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

MACEDONIA and THRACE

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

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THE CLOSE RACIAL KINSHIP BETWEEN
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MACEDONIA and THRACE

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In memory of
my father,
Androklis Nakratzas
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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 1667, 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
not even begun before then. Furthermore, at this time the Macednoi were living in Epiros, more specifically on the western banks 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, Bottiae, 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. 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 Bermio (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 Bottiae lived. Their ethnic origins are not entirely certain. They probably sprang from Cretans of Minoan origin, whom the Achaean had forced to leave their island 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.”
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 Oreti, who settled in the Grevena–Kastoria area; the Elimiotae, who settled in the Kozani–Ptolemáidh area; and the Lyncestae, who settled in the area of Fiorina.

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 Therman 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 Oinonos, 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 Naousa and Veria. They then founded Veroia, 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.
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 Loudas and the Bottiae, 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 Eordaeia, Pieria, and Bottiae.

The area of modern Amdinio, 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.

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 Pangaino, which at the time was purely Thracian territory.

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

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

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 Olynthos (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 colonized by the Bottiaeans; 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. Thucydides was not the only ‘semi-barbarian’ of the ancient period. That category also included Themistocles, Cimon, Antisthenes, and many others.

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
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. Συγκλητοθέα Μ. Β. και συν. (1982). Makodonia 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σχ. 71: "Αργότερα τό ίδιο πέτο άνευ τού Άθηναίων ἱππολόπασσας στίς θρήσκεις τού Τερμανών στρατιωτικής βασιλείας και 10.000 ἔπιθες ἱππόλοπασσάς, καταλαμβάνουσα τόν Ἐννεα Ἡδονήν ὑπ' οὗτος καὶ προβαλλόμενη στή φόρα τούς, γιὰ νὰ διασχίσουν τήν ἄμεσα τόν ἄγνωστος ἱππόλοπασσάς τοῦ Ἐννεα Ἡδονήν." Η συνεργασία της άμεσα τοῦν Δραβιδίου (κοινά στή Δραβίδα) τοίς ἰππόλοπαις νὰ ἐναποκτέσαι τήν ίδια νὰ ἰδρύσουν ἱππόλοπασσάς.


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, σχ. 15): "Macedonia 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, Philippoi, 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 Philippoi.

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 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, Botti, 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?

Roman colonies were established in many cities in Macedonia, including Pella, Dion, and Kassandra in Halkidiki, where the majority of the population was of Greek origin. There were also Roman colonies at Stobi, the Paeonian capital, and Philippoi, 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

8. Ανδρέακης Μ. και συν. (1890), Φιλίππος Βασιλεύς Μακεδών, σελ. 8: “Ο πληθυσμός του βασιλείου, πού θάρηκε τοις 1.000.000 κατοίκους συνολικά, ήταν σχετικά μεγάλο για τα ελληνικά μέτρα. Οι καθοικο Μακεδόνες θα άποκτησαν ένα ποσοστό μόνο του συνόλου, τους δει και τόσο μεγάλο, ...”

9. Σακκαρλής Μ. και συν., Μακεδονία, σελ. 196: “... Ο Πομπήιος μπήκε στο 49 π.Χ. να στρατολογήσει μία λεγέαντες από τούς ελλήνες πολίτες 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 complimentarily 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 Dardani, the Maced, the Bessi, the Denteletae, 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 Paconian 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 ‘Εθνος (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ. Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 201: «Ελληνικός ή Ρωμαίος μέρος τού δικού του ελληνικού τουλάχιστον ἦν ἐλληνικός όρος, ποιότατος ποιό ἐκφράζοντα περὶ δυναμικῆς μιαν ἐπιδράσεως ποιό ἀνακαλύφθηκε πρώτα: “Ἀθηναίοι Λεονταί (5) F. Heuselius ex Italice, quae — Ἀθηναίοι Λοντοι”».

