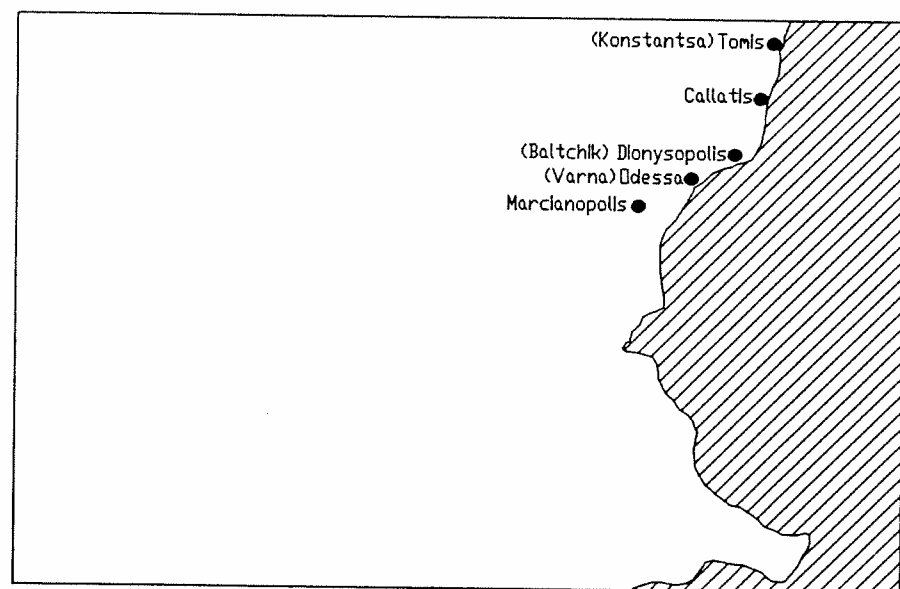
THRACIAN INDEPENDENCE AND ROMAN RULE (209 BC – AD 334)

From an ethnological point of view, the period of Thracian independence (209 BC – AD 46) is of no particular interest, because the composition of the population of Thrace remained unchanged. The exception was the Aegean seaboard, which remained in the possession of the Ptolemies.

Once they had conquered Macedonia, it took the Romans another two hundred years to subjugate the Thracians. They were finally successful in AD 46, when they defeated the last and most warlike Thracian tribe, the Bessi.

During the first phase of this Roman period (until the end of the first century AD), the Thracian population maintained both its language and its ethnic identity.

Almost all the population of modern Bulgaria was of Thracian origin, apart from the populations of the old Greek colonies on the coast of northern Bulgaria and the northern Aegean. The Greek cities in north-eastern Bulgaria — Tomis, Callatis, Dionysopolis, Odessa, and Istrus — were known collectively as the 'pentapolis'; Marcianopolis was founded during the Roman period, and the pentapolis became a hexapolis. These cities had Greek culture and a Greek administrative system, but were extremely varied in their ethnic make-up. Ovid gives some interesting



Map 46: The Greek pentapolis in Thrace

information in this connection, having been exiled for many years in Tomis, modern Constantza. According to the Roman poet, the inhabitants of Tomis were Greeks, but there were many Getae and Sarmatians in the city; the Greek language was little spoken and with a Getic accent.²⁰⁰

In the period that followed, Thrace began to divide up, culturally, into Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking areas. The coastal zone was Hellenised, owing to the cultural influence of the Greek colonies; while the Thracian populations in the hinterland embraced Latin culture to the exclusion of all else. There were some areas where the Thracians went through a stage of Hellenisation before being Latinised.²⁰¹

In this period, a gradual ethnic mixing took place in northern

200. Κανατσούλης, Δ., (1979), *Η Θράκη κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους*, σελ. 18: «ὁ ποιητὴς Ὀβίδιος, ὅστις ἐξωρίσθη εἰς τοὺς Τόμους, ὅπου καὶ ἀπέθανεν. Εἰς τὰ ποιήματά του μᾶς περιγράφει... ὅτι εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἀποικίαν πολὺ ὀλίγον ὠμιλεῖτο ἡ ἑλληνικὴ καὶ μάλιστα με γετικὴν προφορὰν. Γέτας καὶ Σαρμάτας ἡδύνατό τις νὰ ἴδῃ νὰ περιδιαβάσουν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες κάτοικοι νὰ φοροῦν γετικὰς ἀναξυρίδας».

201. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτικὴ Αθηνῶν Α.Ε., σελ. 210: «Ἐξ ἄλλου πολλοὶ Θράκες ἐξελληνίσθησαν, ἀφοῦ ὁμοῦ προηγουμένως εἶχαν

Bulgaria, starting in Nero's reign (when 100,000 farmers of unknown nationality from beyond the Danube settled there in AD 64),²⁰² and accelerating when the Roman frontiers along the Danube were destabilised. One hundred thousand Bastarnae settled in the area in 275,²⁰³ followed by Gepidae and more Bastarnae later on, and by 20,000 Sarmatian prisoners c. 282.

THE EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD (334–610)

Politically speaking, the Early Byzantine period was a continuation of the Roman Empire, as is indicated by the fact that the official language of Byzantium at that time was still Latin. Greek was the language of the Church and was used both for ritual and liturgical purposes and for disseminating the Christian faith. Greek became the official language of the state after 610 and was one of the only three languages (together with Latin and Hebrew) in which the Old and New Testaments were allowed to be disseminated.

One of the hallmarks of the Early Byzantine period was the mass conversion to Christianity of the Latin-speaking Thracians who lived in the area of what is now Bulgaria. The process of their conversion was completed in 396, when the last pagan tribe, the Bessi, embraced the Christian faith.²⁰⁴

After rejecting paganism, the Thracians in southern Bulgaria finally

ἐκλατινισθῇ, ὅπως συμπεραίνεται ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονός ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν λατινικῶν ἐπιγραφῶν μὲ θρακικὰ ὀνόματα εἶναι μεγαλύτερος, ἔστω καὶ λίγο, ἀπὸ ἐκείνων τῶν ἑλληνικῶν».

202. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτικὴ Αθηνῶν Α.Ε., σελ. 143: «Ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, γύρω στὸ 64 μ.Χ., ἕνας πρεσβευτὴς τῆς Μυσίας, ὁ Πλαῦτιος Σιλβανὸς Αἰλιανός, ... ἐγκατέστησε στὴ Μυσία 100.000 γεωργοὺς ἀπὸ τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ περιοχῆς».

203. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτικὴ Αθηνῶν Α.Ε., σελ. 150: «Ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου, ἀλλὰ κυρίως κατὰ τὸν 3ο αἰ. π.Χ. ... πλῆθος βάρβαροι ἐγκαταστάθηκαν ἐπίσημα στὰ ἐδάφη τοῦ συνόρου τοῦ Δούναβη καὶ τῶν μετόπισθεν (100.000 Γότθοι καὶ Βαστάρνες στὴ Θράκη ἐπὶ Πρόβου, σύμφωνα μὲ ὁρισμένους πηγές)».

204. Besevliev, (1961), *Die Thraker im ausgehenden altertum*, σελ. 254: «Der Stamm der Bessen wurde bekanntlich erst im Jahre 396 durch Nikitas, den Bischof von Remesiana, zum Christentum bekehrt».

lost their ethnic identity, which had already been seriously undermined when the Thracian language had been supplanted by Latin.

An ethnological study of the Thracians of northern Bulgaria presents no difficulties for the simple reason that both the Triballi and the Moesians there were wiped out by the marauding Goths and Slavs.

The invasions of the Goths

After the third century AD, for various reasons, the Roman frontiers along the Danube were destabilised, leaving the way open for massive raids by the Visigoths in the fourth century. These invasions radically changed the ethnic profile of Bulgaria.

Eusebius reports that three hundred thousand Visigoths invaded northern Bulgaria in 334. It seems an excessively high figure, but is nonetheless indicative of the magnitude of the invasions. They continued thereafter too: for instance, Visigoths are reported to have settled in the Danubian area of Nicopolis in 348. One of their number was Bishop Wulfila, who, together with Luther, is regarded as one of the founders of the German script. The similarities between German and Greek grammar are due to the fact that these two clerics translated the Old and the New Testament into German on the basis of the Greek translation of these religious texts. The Visigoth invasions so changed the ethnic composition of northern Bulgaria that the vast majority of the provincial population was made up of people of Germanic origin. Both the Romans and the Latinised Thracians were forced to confine themselves to the urban centres, while the Greek element was located exclusively in the coastal cities of the Black Sea, reinforced by a steady influx of Hellenised inhabitants of Asia Minor.

The ever increasing numbers of Visigoths in northern Bulgaria began to pose an ethnological threat to the local Roman subjects, and in 368 Emperor Valens was compelled to issue a ban on intermarriage between Roman subjects and barbarians. Nonetheless, ethnic mixing was inevitable, and thirty years later the wife of Emperor Arcadius himself was the daughter of a Gothic general.

The Gothic inundation of northern Bulgaria led to a head-on clash between the Romans and the Goths, which attained dramatic proportions in the Battle of Adrianople in 378. The Visigoths won an overwhelming

victory, decimating the Roman army and slaying Valens himself.

As a result of the Visigoths' victory, an autonomous Gothic state was recognised in northern Bulgaria in 382 and the Roman population disappeared from the region altogether, with the possible exception of the Varna area.

After winning their autonomy, the Visigoths remained in northern Bulgaria for only thirteen years more, leaving the region in 395 for unknown reasons. On their departure from Bulgaria, led by Alaric, they advanced upon southern Greece and ravaged it for two whole years. They left the Peloponnese in 397 and travelled through Epirus and Dalmatia to Italy, where they took Rome in 410, overthrowing the western Roman Empire once and for all.

One segment of the Visigoth population cannot have gone with Alaric, because we know that large numbers of Goths settled in Phrygia in Asia Minor between 395 and 397. Life in Asia Minor cannot have agreed with the warlike Visigoths, who, unable to adapt to rural life, revolted against Arcadius in 399, and thirty thousand of them entered Constantinople. It was a disastrous move. The Romanised Gothic general Flavius Fravithas, who was at the head of the anti-Germanic faction in the Byzantine capital, managed to vanquish and destroy the Gothic invaders with the help of the citizenry.

After all this, northern Bulgaria was restored to Roman rule, though this did not prevent various Germanic and Mongolian peoples from settling in the region.

In 453, an unknown number of Huns and Sarmatians settled in the north-western part of northern Bulgaria, serving the Byzantine Empire as *foederati*. A second group of Huns, led by Attila's son Ernach, settled there at the same time. A hundred years later, the Byzantine writer Jordanes described the descendants of this second group as Roman subjects, and termed them *Phosatisii* and *Sacromontesians*.

In 477, another Germanic threat appeared in the form of the Ostrogoths, who settled in northern Bulgaria, together with Scyrians and Alans. In contrast to the Visigoths, most of the Ostrogoths did not pass through the Balkans: a small number of them settled temporarily in Marcanopolis, only to depart in 488 in order to join up with Theodoric, who was marching against Italy. Theodoric the Great set up the Ostrogoth kingdom in Italy in 493, having first driven the Visigoths out. The latter in

their turn fled to the northern Mediterranean coast of Spain (Barcelona), where they still live to this day.

With all these Germanic comings and goings, the Thracian population of Bulgaria underwent some radical ethnological changes. In the interior of northern Bulgaria, the population was completely replaced by Alans, Sarmatians, Scyrians, Huns, and remnants of Visigoths and Ostrogoths. The coastal area of Dobrudja was an exception, where Hellenised inhabitants from Asia Minor were in the majority.

Unlike the north, in southern Bulgaria the Thracian element managed to survive. Indeed, the Thracian language was spoken alongside Latin in the 'Thracian village'. These southern Thracians had completely lost their ethnic consciousness and regarded themselves as Romans, well-known historical examples being Justinian's general Belissarius, General Vitalianus, and Emperor Marcian (450–7).

The invasions of the Slavs

Shortly after the Ostrogoths had quit the Balkans, the period of Slav raids began.

In the first phase, which began around 517, the Slavs were joined in their invasions by Protobulgarians, Kutrigurs, Avars, and Antae. The peaceful relations between the Antae and the Slavs, who were initially allies, were soon upset by the machinations of Byzantine diplomacy. The Slavs defeated the Antae, who, to avoid being massacred, were forced in 540 to seek refuge in the Byzantine Empire, specifically on the Byzantine side of the Danube. Justinian gave the Antae permission to settle there, evidently intending to use them as a shield against the Slavs.²⁰⁵

The Slav invasions of northern Bulgaria and the Balkans in general

205. Setton, K. M., (1950), *The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, σελ. 507: «Justinian... proposed to settle the Antae, an Eastern Slavic people, led, ... on the left bank of the lower Danube, where as *foederati* they might be employed against the Bulgars».

were chiefly characterised by the fact that they went hand in hand with the mass slaughter of the local populations. The Frankish invasions of western Europe, by contrast, did not lead to the extermination of the Celts, whose remnants still survive in Brittany, Wales, and Spain.

After 527, the raids by the Avars and Slavs became an annual event, the Slav warriors seizing their booty and returning to their bases across the Danube. The raids continued without a break and culminated in 581 and 621 in sieges of Constantinople itself.

After the siege of 581, the Slavs settled in northern Bulgaria, which became almost completely Slavonicised. More specifically, the western part of northern Bulgaria was occupied by the Slavs of the Seven Generations and the eastern part by the Severi Slavs, who first wiped out the local Byzantine subjects of Germanic and Mongolian origin. Dobrudja and southern Bulgaria escaped being colonised by the Slavs. The Huns and Goths remained in the interior of Dobrudja, while the Hellenised Byzantine subjects were the dominant ethnic element along the coast.

The Slavs were prevented from settling in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace by the Byzantine army, which was made up not of Greeks, as is commonly believed in some quarters, but chiefly of Goths, Illyrians, and Isaurians. Slavonic settlements are only sporadically mentioned in eastern Thrace, such as outside Bizye, for instance.

In conclusion, we may say that, despite the loss of human life, the Slav invasions left the ethnic make-up of southern Bulgaria unchanged.

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (610–1025) WITH EMPERORS OF SYRIAN AND ARMENIAN ORIGIN

The failure of the massive siege of Constantinople by the Avars and Slavs in 610 released southern Thrace once and for all from the threat of infiltration by the Slavs. However, both Illyricum (Yugoslavia) and Macedonia came under Slav dominion, with the result that the Byzantine Empire's centre of gravity moved to Asia Minor. This territorial shift was reflected in the political life of the Empire by the fact that most of the Byzantine emperors in this period were of Syrian or, particularly, Armenian origin.

After the period of Slav invasions, the Protobulgarians began to move to centre stage in Balkan history, and they were the Byzantine Empire's most redoubtable political rival for many centuries.

In this chapter, let us reach a clearer understanding of the ethnic make-up of modern Bulgaria by looking at a few fundamental details of Bulgarian history, which is not sufficiently well known to the general reading public.

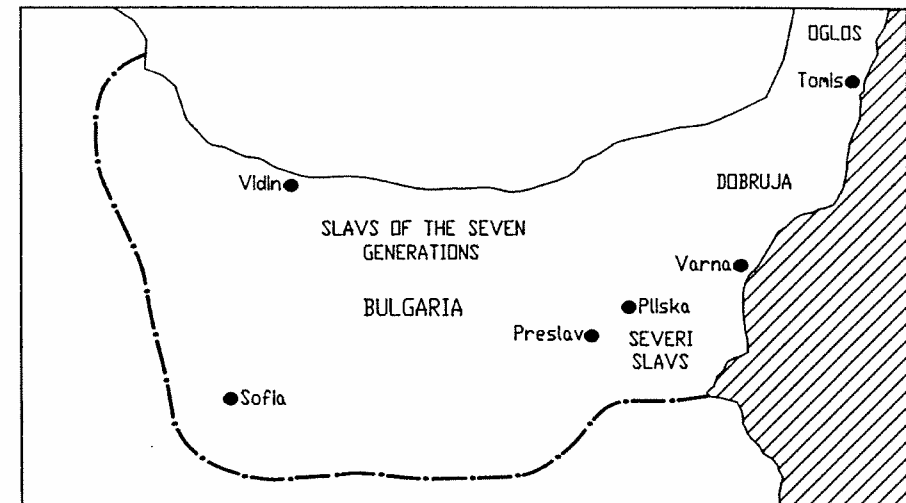
The Protobulgarians settle in northern Bulgaria

The Protobulgarians were a people of Turco-Mongolian origin who came from what is now Asiatic southern Russia. The Bulgars' presence in the north-western Caucasus in 541 is historically attested by Armenian written sources.

At this time, the Protobulgarians were already invading and plundering Byzantine territory, together with other primitive Asiatic peoples. This is confirmed by the Byzantine writer Procopius, who reports that in 541 the Protobulgarians invaded the Balkans, got as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, and, having laid waste to all the cities in Greece (apart from the Peloponnese), they departed, taking 120,000 captives with them.^{206, 207}

206. Hammond, N. G. L., (1975), *Migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas*, σελ. 65: «Thus in the 540s the Bulgars carried out a raid which threatened Thessalonica and Constantinople and then returned across the Danube with more than 100.000 prisoners...».

207. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Ζ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ.



Map 47: Bulgaria in the reign of Krum (802–814)

While they were in the Caucasus, the Protobulgarians, led by Khan Kubrat, established the first independent Protobulgarian state, known in the Byzantine historical sources as 'Greater Bulgaria'. It did not survive for long, for after Kubrat's death it was broken up by the Khazars, who forced the Protobulgarians to move westwards. Some of the Protobulgarians, led by Kubrat's son Asparuch, reached the mouth of the Danube in 660 and settled in that marshy area, which the Byzantines called Oglos.²⁰⁸ Having crossed the unassailable marshes of Oglos, over a period of forty years the Protobulgarians managed to get to Dobrudja, whence they subjugated the

181: «Καὶ τὴν ἀνοιξὴ τοῦ 541 πέρασαν τὸν Δούναβη, διέσχισαν τὴν ὁροσειρὰ τοῦ Αἴμου καὶ εἰσέβαλαν στὴ Θράκη λεηλατώντας καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντας. Ἐπειτα χωρίσθηκαν σὲ τρία τμήματα. Τὸ ἓνα κινήθηκε ἐναντίον τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἔφθασε ὡς τὸν Ἰσθμὸ τῆς Κορίνθου... Ὅπως δὲ ποτε, τὸ φθινόπωρο οἱ Βούλγαροι ὑποχώρησαν. Ἀπήγαγον ὅμως στὶς ἐστίες τους, πέρα ἀπὸ τὸν Δούναβη, ἀναρίθμητα λάφυρα καὶ 120.000 αἰχμαλώτους».

208. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 81: «Eine dritte Gruppe der Protobulgaren unter Kubrats Sohn Asparuch wandte sich nach Westen, überquerte Dnepr und Dnestr und ließ sich, vermutlich um 660, im südlichen Bessarabien nieder — in einer Gegend, die in den byzantinischen Quellen Oglos genannt wird».

Severi Slavs in north-eastern Bulgaria and the Slavs of the Seven Generations in north-western Bulgaria. The Greek and Greek-speaking populations of the coastal area of Dobrudja were either wiped out or forced by the Bulgarians to leave, the only exceptions being the cities of Tomis (Constantza) and Varna, which remained in Byzantine hands for a long time yet.

The result of this expansion was the creation of the first Bulgarian state in the Balkans with its capital at Pliska. Byzantium accorded the new state official recognition in 701.

From an ethnological point of view, most of the Protobulgarians were concentrated in the eastern part of northern Bulgaria, with Pliska as their centre, which was also inhabited by Severi Slavs. That Protobulgarians and Slavs lived together in Pliska has been confirmed by contemporary archaeological investigations.²⁰⁹ The vast majority of the inhabitants of the western part of northern Bulgaria, with Vidin as their centre, were Slavs of the Seven Generations.

This success on the part of the Protobulgarians was chiefly due to the fact that, like all the Asiatic peoples, they had a centrally organised administrative system headed by the Khan, whereas the Slavs had not got any further than the Lilliputian administrative system of one or more generations. The military might of a single tribe is by definition inferior to any centrally organised power. The Slavs' inability to create or sustain a centrally organised authority is still apparent in Yugoslavia today, embroiled as it is in the strife and turmoil of centrifugal autonomist trends.

In Asparuch's time, the Bulgarian army consisted of Slavonic and Protobulgarian units, but the Byzantine sources cease to make specific reference to Protobulgarians after 718.²¹⁰ This underscores the fact that the Slavs in Bulgaria were assimilated and swiftly lost their ethnic identity.

209. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 98: «Aus den Funden des 7.-8. Jh., die bei Ausgrabungen in Nord- und Nordostbulgarien zutage kamen, kann mit Sicherheit geschlossen werden, daß es dort in der fraglichen Zeit bereits Siedlungen mit einer gemischten Bevölkerung gegeben hat. Das gilt auch und vor allem für die Hauptstadt Pliska».

210. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 101: «Dies ist die letzte Nachricht, in der die Protobulgaren in Makedonien erwähnt werden. Vermutlich sind sie im Laufe des 8. Jh. mit den benachbarten slawischen Stämmen verschmolzen und als selbständiges Ethnos untergegangen».

In the modern era, the inhabitants of Bulgaria and the Slavonic-speakers in Greece are referred to in the literature as 'Slavs of the Bulgarian group',²¹¹ a term that is based on the linguistic affinity between the Slavonic dialect of Macedonia and the modern Bulgarian language and also on its considerable difference from Serbian and Croatian. Though these arguments may be correct from a linguistic point of view, their use in an ethnological context leads to inaccurate conclusions. The Turco-Mongolian Protobulgarians were in the Caucasus in 590 when the Indo-European Slavs had already begun settling in the Balkans. The Protobulgarian language gradually died out and was replaced by modern Bulgarian, which is none other than the Slavonic tongue into which Cyril and Methodius translated the Scriptures. Of the non-Slavonic languages still surviving in Bulgaria, the language of the Tsvash people most closely resembles Protobulgarian.²¹²

Bulgarian dominion in Thrace

After Byzantium had recognised the Bulgarian state in 701, Bulgaro-Byzantine relations remained relatively good for seventy years. This peaceful period was brought to an end in 762 by the accession to the throne of the leader of the anti-Byzantine faction, Tsar Telets, which led many pro-Byzantine Bulgars to flee to Constantinople,²¹³ where they were assimilated by the city's multiethnic population. The strange thing is that the Bulgarian name Telets still survives in Greece today in the Hellenised form of Teledzidis.

211. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 66: «Die genannten Gemeinsamkeiten im Lautsystem der im 6.-7. Jh. in Nordbulgarien, Thrakien, Makedonien, Südbanien und großen Teilen Griechenlands ansässigen Slawen berechtigen uns, sie einer in sprachlicher Hinsicht einheitlichen Gruppe zuzurechnen, die wir als "bulgarische Gruppe" bezeichnen».

212. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 41: «Unangefochten bleibt dagegen die schon von A. Kunik vertretene Ansicht, daß das längst ausgestorbene Protobulgarische der Sprache der heutigen Tschuwaschen am nächsten steht».

213. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 33: «Μετά την πάροδο διετίας περίπου επικράτησε στη Βουλγαρία η πιο αδιάλλακτη μερίδα και το 762 ανέδειξε αρχοντα «άνδρα κακόφρονα, όνόματι Τελέτζην, έτών ύπάρχοντα λ' (= 30)», άφου παραμερίσθησαν οι κατά δίκαιο άρμόδιοι για τη φροντίδα των κοινών. 'Η έξοδος από τη χώρα χιλιάδων Σλάβων και ή προσφυγή τους στην αύτοκρατορία...».

Bulgarian pressure on Byzantine territory began to increase in the reign of Krum (802–814), culminating dramatically in 811 with the crushing defeat of the Byzantine army outside Sofia and the death of Emperor Nicephorus, who was probably of Arab descent. As we saw in the section on Macedonia, Krum followed Protobulgarian pagan custom by having Nicephorus' skull silver-plated and drinking his wine out of it.²¹⁴

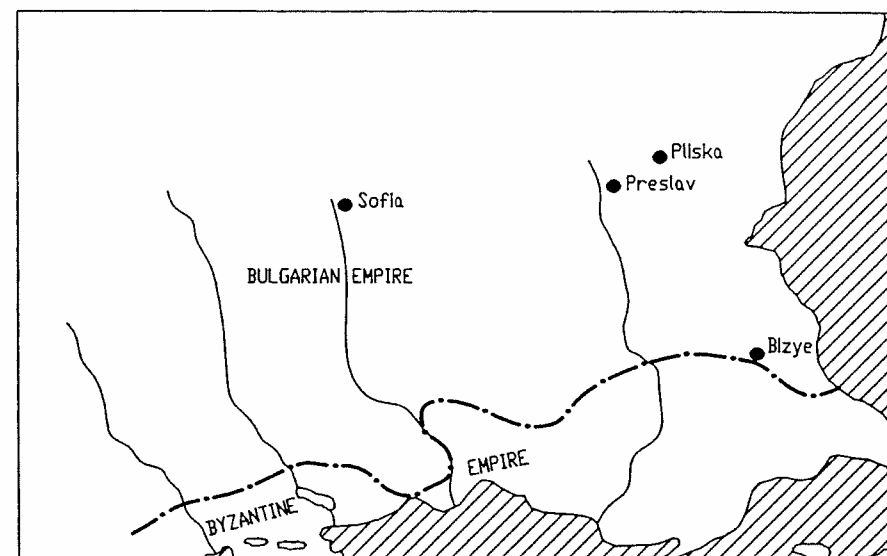
After the Bulgarian victory at the Battle of Sofia, Krum became more aggressive, and in 813 occupied Adrianople, relocating its thirty thousand inhabitants to the Danube.²¹⁵ These captives, who were mostly of Armenian origin, were exiled to Bessarabia in Romania, where they founded a province named Macedonia. The Byzantine inhabitants of this Romanian Macedonia revolted and managed to return to the Byzantine Empire in 837 on ships provided by Emperor Theophilus. There is an oral tradition that the captives sent to Bessarabia included the parents of Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, though this is not corroborated by any written historical source.²¹⁶

After Krum's reign, Bulgaria continued its territorial expansion to the detriment of the Byzantine Empire, and this process culminated during the reign of Tsar Symeon the Great (893–927). The Byzantine army suffered a number of resounding defeats at this time. The Bulgarian troops were checked only at Bizye in Thrace, when they besieged the city in vain for three whole years. Symeon was perfectly familiar with Byzantine society and strategy, for as a child he had been held captive at the palace in Constantinople. He had thus had a thoroughly Byzantine upbringing and for this reason was known as a 'semi-romios'.

214. Vasiliev, A. A., *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας 324-1453*, σελ. 337.

215. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 183: «Ἡ ἐκστρατεία τοῦ Νικηφόρου Α' ἐναντίον τῶν Βουλγάρων (811) προκάλεσε τὴν ἀντεπίθεση τοῦ Κρούμου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐρήμωσε τίς πόλεις καὶ τὴν ὑπαιθρο τῆς Θράκης (περιοχὲς Δεβελτοῦ, Ἀγχιάλου, Βερόης καὶ Φιλιππουπόλεως). Τὸ 813 ἡ Ἀδριανούπολη καταστράφηκε ὁλοκληρωτικὰ καὶ οἱ 40.000 κάτοικοι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς περιοχῆς της, αἰχμάλωτοι τῶν Βουλγάρων, μεταφέρθηκαν στὶς πέρα τοῦ Δούναβη περιοχῆς».

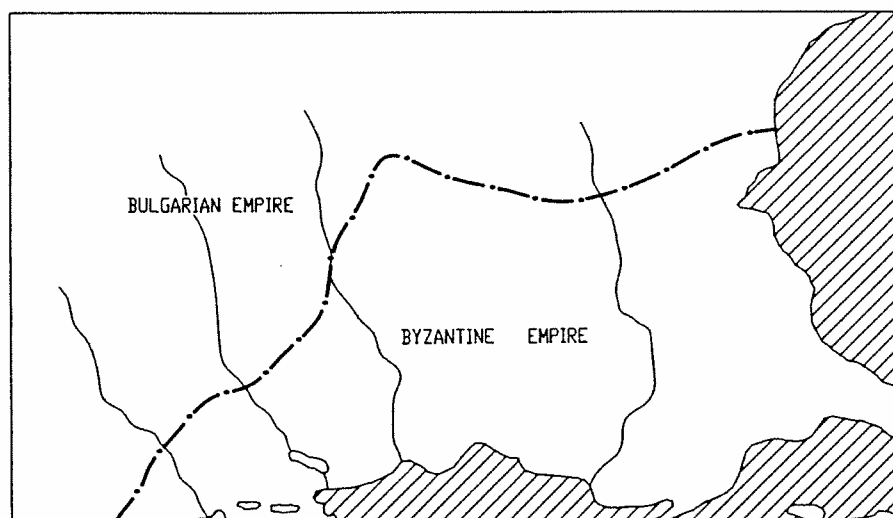
216. Charanis, P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 199: «Many of the Armenians settled in Thrace were seized by the Bulgar Krum (803-814) and carried away, but most of them eventually returned. According to tradition, the parents of the future Emperor Basil I and Basil himself were included among these prisoners, but there is reason to doubt the historical accuracy of this tradition».



Map 48: Bulgaria in the reign of Symeon the Great (893–927)

After Symeon's reign, the Macedonian dynasty began to flourish and the Bulgarian state to decline, a process that was completed when Russian troops took the capital, Preslav. Emperor John Tsimisces (969–976), who was of Armenian descent, routed the Russians and occupied Preslav in 969 on the pretext of liberating Bulgaria. But instead of liberating Bulgaria, he overthrew the Bulgarian kingdom and forcibly transported Tsar Boris II and all his family to Asia Minor, whence they never returned. The capture of Boris did not resolve the political problem of the time, but marked the start of a bloody period in which Samuel and Basil the Bulgar-slayer played starring roles.

Despite the military occupation of Preslav and northern Bulgaria, the area of Ohrid and Monastir remained unscathed. It was there that the self-proclaimed tsar, Count Nicolas, raised the standard of revolt against Byzantium in 978 and at the same time transferred the centre of Bulgarian power to Macedonia. The war between the Bulgars and the Byzantines went on for forty years and was very harsh. Nicolas was succeeded by his son Samuel (978–1014), whose reign had a very dramatic end. After the Battle of Clidium in 1014, the Byzantines captured fifteen thousand Bulgarian



Map 49: Bulgaria in the reign of Samuel (978–1014)

soldiers: Emperor Basil the Bulgar-slayer ordered that they should be blinded, with one man in a hundred being left with a single eye to lead them back to their base. When he saw the terrible sight, Samuel fell dead on the spot, probably from a stroke.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the mediaeval penalty of maiming was a legally recognised punishment imposed in cases of treason. The Byzantines had not acknowledged Samuel as Tsar of Bulgaria, so the Bulgar soldiers were regarded as rebel Byzantine subjects and thus guilty of treason. Justinian II and the son of the Greek-blooded Empress Irene had had their noses cut off, and the latter had also been blinded on the orders of Irene herself, who wanted to deprive him of the throne once and for all. It is interesting to note, from a legal point of view, that maiming was never a punishment inflicted under Roman law. The introduction of that barbaric penalty was due to oriental influences. Even today, thieves in Saudi Arabia may have their hand amputated.

Ohrid surrendered just four years after the Battle of Clidium, and Samuel's family was captured in 1018, though the Byzantines treated them with respect. Bulgaria ceased to exist for the next hundred and seventy years.

The Armenians and the Syrians settle in southern Bulgaria between 610 and 1025

This chapter will give a detailed account of how hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Syrians settled in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace. The colonisation was carried out gradually during the four-hundred-year Byzantine period by emperors who were chiefly of Armenian and Syrian descent.

The Slavs settled in northern Bulgaria around 591, and as a result the Slavo-Byzantine front shifted from the Danube to a line running from Mesembria more or less to Philippopolis, where a defensive wall was built.

As a result of the constant clashes with the Slavs, the Latin-speaking Vlach (Thracian) population in the interior of southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace thinned out considerably, and this forced the Byzantine emperors to forcibly colonise the region with large numbers of Armenians and Syrians, who also acted as a military shield for Constantinople.

After 591, the section of the Byzantine army that was charged with defending the Thracian front was made up exclusively of Armenians, and



Map 50: The Armenian and Syrian colonisation of Thrace

headed by the, likewise Armenian, Byzantine general Musele Mamiconian.²¹⁷ The Armenian name Mousselas, Musselim, and Mussilof is still borne today by many Greeks, Turks, and Bulgarians.

Table 19 shows the waves of Armenian and Syrian settlers in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace mentioned in the literature.

Table 19
The Armenian and Syrian settlers in southern Bulgaria
and eastern Thrace

Nationality of settlers	Year	Emperor	No. of settlers or horsemen	Total
Armenians	602	Maurice	30,000	100–150,000
Syrians	c.690	Justinian II	unknown	unknown
Isaurians	713	Anastasius II	unknown	unknown
Armeno-Syrian Paulicians	c.750	Constantine V	unknown	unknown
Armeno-Syrian Jacobites	775	Leo IV	150,000	150,000
Armenians	790		15,000	50–80,000
Armenian Paulicians	c.970	John Tsimisces	unknown	unknown
Armenian Paulicians	c.1020	Basil II	unknown	unknown
Total			195,000	c.350,000

The first historically attested settling of Armenians in Byzantine southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace took place in 602, when Emperor Maurice colonised the region with thirty thousand Armenian horsemen and their families.²¹⁸ In the feudal structure of the society of that time, horsemen

217. Charanis, P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 201: «He ordered also a numerous army to be raised in Armenia, an army composed of soldiers of good will and good organized in regular corps and armed. He ordered that this army should go to Thrace under the command of Musele (Moushegh) Mamiconian...».

218. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 183: «Ο Μαυρίκιος μεταφέρει Ἀρμενίους στὴ Θράκη καὶ σκοπεύει νὰ ἐνισχύσει τὸν στρατὸ καὶ τὸν πληθυσμὸ τῆς περιοχῆς μὲ 30.000 Ἀρμενίους ἱππεῖς μὲ τὶς οἰκογένειές

were in the lower echelons of the aristocracy: they owned a fief and their sole obligation was, in time of war, to provide one or more horsemen accompanied by the necessary servants and horses. A similar structure applied to the spahis in the Ottoman Empire later on. The demographic consequence of this analysis is that Maurice's Armenian settlers must have numbered one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand, and must have had an appreciable impact on the ethnic make-up of the region.

When the Armenian Justinian II was on the throne (685–695, 705–711), Syrians from Marash in Asia Minor moved to Mesembria in Thrace.²¹⁹ We do not know how many were involved, but there must have been several thousands, for otherwise there would have been no reason for the event to be mentioned in the literature. Emperor Leo III (717–741), the founder of the so-called Syrian or Isaurian dynasty, was descended from the Marashlid Syrians of Mesembria. Contemporary Greek writers describe him as the Miltiades of the mediaeval Greeks, because he successfully withstood the Arab siege of Constantinople — though, needless to say, they fail to mention that the new Miltiades was of Syrian descent.

The third historically attested colonisation of Thrace by people from Asia Minor was the mass settling of Isaurians in 713, who were forcibly relocated by Anastasius III as a punishment for their seven-year rebellion.²²⁰ We have not the faintest idea of how many people were involved this time, but they must have been in the tens of thousands.

The first forcible relocation of Armeno-Syrian Paulicians to Byzantine Thrace took place in 750, when the likewise Armeno-Syrian Emperor Constantine V Copronymus forced thousands of these heretics to

219. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 25: «Ἡ οἰκογένεια τοῦ Λέοντος Γ΄, ἡ ὁποία καταγόταν ἀπὸ τὴ συριακὴ Γερμανίεια, μετοίκησε στὴ Μεσημβρία τῆς Θράκης ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ Β΄ κατὰ τὴν πρώτη περίοδο τῆς βασιλείας του».

220. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* (1981), Τόμος Ζ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 444: «...οἱ στρατιωτικὲς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀναστασίου κατέβαλαν τὴ στρατιωτικὴ δύναμη καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰσαύρων. Ἡ πτώση τῶν ὀρεινῶν τοὺς ὀχυρῶν μετὰ ἀνταρτοπόλεμο ἐπτά ἐτῶν εἶχε ὥς συνέπεια πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπαναστάτες νὰ ἐγκατασταθοῦν στὶς περιοχὲς τῆς Θράκης».

settle in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace.^{221, 222} The number of these refugees is unknown, but tens or hundreds of thousands of individuals must have been involved.

The fifth wave of Armeno-Syrian settlers arrived in Byzantine Thrace in 775, when, according to oriental sources, one hundred and fifty thousand Armenian and Syrian Jacobites were transported to southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace. This relocation was imposed by the Armeno-Khazaro-Syrian Leo IV, who was surnamed 'Khazar' because his mother was of Khazar origin.^{223, 224}

The sixth wave of Armenian refugees settled in the Byzantine Empire in the reign of Constantine Copronymus (741–775) and in 790. Noble horsemen known as Nakharars, they and their families and retinues sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire, though we do not know where they settled. We do not know how many Armenian refugees arrived in 741–75; but there were fifteen thousand of them in 790,²²⁵ which gives a total population of between one and two hundred thousand.

221. Charanis, P., (1972), *Ethnic Changes in seventh-century Byzantium*, σελ. 30: «During the reign of Constantine V Copronymus thousands of Armenians and monophysite Syrians were gathered by the Byzantine armies during their raids in the regions of Germanicea (Marash), Melitene, and Erzeroum, and were settled in Thrace».

222. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 33: «'Ο Κωνσταντίνος Ε΄, ... πραγματοποίησε τὸ 746 ἐκστρατεία στὴ Συρία καὶ τὸ 752 στὴν Ἀρμενία καὶ στὴ Μεσοποταμία. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτη κατέλαβε τὴ Γερμανίκεια καὶ τὴ Δολίχη ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες μετέφερε συριακοὺς, μονοφυσιτικοὺς πληθυσμοὺς στὴ Θράκη, καὶ κατὰ τὴ δεύτερη μετοίκισε πάλι στὴ Θράκη Ἀρμενίους καὶ Σύρους ἀπὸ τὴ Μελιτηνὴ καὶ τὴ Θεοδοσιούπολη, τὶς ὁποῖες ἐπίσης κατέλαβε».

223. Charanis, P., (1972), *Ethnic Changes in seventh-century Byzantium*, σελ. 30: «During the reign of Leo IV, a Byzantine raiding expedition into Cilicia and Syria resulted in the seizure of thousands of natives, 150,000, according to one authority, who were settled in Thrace. These, however, were chiefly Syrian Jacobites, though some Armenians may have also been among them. Nicephorus I used Armenians, ...».

224. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 183: «...ὁ Κωνσταντίνος Ε΄ μεταφέρει ἀπὸ τὶς περιοχὲς τῆς Καμάχου, Μελιτηνῆς καὶ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως Παυλικιανούς Ἀρμενίους καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαθιστᾷ στὰ «ἀνιδρυόμενα πολίχνια» τῆς Θράκης. Οἱ ἀνατολικὲς πηγὲς ἀνεβάζουν σὲ 150.000 τοὺς κατοίκους τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας ποὺ ὁ Λέων Δ΄ μετέφερε στὴν ἴδια περιοχὴ».

225. Angelov, D., (1980), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 97: «...siedelte Konstantin V.i.J. 746 in Thrakien entlang der bulgarischen Grenze zahlreiche syrische und armenische Kriegsgefangene an. Weitere Kolonisten, wieder vorwiegend Syrer und Armenier, kamen i.J. 752² und dann noch einmal i.J. 778 unter Leon IV. nach Thrakien³. Es ist anzunehmen, daß eine neuerliche Ansiedlung von 12000 Armeniern unter Konstantin VI. i.J. 790 gleichfalls in Thrakien stattgefunden hat».

The second historically attested settlement of Manichaeans and Paulicians in the Philippopolis area took place in 974 on the orders of John Tsimisces, after he had defeated the Paulicians of Tephrica.

The last time Armenian Paulicians arrived in Thrace was in 1020, on the orders of Basil II 'the Bulgar-slayer', after he had quelled the rebellions by Bardas Phocas and Bardas Sclerus in Asia Minor.²²⁶ Most of the soldiers in the rebel armies were Armenian Monophysites or Paulicians, and for this reason some modern writers like to refer to these rebellions as Armenian national uprisings — but this is in direct contradiction of the historical facts.

Even on the Byzantine side, the protagonists were Armenians too, like Basil the Bulgar-slayer and John Tsimisces. The latter was a first-generation Armenian and his real name was Tchemtchik.²²⁷ I am personally acquainted with modern Turks named Tchemtchik, whose forebears spoke Armenian. In other words, these 'Turks' are the descendants of Armenians who converted to Islam in 1915 to escape massacre and thus entered Turkish culture.

Paulicianism was the most important heresy adopted by the Armenians who were neither Monophysites nor Orthodox Christians. It was a variant of Manichaeism (another Armenian heresy) and was instituted by Paul the Armenian, son of Callinice, who was herself a zealous adherent of Manichaeism. The Paulicians were characterised by a fanatical zeal and a bitter hatred for the Orthodox Byzantines, who launched bloody persecutions against them. The Paulicians of Philippopolis manifested their hatred of the Byzantine Empire in the form of repeated uprisings: there was one in 1083, for instance, and others, led by Kuleon, Kuseon, and Folon, in

226. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Η, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 115: «...ὁ Ἰωάννης Τζιμισκῆς, ἀμέσως μετὰ τὴν πρώτη ἐπανάσταση τοῦ Βάρδα Φωκά, γύρω στὸ 970, μετέφερε στὴ χερσόνησο τοῦ Αἰμου συμπαγεῖς πληθυσμοὺς αἰρετικῶν Παυλικιανῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρμενίων. Νέες ὑποχρεωτικὲς μετοικεσιὲς Ἀρμενίων στὴν Εὐρώπη πραγματοποιήθηκαν μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάσταση τοῦ Βάρδα Σκληροῦ (976-979) καὶ τὴν ἐπανάσταση τοῦ Βάρδα Φωκά (987-989)».

227. Tachella, E., (1897), *Les Anciens Pauliciens et les modernes Bulgares Catholique de la Philippopolitaine*, σελ. 69: «Quand elle eut assez de ce second mari, elle le fit assassiner (10 décembre 969) par l'Arménien Jean Tchemchik (connu dans l'histoire sous le nom corrompu de Zimisces...)».

1114. Modern Bulgarian writers present the Paulician uprisings as anti-Byzantine Bulgarian resistance, but this is incorrect. At that time, many Armenian Paulicians or Manichaeans were still speaking Armenian, as Anna Comnena's writings indirectly indicate. One segment of the Paulician Armenians had settled in Philippopolis in 1020, just sixty-three years before the first uprising.

The fanaticism of the Manichaeans or the Paulicians is confirmed by the historian Anna Comnena, daughter of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), who reports that the inhabitants of Philippopolis were supporters of Manichaeism and it was the Armenians who most zealously propagated the heresy.²²⁸ The hatred which the Paulicians of Philippopolis nursed for the local Orthodox Christians meant that they could not be won over to Orthodoxy and thus could not be Hellenised.

The Paulicians of southern Bulgaria lived both in Philippopolis and in the villages in the nearby Maritsa valley. The Paulician villages were mostly on the left bank of the river, and their main centre was Axioupolis or Neokastron, the population of which was of purely Armeno-Paulician origin in 1114.²²⁹ Apart from Axioupolis, there were also Paulician villages to the north of Philippopolis. The inhabitants of these latter had absolutely no contact with the Orthodox, and could not bear the sight of them. By the same token, the Orthodox despised the Paulicians so much that they treated them like lepers.