11. Σκορδίτσος Μ. Β. και συν., (1982). Μακεδονία, 4,000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σελ. 193: «Οι Ξεκορμύσιοι, γαλατικό φύλο που έλαβε εγκαταστάσεις στη συμβολή του ζώδιου και του ιουνιάτου, διαπολίτευσε τον υφιστάμενο κάθε νέον — Γενική Εξέταση των βαρβάρων εμπροσθοκή κατα τη διάρκεια της διακρίσεως του Γιάννη Σκορδίτσου Σκορντρίκσκου (93–87 π.Χ.). ‘Έτεινεμένη και Εξαγορασμένες καθώς φαίνεται από τους ‘Μικράντης, ο Μάθας, οι Δάρκιας, οι Σινητοί και άλλα φύλα περιέχουσι από όλες τις πλαγιές ως έρευνες και την έρευνα το κύριο. Οι επαρχίες επαναλαμβάνονται 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 Romans. The word ‘Hellen’ 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.

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 Buteric, 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 Edesa. 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 Trascilissaeus.

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-Slav’s 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 Epirus into Macedonia, massacring and driving out thousands of Illyrians, Bottiae, and Thraciants. 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-Slav’s invasions began around 517, when the Scalvenes, 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. 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 Kassandra in Halkidiki, which was destroyed in 540 by

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13. *Sertin, K. M. (1950). The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, no. 598–Procopius, writing, “Illyrians and Thraces, from the Ionian Sea to the suburbs of Byzantium, were overrun almost every year since Justinian’s accession to the throne by Hunn, Scalvenes, 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 deserts—*but the invasions of the Balkans were just beginning: ‘Ce n’était là qu’un prélude’ (Dvornik).*”
the Bulgars and the Kurgjars. 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 horde of Slavs. It goes without saying that the Slavonic army was in control of the whole of the undeclared 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 was 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 Strymnoni 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 Strymnoni, another Slavonic tribe, settled in the Serrre valley

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.

It therefore seems almost certain that the Smoleani settled in the Nestos valley at the same time as the Strymoni 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, Nevrakopis, and Paramenit) 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'. From other literary sources, we know that the Byzantines used the Smoleani in the war with the Proto-Bulgarians, 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. 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. Theophylact 1. 87. Μοροφεις το δεδομενα άνωμα της Καβάλλας, σελ. 175: «Οδιότως ἔσχατον ἱππότης ἐκ τῆς ἑπταετος Σολώνος Σελάουλος ἐκκυρώθησε ἵππον ἐξ τῆς μιας πλωτον Φίλαππων, ενά μια Σολώνα καὶ τὸ θέρα Σολώνα εὐφράνθησαν ἀδρέντος, ἀνά την ἑπαξίης λίνα πιθάναι το Βασιλείου το Β’, πέρας τον Νέστοι λέ της Ριδίπης, ἐκιν δεδομένονς σημερον ἀκόμη το τεκνωμόν Ίσωδάους».

16. Theophylact 1. 86. Μοροφεις το δεδομενα άνωμα της Καβάλλας, σελ. 176: «Κατὰ τὴν γενεα το Κατὰ τὸν διαλογίαν τον Παναγιωτην Λόρδον θηλας τ’ Σουλανία νομιμονος τον Στεμβόνος Σολάνου δε θηλας, λινα πιθάναις, οι καλαποτοίς ουτος Κλαβίας, οι εγκαταστάθησας ες της κλεες τος Στρόμονος προς ανοίγοντος τον αντικρονος βουλαγμος θηλας επιδεξαμενος, οι Σολάνοι ουμοτ θηλας θηλας θυσιαστής θηλας ες την επικρατει τον Βασιλειον τον Κάτα αντικρονος ισωδάους Περισσόν το 837 ιν τη επιχορηγον των Φίλαππων, θηλας προφανεια αυτοις και προφανεια θηλας μετα των Φίλαππων, ιερομυθης και έμπαλας δε μορια». 
“bishops of the Smoleni” in the diocese of Kavala. We know from the literature that the Philippi Smoleans were Helleneized 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 Smoleans in the theme of the Smoleans 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. Σκοπιέων M. B. καὶ συν., (1982), Μακεδονία. 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σελ. 275: “… η μεικτή αποκοσμωτική και ισθαντή της Μπογκοκαμπίας έδρα της μητρόπολης Θεσσαλονίκης και του Μοχάλην, όπου η μητρόπολη Φιλίας παράλληλα βρίσκεται στα δυτικά του λιμανιού Σλάβων της Μακεδονίας.”

18. Σκοπιέων M. B. και συν., (1982), Μακεδονία. 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σελ. 275: “Αυτά τα γεγονότα κατέληξαν σε τέλος των ομοτών των Ρογχένα, διά των Στρυμονιών και των Σαιρτιάτων, οι οποίοι απέκλεισαν τη Θεσσαλονίκη και έλαβαν το περιμένον της.”

19. Weitman, W., (1978), Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechisch Halbinsel, σελ. 30: “Lebensbeschreibung des Gregor Dekapolis von Isaurien (zwischen 780 und 790 bis 842)… Wie sich der Heilige mitten unter die feindseligen (Strymon-) Slaven begab, was als unerhört Kühnheit galt, worauf diese den Heiligen nicht nur ungestört lassen, sondern ihm noch Geleit geben und den Weg nach Thessaloniki weisen.”

20. Σκοπιέων M. B. και συν., (1982), Μακεδονία. 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και
The Hellenisation of the Strymoni 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, Drogovitae, 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, Stratoni) and Lake Volvi. It was here that the Slavonic tribe of the Runchini settled after 616.

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

22. *Sakkellarios M. B.*, s.v. (1982), Μακεδονία, 4,000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, s.v. 274: «Το πολιτικό θάλαμος του Μεγάλου Αυλού οι πόλεις της ελληνικής ιστορίας και της πρώιμης παραμορφώσεως της ελληνικής εθνικότητας, καθώς και η διάρκεια τους στα διάφορα κέντρα της ελληνικής εθνικότητας (π.χ. στον Ειρηνικό Χώρο) έχει επηρεαστεί από την ελληνική εθνικότητα, την πλειοψηφία των ελληνικών πολιτισμών στη Μακεδονία.»

23. *Sakkellarios M. B.*, s.v. (1982), Μακεδονία, 4,000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, s.v. 262: «Παρατηρείται άθροισμα μεταφοράς, όπως στην περιοχή της βοιωτίας τον Μυριώτικο, πατέρα τον Αγίανδων Ιωαννίκιον, άλλο κλάδο της Μακεδονίας, και την περιοχή Λεβάντα του Απόλλωνα.»

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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 Bottiae 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 Vergina 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 Constans, 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 Constat's time too, culminating in 677 in the siege of Thessaloniki. This grave Byzantine-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 Strymoni 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 (Stratoni), Lariogo (Armaia), Galatshista (Galatista) — still bear witness to the probable Runchinian descent of the modern Greek inhabitants of this area. Gopevic reports that in 1889 the people of Sohos, Asvestohori, and Sedes spoke Slavonic, as did a segment of the population of the villages of Vassiliki and Pitaia. Despite Gopevic'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.


26. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού 'Εθνος, (1981), τόμος θ, Εκστρατικά Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 157: -Ο πατριάρχης Φιλάθρης, ποταμών από τη Θεσσαλονίκη, στον Βιο του 'Αγίου Σάββα τον Νέο, διαφέρει ότι οι πρωτοφανείς της παναγίασες δεν ήταν γεγένοτες ἀλλά 'Εξελεξιδι' και 'κράκαρου' ποταμών ήταν βεβαία κατάρα της θεσσαλονίκης και προέρχονταν διότι οι θεσσαλονίκης περιοχές της απαρτηρούσας (έκ τον εν ερενίν δωχα- τών... συνελύτων...).
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 (Anatomiko), 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 Droguvita, which was part of the metropolitanate of Thessaloniki. There is mention later on of 'mixed villages' in this area, 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


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

Beyond and to the west of Veria we come to the Nauousa-Edessa area, where the Slavonic tribe of the Sagoudaya settled. They are mentioned in the sources because the Emperor forced them to supply the Seressiani 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 Seressiani 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 Seressiani. 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 Proto-Bulgars from Pannonia and thus formed a 'new people', the Seressiani. Both the

27. Σκοκλαρίδης Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), Μακεδονία: 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σελ. 274: «Διατηρήσαμε μακροβιά από της Σλάβους έμειναν στις βαλκανικές περιοχές της βορειοανατολικής Ευρώπης προκειμένου μακροβιά της Σλάβους».