As a result of this profound religious conflict, the Paulician Armenians of Philippopolis preserved their religious identity for more than five hundred years. Seeking religious protection in a bid to avoid being drawn over to Orthodoxy, for which they still had an implacable loathing, the Paulicians of Philippopolis joined the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century and acknowledged the Pope as their spiritual leader. These Armenians spoke Bulgarian and, having gone over to Catholicism,

228. Charanis P., (1972), *The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 152: «“All the inhabitants of Philippopolis”, writes Anna Comnena, “were Manicheans, except a few...”».

229. Tachella, E., (1897), *Les Anciens Pauliciens et les modernes Bulgares Catholique de la Philippopolitaine*, σελ. 82: «Par cet acte de clémence Alexis atteignait un double but; en concentrant les Pauliciens à Neocastrum».

they were naturalised as Bulgarian Catholics, though they never had any ethnic affinity with the Bulgarian race. The same applied to the Orthodox Armenians of eastern Thrace who were Hellenised.

The centre of the originally Paulician Armenian Roman Catholics in the seventeenth century was the Tchiprovars area north of Philippopolis, which included the villages of Klissoura, Kopilovats, and Xelezna.²³⁰ The same source tells us that Kalabrovo, Nove Selia, Daoutchevo, and Kolatchevo in the Philippopolis area were also Paulician villages.^{231, 232}

In contrast to the Armenians of Macedonian Karadjova, the traces of the Bulgarian Armenians were not lost, but still exist today, for the reasons already stated.

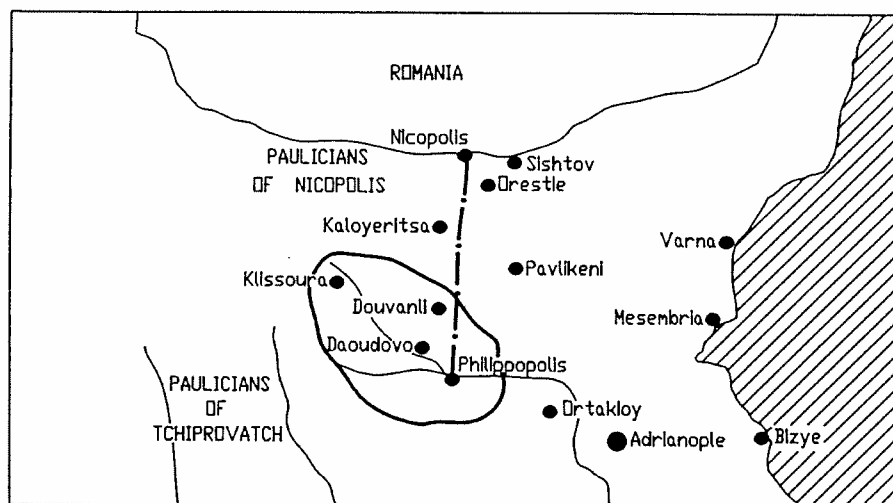
The Bulgarian historian Tachella reports the existence in 1862 of 11,600 Catholic 'Bulgarians' in the Philippopolis area, descendants of the Paulician Armenians. Of these, 3,800 lived in the districts of Ahlan and Komat in Philippopolis and the rest in the surrounding villages: Davdjova,

230. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 87: «Κατὰ τὸν Ις' αἰῶνα κέντρον τῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν τῆς Βαλκανικῆς κατέστη τὸ Τσίπροβας (Tsiprovac ἢ Ciprovac) εὐρισκόμενον εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ὁγκόστ τῆς περιοχῆς Μπερκοβίτσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ν.Δ. Βουλγαρίας, περιελάμβανε δὲ τὴν Μπερκοβίτσα καὶ τὰ χωρία Κόπιλοβας, Ξέλεζνα καὶ Κλεισοῦρα».

231. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 95: «Ὁ Π. Σαλινάτι ἱδρυσε ναὸν εἰς Κοπίλοβας, τὸ πρῶτον μεταστραφέν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χωρίον τῶν Παυλικιανῶν. Εἰς Τύρνοβον μετέστρεψε καὶ ἐβάπτισε μέγαν ἀριθμὸν (gran numero) Παυλικιανῶν καὶ παραμένων ἐκεῖ, ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ μεταβῇ προσωπικῶς, ἀπέστειλεν ἱερεῖς του, οἱ ὅποιοι, μετέστρεψαν δύο χωρία πλησίον τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως, τὰ Καλάμπροβο καὶ Νόβε Σέλια».

232. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 103: «...διὰ τῆς μεταστροφῆς τῶν Παυλικιανῶν ἠδξήθησαν κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ εἶνε θαυμαστόν, ὅτι οὗτοι, ἐν μέσῳ τόσων πολλῶν ἐχθρῶν, διετήρησαν τὴν ρωμαιοκαθολικὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν τάξιν (rito). Περί τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως λέγει ὅτι ἔχει 6.000 οἰκίας καὶ ὑπάρχουν εἰς αὐτὴν 1-2 Ραγουζαῖτοι ἔμποροι χωρὶς ναόν. Πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχει χωρίον τῶν Παυλικιανῶν, τὸ Ντάουστσεβο καὶ ἕτερον τὸ Κολάτσεβο».

Hambarli, Douvanli, Seldjikovo, Giren, Kavakli, and Baltadji.²³³ The last two, with a population of four and a half thousand, correspond to the mediaeval city of Neokastron or Axioupolis, which had a population of exclusively Armeno-Paulician origin. The presence of Paulicians in Philippopolis and six neighbouring villages in 1867 is also attested by



Map 51: Roman Catholics (Paulicians) of Tchiprovats and Nicopolis

233. Tachella, E., (1897), *Les Anciens Pauliciens et les modernes Bulgares Catholique de la Philippopolitaine*, σελ. 222: «Bulgares catholiques de la Philippopolitaine d'origine paulicienne.

Philippopoli (ville) et banlieue (Ahlan et Komat)	3800
Davdjova (village du district de Carlowa)	500
Hambarly (" " d'Obtchehlen)	1200
Douvanly " " "	550
Seldjikovo " " "	400
Kalaschly (" " Serneno-gora)	2300
Baltadji " " "	2200
Ghiren-Keui " " "	500
Sallaly " " "	150
	11600

234. Jirecek, C. J., (1876), *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, σελ. 578: «...an 500.000 Seelen. Türkisch verstehen nur wenige von Ihnen. Katholisch (34.000) sind die Banater Bulgaren und an 8000 "Paulikianer" in Philippopolis (400 Fam.) und in 6 umliegenden Dörfern. Uniaten gibt es in...».

Jirecek.²³⁴ There are twenty thousand Bulgarian Catholics of Paulician origin in the Plovdiv area today, three thousand of them living in the Pavlikanika district of Plovdiv itself.²³⁵

Another Paulician centre in Bulgaria was in the Danubian area of Nicopolis and comprised fourteen villages with a total population of more than fifteen thousand.²³⁶ These Paulicians were probably an offshoot of the Philippopolis Paulicians and moved to northern Bulgaria in 1089, when they formed an alliance with the Petchenegs against the Byzantines, and after 1204, owing to their alliance with the Bulgar Tsar Kaloyan against the Byzantines and the Latins. It was Paulicians who opened the gates of Philippopolis to Kaloyan's troops. The Nicopolis Paulicians converted to Roman Catholicism earlier than the Philippopolis Paulicians. The following nineteen villages between Nicopolis and Philippopolis are described as being of Paulician origin c.1580: Petikladedji, Trnitchevitsa, Belyani, Brestovats, Orestie, Kotchegovo, Brnashovo, Varena, Lower Louzani, Upper Louzani, Telezani, Boutchevo, Kaloyeritsa, Sokievo, Kalabrovo, Daoutchevo, Hagievo, Orehoovo, and Pavlikeni, the last still found on the map today.

The vast majority of the Armenian Orthodox and Paulicians embraced Greek or Bulgarian culture, with only a few sporadic instances of conversion to Islam. We know that in six villages of Paulician Armenians, only 130 families converted to Islam;²³⁷ their descendants probably believe themselves to be of Turkish origin.

235. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 132: «Σήμερον οί πρώην Παυλικιανοί ή Βουλγαροκαθολικοί, όπως ονομάζονται επισήμως, αριθμούνται εις 20.000 εις την περιφέρειαν της Φιλιππουπόλεως. Κατοικούν πέραν του Έβρου εις τὰ Β. της Φιλιππουπόλεως εις τὰ χωρία και άσχολούνται με την γεωργίαν και κτηνοτροφίαν. Έντός της πόλεως υπάρχουν 3.000 κατοικούντες εις την συνοικίαν «Παυλικάνικα», νοτίως του λόφου των Σχοινοβατών, εις την ίδίαν περιοχην όπου κατώκουν και κατά την παλαιάν εποχήν».

236. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 109: «Φίλιππος Στανι - Σλάβιτις, επίσκοπος Νικοπόλεως, υπηρετήσας εις την επισκοπήν του επί τριάκοντα έτη περίπου και έν μέσω σκληροτάτων διωγμών οδηγήσας εις την όρθόδοξον πίστιν (ad fidem Orthodoxam) — δηλαδή τον ρωμαιοκαθολικισμόν — εκ της αιρέσεως του Παύλου Σαμοσατέως δεκατέσσαρα χωρία περιλαμβάνοντα δέκα πέντε και πλέον χιλιάδας προσώπων...».

237. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., *Οι Παυλικιανοί εις την βαλκανικήν κατά την περίοδον της τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 113: «Πλήν τούτων αναφέρονται εις έξ χωρία 130 οικογένειαι Παυλικιανών εκτουρκισθείσαι, ήτοι εις Όρέσιε 30, Πετικλαντέντσι 10, Μπρέστοβατς 20, Κοζάκοβο 10, Άνω Λούζανη 30, Μπάχτσεβο 30».

The vast majority of the Paulician and Orthodox Armenians in the interior of eastern Rumelia embraced Bulgarian culture, unlike the Armeno-Syrians of eastern Thrace, who were Hellenised. A few historical examples of 'Greeks' from eastern Thrace are: Emperor Leo III 'the Syrian', founder of the Syrian or Isaurian dynasty, from Mesembria; Emperor Basil I (of Armenian descent), founder of the Macedonian dynasty, from Adrianople; and St Maria, an Armenian who died in 902 or 903 at Bizye and whose grave became a site of miracles.

One well-known large village in the Bulgarian area of the Evros was Ortakioy, which had Greek and Bulgarian inhabitants. The same place-name is found in Asia Minor, in the area of the lower Sakarya in Bithynia. The Bithynian Ortakioy was inhabited by Haihorum or Greek-Armenians.²³⁸ They were not in fact Greeks, but Orthodox Armenians from Egin in eastern Asia Minor, and indeed, until 1922, they spoke not a word of Greek. After the Asia Minor Disaster, they fled to Greece, and settled in Athens, Evvia, and Diavata outside Thessaloniki.

This review has demonstrated once again the common Armeno-Syrian descent of some of the Turks of Bulgaria and a large segment of the Bulgarians of southern Bulgaria and Greeks of eastern Thrace.

The origin of some high-ranking individuals in the Byzantine Empire

During this four-hundred-year Byzantine period (610–1025), the Armeno-Syrians were the most populous and most dynamic element in Byzantine Thrace. It was the Armenians who occupied the most important posts in the machinery of the Byzantine state. In all this time, the only rulers of Greek descent, Empress Irene from Athens and Michael Ragaves, reigned for a total of seven years.

238. Βογιατζίδης, Ι. Κ., (1891), *Αρμενόφωνοι Έλληνες ἐν Χουδίῳ τῆς Μ. Ἀσίας*, σελ. 2: «καλοῦνται Χάιχορούμηδες ἤτοι Ἀρμενο-Έλληνες, εὐρίσκονται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἐγὶν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, πλὴν τοῦ Χουδίου, Ὀρτάκιοι, καὶ τοῦ Φουντουκλή, κειμένων ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ».

The first Armenian to occupy the Byzantine throne was Heraclius, who gave his name to the dynasty he founded (610–685). He was followed by individuals of Isaurian, Armenian, Armeno-Syrian, and Khazaro-Syrian descent.

The second dynasty in the period was the Amorium dynasty (820–867), founded by Michael II. He was of Phrygian descent and seized the throne in 820 by assassinating his predecessor, Leo V the Armenian, in Hagia Sophia. One well-known member of the Amorium dynasty was Emperor Theophilus, who chose as his bride Theodora, a Hellenised native of Paphlagonia with an Armenian father.²³⁹

The most important Armenian dynasty, however, was the Macedonian dynasty (867–1025). It was founded by Basil I, who had been born in the province of Macedonia in Romania to Armenian parents from Adrianople. Famous members of the dynasty include Leo the Wise, Constantine Porphyrogenetus, and Basil the Bulgar-slayer.²⁴⁰

After the Macedonian dynasty, the Byzantine aristocracy was so thoroughly Hellenised that no further ethnological distinction of its members is possible, with the exception of Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–41) and Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–81), who was of Armeno-Cappadocian descent.

A preponderance of Armenians is also apparent among the supreme military leaders in the Byzantine Empire. In the eighth century, four of the five generals in the Byzantine army were Armenians (we know the names of three of them: Artavasdus, Mamiconian, and Andzevadzes). John Curcuas, Artavasdus Mamiconian, and Petronas were well-known ninth-century Armenian generals.²⁴¹ The latter directed the operations in Tephrica

239. Charanis, P., (1972), *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 7: «Theodora, the wife of Theophilus, son and successor of Michael II, was a native of Ebissa in Paphlagonia, but she was of Armenian descent at least from her father's side».

240. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 20: «The Armenian origin of Basil I is now generally recognized, though he still retains the surname "Macedonian" as he was born in Macedonia of Armenian parents... during this time were Armenians: Romanus Lecapenus (919-944), coemperor with Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, his father-in-law, and the real ruler of the realm; John Tzimiscus (969-976), who married Theodora, the daughter of Constantine VII and the sister of the emperor Romanus».

241. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 22: «In the

against the Armenian Paulicians, tens of thousands of whom were forcibly relocated to various parts of the Byzantine Empire. Other well-known Armenian generals were Burtzes, Maniaces, and Melias (Mleh or Mameletzes). To the latter are attributed the feats of Digenes Akritas, the legendary hero of the Byzantine epic that bears his name.²⁴² These Armenian names did not die out, but are still borne today by many Greeks, Bulgarians, and Turks, in the form of Melias, Melin, Melev, and Melemedzis.

Another notable Byzantine figure of Armenian descent in the time of the Amorium dynasty, and more specifically in the reign of Michael III (846–67), was Caesar Bardas, who founded the University of Magnaura. Most of the associates of Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, were also Armenians, who assassinated first Caesar Bardas and then Michael III in order to secure the throne.

Leo the Wise, director of Magnaura University, was also Armenian, as was his uncle Patriarch John Grammaticus.^{243, 244} And another Armenian was Zaoutzes, known as protomagister Stylianus, father-in-law of Leo VI.²⁴⁵ It was Zaoutzes who had the Bulgarian merchants banned from trading in Thessaloniki, so that he could monopolise commerce in the Empire's second capital, an action that led to long and bloody wars between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians. The eminent Patriarch Photius, finally, was Armenian on his mother's side.

eighth century, four out of the five generals who led the Byzantine armies were Armenians; Tadjat Andsevasi, ... Artavasdus Mamikonian, strategos of Anatolia, ... In the following century, the name of Petronas, the brother of the empress Manuel Mamikonian... Most important of all is John Curcuas...».

242. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 23: «Professor Grégoire has shown that the domain of Melias is exactly the same as that of Digenis Akritas, the legendary hero of the Byzantine epic poem by that name».

243. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 24: «John Grammaticus was patriarch of Constantinople in the first half of the ninth century, and the intimate counselor of Leo V; Theophylactus, the son of Romanus Lecapenus, was also patriarch of Constantinople».

244. Nersessian, D. S., (1969), *The Armenians*, σελ. 43.

245. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 20: «...the protomagistros Stylianus, whose daughter married the future emperor Leo VI and who, according to the Life of Euthymius, "was called Zaoutzes by his Armenian name" and was "at the same time Macedonian and Armenian by birth, like Basil himself».

This brief review clearly shows that the Greeks of southern Greece played almost no part at all in Byzantine political life in this period; and the Byzantines did not regard themselves as Greeks, as we may conclude from the fact that they referred to themselves as *Romaii*. In the corrupt form *Romios/Romii*, the name is still used today.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE BULGARIAN EMPIRE (1018–1188)

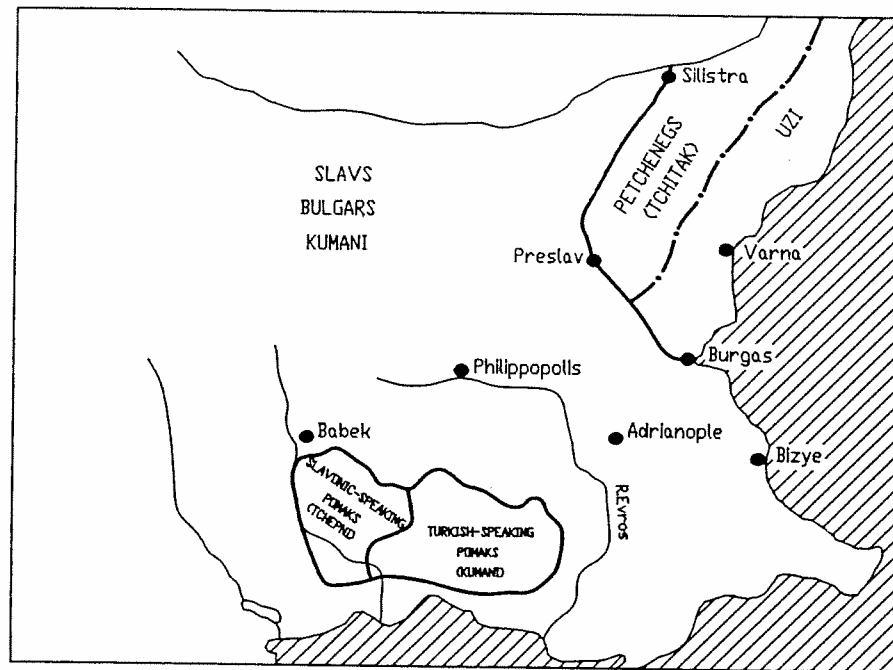
Basil the Bulgar-slayer seized Ohrid, the capital of the Bulgarian state, in a bloodless assault in 1018, thus restoring Byzantine dominion over the whole of Bulgaria. This did not ensure peace, however, for the region was agitated both by the local Paulician rebellions and by the invasion of various Turco-Mongolian peoples, which drastically changed the ethnic make-up of the population of Bulgaria.

The invasions of the Petchenegs, the Uzi, and the Kumani

The first Turco-Mongolian tribe to invade Bulgaria at this time was the Petchenegs. They came from central Asia, probably fleeing from the Mongols. Also known as Patchinaks, after leaving Asia the Petchenegs settled briefly in southern Russia, where Arab missionaries converted them to Islam. They then settled in Romania for a long time, and many of them abandoned their own language for the local Vlach Daco-Romanian dialect.

Under pressure from the Uzi, the Petchenegs left Romania in 1036. One branch of them settled in the Danubian area of Silistria, while another, comprising some one hundred thousand people, occupied the northern part of Dobrudja, having first driven out the Protobulgarians.²⁴⁶

246. Μάνωφ, Α., (1933), *Ποιοί είναι οι Γκαγκαούζοι*, σελ. 385: «Ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὰς βυζαντινὰς πηγὰς, ὁ Καγγὲν παρουσιάσθη εἰς τὸν φρούραρχον τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἔγινε



Map 52: The Petchenegs, the Uzi, and the Kumani in Bulgaria

This invasion considerably changed the demographic composition of northern Dobrudja, which had hitherto been populated almost exclusively by Protobulgarians. Most of the new inhabitants were Petchenegs, who still make up the population of northern Dobrudja, together with remnants of Vlachs, Uzi, Kumani, Oguzi, Tartars, and Protobulgarians.

Almost all the inhabitants of this region are Moslems of Turco-Mongolian descent, known in modern times as Tchitaks or Gadjalis.

It was at this time that a second Asiatic people of Turco-Mongolian origin appeared in the Balkans, the Uzi. As we have already seen, the Uzi settled in Romania in 1036, having first evicted the Petchenegs. They came to Europe from central Asia in search of living space under the pressure of the advancing Kumani. The fundamental factor behind all this enforced movement was the pressure exerted by the Mongols, who had begun to create a vast state extending, in the time of Genghis Khan, from northern China to Asia Minor.

After a few decades, the Uzi in Romania were again being harassed by the Kumani, who were then living in southern Russia, and as a result 600,000 of them were forced out and across the frozen Danube in 1065. The Uzi entered Bulgaria and, pillaging as they went, eventually reached Thessaloniki; but clashes with the Bulgars and the Petchenegs, and above all hunger and epidemics forced them out of Macedonia and into southern Dobrudja, where they settled around Varna, in an area known today as Deli Orman. Unlike the Petchenegs, who held fast to the Moslem faith, the Uzi converted to Christianity and became Byzantine subjects, maintaining their Turkic language to the present day.²⁴⁷

The Kumani entered the Byzantine Empire almost simultaneously with the Uzi, though there is not much information about them in the literature. According to some writers, sixty thousand Kumani, fleeing the Mongols, entered Byzantine territory in 1064 and settled in northern Bulgaria in the area of Philippopolis and in the area of Adrianople, with the result that northern Bulgaria filled with Kumani.²⁴⁸ That the Kumani settled in these areas is historically attested. More specifically, in 1089 the Petchenegs managed to seize Byzantine Philippopolis by conniving with the Kumani, the Paulicians, and the Bogomils. The re-occupation of Philippopolis two years later was again due to the Kumani, who went over

δεκτὸς ὡς ὑπήκοος βυζαντινός. Ὁ Τιράχ ἔμεινε μὲ 80,000 ἄνδρας, ἀποφεύγων νὰ συναντηθῇ μετὰ τῶν Οὐζῶν. Ἐπὶ τέλους ὁμοῦς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς, ἠναγκάσθη νὰ διαπεράσῃ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Δούναβιν, καταθέσας δὲ τὰ ὄπλα, ἔμεινεν ὑποτελής ὑπὸ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν βυζαντινῶν. Κατὰ τοῦτον λοιπὸν τὸν τρόπον συνηθροίσθησαν περὶ τὴν Σιλίστριαν ἄνω τῶν 100 χιλ. Πετσενέγων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ πλεῖστον ἐξισλαμισθέντων ἤδη ἐν Ρωσσίᾳ».