28. Σκοκλαρίδης Μ. Β. και συν., (1982), Μακεδονία: 4.000 χρόνια ελληνικής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού, σελ. 276: «...χαρακτηριστικά διατηρείται και χαρακτηριστικά της άφιξης των Σλάβων ο λέοντας η μάχη τού Βασιλέως ο Βασιλέως προτεινούμενος από τον Βασιλέα Βασιλαίον».


30. Charanis P., (1970), Kouver the chronology of the Aristos and their Ethnological Effects on the regions around Thessalonika, 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 Thessalianian 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 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, Kouvertis, 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, Bottiae, 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 Macedoni; 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 Macedoni, Greeks, and Bottiae.

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. It 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 ethnical 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 Boteini, 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 in masses, 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](image)

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

'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. These Christian Turks may well have been Kumani, Petchenegs, or Uzis, 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 Bottiaeans 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.

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, Varnitsa) are not Slavs, but Slavonicised Persians.

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

Outside Lagadas is the village of Ayvatovo or Ayvdzak. In the nineteenth century, the villagers spoke Slavonic. The name Ayvdzak 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 Ayvdzak 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 Aridea valley, beside Mount Paiko. Specifically, in 1150, St Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena, waged intensive battles against the local heretics, who included Manichaean, Bogomils, and Armenian Monophysites.

The Bogomils were negligible in number. Like the Monophysites, the Manichaean 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 Ayvdzak near Thessaloniki, just outside Aridea there is Kostourian, a placename that is very probably of Armenian origin. There is mention of the villages of Armenoto (Alonas) and Armenovo in Florina prefecture in 1899, the inhabitants of which, according to Copevic, spoke

34. Wilkinson, H. R. (1951). *Maps and politics. A review of the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia*, p. 127. «The Vardariotes 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*, p. 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 Vardariotes. See p. 127)».

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

37. Charaniotis, P. (1972). *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire. Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 278. «There were Armenians in most of the large towns of the empire. They were particularly numerous in Constantinople and also in Thessalonica whereSource: “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. These Christian Turks may well have been Kumani, Petchenegs, or Uzis, 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 Bottiaeans 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.

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Slavonic. And the author of a modern essay on Greek town houses in western Macedonia mentions ‘the Andzavadzik residence’, which is a name of purely Armenian provenance. Andzavadzik 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 descendents 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 Ayvazik 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 terrorize 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 Byzantine–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 Tsimises, 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.
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, while according to Bulgarian sources his father was of Kuman 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 Kuman-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 Ayvazidis; in Bulgaria as Gabrakov and Ayvazov; and in Turkey as Ayvazoglu and Anzewajik.

Of the protagonists on the Byzantine side, the most representative descendant of the Armenians was Basil II himself (976–1025). ‘Bulgar-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. 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 Macedonian Armenian 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. The name Tornikios still survives in Greece today, and Tornik and Tornev in Bulgaria.

Other notable Byzantines of Armenian origin were Emperor John Tzimisces, Emperor Romanus Lecapenus, the latter’s son and perpetrator of a number of scandals Patriarch Theophylact, Patriarch John

41. Charras P., (1972). The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire, vol. 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. Charras P., (1972). The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire, vol. 220: ‘In 1047 one of them, Leo Tornikios, attempted to seize the throne. His failure was less heroic than that of another Armenian, George Mancakes, 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. Charras P., (1972). The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire, vol. 219: ‘Two of these Emperors, Romanus Lecapenus (919–944) and John Tzimiskes (969–976) are definitely known to have been of Armenian origin... Romanus had four sons,... the fourth, Theophylact, he eventually made patriarch’.
Grammaticus, the historian Genestius, 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 A.E., σελ. 52: «...έπελεσα τών μέσα διά καταγόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμενίων βασιλικὸν ὁμόν τῆς Ἀρσενικίδος. Κάτω ἀπὸ αὐτὸ τὸ μυθικό περίπληκτον είναι δυσότατο να διχαστοῦν τὰ λεία δεδομένα δόδων των βασιλέων γεννηθήσες, πεποίησα τό 836, σὲ ἕνα χρόνο τῆς Ἀρμενικὸς, προερχόμενος τοῦ Μαυροβοῦνος. Προερχόταν ὀπὸ εκείνη τὰς χώρας, ποῦ κατάγονταν ἱκανώς ὀπὸ τὴν Ἀρμενία... 'Ὁ Ρωμαίος Άρσενικός (τὸ ἐπικότο τὸ προερχόταν ὀπὸ τὸ τοπωνύμιο Λακτήνος κοντά στὴν Μελεπίνη), γιά λαχανικό ὀπὸ τὴν Ἀρμενία...»

45. Charonis 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 encyclopaedic erudite the Byzantine empire produced. John the Grammatician, patriarch from 837 to 843... Caesar Baradas... and Leo the Philosopher... All four were, at least in part, of Armenian descent. Bardas' Armenian origin has already been pointed out; that of Leo can be inferred from the fact that he was a cousin of John the Grammarians of whose Armenian origins there can be little doubt», and as for Photios, the fact is that his mother, Irene, was the sister of Arnabir...»

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 Tsimisces 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 Tsimisces (Tchentchik) 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 Dobruja 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 Pasto, 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. Kumani must have settled sporadically in Macedonia as well, though we have no historical information about this since it must have happened peacefully.

What we do know is that there was a village called Koumanitchwovo and another further east called Koman near Kastoria; the village of Koumanitchwovo in the Bulgarian sector of Macedonia; and the villages of Koumanovitch and Koumanovsky 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 Kumanovsky 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 Comnenes 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 Comnenes 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 Comnenes 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 Kollindros 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, p. 39: “In 1186 the Bulgarians and the Vlachs rose against the Byzantine emperor under the leadership of two Vlachs, Peter and Asan.”


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.

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 Epirus in 1224.

The creation of the Despotate of Epirus 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 Epirus, who was crowned emperor by the Patriarch of Ohrid.

The collapse of the Asan dynasty’s Bulgaro–Slav 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 Kushtadag 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

Karaferia or Karaferis family, settled in Veria. 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 Lzikos families and ‘sultans’, who were probably members of the royal family of Kaikaevuz.

In contrast to the case of the Seljuk Turks who settled in Yarna, 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 Yaziqjolo, which in turn stems from the oral tradition or the stories he heard in 1450 in Mohammed’s court in Adrianople.

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 Astapiri Melikis and Mihail Lzikos. 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. The documents confirm the historicity of Yazigioglu’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 Lzikos 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 Zimi, near Serres, and the surrounding villages, where their leader, Lzikos, was appointed governor of the area. Although a Christian, Lzikos was granted tax exemption, probably owing to his Seljuk origin. In 1450, Dimitris and Mikhé, sultans from Zimi and members of the Lzikos family, arrived at the court of the Ottoman Sultan of Adrianople, seeking a renewal of the tax exemption that had been granted to Lzikos in 1385. They were very probably the oral sources on which Yazigioglu 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 Zimi and the area corresponding to the villages of Nea Zimi, Messora, and so

50. Charonis P., (1972). The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire, p. 150: “Descendants of the followers of Izzedin were settled in Veroia 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 Melikides, whom we find in the fifteenth century, were apparently an offshoot of these Turks.”