247. Hoppe, E. M., (1957), *Die türkische Gagauzen-Christen*, σελ. 126: «Nach dem griechischen Historiker Paparigopulos zeigte sich —wie seinerzeit die Petschenegen⁶, — 1065 an den Ufern der Donau noch ein türkischer Volksstamm, der Uzier oder Oghuzen genannt wurde. Laut Skiliza sind es 600.000 Seelen... Von den Uziern, welche künftig unter byzantinischer Herrschaft als deren Verbündete und Untertanen verblieben, beschloß die Mehrzahl, sich um Deli Orman (Nordostbulgarien) niederzulassen, wo sie ihre Volksgenossen, die Petschenegen, vorfanden».

248. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 471: «En 1064, de nombreux Koumanes franchirent encore le Danube; environ 60.000 d'entre eux se fixèrent dans la Bulgarie du Nord et dans les environs de Philippopoli et d'Andrinople. De nombreux Koumanes pénétrèrent en Dobrudja. La Bulgarie du Nord fut presque "koumanisée"».

to the Byzantine camp at the last moment in exchange for having several of their leaders appointed to high Byzantine offices.

The Bulgarians confirm the presence of large numbers of Kumani on Bulgarian territory. Modern Bulgarian writers believe that Count Nicolas, father of Tsar Samuel, was a Kuman. A hundred years later, the greater part of Tsar Kaloyan's army was made up of Kumani,²⁴⁹ and even Kaloyan's assassination outside Thessaloniki in 1207 was committed by a Kuman boyar. Lastly, the Bulgar Tsar Terter (1280–1292) was of Kumanian origin,²⁵⁰ which means that he must have had many supporters of Kumanian origin.

Most of the Kumani in the lowland areas failed to preserve their ethnic identity and were assimilated into Greek, Bulgarian, and Turkish culture.

In Greek and Bulgarian Rhodope, chiefly in the eastern and central parts, there is now a dense group of Turkish-speaking Moslems, whose language is incomprehensible to the Ottoman Turks of Xanthi and Komotini. The origin of these Turkish-speaking Pomaks is unknown. Modern Turkish historians assert that they are descendants of the mediaeval Kumani.²⁵¹ Most of the Pomaks live in the Bulgarian sector of Rhodope, and number some 100,000 individuals,²⁵² as opposed to about 30,000 in Greek Rhodope. The Greek Pomaks, known as 'Turkish-speaking Moslems of Rhodope', live in various villages north of Xanthi.

249. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 471: «des tsars bulgares Asen I^{er} et Peter, d'origine valaque (1186-1196), et ils constituaient alors une grande partie de l'armée bulgare. Même en 1206, l'armée bulgare du tsar Kalojan était composée presque exclusivement de Koumanes».

250. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 47: «Koumanes immigrés étaient encore très puissants au XIII^e siècle. Un de leurs chefs, Georges Terter, fut couronné roi de Bulgarie en 1280... A cette époque, le boïar Sišman, d'origine koumane, fonda le royaume de Vidin en 1290».

251. Χιδίρογλου, Π., (1984), *Οι Έλληνες Πομάκοι και η σχέση τους με την Τουρκία*, σελ. 30: «Παράλληλα με τα ανωτέρω και ο Celâlettin Yücel, που ασχολείται ειδικά με τους Τούρκους του Εξωτερικού, ισχυρίζεται ότι μετά από τους Θράκες, Ούννους και Αβάρους ήλθαν και εγκαταστάθηκαν στην περιοχή της οροσειράς της Ροδόπης, ήδη από το 700 μ.Χ. και εξής, οι τουρκικές φυλές των Ούζων, Πετσενέγων, Ογούζων, Κουμάνων, Γκαγκαούζων και Γιουρούκων».

252. Χιδίρογλου, Π., (1984), *Οι Έλληνες Πομάκοι και η σχέση τους με την Τουρκία*, σελ.



Map 53: The Pomak villages in Greek Thrace

The Pomaks were Christians until the seventeenth century, and this is confirmed by the fact that many Turkish-speaking Pomaks in eastern Rhodope voluntarily converted to Islam when Gavriil was Metropolitan of Philippopolis (1636–1672).²⁵³ The ruins of 218 churches and 336 chapels have been found in Rhodope, attesting the recent religion of all the Rhodope Pomaks. The existence of Christian populations means that the inhabitants of this region submitted to the Turks; it was inconceivable for any Turk or Moslem to convert to Christianity, for the penalty was death.

26: «Οι Πομάκοι των ελληνικών περιοχών της οροσειράς της Ροδόπης, που είναι κατά το 1/5 ελληνική και κατά τα 4/5 βουλγαρική, ανέρχονται σήμερα σε 30.000 άτομα περίπου, ενώ κατά την απογραφή του 1951 ο αριθμός τους ήταν 18.671 σύμφωνα με τη «Στατιστική Έπετηρίδα της Ελλάδος» (Statistical Yearbook of Greece)».

253. Χιδίρογλου, Π., (1984), *Οι Έλληνες Πομάκοι και η σχέση τους με την Τουρκία*, σελ. 19: «Όπως αναφέρεται στους κώδικες της μητροπόλεως Φιλιππουπόλεως, στα χρόνια του μητροπολίτη της πόλεως αυτής Γαβριήλ (1636-1672) παρατηρείται μια πολιτική ενέργεια προκρίτων των Πομάκων για λόγους επιβίωσης, που είναι η αποδοχή του Ισλάμ».

Despite the scientific confusion about the origin of the Thracian Pomaks, one thing is certain and that is that they are not of Turkish, or Greek, or Bulgarian origin. Their presence confirms the common origin of one segment of the modern Greek and Bulgarian population.

Apart from the Turkish-speaking Moslem Pomaks, there are also a few Greek-speaking Moslem Pomaks, the so-called Gravanitides or Marides. They live on the Erithropotamos, a tributary of the Evros, between Didimotiho and Bulgarian Ortakioy.²⁵⁴

Persians (Tchepni) settle in Rhodope

The area of western Rhodope known as Tchepni or Tchepinko is inhabited by Slavonic-speaking Moslem Pomaks. Like the Turkish-speaking Pomaks of central and eastern Rhodope, they were once Christians, but were forced to convert to Islam in 1656.

The ethnic origin of these Slavonic-speaking Pomaks is unknown, owing to lack of literary evidence. Modern Bulgarian writers assert that the Tchepni are of Bulgarian descent on the sole basis of the fact that they speak Slavonic. It is a historical fact that Protobulgarians never settled in Tchepni. Basil the Bulgar-slayer established the theme of the Smoleani here. The Smoleani of the Nestos were Slavs. Krum warred for years with one segment of them on the upper Strymon, whither they had been relocated by Justinian II. Significantly enough, there is still a small town called Smolian and a village called Smilian in the Bulgarian sector of Tchepni, place-names that certainly cannot be coincidental.

Modern Turkish writers assert that the Tchepni are descended from the Huremi Persians, who, with their leader Babek, fled to the Byzantine Empire for religious reasons. On the way, they passed through the coastal zone of the Pontus, where they left many traces, particularly in the areas of

254. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Π., (1958), *Οι Πομάκοι*, σελ. 14: «...ἐλληνόφωνοι Πομάκοι οἱ καλούμενοι Γραβανίτηδες καὶ Μαρήδες, οἰκοῦντες κυρίως ἐπὶ τῶν ταπεινῶν ὑπωρειῶν τῆς μέσης ἀνατολ. Ροδόπης παρὰ τῷ παραποτάμῳ τοῦ Ἑβρου Ἐρυθροποτάμῳ, μεταξὺ Διδυμοτείχου καὶ Ὁρτάκιοι».

Ordu and Kerasun.²⁵⁵ The Turkish view is confirmed in part by other literary evidence to the effect that between seven thousand and thirty thousand Persians fled to the Byzantine Empire in 834 under the leadership of Babek and Nasr, the latter subsequently converting to Christianity and taking the name Theophobus.²⁵⁶ Interestingly enough, there is a village named Babek in the Bulgarian sector of Tchepni today, a name that confirms some of the information cited above.

In the ancient period, Tchepni was inhabited by the Thracian tribe of the Bessi, whose presence is historically attested until 396. Until the eighteenth century there is evidence of Vlach villages in Rhodope,²⁵⁷ whose inhabitants can only have been descended from ancient Thracians who were subsequently Latinised.

In conclusion, we may say that the modern Slavonic-speaking Pomaks of Tchepni are neither of Greek nor of Bulgarian origin, but are descendants of Bulgarianised Smoleani Slavs, Slavonicised Persians, and Slavonicised Vlachs, who in turn can only have been descended from Thracians.

The English Varangians settle in Byzantium

A large number of Anglo-Saxons known as Varangians settled in Byzantium in this period, serving in the Byzantine army, mainly as members of the palace guard.

The first reference to Varangians in Byzantium comes from Anna

255. Χιδίρογλου, Π., (1984), *Οι Ἕλληνες Πομάκοι καὶ ἡ σχέση τους μετὰ τὴν Τουρκία*, σελ. 31: «Κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 816-837 ἡ ἡγεσία τῶν Χουρρεμιδῶν περιήλθε στὸν Babek ποὺ προερχόταν ἀπὸ τὸ Αἰζερμπαϊτζάν. Μολονότι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Babek καὶ τῶν Χουρρεμιδῶν χάνεται στὰ βάθη τῆς ἱστορίας, γνωστοὶ μένουσι οἱ εκπρόσωποί τους, οἱ Τσεπνίδες (Çepniler) ποὺ εἶναι Ἀλεβίδες καὶ ἔχουν ἀφήσει σημάδια κυρίως γλωσσικὰ καὶ τοπωνυμικά κατὰ τὴ διέλευσίν τους ἀπὸ τὰ βόρεια μέρη τῆς Μ. Ἀσίας (Tirebolu-Giresun-Ordu)».

256. Charanis, P., (1972), *The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire*, σελ. 148: «In 834, for instance, several thousand Persians (seven thousand according to one account, fourteen thousand according to another, thirty thousand according to still another) under the leadership of Babek and Nasr, who was subsequently christened Theophobos, fled to the Byzantine Empire, joined the Byzantine army, and became Christian».

257. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 472: «Des villages aromounes existaient encore au XVIII^e siècle, dans la Srednja Gora et les Rhodopes. Ils se sont ensuite bulgarisés».

Comnena in her account of her father Alexius Comnenus's revolt against Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates in 1081. The Emperor was loath to use the loyal Varangians of the palace guard against the rebels.²⁵⁸ The Varangians were accomplished fighters, especially skilled in the use of the axe, for which reason they have also gone down in history as 'axemen'.

The last Anglo-Saxon king of England was Harold, who was defeated and deprived of the throne by William the Conqueror, a Norman, in 1066. In 1069, the Normans successfully repulsed a naval assault by the Danish King, Sved Estridsen and thus consolidated their dominion over England. As a result of these political developments, Anglo-Saxon Varangians started leaving England for Byzantium, where most of them followed a military career. The Varangians' emigration accelerated in 1081 when Alexius Comnenus ascended the throne.²⁵⁹ The Varangians were highly desirable as members of the Byzantine army, owing to their traditional loyalty to the lawful Emperor and their hatred for the Normans, who were threatening Byzantine territory from southern Italy.

The total number of Varangians in Byzantium is unknown, but these English émigrés must have been numerous, in view of the fact that, of the 70,000 soldiers Alexius Comnenus used in his campaigns against the Normans at Dyrrachium, 'many' were Varangians,²⁶⁰ together with 2,800 Paulicians, who later deserted and returned to Philippopolis.

258. Vasiliev, A. A., (1937). *The opening Stage of the Anglo-saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh-Century*, σελ. 55: «In connection with the same event of 1081 Anna relates that when Nicephorus Botaniates realized that his situation was desperate, his most important supporter begged him "to let him have the Varangians from the island of Thule, in order to drive the Comneni out of the city with their help. But Botaniates, having once for all despaired of his cause, pretended that he did not want civil war"».

259. Vasiliev, A. A., (1937). *The opening Stage of the Anglo-saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh-Century*, σελ. 42: «Thus, according to Freeman, the movement of the English towards the East probably began at the very outset of William's reign, soon after the battle of Senlac; but the chief wave of the English migration took place in the later days of William, about 1081, when Alexis Comnenus ascended the Byzantine throne».

260. Vasiliev, A. A., (1937). *The opening Stage of the Anglo-saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh-Century*, σελ. 48: «...a little later Hopf writes that Alexius Comnenus approached Dyrrachium with an army of 70,000, among whom were many Varangians⁹⁰. Hopf, then, did not know that in 1081-1082 most of Alexius' Varangians were already Anglo-Saxons».

The first known mass settling of Varangians took place in 1085 in the newly established town of Chevetot, near Nicomedeia, now Ismit in Asia Minor.²⁶¹ These Varangians left Chevetot and, at the Emperor's invitation, went to Constantinople, where they established the 'English Varangian Society', which supplied the members of the palace guard.

The Varangians of the imperial guard continued to speak English and communicated with the government through their own Grand Dragoman. Until the fifteenth century, the palace guard greeted the Emperor, and wished him 'long life', in English.²⁶²

Certain historical facts indicate that the Varangians preserved their ethnic identity for a very long time. An imperial edict of 1272 refers to the Varangians as 'English-Varangians'; and in 1342, the Treaty of Skopje between John Cantacuzene and Stephen Dushan was drawn up by a Byzantine official of English descent named John Oliver or Liveros.²⁶³ The treaty surrendered Macedonia to the Serbs.

The Anglo-Saxon Varangians were chiefly assimilated into Greek culture, and there are still many names of English provenance in Greece today: Varangis, Varangas, Liveros, Liverios, Liveriadis, Saliveros. The name Varang survives in Turkey and Baranska in Bulgaria.

261. Vasiliev, A. A., (1937). *The opening Stage of the Anglo-saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh-Century*, σελ. 52: «The Emperor Alexius laid the foundation of a town called Chevetot, beyond Byzantium, for the English, but as (at that time) the Normans were severely attacking (the empire), he recalled them to the imperial city, and committed to their guard his principal palace and the royal treasures».

262. Vasiliev, A. A., (1937). *The opening Stage of the Anglo-saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh-Century*, σελ. 59: «The identification of the Varangians with the English after 1081 results in the appearance of a compound term, "the English-Varangians", εγκλινοβάρανγοι, which is found in later times, for example in the decree of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus issued in November, 1272. Even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, according to a statement preserved in Pseudo-Codinus' treatise On offices, the Varangian guard continued to greet, or "to wish long life to", the emperor in English».

263. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981). Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 179: «...και από εκεί ο Καντακουζηνός βάδισε προς τα Σκόπια. Κοντά στη Βελεσσό βρήκε τον Ίωάννη Oliver (Λίβερο), ο οποίος προσφέρθηκε να μεσολαβήσει στον Στέφανο Δουσάν».

THE BULGARIANS RULE SOUTHERN THRACE AGAIN (1188–1261)

The end of the Comnene dynasty (1081–1185) ushered in a new period of decline in the Byzantine Empire, which began with the Asan rebellion in 1188 and concluded with the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204.

For 170 years, Bulgaria was under Byzantine rule, which came to an end in 1188. The Bulgarian rebellion was sparked by a special tax levied by the Byzantine Emperor to pay for his daughter's dowry. Bulgaria up in arms was led by two Vlachs named Petar and Asan,²⁶⁴ who ended Byzantine dominion over northern Bulgaria once and for all. Petar ascended the Bulgarian throne temporarily, and was crowned tsar for the second time in 1190, following the assassination of his brother Asan by a Bulgar named Ivanko. That the Bulgars then, as now, were a mixed people is also indicated by the fact that war broke out between the Vlachs and the Bulgars after Asan's assassination. It lasted some months and ended in defeat for the Bulgars and Ivanko's flight to Byzantium.²⁶⁵

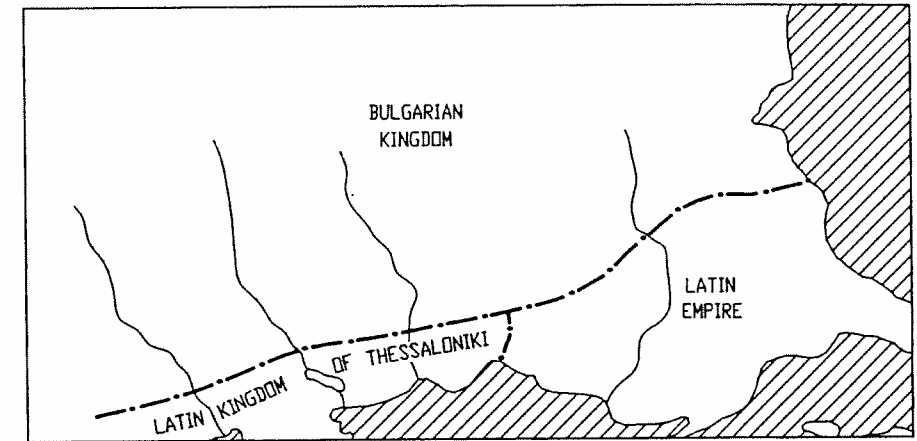
The third and particularly numerous ethnic group in northern Bulgaria was the Kumani, who also made up the greater part of Tsar Kaloyan's army.²⁶⁶ Kaloyan was Petar's younger brother and was dubbed 'the *Romaeus*-slayer' because, during his reign (1197–1207), he conquered most of southern Thrace and took many of the inhabitants as captives to northern Bulgaria.

Having created the most powerful state in the Balkans, Kaloyan sought international recognition as the successor to the Byzantine Empire, supporting this claim in his correspondence with the Pope with the argument

264. Hammond, N. G. L., (1975), *Migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas*, σελ. 39: «In 1186 the Bulgarians and the Vlachs rose against the Byzantine emperor under the leadership of two Vlachs».

265. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914), *The Nomads of the Balkans*, σελ. 261: «Soon afterwards Peter was also murdered and there was civil war between the Vlachs and Bulgarians, which ended in Ivan flying for safety to Alexius who made him governor on the Balkan frontier».

266. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 471.



Map 54: Political map of Thrace in 1204

that the Vlachs of Bulgaria were of Roman descent. This correspondence provides historical confirmation of the existence of large numbers of Vlachs in Bulgaria.

In 1204, the Crusaders from the West captured Constantinople and put an end to Byzantine rule all over Thrace for the next fifty-seven years.

The first Latin Emperor of Constantinople was Baldwin of Flanders, who was taken prisoner by the Bulgars in 1205 and died in captivity. He was succeeded by his brother Henry, who was followed in 1217 by Baldwin, the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople.

After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261, one segment of the Latins remained in Constantinople, and out of their intermarriage with the Byzantines there emerged the Gasmouli. The Gasmouli made up the majority of the sailors in the Byzantine navy. During the Byzantine civil wars, their leader was a man named Geoffrey (Hellenised as Dzeфраϊtis).

As time went by, the Latins were assimilated into Greek culture. Such Latin names as Dzeфраϊtis, Dzeφronis, Dzeφrios, and Gasmoulakis still survive today.

BYZANTINE RULE IS RESTORED IN SOUTHERN THRACE (1261–1321)

Following the collapse of the Latin state, in 1261 the seat of the Byzantine Empire was transferred from Nicaea in Asia Minor to Constantinople, and this re-oriented Byzantine foreign policy towards the Balkans. This was prophesied by the first secretary of Byzantium, Senacherim, who, on hearing the news of the city's fall, said: 'We may not hope for anything good now that the *Romii* have set foot in the City.'

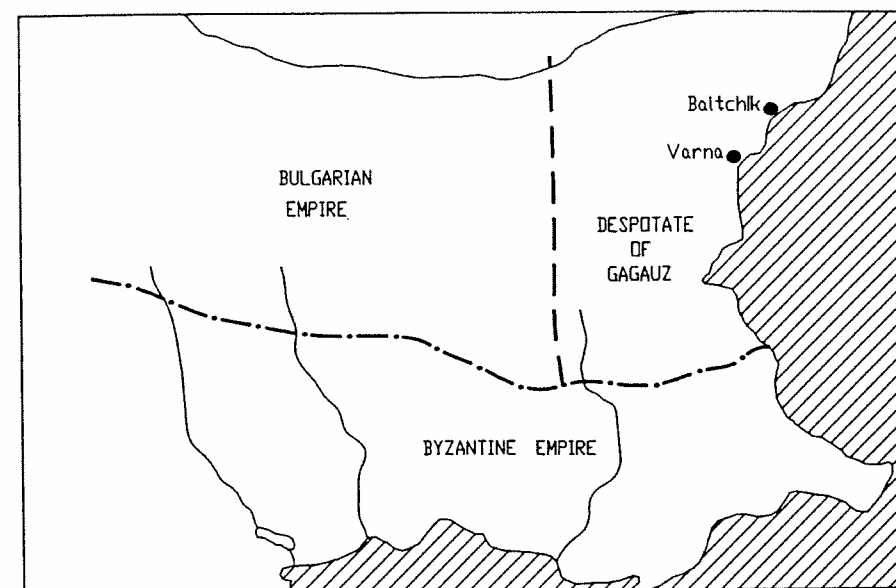
The origins of the Gagauz

The Byzantines' recovery of Constantinople was connected with the fact that a large group of Seljuk Turks had settled in the area of Varna in north-eastern Bulgaria.