51. Wietek, P., Yaziqjolo Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrouja, p. 652: “The story was obviously told by him to the two brothers from Zikha 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 the diploma since, as we are expressly told, it was for this reason that Bayezid I had granted the privilege.”

52. Zographidou E., Οι χριστιανοί αδελφοί του Ιζίζικαλ Καίκκαος Β’ στην Βέροια, p. 66: “στην ημέρα της έναν από τους Ιζίζικαλ Καίκκαος Β’ ο Μοράτζ Μοράτζ και μετά την θάνατό του έδωσαν τον ορέων”... Αποκάλυψη της ιστορίας... Πρέπει να έχει ήδη εκείνη την εποχή ο Ιζίζικαλ Καίκκαος Β’ περιέχει...”

53. Wietek, P., Yaziqjolo Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrouja, p. 650: “The princes and his son live and die at Karaferia as Muslims, but the children of the latter are baptized on the order of the basilica in the year of his coming to Salonica. It is from one of their descendants, a certain Lzikos, that the town is taken (by the Ottomans) in the time of the grandfather of our Sultan. This Lzikos and his brothers, all valiant infidel warriors, are transferred to Zikha and Lzikos, the eldest of them, is made governor (subash) of that place.”


* Peterm. Mitt. Ergänzungsh. No 130 s. 57. Διαπίστωση των αυτονομείας της πόλης η θρησκεία και οικισμοί της Όραματικά μετά την ημέρα της Ελληνικής εκπροσώπωσης."
on, even in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{54, 55} Kalostip mentions 2,800 ‘Turkish-speaking Greeks’ in the village of Zelyaha or Zelyahovo, i.e. Nea Zihni.\textsuperscript{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.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Map 14: Macedonia in 1342}
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\textsuperscript{56} Καλοστιπ, Ι. Ν., (1885). Μακεδονία, ήτοι μιμήσεως οικονομική, γεωγραφική, ιστορική και εθνολογική της Μακεδονίας, σελ. 68: ‘Έν τῷ συμφωνεῖ τῶν πολιομορφών φαίνεται γλώσσα τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀπαντᾶτε πλὴν τῶν καθαρῶς Ελληνοφωνίαν καὶ κανόνας Βλαχίων (Κρόατον, Μεγέροβον κλ.), Ἀλβανών (Μπολάντα, Στράουντα) καὶ Τουρκοφώνων οὔτε, ὡς τῷ παρά τῆς Σέρβου Ζελάχσον, ἤναν ὁ κάτοικος, Ἔλληνες δέντε, χαλότειν ἐν τῇ οἰκογενείᾳ τῆς τουρκικώς’.

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\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{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 domination in Macedonia lasted only forty-two years before it was overthrown by the Ottoman Turks in 1384.

\textbf{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
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 Epirus, 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 confères 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 ancient Thracians is due on the one hand to the close proximity of major cultures, such as 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 postulated 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 Koursovlah dialect spoken in the Pindos and the Daco-Romanian dialect of Romania. The viewpoint that the

58. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, (1981), Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σσλ. 191: «Τόσες επιστές κατέλαβαν την Καστορια και επέβαλαν έκτος σκέτος στους "Αλβανούς δυνάστες της, τούς δέλφινος Στόγια (Στοία) και Θεόδωρο Μουζάκης».

59. Κατσικάκης, Τ. Μ., (1964), Περί των Βλάχων των ελληνικών χωρών, σσλ. 25: «...επάχθη καὶ ὁ γνώμης ὅτι οἱ Βλάχοι τῶν Ελληνικῶν χωρῶν τουλάχιστον εἰσίν Ελληνες ἐκλατασθενότες κατὰ τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν ἐποχήν...»

60. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σσλ. 166: «Ο ρωμαϊκός άδοστόμος δὲν εἶχε μὲ τὴν ίδια ἐντάσει σὲ δίδυσ τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς δυνατίας. Έκτοτε καὶ τὸ μεγάλα ἐκτάσης ἦτο στοιχὴ Φιλίππος, ἀρκεῖα περιορισμένη στὸ Δόρο. Στὴν Πελα τῶν ἅγεων τουλάχιστον ἦτο και ἕνας συμπαθητικὸς ἀνθρώπινος ποὺ ἐκφράζονταν μὲ δικολατία στὴ λατινική...»

61. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σσλ. 224: «Ο λαός, μὲ τὸ δάκρυ τοῦ Καρακῖλα (212 μΧ), οἱ ρωμαϊκῆς κοινότητες τῆς Ανατολής ἔφηκαν ὡς ἡ πολιτική ἡ πολιτικὴ ἡ περιοχὴ τῆς Ελλάδος. ΝΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΙ ἢ ΕΛΛΗΝΗΚΟΥΣ ΑΤΟΜΑ.
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, Magrovvlachs 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 Romanovvlachs 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 Aromanian population was formerly in the eastern part of northern Epirus 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 (Ipati).

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

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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 Vlahokissoura group, which includes Vlahokissoura, Blatsa (Vlatsi), Sissani, Pipiliste, and Statista (see Map 15). These Vlahokissoura settlements are among the oldest Vlach settlements of all, though it is unknown when these Vlachs abandoned their


   * Blatsa (die Hälfte der Bewohner ist bereits gräznat.)
   * Sissani (Skalmilj) siehe p. 129
   * Pipiliste soll in der Nähe liegen
   * Vlaho-Kissoura (auf der 1. Reise besucht) früher 8000

63. Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1915). The Nomads of the Balkans, o.A. 43. "...the group by Kissoura and Statiana 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 Vlahokissoura group was very large at one time. If one considers that the village of Vlahokissoura 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, Vlahokissoura 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 Pipili had only 200. Sissani had once been a large Vlach village, but it fell into decline when its inhabitants moved to nearby Syatista, which had 3,000 Aromanian Vlachs in 1889. They became so thoroughly Hellenised that many present-day inhabitants of Syatista have no idea of their Vlach origin. The links between Sissani and Syatista are revealed by the title of the bishop of Syatista, who is still termed 'Bishop of Syatista and Sissani'.

Moving in the direction of Florina, we encounter only two Vlach villages, namely Pissodéri and Neveska (Nimfáio). In contrast to the Vlahokissoura group, which became thoroughly Hellenised, there was a large group of Romanianising Vlachs in Nimfáio, 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 Aromanian Vlachs and farmers, but the

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Grevena 20 Häuser (im Winter 200 Familien) 100
Chropista (im Winter durch Fam. aus Gramósti vermeht) 1600
* Schista früher rein aromanisch, fast ganz gräzisiert.
Gopcević gibt 600 aromanische Häuser an 3000+.

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Kupatshari constituted a rare exception to this rule.

D. A. Pouloumou (herself a Kupatshari) mentions the following Kupatshari villages in this specific area: Anthrakia, Vravontsa (mod. Kali Rahi), Grinades (mod. Aimilianos), Zahofo (mod. Trikorno), Zákka, Zígosti (mod. Messolakos), Kaloh, Kipourio, Kosmari, Bishovo (mod. Kiparişis), Lihinovo (mod. Diakos), Mavronai, Mavronoroi, Pallorhori, Spilaio, Skhino (mod. Despotis), and Felion (mod. Fili) (see Table 1).
Table 1
The Kupatshari villages of Grevena prefecture

| Anthrakia  | Lipinita (Perivolaki) |
| Bishovo (Kiparision)  | Mavronoros |
| Boura (Doxaras)  | Mavronoros |
| Delno (Prosvoron)  | Monahito |
| Dotsikon  | Ryahovo (Parorio) |
| Dovrani (Elatos)  | Sarganaii (Panorama) |
| Felion (Fili)  | Skhinoio (Despotis) |
| Filipai  | Spilaio |
| Grinudas (Aimilianos)  | Tsouryaka (Aetta) |
| Kaloi (Kalohion)  | Toussi (Alapotra) |
| Kipourio  | Vodentsiko (Polineri) |
| Kosmati  | Vravanitsa (Kali Rahi) |
| Labanitsa (Mikrolivado)  | Zahovo (Trikomo) |
| Lavda  | Zakas |
| Libinovo (Diakos)  | Zogosti (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 men and many of the women still spoke Vlach, while others, such as Zahovo/Trikomo, were more or less completely Hellenised. Wace and Thomson also include Mavronovo and Filipai among the Kupatshari villages, and note that the customs in the latter more closely resembled the customs of Samaria than those of the other Kupatshari villages.⁶⁷