The Seljuk state of Asia Minor was brought down by the Mongols, who defeated the Seljuk Turks in 1243 at the Battle of Kushendag. The collapse of the Seljuk state must have been a gradual process, because the Sultan of Iconium, Izzedin Kaikavuz did not flee to the Byzantine Empire until 1259. The Emperor in Nicaea granted him asylum, probably in return for the Sultan's protection on a former occasion, when Michael Palaeologus had deserted from the Byzantine army and fled to Izzedin's court, under suspicion of conspiring to seize the throne²⁶⁷ (as he in fact did, later on, by coup).

After the imperial seat had been transferred to Constantinople, in 1261 Palaeologus permitted Izzedin to bring his people and his fleet and settle in the 'land of Karvouna', which lay north of Varna, its capital being

267. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981). Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 117: «'Ο Μιχαήλ ἀπὸ τὸν φόβο μήπως συλληφθεῖ διέσχισε τὸν ποταμὸ Σαγγάριο καὶ κατέφυγε στοὺς Σελτζούκους Τούρκους τοῦ Ἰκονίου. Ἐκεῖ, ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ Σελτζούκου Σουλτάνου Καϊκάους Β', ὁ Μιχαήλ τέθηκε ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς τῶν χριστιανικῶν μισθοφορικῶν στρατευμάτων στὴν ὑπηρεσία τῶν Τούρκων καὶ πολέμησε ἐναντίον τῶν Μογγόλων».



Map 55: Political map of Thrace in 1261

Baltchik or Karvouna. It was here that the so-called despotate of the Gagauz was established and remained independent for 130 years.²⁶⁸

Having settled in Varna, Izzedin's Seljuks were obliged to adopt the Christian faith, and, together with the, likewise Turkish-speaking, Uzi and Petchenegs of Dobrudja, they established the Gagauz nation. The connecting link between the Seljuk Turks and the Uzi was both the Christian religion and the Turkish language. The Seljuks were linked with the Moslem Petchenegs of northern Dobrudja only by language.

The Gagauz separated along religious lines into two groups: the northern group, made up of Moslems of Petcheneg origin; and the southern group, made up of Christians of Uzi and Seljuk origin. The centres of the

268. Hoppe, E. M., (1957), *Die türkische Gagauzen-Christen*, σελ. 129: «Von dieser Zeit an beginnt das Land statt "Land von Karwuna" "Land von Dobrotitsch" genannt zu werden. Die türkischen Schriftsteller aber nannten es Dobrudcha... dieser Oghuzenstaat von Kaikawuz oder Gaigawuz bestand unabhängig 130 Jahre mit einem eigenen Bischof, der den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel untergeordnet war».

southern Gagauz zone were Varna and Baltchik, of the northern zone the Danubian Silistria and Sumen. The Gagauz of the northern zone are known today as Tchitaks or Gadjalis.

Sultan Kaikavuz reigned for only a short time, for in 1263 the administration of the state was taken over by his uncle Shari Saltuk, who was succeeded by Balik, known to the Byzantines as 'Balikas', ruler of Karvouna.²⁶⁹ The last king of the Gagauz was Ivag, whom the Ottoman Turks placed on the throne in 1383, abolishing the despotate of the Gagauz once and for all.

As a result of the collapse of their state, the Gagauz nation eventually disappeared from the stage of history altogether.

The first writer to mention the Gagauz again, after centuries of oblivion, was the Turkish traveller Evliya Tchelebi, who discovered the local Turkish Christians during his tour of Dobrudja.

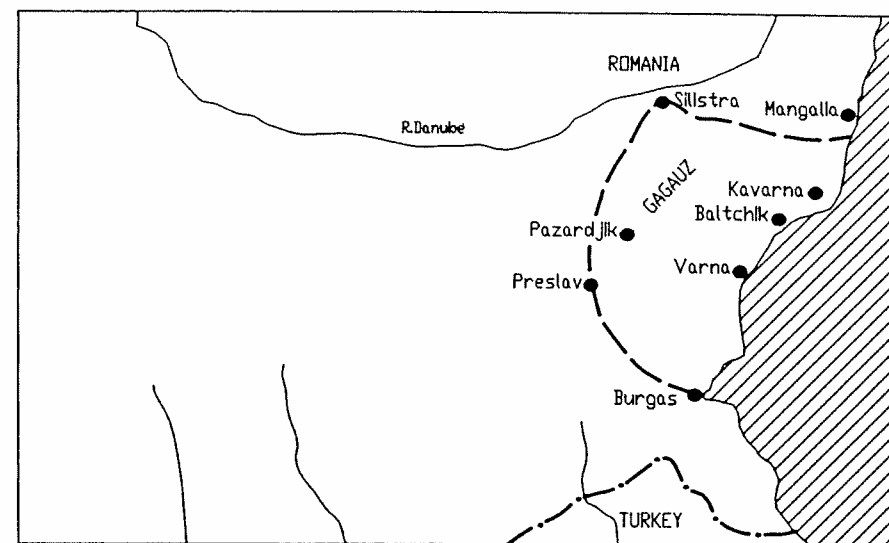
Tchelebi was followed by the French historian Lejean, who in 1861 described the Turkish-speaking inhabitants of Tchetal Orman, a region that extends from the Danube delta to an imaginary line running from Burgas, through Preslav, to Silistria.

The final discovery that the Turkish-speaking inhabitants of Dobrudja are descended from the mediaeval Gagauz was made in 1933 by a Bulgarian historian named Manov, who was harshly criticised by his fellow Bulgarians because of it. Owing to both the force of his arguments and the historical evidence, his book has been accorded a recognised place in the literature, despite Bulgarian opposition.

The Gagauz region includes sixty-seven towns and villages with a population of pure Gagauz descent. The most important of these are: Varna, Baltchik, Kavarna, Mangalia, Malkots, Pazardjik, and Silistria.²⁷⁰

269. Μάνωφ, Α., (1933), *Ποιοί είναι οι Γκαγκαούζοι*, σελ. 389: «'Ο 'Ιζεδδίν καθιδρύσας τὸ κράτος ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἀφήσας τὸν θεῖόν του Σαρῆ-Σαλτοῦκ (1263) νὰ διοικῇ... 'Αποθανόντος ὁμως τοῦ Σαρῆ-Σαλτοῦκ, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς χώρας τῶν Καρβούνων παρουσιάζεται ὁ Μπαλῆκ ἐκ Τουρκικῆς γενεᾶς... Τὸν Μπαλῆκ μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν του διεδέχθη εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῶν 'Ογούζων ὁ Δομπροτίτσας (1354), ὅστις, χάρις εἰς τοὺς συγγενικοὺς δεσμοὺς μετὰ τῶν βυζαντινῶν, ἔλαβε τίτλον δεσπότη... 'Ο Δομπροτίτσας, ὅστις ἐκληρονόμησε τὸν στόλον τῶν Σελτζούκων, ἐφρόντισε νὰ τὸν ἐνισχύσῃ καὶ διοργανώσῃ».

270. Μάνωφ, Α., (1933), *Ποιοί είναι οι Γκαγκαούζοι*, σελ. 400: «Πόλεις καὶ χωρία Γκαγκαουζικά ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ καὶ Δόβρουτζᾳ, ὧν τὰ περισσότερα καὶ σήμερον κατοι-



Map 56: Gagauz of Dobrudja

Despite their lengthy political annihilation, the Gagauz held onto their ethnic identity for a long time: even in the nineteenth century, there were Gagauz folksongs expressing the wish that the flag with the red cockerel might fly in Kavarna again; the flag that symbolised the mediaeval Gagauz kingdom.

The Gagauz were traditionally friends with the Russians, at whose side they fought in all the Russo-Turkish wars, owing to the national disaster inflicted on them by the Ottoman Turks in 1383. In the Russo-Turkish wars

κοῦνται ὑπὸ Γκαγκαούζων... 'Αβρέν, 'Αλακλή, Βαλτσίκιον, Βάρνα, Βοεβόδα-κιοϊ, Γιαζηδζηλάρ, Γιαλῆ-οὔτς-ὄρμάν, Γκισούρ-σουδζούκ, Γκί-ὄρμάν, Γκιουζγκιουμπέν, Δε-ρέκιοϊ, Δζαφερλί, Δζεβιζλί, Δζιζδάρ-κιοϊ, Δουρμούς-κιοϊ, 'Ενί-κιοϊ, 'Ενί-μαχαλέ, 'Ετίμ-ἐλί, 'Ιλανλήκ, 'Ιμροχόρ, 'Ιουσενλί. Καβάρνα, Καδήκιοϊ, Καϊκί, Καληκτσῆ, Καλαϊδζῆ-δερέ, Καπουδζῆ-δερέ, Κάρ-ἀγάτς, Καραδζαλάρ, Κάρ-Κούρτ, Καραληλάρ, Κάρ-άπτσα, Κάρ-λέζ, Κασημλάρ, Κερεμέτ, Κεστιρίτς, Κεαγιά-βέη, Καρλῆ-βέη, Κηζηλδζαλάρ, Κονάκ, Κορκούτ, Κουγιουδζούκ, Κούρτ-πουνάρ, Μαγκάλια, Μαλκότς, Μάλκο-τσαμουρ-λοῦ, Μαχαλίτς, Μιχάλ-βέη, Μπουρανλάρ, 'Ομούρ-φακῆ, Παζαρδζήκ, Σαρῆ-μεσσέ, Σῆρτ-κιοϊ, Σιλίστρια, Σουλτανλάρ, Σουδζούκ, Σάμπλα, Σασιτῆ-κιοϊ, Σσεχίτ-'Αχμέτ, Σσούμλα, Ταπτήκ, Τεκέ, Τεκέ-Κόζλουδζα, Τεστιδζι, Τούρκ-Σιουτσούκ, Χαδζῆ-μπαϊράμ, Χαμπαρ-λήκ».

of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Gagauz again sided with the Russians, with the result that, between 1750 and 1864, thousands of Gagauz fled to Russian Bessarabia to escape Turkish reprisals. Modern Russian sources put the number of Gagauz in Bessarabia today at seventy thousand.²⁷¹

It is not possible to estimate the size of the Gagauz population in Bulgarian Dobrudja, because the official Bulgarian statistics relating to the area mention only 'Bulgarians'. Their number was estimated at about a hundred thousand in 1933.

The evolution of the ethnic identity of a large segment of the Christian Gagauz underwent a historically inevitable rift. The Christian Gagauz living on the Dobrudja coast, particularly in and around Varna, became thoroughly Hellenised, losing their ethnic language for ever in favour of Greek. The vast majority of the 'Greeks' of Varna were Greek-speaking Christian Gagauz, a large proportion of whom are now living as Bulgarian refugees in Greece. Between 1750 and 1864, many Christian Gagauz emigrated to Asia Minor, where they were assimilated by the local Greek population, since they considered themselves to be of Greek descent. Asia Minor Gagauz settled in various parts of Greece in 1922, such as Sindos in Thessaloniki prefecture, for instance. The Gagauz names Balikos, Balikis, and Gagaouzis survive to this day in Thessaloniki.

Most of the Christian Gagauz in the interior of southern Dobrudja were Bulgarianised, either naturally or because of the sociopolitical measures implemented by the Bulgarian authorities. In contrast to what happened on the coast, the Bulgarianised Gagauz did not discard their ethnic language, but continued to use Turkish even in church. The Scriptures were written in Turkish in Greek script; as recently as 1928, the British Bible Society published a new edition of the New Testament in Turkish using Bulgarian script.²⁷²

271. Hoppe, E. M., (1957), *Die türkische Gagauzen-Christen*, σελ. 130: «In den fünfziger Jahren des vorigen Jh. gab es in Bessarabien 24 gagauzische Kolonien mit über 26.000 Seelen, die nach Annahme Moschkoffs auf etwa 70.000 angewachsen sein sollen».

272. Hoppe, E. M., (1957), *Die türkische Gagauzen-Christen*, σελ. 132: «...von der Britischen und Ausländischen Bibelgesellschaft neu herausgegeben. Die gleiche Gesellschaft veröffentlichte zum ersten Male 1927 in Varna eine Übersetzung des Evangelium Johannes in gagauzischer Sprache, türkisch mit bulgarischen Buchstaben...».

The Moslem segment of the northern Gagauz, known as Gadjalis or Tchitaks, escaped Bulgarianisation thanks to their religion. The population of this region today comprises the 'Turks' of Dobrudja, who, ironically enough, now identify their ethnic identity with that of their age-old enemies the Turks. The efforts of the Bulgarian authorities to forcibly Bulgarianise the Gadjalis led to the well-known incidents that so disturbed the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Turkey.

A small segment of the Tchitaks must have converted to Christianity and embraced Greek culture, for the names Tsitakis, Tsitaklis, and Tsitakoglou still survive in Greece today.

This study has once again underlined the close affinity between one segment of the modern Bulgarians, Greeks, and Turks of Dobrudja, contrary to what is believed or taught in the schools in all three countries.

THE BYZANTINE CIVIL WARS AND OTTOMAN EXPANSION (1321–1453)

Having recovered Constantinople in 1261, the Byzantine Empire experienced its final flowering over the next sixty years, under the leadership of the Palaeologi. The wealthy Cantacuzenes were the adversaries of the Palaeologi and had their eye on the throne.

The Byzantine civil wars, initially among the Palaeologi and later between the Palaeologi and the Cantacuzenes, played a decisive part in the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire. The protagonists in the first civil war (1321–8) were Andronicus II Palaeologus and his grandson Andronicus III Palaeologus; in the second (1341–54) they were the Cantacuzenes and the Palaeologi. The second civil war was not just a struggle between factions, there was also a strong element of class in it. Cantacuzene was the leader of the aristocratic faction, while the popular faction was led by the underage John Palaeologus, the regent being Apocaucus.

It was the Palaeologi who first brought the Turks into Thrace as mercenaries, while the Cantacuzenes were responsible for recruiting Serbian mercenaries against the Palaeologi. As a result of these political actions by the Byzantines, the Turks were encouraged to infiltrate Europe and the Serbs gained the ascendancy in Macedonia. The loss of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus to the Serbs was sealed by the Treaty of Skopje in 1342 between



Map 57: Political map of Thrace in 1355

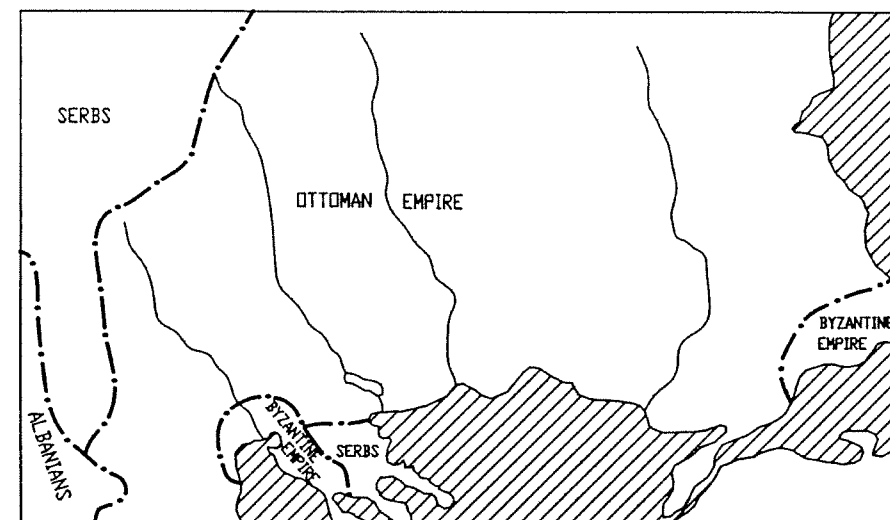
Cantacuzene and Stephen Dushan, a treaty that was drawn up by the Byzantine official John Oliver or Liveros, who was of English descent.

Having lost Macedonia, the Byzantine Empire ceased to be a serious political power and was soon forced to become a dependent satellite of the Turks, who began to build up the future Ottoman Empire at an astonishing rate.

Bulgaria, which had fragmented into many independent despotates, suffered the same fate as the Byzantine Empire. After the end of the second Byzantine civil war, the Ottoman Turks needed only another thirty years to subjugate the whole of Bulgaria.

Simultaneously with Bulgaria, in 1383 the Turks occupied the Gagauz despotate and deposed the last Gagauz king, Ivanko. He was the son of Dobrotitch, who had ascended the Gagauz throne in 1354 as the successor of Balik. With the deposing of Ivanko, the Gagauz despotate disappeared for ever, unlike the other Balkan states.

The last traces of the Byzantine Empire were trampled down on 29 May 1453 with the fall of Constantinople and the murder of Constantine XI



Map 58: Political map of Thrace in 1402

Palaeologus, called Dragatses because his mother was of Serbian stock.

It is significant that even the last Palaeologus was of Byzantino-Slavonic descent.

OTTOMAN DOMINION (1453–1881)

For a better understanding of the origins of the modern Bulgarians, let us briefly review the information given in the foregoing chapters regarding the ethnic origin of the populations that settled in Bulgaria at various times.

In antiquity, almost the whole of Bulgaria was inhabited by Thracians, with not a trace of Greeks, for Greeks lived only in certain coastal parts of the Pontus.

As far as the time of Alexander the Great is concerned, the sixty years of Macedonian dominion did not affect the ethnic make-up of Bulgaria, because no Macedonians settled in the interior during this period. Even in Philippopolis, which was founded by Philip, the only Greeks were the members of the Macedonian guard.

Moving on now to the long period of Roman rule, we note that this

too left the ethnic structure of the population of Bulgaria more or less unchanged, despite the profound Latinisation of the Thracians, who gradually became Latin-speaking Vlachs. This ethnic metamorphosis of the Thracians was due to a number of factors, chief among which were the influence of Latin culture and the absence of a national script, which is the only means by which a people can ensure the continuation of its ethnic and cultural identity.

The ethnic make-up of the population of northern Bulgaria was drastically affected in the fourth and fifth centuries AD by the destabilisation of the Roman borders along the Danube. This resulted in the annihilation of the local Thracian population, which was replaced by Mongols and Goths.

The fate of the Thracians in northern Bulgaria also overtook the Greek settlers along the Dobrudja littoral, who, apart from the population of Varna and Tome (Constantza), were wiped out. These two cities remained in Byzantine hands for a long time, and their population was constantly being swelled by Hellenised inhabitants of Asia Minor.

In contrast to the north, the Thracian element in southern Bulgaria was saved from extinction, though the native Thracians had lost their ethnic consciousness and called themselves Romans. These Thracians produced General Vitalius, Emperor Marcian (450–457), and Belissarius, the famous general of Justinian (527–565).

Until the sixth century, both Thracian and Latin (Vlach) were spoken concurrently in the 'Thracian village' in southern Bulgaria, and this is indirectly confirmed by the Byzantine writer Simocates in his account of the muleteer in the Rhodope mountains in 580. The muleteer of a Byzantine military detachment warned the soldiers of an imminent danger in Vlach, crying, 'Torna, torna, frater!' The whole detachment responded, evidently understanding the language. This historical information is also the earliest literary evidence of the existence of the Vlach language in Byzantine Thrace.

As time went by, the Thracian language died out in southern Bulgaria, though numerous remnants of Latin-speaking Thracians, known as Vlachs, survived in the centuries which followed. The Vlachs preserved the Latin language, despite the long-lasting Bulgarian dominion of Simeon the Great (893–927) and his successors (927–969).

The literature has plenty of information about the existence of

Vlachs in southern Bulgaria in the centuries which followed. A chrysobull of Basil the Bulgar-slayer (976–1025) prescribes that the Vlachs of Bulgaria should come under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archiepiscopate of Ohrid.²⁷³ Even in the twelfth century, there is historical confirmation of the existence of Vlachs in Bulgaria.

In 1188, the Vlach Asan ascended the Bulgarian throne. He was assassinated by the Bulgar Ivanko, whereupon war broke out between the Vlachs and the Bulgars, lasting for some months and ending in the defeat of the Bulgars and Ivanko's flight to the Byzantine Empire.

Even in the eighteenth century, there were Vlach villages in the Srednya Gora area and Rhodope.

To return to the events of the sixth and seventh centuries, the ethnic make-up of the population of northern Bulgaria underwent another dramatic change, the results of which are still traceable today. More specifically, after 581 almost the whole of northern Bulgaria, apart from the Dobrudja area, was occupied by Slavs. The western part of northern Bulgaria was taken over by the Slavs of the Seven Generations and the east by the Severi, who first wiped out the Byzantine subjects of Germano-Mongolian origin.

The Slavonicisation of northern Bulgaria was followed by the arrival of the Protobulgarians in the Dobrudja area and their expansion, by 701, over the whole of northern Bulgaria. This contributed to a total ethnic metamorphosis of the region, since the inhabitants were now almost exclusively Protobulgarians and Slavs.

In the centuries that followed, the most significant cultural development in pagan Bulgaria took place in the reign of Tsar Boris I (853–888), when the subjects of the Bulgarian Empire adopted the Christian religion. Boris most ingeniously converted his people by means of Cyril and Methodius's Slavonic script, which the two Byzantine clerics had devised with the intention of exporting it to Moravia. The Bulgarians' adoption of the Slavonic script served as a theoretical veneer for their expansionist policy, which they are still pursuing today, up to a point. According to the

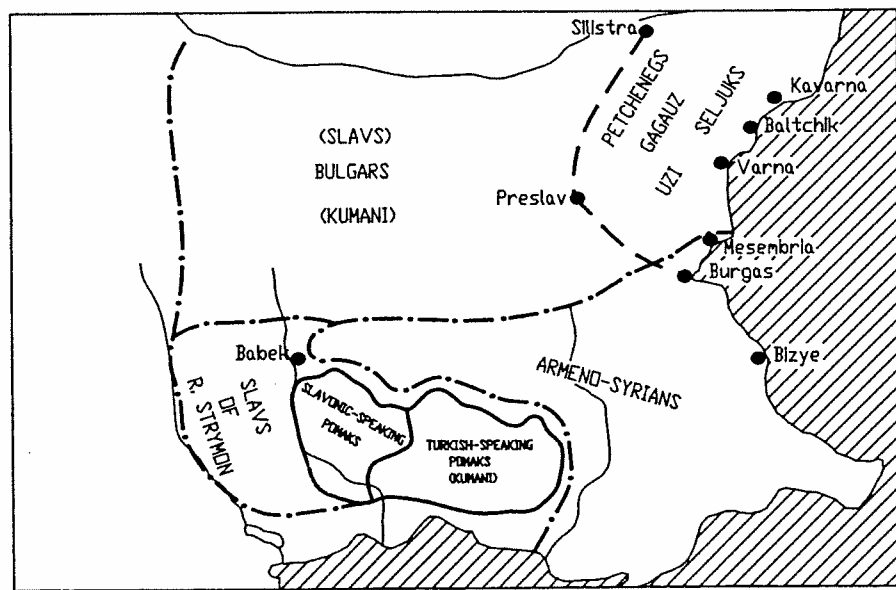
273. Jirecek, C. J., (1876). *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, σελ. 217: «Das Chrysobull des Kaisers Basilios II. unterordnet die Wlachen in ganz Bulgarien, sonach von Bdyn und Belgrad bis Janina, dem Erzbischof von Ochrida».

Bulgarian view of things, every Slavonic-speaking inhabitant of the southern Balkans is automatically a member of the Bulgarian people, and therefore, it is implied, of Bulgarian origin.

The only argument presented in support of this view is the fact that the Slavonic-speakers in Macedonia speak Slavonic, a language which the Protobulgarians learnt when they settled in the Balkans, having first discarded their national, Turkic, language.

A similar ethnological tactic has been, and is still being, implemented by both the Greek and the Turkish side.

Looking back over the ethnic evolution of the population of Byzantine southern Bulgaria, we note that 300,000 Armenians and Syrians settled in the region between 602 and 1020, who must in fact have numbered about a million together with their families.



Map 59: The ethnic origin of the inhabitants of Bulgaria and eastern Thrace

As a result of this development, the Armenians and Syrians became, together with the Vlachs, the major ethnic element in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace. The Armenians and Syrians of eastern Thrace later became the Greeks of the region, while those in the interior of eastern Rumelia were Bulgarianised — as has been proven with regard to the Paulicians of Philippopolis.

In other words, both the Greeks and the Bulgarians in the aforementioned regions are members of one and the same people, which coincidentally split into two opposing cultures and gradually adhered to them, having first lost its own ethnic identity.

After 1036, the ethnic mosaic of Bulgaria became somewhat more colourful with the arrival of the Petchenegs, the Uzi, the Kumani, and the Seljuk Turks.

In the Dobrudja area, the Petchenegs, Uzi, and Seljuks mixed to form the Gagauz, who, as time went by, split up into Greeks in Varna, Turkish-speaking Christian Bulgarians in southern Dobrudja, and Moslem Turks of Petcheneg origin in northern Dobrudja.

Lastly, the Kumani settled all over Bulgaria, though chiefly in the north and in the Evros valley. They were all completely Bulgarianised. Next to the Evros valley is the mountainous region of Rhodope, which is inhabited by the Turkish-speaking Moslem Pomaks, who were Christians until 1636. In all probability, these Pomaks of Rhodope are descended from the mediaeval Kumani.

To all these peoples who settled in Bulgaria and eastern Thrace were added the Yürüks and the Konyars after the Ottoman conquest. Of the two, only the Yürüks were pure-blooded Turks. They lived a primitive, nomadic life and came from Bithynia in Asia Minor, where they had first settled in 1300 in very small numbers. Even today, the Turkish national anthem proudly mentions the four hundred nomad families who settled in Shuhut in Bithynia and formed the nucleus of the future Ottoman Empire.

By dint of converting the non-Turkish inhabitants of Asia Minor to Islam (either forcibly or voluntarily), the Ottoman Empire managed to swell its population from a few thousand to millions in record time. This demographic explosion attests the non-Turkish origin of the vast majority of the modern Turks, who are simply the descendants of those Hellenised peoples of Asia Minor who were forced to convert to Islam to save their skins.

This is confirmed by the testimony of Babatouta, who visited Geyve on the lower Sakarya in Bithynia and reported that Yenije had only one Moslem house and that the Christians were under Ottoman protection.²⁷⁴

As for the Konyars, one segment of them was descended from the Seljuk Turks, who, under the leadership of Karaman, long resisted the Ottoman expansion of the Turks of Bithynia. The Seljuk Turks in turn are an ethnic *mélange* of the Seljuk invaders and large numbers of Hellenised inhabitants of the Iconium and Caesarea areas, a subject we shall discuss in the section on Turkey.

Despite Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, the Turks were always a small minority among the Balkan peoples. According to Turkish censuses taken in the sixteenth century, Moslems accounted for 20 per cent of the population of the Balkans as a whole. Of the 194,958 Moslem families, only 37,435 (3–4%) were Yürüks, i.e. of Turkish origin.²⁷⁵ That not all Moslems were of Turkish origin is underscored by the fact that the Albanians, the Pomaks, and the Gagauz were Moslems.

To conclude this review of the ethnic origin of the various peoples of Bulgaria, it may be pointed out that the multiethnic character of the modern Bulgarian people is confirmed by various testimonies. The Bulgarians of northern Bulgaria call themselves Zagorki or Zagortsi, while

the southern Bulgarians are known as Romanski.²⁷⁶ This vernacular term is particularly characteristic of the ethnic situation in Bulgaria. Cvijic expresses himself in the same way, referring to the 'white' Bulgarians of the north and the 'black' Bulgarians of the south.²⁷⁷

An anthropological study of the Paulicians of Philippopolis lists as their characteristics: short stature, black hair, dark skin, and a large nose.²⁷⁸ It is not an inaccurate description of Armenians, Syrians, or Persians.

Finally, scholarly studies by contemporary Bulgarian anthropologists have proved that 82 per cent of the modern inhabitants of Bulgaria represent the Mediterranean type, while only 18 per cent are fair.²⁷⁹ The Bulgarian writers maintain that this is due to the chromosomal legacy of the ancient Thracians; but this is not confirmed by the extant historical and ethnological evidence and may be regarded as more of a quest for ancient ancestors.

An impartial study of the ethnic origins of the modern Bulgarians, Greeks, and Turks points to the inescapable conclusion that all three peoples are closely related, constituting a mosaic of many peoples, who entered one of the three cultures quite by chance.

274. Γεωργιάδης-Αρνάκης, Γ. (1952), *Η περιήγησις του Ιμπν Μπαττούτα ανά την Μ. Ασία και η κατάσταση του ελληνικού και τουρκικού πληθυσμού κατά τον 14ον αιώνα*, σελ. 148: «...ἀφοῦ διενυκτέρευσε εἰς τὴν κωμόπολιν Κάβαιαν (Κάβιγια, σημ. Γκέιβε), ἐπορεύθη εἰς Γενιτζέ, εἰς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν ἐσχατιὰν τοῦ Ὀθωμανικοῦ Κράτους, φιλοξενούμενος πάντοτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχῆ. Τὸ μόνον μέρος ὅπου δὲν εὑρε παράρτημα τῆς Ἀδελφότητος ἀνομάζετο Καϊνίκ, περὶ τοῦ ὁποίου παρατηρεῖ: "Κατοικεῖται ὑπὸ ἀπίστων Ρωμαίων [Ἑλλήνων], διατελούντων ὑπὸ μουσουλμανικὴν προστασίαν, ὑπάρχει δὲ μία μόνον οἰκία μουσουλμανικὴ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀνήκει εἰς τοὺς διοικητὰς τῶν Ρωμαίων"».

275. *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, (1981), Τόμος Ι, Εκδοτικὴ Αθηνῶν Α.Ε., σελ. 90: «...γιὰ τὴ χερσόνησο τοῦ Αἰμου καὶ γιὰ ὁρισμένα νησιά τοῦ Αἰγαίου, στίς περιοχὲς αὐτὲς ὑπῆρχαν 194.958 φορολογήσιμες ἐστίες (οἰκογένειες) μωαμεθανῶν ἐναντι 832.707 χριστιανικῶν. Ἀξίζει νὰ σημειωθῇ ὅτι ἀπὸ τὶς μουσουλμανικὲς ἐστίες οἱ 37.435, δηλαδὴ τὰ 19% τοῦ μουσουλμανικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ, ἀποτελοῦνταν ἀπὸ νομάδες Γιουρούκου».

276. Γεωργαντζή, Π. Α., (1978), *Αρχαίοι και σύγχρονοι Θράκες*, σελ. 98.

277. Cvijic, T., (1918), *La Peninsula Balkanique*, σελ. 472.

278. Αναστασιάδου, Ι. Ε., (1959), *Οι Παυλικιανοί εἰς τὴν Βαλκανικὴν κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς τουρκοκρατίας*, σελ. 133: «Ὡς πρὸς τὸν φυλετικὸν τύπον, διαφέρουν οὐσιωδῶς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὡς λέγουν οἱ γνωρίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πλησίον. Εἶνε οὗτοι κοντόσωμοι μὲ χαμηλὸν μέτωπον, μεγάλην μύτην, καὶ σχεδὸν ὅλοι μελαχροῖνοι καὶ μὲ μαύρην κόμην... Τὸ ζήτημα τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν Παυλικιανῶν τοῦ βορρᾶ κατέστη...».

279. Angelov, D., (1890), *Die Entstehung des Bulgarischen Volkes*, σελ. 77: «In der bulgarischen Bevölkerung dominiert heute der mediterrane Typus. Neueste Untersuchungen haben ergeben, daß ca. 18% der Bulgaren blond sind, der Rest ist brünett».

APPENDIX

From *Zora* (a newspaper published by ethnic Macedonians in Greece)

April 1994

Free Tribune (readers' letters)

We publish below, without comment, a reply to an article by Marios Ploritis printed in *To Vima* [a Greek national Sunday newspaper] on 6 March 1994. It comes from George Nakratzas, who sent it to us unsolicited. Dr Nakratzas is from Thessaloniki, and a one-time member of the Centre Union Youth Movement; he has published two books of very interesting studies on the subject of *The Close Ethnological Kinship between the Modern Greeks, Bulgarians, and Turks*.

To Vima has not yet published the letter and Mr Ploritis seems to have nothing to say.

Rotterdam
16 March 1994

Mr Marios Ploritis
To Vima

Dear Mr Ploritis,

On 6 March 1994, *To Vima* published an article of yours titled 'Non-existent Greece: Germany Raves on while Greece Slumbers', which ended with an appeal to the Greek intelligentsia to react to the Germans' anti-Hellenism.

In my view, the most important point you make in the article is what you say about Fallmerayer, and I quote: 'They are exhuming the drivel produced by the notorious German historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who maintained in his books that the ancient Greek race died out and was

replaced by a mixture of Slavonic and other tribes.'

What you say clearly shows what an intellectual straitjacket the Greek people have been deterministically forced into. After years of relentless propaganda, they have really started to believe the unlikely myth that the modern Greeks are directly descended from the ancient Greeks, and thus to support the theory of 'one nation, one race'.

In Greece after 1830, the civilised, and at the same time realistic, notion of a multiracial nation was regarded more or less as an 'anti-Greek' theory.

Constantine Karamanlis's letter to François Mitterrand, in which he referred to the Republic of Macedonia as an 'ethnic hotchpotch', offers the most formal evidence of the mindset that insists that the Greek people are racially and therefore ethnically 'pure'.

Any historian or scholar who talks about the non-Greek lineage of the modern Greeks becomes the object of harsh and frequently shameful criticism with regard to his or her honesty, patriotic feelings, and academic competence.

Fallmerayer was the historian who discovered the existence of the Byzantine Empire of Trebizond, an achievement for which no Greek historian or journalist has ever accused him of 'exhuming' anything. Although, as the first student of the ethnogenesis of the modern Greek people, Fallmerayer had a tendency to overstate his case, his work is still a subject of scholarly debate 140 years on, which only goes to show what solid foundations it was built upon.

If Fallmerayer really was an insignificant historian, any right-minded person would be bound to wonder why the University of Athens tried to clasp him to its bosom at the time by offering him a chair in philology (which he declined, by the way).

The fact that 'nation' and 'race' are two entirely unrelated concepts has not yet been taken on board by a large segment of the Greek intelligentsia, which continues to seek intellectual refuge in the ridiculous theory of the 'continuity of the Greece race'.

The intelligentsia of the west European nations knows full well that no European people would dare to imagine itself as being directly descended from its 'ancient forebears'. In Europe the notion would only provoke general hilarity. Educated Germans, for instance, are well aware that in the Middle Ages, Slavonic was spoken from Lübeck westwards as far as the

suburbs of Hamburg; and they also know that the majority of the modern Germans from the former German Democratic Republic are Germanised Slavs, and they can write as much in their books without any risk of being accused of lack of patriotism.

It should not really surprise us that the German media react strongly against Greece, often in terms that are far from respectful, if we consider that, not the Greek press, but the head of our diplomatic corps has officially referred to Germany — that is, the German people — as 'a giant with the mind of a child', i.e. an idiot. He kept his job, but only after publicly and humiliatingly begging the pardon of the representative of the German government under the gaze of millions of television viewers.

Elsewhere in your article, you ironically wonder whether the 'most sagacious' Professor Weithmann believes that the inhabitants of Turkish-held Greece, who supposedly maintained the continuity of the Greek language and kept it intact, were Slavs or Albanians.

Mr Ploritis, the timeless continuity of the Greek language is yet another naive myth, which is easily refuted by the fact that, until 1885, the population of Attica and Boeotia (with the sole exception of the inhabitants of Thebes, Athens, Megara, and Karystos) spoke only Albanian. Most of the population of Thebes and Athens that was not of Albanian origin was of Catalan, Italian, or French origin, and there is proof aplenty to be found in the relevant literature.

A large segment of the modern Greek population of the areas of Corinth, Nafplio, and Trizina is also of Albanian origin, and some of them speak Albanian to this day. But this is not remotely relevant to their national identity.

May I add to your historical education by informing you that, according to the Byzantine traveller Cananus, writing in 1418, the Slavonic tongue was spoken in Zygos (Exo Mani), i.e. the area roughly between Itylo and Kalamata. The fact that the Maniots of this area were descended from the Slavonic Melingians is accepted both in the international literature and by Politis and Zakythinos.

You also refer in your article to the letter published in the *Ikonomikos Tahydromos* on 19 February 1994, which was signed by ninety Greeks living in Germany to protest against the 'savage libel' against Greece printed in the German media. With reference to Professor Weithmann's *Der ruhelose Balkan: Die Konfliktregionen Südosteuropas*,

these ninety Greeks wrote: 'with this book, the process of disinformation comes full circle', and they appealed to the Greek authorities to take steps to have the 'disgraceful' publication banned.

Although they live in the middle of Europe, those ninety Greeks are still governed by the knee-jerk reflexes of that backward segment of the Greek cultural underworld which believes that any book or article that expresses views different from those promoted by the official national propaganda should be banned and their author, if possible, sent to prison.

A more recent example of this sort of modern Greek behaviour within Greece is the case of Vassilis Rafaïlidis, whose seven-month prison sentence the Greek parliament was *forced* to rescind under intense pressure from the intelligentsia of Europe and America.

Elsewhere in their letter, the Ninety write: '[Weithmann's] book offers numerous theoretical and "scientific" arguments to anyone who might cast covetous eyes on Greek sovereignty in Macedonia and the present *status quo*, for he paints the blackest picture of the forcible Hellenisation of the "Macedonians" seventy years ago.'

This is a blatant attempt at disinformation on their part, an attempt to create the impression that no efforts were made in Greece to forcibly change the cultural identity of the various minorities.

May I remind you that, as regards the Turks' treatment of the Greek minority in Istanbul and the Bulgarians' treatment of the Turkish minority in Dobrudja, Greece's own halo has not remained untarnished. By decision of the Supreme Court, Greece has forbidden the Moslems of Thrace to call themselves Turks, riding roughshod over their desire to define their own cultural identity. This same Greece denies the very existence of that segment of the ethnic Macedonian people which lives in Greek territory and which does not identify its own cultural identity with that of the Greeks. Yet this same Greece again beats its breast over the rights of the Greek minority in southern Albania (Northern Epirus) and indeed of any other minority, apart from the Greek citizens of Turkish and/or ethnic Macedonian origin.

Do you not think, Mr Ploritis, that the time has come for the Greek intelligentsia to break out of the lethal straitjacket that is stifling it and to try to make this country's politicians and clergy realise that, for the sake of peace, we have to show these compatriots of ours a little kindness and compassion, and give them the chance, as Greek citizens, to maintain their

own distinctive cultural identity?

We refugees (that is to say, our parents) are the most classic case of a minority, which, in 1922, paid a frightful price for the irredentist expansionism of the then Greek political leaders. In the inspired military adventure to the Sakarya, the Greek army liberated us from our homes, our possessions, and our dignity, driving us like beggars to mainland Greece, exactly as happened four years ago to the unfortunate Turkish Gagauz in Bulgaria.

Yours sincerely,
Dr George Nakratzas

From *Tetradia Marxismou*:
contributors' section

by George Nakratzas*

Our Hellenocentric Foreign Policy

The body politic of any society, being its parliamentary representative, must by definition be considered to bear the main responsibility for its political education, particularly that of the younger generation.

A critical analysis of any country's foreign policy makes it possible, up to a point, to use that as the measure of the social ethics of the body politic, and by extension of the people themselves.

However painful, a courageous self-criticism of Greek foreign policy is absolutely vital if we want to carry on living in modern, multiethnic Europe.

The issues that are exercising both Greek society and our neighbours at present are Cyprus, Northern Epirus, Macedonia, and the Aegean. With regard to all four, the mentality of a large proportion of our body politic is dominated by Greek-Orthodox fundamentalism and Hellenocentric egomania.

Regarding the Cyprus Question, the young people of Greece are still, even today, being reared on a diet of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, the occupation of Cypriot territory, and Turkish atrocities. The Turks did commit atrocities, of that there is no doubt, and Denktash has recently admitted as much. But what we never hear a whisper about is the atrocities perpetrated by General Grivas.

The information we have about the number of innocent villagers Grivas murdered when he burnt down the Turkish-Cypriot village of Kofinou in 1967 (notoriously issuing instructions that 'not a Turkish hen' should be left alive) comes from the mass media abroad (specifically, the Dutch newspaper *NRC*, 27 April 1996). The young people of Greece are simply not given a chance to receive objective information from their 'own' sources.

It has almost been forgotten that the country which initiated military intervention in the independent nation of Cyprus in order to assassinate its president was not in fact Turkey but Greece itself. The argument that the junta was put up to it by the United States does not absolve the Greek people from the moral blame. With a few isolated exceptions, there were no mass strikes nor other mass rallies to force the junta out, which is tantamount to saying that the Greek people *de facto* recognised the régime and now, naturally, must accept a share of the responsibility for what it did.

The tragedy of Cyprus touches rock bottom in the absurd and unrealistic demand by some of those in authority that the Turkish Cypriots should return to Greek Cypriot domination, when that domination has already proved incapable of maintaining the two peoples in peaceful co-existence. The notion of a confederation, which some sensible Greeks (including Konstandinos Mitsotakis and Leonidas Kyrkos) have proposed as the only realistic solution to the Cyprus problem, is regarded as too much of a concession, particularly by those Greek politicians whose thought processes are strangers to realism or reason.

The second foreign-policy issue that has a close bearing on social ethics is the question of the Greek minority in southern Albania. The Greek state and, particularly, the various Greek Orthodox fundamentalists, beat their breasts over the Greek minority's human rights in terms of self-determination and education, and they are absolutely right.

But when it comes to the self-determination of the Republic of

Macedonia next door, or a segment of those Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in Greek Macedonia who regard themselves as ethnic Macedonians — why, then Alexander the Great himself is summoned, and innumerable works of profound historical scholarship are cited, to prove that the Macedonian nationality is an artificial fabrication and therefore does not exist, and even if it does exist it is only fifty to a hundred years old and may therefore be dismissed.



Status quo in the Aegean with a six-mile limit

What the eminent Greek historians fail to mention is that, 200–250 years ago, an overwhelming proportion of the ancestors of the modern Greeks of mainland Greece not only did not speak Greek, but did not even think of themselves as Greeks — though this, to be sure, does not give anyone the right to dispute the Greek ethnic identity of their modern descendants.

This is why Greek society will receive moral recognition for its demand for the ethnic self-determination of the Greek minority in southern Albania only when it grants that same right to the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia or to those Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in Greek Macedonia who define themselves as ethnic Macedonians. Again, Greek society will get that same moral recognition for its demand that the Greek minority in southern Albania receive education in the Greek language only when it grants the right to learn the Macedonian language to those Slavonic-speaking Macedonians who want it.

As regards the *status quo* in the Aegean, in contrast to the so-called Macedonian Question, even the left wing, together with all the other political parties, accuses Turkey of seeking to challenge the seventy-year-old *status quo* through its expansionist policy in the Aegean. A critical analysis of what has triggered this particular Greek–Turkish crisis may help us to see just who has caused the Aegean *status quo* to be challenged.

The present internationally recognised demarcation of territorial waters at a six-mile limit (map 1) gives Greece sovereignty over ten to twenty per cent of the Aegean, allows Turkish ships free access to the Mediterranean, and makes it possible for a considerable part of the Aegean to be used as an international anchorage by the Russian, the American, or any other navy.

The development of technology to extract oil and other raw materials from the sea bed has created additional problems regarding ownership and rights in the Aegean. The Greek parliament's recent announcement that Greek territorial waters in the Aegean will eventually be extended to twelve miles (map 2) means that about eighty per cent of the sea would then be Greek territory. Should the Greek parliament actually carry out this *expansionist* wish, it will permanently block Turkey's free access to the Mediterranean, impede international shipping, restrict or do away with the international anchorages; and all the oil deposits in the sea beyond the six-mile limit will become Greek property.

Turkey has not signed the Geneva Agreement, which is the legal basis for the intended extension of Greek territorial waters. This means that Turkey is not bound by the agreement, just as Greece — or any other country — is not bound by international agreements of which it is not a signatory. The fact that Turkey has not signed it does not automatically mean that Turkey is absolutely in the right; but the same, *vice versa*, applies to Greece.



Status quo in the Aegean with a twelve-mile limit

The emergence of this particular Aegean issue means that the problem between Greece and Turkey is more a political problem than a question of international law. A political problem is resolved either by war or by discussion and mutual give and take.

Some twenty years ago, Turkey gave Greece oral notification that it would regard any change in the *status quo* in the Aegean as a *casus belli*. Both the Soviet Union and the United States of America have also, in the past, made it clear to the Greek government that any extension of Greek territorial waters would be unwelcome.

The Greek propaganda machinery has managed to convince even the left wing that a unilateral and utterly imprudent change of the *status quo* in the Aegean, which would look very much like a new blockade, aimed at the east this time, should be regarded as one of our 'non-negotiable sovereign rights'. The very same Greece that set up the Alexander the Great blockade and closed the EU's border with the Republic of Macedonia without any previous consultation with its European partners is now asking the EU to defend the common European border.

Turkish foreign policy is in the hands of people who, I should like to believe, realise that the very idea of challenging Greek sovereignty over the Dodecanese, Chios, and Lesbos is inconceivable in the Europe of today. Like the 'sun of Vergina' farce, a squabble over a few rocks that interest nobody has been provoked purely and simply to create a diplomatic *quid pro quo* in the forthcoming negotiations.

The wise stance of Mr Kyrkos and Mr Mitsotakis regarding the necessity for dialogue with Turkey is regarded as submissive, in much the same way as the attitude of the Greeks who supported the Pineiro package was considered submissive, even traitorous — yet today Greek officialdom is begging for the package to be accepted.

* NB: The maps are from Dr Wolff Heintschel von Heinegg's *Der Ägäis-Konflikt*, Schriften zum Völkerrecht, vol. 89, Duncker & Humblot, Berlin

Editor's note

While publishing Dr Nakratzas's article in full, we are at pains to point out that this periodical in no way shares his opinion that the Greek people are jointly responsible for the junta's coup in Cyprus. 'Mass strikes' may not have taken place — the people who could have organised them were in prison or in exile — but there was the Polytechnic and there was the massive outburst of popular fury which, at the time of mobilisation, brought the junta down. To say that the Greek people 'recognised the régime' is wrong and betrays an ignorance of history, and it does an injustice to Dr Nakratzas's otherwise interesting views.

From *Politis*, No. 56, Friday 25 September 1998

The Crimes of Genocide Committed in 1913 by the Bulgarian Army at Doxato and the Greek Army at Kilgis (according to data from the Carnegie Report)

George Nakratzas

The victory of the Greek army at Kilgis and the liberation of this part of Macedonia from the Turks in 1913 are celebrated with due pomp and circumstance every year. And the genocidal crimes perpetrated by the Bulgarian army at Doxato, Drama prefecture, are reviled annually with no less a degree of solemnity.

As long as these commemorations have been going on, nothing has ever been said about the way the Greek army behaved towards the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians of Kilgis, who, together with the local Turks, made up almost the whole population of the area. In a recent publication by the historians in the Museum of the Macedonian Struggle in Thessaloniki, there is an extract from a letter written by Britain's Acting Consul-General in Thessaloniki in 1914:

Each Balkan people is, within its own boundaries, persecuting the adherents of its neighbours, and each is endeavouring to obtain its own justification before the world, the sympathy of Europe for itself and European condemnation of its neighbours, by loudly calling attention to its neighbours' acts and by concealing its own.

The word 'self-criticism' is virtually unknown in the Greek vocabulary; yet some honest self-criticism by our official historians with regard to our recent national history, accompanied by an apology from the

Greek government where necessary, would help the Greek people along the way towards moral atonement and help them to avoid making the same mistakes in the future. Instead of this, however, even today there are some of our official historians and some members of our political ruling class who still refer to the residents of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as 'Skopjan gypsies'; Archbishop Christodoulos talks about 'Turkish barbarians' in the presence of the President of the Republic; and courts ban books containing the word 'Bulgarian', which is 'abusive' when applied to Greeks.

Though not a historian myself, these thoughts have led me to undertake a study of the Carnegie Report, in an attempt to find out how civilised our own behaviour was towards those whom we brought into the Greek state against their will.

With regard to the areas of Doxato and Kilkis, the Carnegie Report offers the following information.

In 1913, Doxato had 2,700 Greek inhabitants and 270 houses. The town and two other villages nearby made up the only Greek enclave in a locality that was almost exclusively Turkish. Official Greek reports agree that the Bulgarians slaughtered five hundred people here with a savagery that defies description. They also burnt down almost all the buildings, leaving only thirty houses standing when they had finished.

The Carnegie Report quotes from the statements which the international commission later received from Dobrev, the Bulgarian Governor of Drama, and Sofroniev, the commanding officer of the Bulgarian force that carried out the massacre. According to Dobrev, the Bulgarian army received orders to leave Kavala on 8 July; it did so, but outside Doxato some armed Greeks killed one Bulgarian cavalryman and wounded another. On 10 July, a Bulgarian military force of thirty soldiers attempted to enter Doxato to restore order, but was repelled by armed Greeks. On 11 July, again according to Dobrev, a Bulgarian force of two cavalry companies, two infantry companies, and four cannons was despatched to Doxato to restore order and ensure the safe withdrawal of the Bulgarian army. After some shelling, five hundred armed Greeks and some civilians fled, pursued by the Bulgarian cavalry. The infantry, comprising Bulgarian soldiers, chiefly Moslem Pomaks from Bulgaria, entered Doxato, killed three hundred people, and burnt many houses down.

According to Sofroniev's statement, a battle was fought against armed Greeks on 13 July, during which 150–300 armed Greeks and fourteen Bulgarians were killed. Sofroniev then departed, leaving the Pomaks of the Bulgarian infantry in Doxato together with armed local Turks. He himself was in no position to comment on what they did then, because he was not there.

The international commission doubted that the battle with, and slaughter of, the three hundred armed Greeks had taken place outside Doxato. It was hard to believe that three hundred soldiers, who were essentially irregulars, could have put up such a strong resistance to a large force of Bulgarian cavalry and infantry armed with four cannons. The commission therefore concluded that the massacre at Doxato had been committed by Turks, not Bulgarians.

There is no doubt whatsoever that Sofroniev's deposition was false: the three hundred armed soldiers were killed inside Doxato in his presence; and after he had left, the Bulgarian Pomak soldiers and the local Turks (who had been armed by the Bulgarian army) together proceeded to commit the frightful acts of savagery against the disarmed Greek partisans and the civilian population of Doxato.

As for the commission's conclusion that the massacre was committed not by Bulgarians but by Pomaks, it may be true, but it is morally unacceptable. The Pomaks were Bulgarian soldiers, and both their commanding officer and the country to which the military force in question belonged bear the responsibility for what they did.

The commission found the investigation of the atrocities perpetrated by the Greek army in 1913 a less taxing process, for the simple reason that they were committed on the orders of the supreme commander of the Greek armed forces, King Constantine.

The commission published the official telegram which the King had sent on 12 July 1913 to the Greek ambassadors in Europe:

The general commanding the Sixth Division informs me that the Bulgarian soldiers under the command of a captain of gendarmes gathered in the yard of the schoolhouse at Demir Hissar over one hundred notables of the town, the archbishop and two priests, and massacred them all. . . . [I] declare that to my regret I shall find myself obliged to proceed to reprisal.

The commission reported that the atrocities committed by the Greek army at Kilgis took place on 4 July 1913, eight days before the King ordered reprisals; which means that it was not the Bulgarian army that started massacring armed prisoners of war and civilians, but the Greek army.

The Carnegie Report gives details of what happened in and around Kilgis. The town, it tells us, was a flourishing community of 13,000 people, the centre of an exclusively Slavonic-speaking area. The numerically superior Greek army occupied the town on 4 July 1913, according to evidence given to the commission by Bulgarian clergymen. The retreating Bulgarian army had already gone, and most of the inhabitants had left the previous day. Because Kilgis was an unfortified town, the Greek artillery launched only a moderate attack before entering: the few shells fell, probably by mistake, on the orphanage and the French hospital next to it, setting fire to four or five houses in the vicinity. This information is confirmed by the fact that, when the Greek army entered it on 4 July, the town of Kilgis was more or less unscathed; when the international commission visited it they found only burnt-out ruins.

European observers confirmed that the Greek soldiers evicted the remaining occupants from each and every house, which they then looted and burn down. When it captured Kilgis prefecture, the Greek army burnt down a total of forty villages and 4,725 houses or other buildings. The commission's report gives the names of the villages that were burnt down and the respective numbers of the houses that were destroyed. The Greek army used Turkish bashibazouks to finish off the destruction, thus inaugurating the method adopted by the Bulgarian army nine days later to destroy Doxato. While in Kilgis, the commission was given the names of seventy-four people who were believed to have been slain by the Greek army: most were women; eleven were infants.

The majority of the 100,000 Macedonian refugees had no contact with the Greek army and were therefore unable to give the international commission in Sofia any accounts of personal experiences. The exceptions were the people who had fled from the village of Akangeli.

Four thousand refugees had gathered in Akangeli, attempting to flee to Bulgaria. They were intercepted there on 6 July by three hundred Greek cavalrymen. The cavalry officer accepted their surrender and ordered them to hand over the few weapons they had with them. The refugees also offered

the soldiers bread and cheese. Once the refugees had surrendered, the Greeks picked out sixty men and took them off to a nearby wood; and that was the last anyone ever saw of them.

Eye witnesses confirmed that the Greek soldiers embarked on a spree of killing, rape, and robbery the next day. The commission reported that it had not been able to establish exactly how many refugees the Greek army had slain at Akangeli. In Sofia, the commission was given a list of 365 people from nearby villages who were believed to have been massacred at Akangeli.

One European eye witness told the commission that when the Greek army entered Gevgelija it executed two hundred Bulgarian citizens; according to Macedonian refugees in Sofia, the Greek army executed many civilians, possibly hundreds, in the villages of Kirtchevo and Gherman.

The commission was not in a position to verify this latter information. But one important piece of evidence that, in its own way, corroborated what the Macedonian refugees were saying about the atrocities was the contents of a Greek military kitbag, which the Bulgarians seized on 14 July 1913 in the village of Dobrinice, Ratlog district. These were letters, clearly marked with the names of both senders and recipients; and they were genuine, because, as the commission reported, they still bore the stamps of the writers' military units. Most of the letters had no bearing on the commission's task; twenty-five were picked out because their content was relevant. Some extracts published in the Carnegie Report are as follows:

- By order of the King we are setting fire to all the Bulgarian villages, because the Bulgarians burned the beautiful town of Serres, Nigrita, and several Greek villages.
- Here we are burning the villages and killing the Bulgarians, both women and children.
- We took only a few [prisoners], and these we killed, for such are the orders we have received.
- We have to burn the villages—such is the order—slaughter the young people and spare only the old people and the children.
- We massacre all the Bulgarians who fall into our hands and burn the villages.
- Of the 1,200 prisoners we took at Nigrita, only forty-one remain in the prisons, and everywhere we have been we have not left a single root of this race.

- We picked out their eyes [five Bulgarian prisoners] while they were still alive.

The only possible conclusion to be drawn from the evidence in the Carnegie Report is that our two nations can make moral amends for the atrocities committed by the Bulgarian and Greek armies only if both the Bulgarian and the Greek government publicly apologise to the descendants of the victims, and at the same time offer symbolic material compensation as a practical display of remorse.

This would be the proper course for one actual and one aspiring member of the European Union to take.

Phoenician alphabet	Oriental alphabets			Classical Greek alphabet
	Attic (ancient)		Ionic	
𐤀 aleph	A		A	A αλφα
𐤁 beth	B		B B	B βῆτα
𐤂 gimel	^		Γ	Γ γάμμα
𐤃 daleth	Δ		Δ	Δ δέλτα
𐤄 he	E		E E	E ἑνῶς
𐤅 waw				(F) δίγαμμα
𐤆 zayin	I		I	Z ζῆτα
𐤇 heth	Θ		Θ H.	H ἦτα
𐤈 te.h	⊗		⊗ ⊗	Θ θῆτα
𐤉 jodh	I		I	I ῥῆτα
𐤊 kaph	K		K K	K κῆτα
𐤋 lameth	L		Λ Λ	Λ λῆμμα
𐤌 mem	M		M	M μῆ
𐤍 nun	N		N N	N νῆ
𐤎 samech			Ξ Ξ	Ξ ξῆ
𐤏 ayin	O		O	O οῖμπερ
𐤐 pe	Π		Π Π	Π πῆ
𐤑 tsade				(Ϝ) ϖῆμα
𐤒 qoph	Ϝ		(Ϝ)	(Ϝ) ϖῆμα
𐤓 resh	P		P P D	P ϖῆ
𐤔 shin	Σ		Σ Σ	Σ σῖγμα
𐤕 tau	T		T	T ταῖ
	V		V	Y ῥῖλος
	Φ Φ		Θ	Φ ϖῆ
	X +		X	X χῆ
			Ψ Ψ	Ψ ϖῆ
			Ω	Ω ὠμέγα

The ancient Greek alphabets, starting, of course, with the Phoenician alphabet, which is the progenitor of them all*

* From T. Karzis, *Η εποποιΐα της γλώσσας*

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INDEX

Index

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Abdera 28 | Amphipolis 26, 28, 48 |
| Aetia 74 | Anarahi 131 |
| Aetohori 148 | Anastassia 205 |
| Aetos 115 | Anatoliko 44 |
| Agras 139 | Anayennissis 196 |
| Agras, Captain 144 | Andartiko 122 |
| Agriani 205 | Andronicus II Palaeologus 257 |
| Ahlada 115 | Andronicus III Palaeologus 257 |
| Ahladohori 191 | Andzevadzik 52, 54 |
| Aimilianos 74 | Angelohori 160 |
| Akritas 121 | Angistro 191 |
| Alan 235 | Ani 57 |
| Alans 220 | Ano Garefion 148 |
| Alaric 32, 219 | Ano Idroussa 115 |
| Alatopetra 74 | Ano Kamila 196 |
| Alexander I 24, 41 | Ano Kopanos 159 |
| Alexander the Great 26, 214, 259 | Ano Lefki 95 |
| Alistrati 205 | Ano Louzani 237 |
| Alonas 121 | Ano Orini 196 |
| Alusian 54 | Ano Poroia 191 |
| Ambelion 154 | Ano Seli 77 |
| Ambelokipi 95 | Ano Vrondou 196 |
| Amerindians 33, 39 | Antae 220 |
| Amindaion 139 | Anthrakia 74 |
| Ammohori 116 | Antisthenes 25 |
| Ammoudia 196 | Antzevatzes 239 |
| Amphaxitis 23 | Apocaucus 257 |

Aposkep 94
 Aposkepos 94
 Apostol, Captain 167
 Arcadius 218
 Aridaia 51
 Armenohori 115
 Armenovo 115
 Armensko 51, 121
 Arnaia 42
 Armissa 139
 Artavasdus 239
 Aryilos 26
 Aryiroupolis 171
 Asan 59, 60, 250
 Asparuch 39, 52, 223
 Asproklissia 94
 Asproneri 95
 Asprovalta 40
 Asproya 103
 Astrapiris Melikis 64
 Asvestario 154
 Asvestohori 42, 176
 Asvestopetra 131
 Atrapos 115
 Attila 219
 Avars 46
 Avdela 78
 Axioupolis 167
 Aya Fotini 139
 Ayia Anna 95
 Ayia Eleni 196
 Ayia Marina 160
 Ayia Paraskevi 122
 Ayivazov 54
 Ayohori 205
 Ayos Andonios 171
 Ayos Athanassios 139
 Ayos Hristoforos 131
 Ayos Loukas 154

Ayos Pandleimon 116
 Ayos Petros 167
 Ayos Yeoryos 154
 Aytos 115
 Ayvadzidis 54
 Ayvadzik 51
 Ayvajoglou 52
 Ayvatovo 51

 Babani 154
 Babatouta 264
 Babek 246
 Baldja 154
 Baldwin 176
 Balik 254
 Balikas 254
 Balikis 256
 Balikos 256
 Baltadji 236
 Baltchik 254
 Banitsa 115
 Baranska 249
 Bardanes 85
 Bardas 240
 Bardas Phocas 233
 Bardas Sclerus 233
 Barovitsa 167
 Basil I 37, 55, 226, 239
 Basil II 'the Bulgar-slayer' 53, 55, 57,
 59, 228, 239, 241, 246, 261
 Bastarnae 217
 Bela Tserkva 94
 Belegezitae 39
 Belgrade 45
 Belissarius 220, 260
 Belyani 237
 Bessi 30, 212, 215
 Beylik Mahale 196
 Biraltsi 130

Bisaltae 212
 Bisaltia 24
 Bishovo 74
 Bitousha 121
 Bizye 221, 226, 238
 Bobishta 103
 Boboki 103
 Bogomils 51, 58, 243
 Boniface of Montferrat 61
 Boreshnitsa 115
 Boris I 261
 Boris II 53, 227
 Borislav 80
 Boshovtsi 130
 Bottiaea 22, 25
 Bottiaei 19, 22, 25, 27, 41, 47
 Boufi 121
 Boukovik 121
 Boulgaroblats 103
 Boura 74
 Boutchevo 237
 Bouyouk Mahale 191
 Boyemitsa 167
 Brenitsa 121
 Brestovats 237
 Brnashovo 237
 Bryges 18, 19
 Burtzes 240
 Buterich 32

 Callinice 233
 Cameniates 43
 Cantacuzene, John 249
 Capheri 43
 Cappadocia 57
 Catalans 67
 Cecaumenus 60
 Chevetot 249
 Cicones 211

Comnena, Anna 234, 248
 Comnenus, Alexius 58, 248
 Comnenus, Ducas 61
 Constans 42
 Constantine Porphyrogenetus 55, 239
 Constantine the Great 31
 Constantine V Copronymus 231
 Constantine XI Palaeologus 258
 Constantsa 216, 224, 260
 Crestonia 24
 Crestonians 25, 26, 212
 Curcuas 239
 Cvijic 65
 Cyril 225, 261

 Dacians 212
 Dafnoudi 199
 Daout Bali 176
 Daoutchevo 237
 Dardania 28
 Dardanii 27, 30
 Davdjova 235
 David 60
 Debeni 94
 Debrets 131
 Decapolites, Gregory 39
 Deli Orman 243
 Delno 74
 Dendrochori 94
 Dentheletae 30
 Despotis 74
 Diakos 74
 Diavata 238
 Dikaia 20
 Dimitritsion 196
 Dion 29
 Dionysopolis 215
 Dipotamos 171
 Dispilio 94

Dobrotitch 258
 Dobrudja 63, 220, 241, 254
 Doliani 94
 Dolno Frashtani 196
 Dolno Gramatikovo 139
 Dolno Kleshtina 122
 Dolno Kotori 115
 Dolno Rodino 139
 Dotsikon 74
 Doupaki 94
 Douroutovo 131
 Dovrani 74
 Doxaras 74
 Doxato 36, 38
 Drama 26, 36
 Dranitchi 94
 Dranova 205
 Dranoveni 94
 Draviskos 26
 Dremiglava 184
 Drimos 184
 Droguvitae 44
 Droguvitia 44
 Drossero 131
 Drzhilovitis 177
 Dushan, Stephen 67
 Dzefraïtis 251
 Dzefrios 251
 Dzeffronis 251

 Edessa 19, 22, 32, 52
 Edoni 23, 24, 41, 212
 Egin 238
 Egri Dere 205
 Eïon 26
 Elatos 74
 Elimiotae 20
 Emborio 131
 Eordaea 22

 Eordaei 22
 Eretrians 20
 Ermakia 131
 Ermenovo 115
 Ernach 131
 Erzerum 57
 Essovalta 154
 Ethniko 122
 Eusebius 218
 Evros 58
 Evzoni 167
 Exisou 115
 Ezerets 94
 Ezeritae 43

 Faia Petra 191
 Felion 74
 Fili 74
 Filipaji 74
 Fiska 22
 Flamourio 139
 Flavius Fravithas 219
 Florina 18, 51, 72
 foederati 219
 Folon 233
 Foufas 131
 Frangotch 131
 Franks 33
 Ftelia 94
 Fteri 78

 Gabrakov 54
 Gabreshi 122
 Gadjalis 242, 254
 Gagaouzis 250
 Gagauz 67, 252
 Galatades 154
 Galate 215
 Galatista 42

Galatshista 42
 Gasmoulakis 251
 Gasmouli 251
 Gavros 122
 Gazoros 199
 Genesius 56
 Geoffrey 251
 Gepidae 217
 Getae 212, 216
 Geyve 264
 Ghebr 49
 Giren 235
 Gola 171
 Goleshani 159
 Golo Selo 154
 Gopcevic 44, 51
 Gorentsi 103
 Gornitchevo 115
 Gornitsa 205
 Gorno Grneshevo 148
 Gorno Kotori 115
 Gorno Vlasi 154
 Gosno 94
 Goths 31, 218, 260
 Gougovo 139
 Goumendje 167
 Goumenitsa 167
 Gradebor 176
 Gramatikova 78
 Grammaticus 55
 Granitis 205
 Gratchani 205
 Gratsko 23
 Gravanitides 246
 Grazhdeni 122
 Greek-Armenians (Haihorum) 238
 Grevena 71
 Grintades 74
 Griva 167

 Gyoudele 196
 Gyoutptchevo 154
 Gyouredjik 205

 Hagievo 237
 Haihorum 238
 Halara 122
 Halastra 44
 Halkiopoulos 96
 Hambarli 235
 Hariessa 159
 Haritomeni 199
 Hassan Kioy 131
 Hassanovo 115
 Henry 251
 Heraclea Lyncestis 32
 Heraclius 35
 Herodotus 18
 Heruli 30
 Hilarion, St 51
 Hionohori 196
 Holishta 103
 Homer 211
 Horovishta 199
 Hortero 191
 Hrisa 148
 Hrissoupoli 37
 Hristian Kamila 196
 Hristos 196
 Huns 219, 220
 Huremi 246

 Iconium 60
 Ida 148
 Idomeni 23
 Idraia 148
 Igoumenitsa 50
 Illyricum 31, 35, 222
 IMRO 89, 178

Ipsilo 95
 Irene 228
 Isaurians 221
 Ismit 249
 Istrus 215
 Italians 30
 Itia 30, 116
 Ivanko 250
 Izglibi 94
 Izvor 42
 Izzedin Kaikavuz 63, 252

 Jirecec 236
 John Palaeologus 257
 Jordanes 219
 Justinian I 31

 Kabasnitsa 122
 Kadinovo 154
 Kaikavuz 63, 252, 254
 Kakaraska 196
 Kalabrovo 235, 237
 Kalenik 115
 Kali Rahi 74
 Kali Vrissi 205
 Kalivia 154
 Kallati 215
 Kalliniki 115, 233
 Kallithea 205
 Kalohi 74
 Kalostipis 66
 Kaloyan the *Romaeus*-slayer 60, 250
 Kaloyeritsa 235, 237
 Kamenik 139
 Kantchev 93
 Kapinyan (Kapinyani) 152
 Kara bournar 130
 Karadjova 51
 Karaferia 64

 Karaferides 64
 Karaman 264
 Karavitis 144
 Kardia 131
 Karidia 139
 Kariës 122
 Karli Kioy 196
 Karlikova 205
 Karpi 167
 Kars 57
 Karvouna 252
 Kassandra 25
 Kassandria 29
 Kastaneri 167
 Kastania 33, 77
 Kastanofito 94
 Katerini 22
 Kato Grammatikon 139
 Kato Idroussa 115
 Kato Kamila 196
 Kato Kopanos 159
 Kato Korifi 139
 Kato Louzani 237
 Kato Nevrokopi 205
 Kato Noushka 199
 Kato Orini 196
 Kato Seli 77
 Katranitsa 131
 Kavala 38
 Kavarna 254
 Kayali 176
 Kefalari 94
 Kella 115
 Keraseë 139
 Kimina 176
 Kimissi 191
 Kiparission 74
 Kipourio 74
 Kirtchishta 94

Klaboutchishta 115
 Kladorahi 122
 Kladorap 103, 122
 Klepoushna 205
 Klidi 116
 Klissani 184
 Klissoura 236
 Koinsko 81
 Kokkinoplos 78
 Kolatchevo 235
 Kolivite 154
 Kolokinthou 94
 Koman 59, 131
 Komanitchevo 59
 Komanos 131
 Kondarati 52
 Konoblatti 122
 Konyari 176
 Konyars 263
 Korifi 122, 171
 Korissos 103
 Kornishor 154
 Kornitselovo 81
 Kosmati 74
 Kostenetsi 94
 Kostouryan 152
 Kotas 122
 Kotchegovo 237
 Koulakia 181
 Koumanakos 59
 Koumanelis 59
 Koumanis 59
 Koumanitchevo 103
 Koumanos 59
 Koumanovitch 59
 Koumanovo 59
 Koumli 196
 Kounouy 131
 Koupa 81

 Koupassaris 76
 Koupatsaras 76
 Koupatsaris 76
 Koupatshari 76
 Koushinovo 167
 Kouverianos 47
 Kouveris 47
 Kouveros 47
 Kranionas 94
 Kranohori 94
 Krapeshtina 115
 Kratero 122
 Kresna 37
 Kria Nera 94
 Kriovrissi 131
 Kristallopiti 122
 Kromni 154
 Krontselovo 139
 Kroushari 154
 Kroushorati 115
 Kroushovo 191
 Krova 81
 Krum 37
 Kuber 46
 Kubrat 46
 Kubratov 47
 Kuleon 233
 Kuman 59
 Kumani 58
 Kumanli 59
 Kumanovali 59
 Kumanovski 59
 Kuseon 233
 Kutrigurs 33
 Kyoupri 191

 L'ka 122, 131
 Labanitsa 74
 Lag 122

Lagadas 22
 Lagadia 80
 Lageni 115
 Lahanokipi 94
 Laka 154
 Lakkomata 94
 Larigovo 42
 Latrovo 191
 Lavda 74
 Layina 184
 Layinovo 184
 Lazheni 115
 Lecapenus 55
 Lejean 254
 Lelovo 171
 Leo III the Syrian 231, 238
 Leo IV the Khazar 40
 Leo V the Armenian 239
 Leo VI the Wise 40, 239
 Leptokaria 115
 Leshnitsa 191
 Leskovets 115
 Libinovo 74
 Liki 139
 Lipinitza 74
 Lipintsi 131
 Litchishta 103
 Lithia 103
 Lithoxöou 137
 Liti 184
 Livadi 78
 Liveriadis 249
 Liverios 249
 Lizakos 66
 Lizikos 66
 Lizikos, Michael 66
 Lofi 116
 Loudias 19
 Loumnitsa 80
 Lountsi 80
 Loutovo 94
 Loutraki 148
 Luther 218
 Lyncestae 20
 Lyoubetino 115
 Lysimachus 214
 Maedi 213
 Makrohorio 122
 Malkots 254
 Mameletzes 240
 Mamiconian 239
 Mangalia 254
 Maniaces 240
 Manichaeans 52, 233
 Manov 254
 Manzikert 56
 Marash 231
 Marcian 220
 Marcianopolis 215
 Margarita 139
 Marides 246
 Marina 116
 Maroussa 77
 Marovitsa 81
 Matchoukovo 167
 Maurice 230
 Maurus 46
 Mavrokambos 122
 Mavronaii 74
 Mavronoros 74
 Mavropiyi 130
 Megalo Livadi 80
 Megalohori 191
 Melas 122
 Melemedzis 240
 Melenikitsion 196
 Melev 240

Melias 240
 Melik, Constantine 64
 Melikis 64
 Melin 240
 Melinikitch 196
 Melission 154
 Melissohori 176
 Meliti 116
 Mesembria 231
 Messimer 139
 Messimerion 139
 Messolakos 74
 Messonissi 115
 Messorahi 199
 Metamorfossi 103
 Metaxohori 115, 171
 Methodius 225, 261
 Methone 20, 48
 Michael II 239
 Michael III 240
 Michael IV the Paphlagonian 239
 Midas 19
 Mikho 65
 Mikro Monastiri 176
 Mikrolimni 122
 Mikrolivado 74
 Mikropolis 205
 Milia 78
 Milohori 131
 Miriofito 171
 Mirtati 196
 Moesians 211, 218
 Moglena 51
 Mokreni 103
 Monahitio 74
 Monastiraki 205
 Monophysites 51, 233
 Mousselas 230
 Moussele 230

Mousselim 230
 Moutilovo 171
 Mouzaki 68
 Mussilof 230
 Mygdonia 24
 Nakharars 232
 Nalbant Kioy 130
 Naoussa 18, 21
 Nasr 247
 Nea Zihni 199
 Negotchani 115
 Negovani 184
 Nemantsi 171
 Neohoraki 115
 Neohorouda 176
 Neokastron 236
 Neokazi 115
 Nered 122
 Nestorio 94
 Nestrami 94
 Neveska 69
 Nevolyani 115
 Nevrokopi 36
 Nicephorus 52
 Nicephorus III Botaniates 239
 Nicetas 40
 Nicolas, Count 53
 Nicomedeia 249
 Nicopolis 237
 Nigrita 25
 Niki 115
 Nimfaio 69
 Nissi 139
 Nissiya 139
 Nivista 122
 Nonte 80
 Notia 80
 Nove Selia 235

Novo Selo 139, 176
 Odessa 215
 Odomantes 26, 212
 Odrysiens 213
 Oglos 223
 Oguzi 242
 Ohrid 53, 60, 227
 Oliver 249
 Olorus 25
 Olympias 131
 Olynthus 25
 Omalo 167, 191
 Omorfoklissia 94
 Opsirina 122
 Oraiokastiro 176
 Orehovo 237
 Oresti 20
 Orestie 237
 Orma 148
 Orovnik 122
 Orpheus 22
 Ortakioy 238
 Osin 80
 Osliani 139
 Osman Kamila 196
 Osnitchani 94
 Ossa 184
 Ostima 122
 Ostrogoths 32
 Ostrovo 139
 Ovid 216
 Oxia 103, 121
 Paeones 23, 29, 47, 214
 Paiko 51
 Palaeologus, Michael 252
 Palaistra 115
 Palavatsinis 62

Pangaion 22
 Pannonia 45
 Panorama 74
 Papadia 116
 Papayanni 116
 Paranesti 36
 Parorio 74, 121
 Parsen 49
 Patchinaks 57
 Pateli 116
 Paul the Armenian 233
 Paulicians 233
 Pavlikanika 237
 Pavlikeni 237
 Pazardjik 254
 Pedino 115
 Pefkoto 148
 Pelasgians 25
 Pella 22
 Pendalofos 176
 Perasma 115
 Perdiccas 130
 Perdiccas I 21
 Perdiccas II 213
 Periklia 80
 Perikopi 103
 Perithori 205
 Perivolaki 74
 Persians 50
 Pervuntos 42
 Pesotchnitsa 116
 Petar 250
 Petchenegs 57
 Petersko 116
 Petikladedji 237
 Petorak 116
 Petrea 139
 Petronas 239
 Petropoulaki 94

Petroussa 205
 Petrovo 167
 Petsivas 142
 Peyzanovo 176
 Philippi 28
 Philippopolis 233
 Photius 56, 240
 Phrygians 18, 211
 Pieres 22
 Pieria 22
 Pilaia 42
 Pipiliste 71
 Pirgos 131
 Piryi 205
 Plovdiv: see Philippopolis 233
 Pod 139
 Polianemo 94
 Polikarpi 103
 Polikerasso 103
 Polineri 74
 Polipetro 167
 Poliplatanos 115
 Polipotamos 122
 Polyani (Polyani) 152
 Pomaks 38, 244
 Pompey 29
 Popovo 171
 Poria 94
 Porna 199
 Posdivitsa 122
 Potchep 139
 Pozhar 140
 Prassino 122
 Prekopana 103
 Preslav 227
 Proastio 131
 Procopius 33
 Profitis 184
 Promahi 148

Prosnik 196
 Prosotsani 205
 Prosvoron 74
 Proti 122
 Protobulgarians 39
 Psarades 112
 Psohori 94
 Radigozhe 94
 Radomir 154
 Radounishta 131
 Ragaves 238
 Rahova 199
 Rainbow 128
 Rakita 131
 Rakovo 122
 Ramna 167, 191
 Rantsi 131
 Ressenia 64
 Rhodope 37
 Ripsimi 54
 Romanski 265
 Rosna 116
 Rossilovo 139, 199
 Roulia 122
 Runchini 42
 Ryahovo 74
 Sacromontesians 219
 Sagoudatae 45
 Sakoulevo 116
 Saliveros 249
 Samar 139
 Samarina 77
 Samarion 139
 Samuel 54, 227, 244
 Sapaei 212
 Sarakatsani 48
 Sarakino 139

Sarakinovo 139
 Sarganaii 74
 Sarmatians 219
 Saviako 191
 Scordisci 30
 Scyrians 220
 Scythians 213
 Sedes 42, 176
 Segan 139
 Sehovo 167
 Seldjikovo 235
 Senacherim 252
 Serbo-Croats 35
 Sermesiani 46
Servohoria 67
 Seslovo 171
 Setina 116
 Setoma 94
 Sevasto 171
 Severi 221
 Shari Saltuk 254
 Shkrapari 94
 Siatista 71
 Sidirochori 94
 Sidirokastro 190
 Silistria 254
 Simeon the Great 53, 226
 Simocates 68
 Sindos 44
 Sinti 26
 Sirminina 81
 Sirmium 46
 Sisinius 46
 Sisman 61
 Sissani 71
 Sistevo 94
 Sitalces 213
 Sitaria 116
 Sithonia 25

Skhinovo 74
 Skidra 139
 Sklithro 103
 Skopje 27
 Skopos 116
 Skotoussa 196
 Skra 80
 Smardeshi 122
 Smilian 246
 Smoleani 36, 37, 246
 Smolian 246
 Sohos 42, 184
 Sokievo 237
 Sorovitch 139
 Souho 184
 Spartacus 213
 Spatovo 191
 Spilaio 74
 Staritchani 94
 Stathis 167
 Statista 122
 Stavrodromi 154
 Stavropotamos 103
 Stavros 40
 Stena 94
 Stensko 94
 Stobi 23, 32, 48
 Stoya 68
 Straishta 148
 Stratoniki 40, 42
 Strebeno 103
 Strezovo 171
 Strimonohori 191
 Strymonic Gulf 40
 Strymonii 42
 Sveti Gyorgyi 154

 Tachella 235
 Taron 55

Tartars 242
 Tchelebi, Evliya 254
 Tchemtchik 57, 233
 Tchepens 246
 Tchepinko 246
 Tchepni 246
 Tchereshnitsa 103
 Tchernovishta 122
 Tchetal Orman 254
 Tchiflidjik 191
 Tchiprovats 235
 Tchitaks 242
 Tchitchig's 154
 Tchoutcholi 196
 Tehovo 139
 Tekeli 44
 Teledzidis 225
 Telesdji 52
 Telets 225
 Temenids 21
 Teovo 139
 Teres 213
 Terter 244
 Themistocles 25
 Theodora 239
 Theodorakion 148
 Theodoric the Great 32
 Theodosius the Great 32
 Theophanes 68
 Theophilus 55, 239
 Theophylact 55
 Thermi 176
 Tholos 201
 Thucydides 25
 Tihio 103
 Tiholishta 103
 Tikveni 94
 Tirnovovo 122
 Tirsia 122

Titov Veles 48
 Tomis 215
 Tornev 55
 Tornik 55
 Tornikidis 55
 Tornikios, Asot 55
 Tornikios, John 55
 Toshilovo 167
 Toudourtsi 148
 Touria 122
 Toussi 74
 Trascalisaecus 32
 Trebino 131
 Trepishta 131
 Tressino 148
 Triandafillia 115
 Triballi 213
 Trigono 122
 Trikala 176
 Trikomo 74
 Tripotamos 116
 Trivouno 122
 Trnitchevitsa 235
 Tsakoni 148
 Tsarkovian 77
 Tsernareka 81, 167
 Tserovo 116
 Tsimisce 55
 Tsingeli 191
 Tsitakis 257
 Tsitaklis 257
 Tsitakoglou 257
 Tsouma 81
 Tsouryaka 74
 Tsvash 225
 Tylis 214

 Uzi 59, 241, 263
 Vakouf Kioy 116

Valahades 76
 Valens 32
 Valkoyanev 139
 Valmada 176
 Valtotopi 196
 Vamvakofito 191
 Varang 249
 Varangas 249
 Varangians 249
 Varangis 249
 Vardar Turks 50
 Varena 237
 Varikon 103
 Varkarides 179
 Varna 254
 Vassilias 103
 Vassilika 42
 Vatikiotis 188
 Vatothori 121
 Verga 103
 Veria 18, 44
 Vermio (Bermium) 19
 Vertekop 139
 Veryina 22
 Veshista 160
 Vevi 115
 Virbeni 116
 Vishani 103
 Visigoths 31, 219
 Vissinia 103
 Vissoka 184
 Vissotchani 205
 Vitalianus 220
 Vlach Koli 75
 Vladovo 139
 Vlahoklissoura 71
 Vlaski 80
 Vlaskides 80
 Vlasti 72
 Vlatsi 71
 Vodentsiko 74
 Vodonitsa 62
 Volanda 77
 Volax 205
 Volvi 41
 Voshtareni 116
 Voulchishta 148
 Vovlitsion 205
 Vrahia 176
 Vraovo 148
 Vravonitsa 74
 Vrezhot 154
 Vrita 139
 Vrondero 122
 Vronditsa 76
 Vrostena 76
 Weigand 72
 Welsh 33
 Wulfila 218
 Xanthoya 139
 Xelezna 235
 Xerxes 23
 Xiloupolis 184
 Xino Nero 115
 Xirolivadi 77
 Xiropotamos 205
 Xirotopos 196
 Yanissa 154
 Yannitsa 154
 Yantchishta 160
 Yavoryani 139
 Yazijioglu 64
 Yefiroudi 191
 Yenije 264
 Yermanos Karavangelis 90

Yeropiya 94
 Yida 44
 Yimna 154
 Yipsothori 154
 Youndjoular 176
 Youndoular 176
 Yürüks 264
 Zaberdeni 116
 Zagoritchani 103
 Zagorki 264
 Zagorohoria 18
 Zagortsi 264
 Zahovo 74
 Zakas 74
 Zaoutzes 240
 Zdraltsi 94
 Zealots 43
 Zelahovo 66
 Zelenitch 103
 Zelyahova 199
 Zeno 32
 Zervi 139
 Zervohori 160
 Zevgostassi 94
 Zhelovo 122
 Zhoupanishta 94
 Zhouzheltsi 94
 Zigosti 74
 Zihni 199
 Zirnovovo 205
 Zorbatovo 176
 Zborsko 148

Reviews

Ellinikos Vorras (Thessaloniki, 16 October 1988)

Nakratzas also publishes a multitude of historical facts of which both the general public and the average student of history were hitherto ignorant. ... And the question is: do sorcerors' apprentices just get their fingers burnt, or do they light fires?

Ihneftis (Athens, September 1989)

Another recent contribution is a book by George Nakratzas, who, although a doctor of medicine, nonetheless tackles this difficult subject. The lengthy title of his book (*The Close Ethnological Kinship between the Modern Greeks, Bulgarians, and Turks*) gives an indication of its subject matter. ... One wonders whether he means *racial* intermingling (mixing of blood, to put it more simply) or mutual cultural influences, interrelations, and osmosis? If the former (and the numerous historical sources he quotes prove that it did happen to a considerable extent), then ...

Author's note: Despite his lack of charity, Mr Gousgounis is quite right to take me to task for using the term 'ethnological'. The sole purpose of my book is indeed to examine the *racial* kinship between the Balkan peoples. The mistake was due to my efforts in 1988 to retaliate to the nationalistic insults that were being bandied about at the time with regard to the inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia ('Skopjan Gypsies', 'ethnic hotchpotch', and similar gems).

Avyi (Athens, 6 June 1993)

Its abundance of systematically quoted sources makes Nakratzas's two-volume work essential reading for any dispassionate reader who would like to know the true history of this region, undistorted by nationalist myths.

Neo Vima (Naoussa, 16 January 1997)

We've said it before (of another book) and we'll say it again: whether or not one agrees with Nakratzas's views, one has to concede that both his book and his opinions are thoroughly substantiated. Some people may disagree with what he says, or even be infuriated by it. I think this book will make them think again.

Pavlos Zermias (Greece's Image Abroad, I. Sideris Publications, Athens)

George Nakratzas has written two very noteworthy books in a bid to take a stand against nationalism and make a contribution to 'the further development of the ideology of Panbalkan co-operation'. Regardless of whether, or how far, what he has to say on various specific subjects holds water, he has shown courage and an independent mind at a time of murderous racial frenzy in the Balkans.

Nea Anatoli (Athens, 26 April 1998)

Nakratzas's study, with its copious historical data, makes an important contribution to the struggle against nationalism, because its main aim is to demolish one of the fundamental tenets of Greek chauvinism: namely that the modern Greek nation is directly, racially descended from ancient Greece. He marshalls some telling evidence to topple the ideological foundation of chauvinism, the Great Idea, which bears more responsibility than anything else for the tribulations suffered by this people and this land.

Anihnefsis (Thessaloniki, March–April 1998)

If [Nakratzas] intended not to write history, but simply something better than a history book, he's succeeded. ...I could never agree with the bigoted, and therefore stupid, opinion that this book is insignificant. I should say rather that it will be significant for future historians, with regard not so much to period to which it refers, but rather to the period out of which it emerged, i.e. the Greece of the Balkans in the 'nineties.

Hronos (Komotini, 30 January 1998)

[Nakratzas] wants to inspire as many young people as possible with respect for the right to self-determination, provided that the laws and the territorial integrity of the country are respected. He considers it quite unrealistic to suppose that the modern Greeks, despite the enduring continuity of the Greek language, are directly descended from the ancient Greeks. This is Nakratzas's general position, and he calls a number of very important issues into question, inviting all thinking individuals to join the debate. Three thousand copies of the book have been printed.

Author's note: Three thousand copies of the book were originally placed on the market. The number of copies ordered to date has reached 3,500.

Nova Zora (Florina, No 5, April 1999). Organ of Vinozito (Rainbow), the political party of the ethnic Macedonians in Greece.

The writer Dr George Nakratzas has produced an exhaustive study of the settlement, movement, and composition of populations in Macedonia and Thrace in the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, based on a wide spectrum of Greek and foreign literature... A persual of the book reveals that his aim is to show that in these areas of Greece -as in the nearby areas in the neighbouring countries, and, indeed, all over the Balkans- the racial make-up of the people living ther is varied and ultimately indefinable... So we may say of this book that, however hard anyone may try to strip it of its merits (and read it with ill intent), there is one dimension which no reader can ignore or overlook, and that it is its educational aspect. As a responsible citizen, Nakratzas is seeking to convince his fellow citizens that the racism and the sick nationalism that sometimes carry them away are underpinned (in whatever overt or covert form) by racial theory, which in turn is shored up by major interests, immense stupiditi, and terrible psychological complexes. He also wants them to see that only a broad education and an ever vigilant conscience that is not easily entrapped will protect them from people trying to secure their commitment to suspect ideas which, whether small or Great, are always atrocious in their devastating consequences.