Weigand mentions the following as Kupatshari villages in 1895: Lavda, Lipinita (mod. Perivolaki), Sarganai (mod. Panorama), Kipourio, and Vodentsico (Polineri).⁶⁶ All this information in the literature is rounded off by the information provided by Major Skinhas, 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 Kolli, which comprised twenty-four Vlach and Kupatshari villages. Most of these are recorded by the aforementioned writers; the rest are: Toussi (mod. Alapotra), Boura (mod. Doxaras), Dovrani (mod. Elatos), Delno (mod. Prosvoron), Ryahovo (mod. Parorio), and Tsouryaka (mod. Aetta).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.⁶⁸ The people of the highest of their villages, such as Kipourio and Philippas, etc.


69. Σμίντζη, Ν. Θ., (1886), Οδηγοποιικα Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας - Ηπείρου, σελ. 50:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Βλάχοι κώλι</th>
<th>κιλ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Σερήλας</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Εκδύνα</td>
<td>1520</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Μπέλα</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Σεζά</td>
<td>310</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Ηλεούσα</td>
<td>3200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Μαθούρα</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Παπάσογια</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Τρικού</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Τρικού</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Βουνόδρομο</td>
<td>190</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Τισπέ</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Σμίντζη</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Λάζαρ</td>
<td>140</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 zh, sh, shh, and dh. They inhabit the district between Grevena and the pure Vlach villages of Pindos. At one of their villages, Labanitsa, which is only half Hellenized, we obtained some insight as to the process by which denominalization 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
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 Arromanian 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, Koupatseris, and Koupasaris 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 Statista. Until 1924, when they left for Turkey under the terms of the exchange of populations, they spoke Greek. Though they had embraced Islam, the Valahades kept their churches in good condition, particularly in the villages of Vrosten, Vroudtisa, and Vinani, 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 Ίδρυμα (1981), Τόμος ΙΑ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 124: «...μετά τον τοιχοφυτοχωρικό πόλεμο το 1737-1739. Τότε έλατε παλαιότερα εξαιρετικά εκτός των Βαλαδέων Βαλαδέων και περιοχικά των Γρεβενών (πού διατηρήθηκε το σημείο της Ελληνικής φονικάς δόξας ως την εκκλησιά της Βαλαδίων της περιοχής των Γρεβενών πού διατηρήθηκε αυτό το πρώτο και το 1923)...»

71. Hasluck, F. W., (1921), The crypto-christians of Trebizond, σελ. 202: «...that the Valachadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrosten, Bromitza 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, Veria, and Olympus

The Vlach villages of Veria are: Voland, Kato Seli, Ano Seli, Maroussa, Doliann, Xirolivadi, Kastoria, and Tsarkovian. The inhabitants of the Vermion villages originally came from Moskopholi, Samaria, Avedla, 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, R. (1914), The Nomads of the Balkans, σελ. 46: «...and in Shatishia and Kozhani in which two latter towns the hellenized Vlachs form the strongest part of the Greek population».
other six villages. 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 Epirus. The inhabitants of the more northerly Gramatikova were also Albanian Vlachs.

This ethnological survey shows that the whole of the population of Veria 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 Aromanian Vlachs and 2,500 were Greeks.

Moving southwards, we come to Olympus, which was the home of the Olympus group of Vlachs. Purely Vlach villages were Livadi, Millea, Fteri, and Kokkinopilos, 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. 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 Olimios, an eighteenth-century armatolos from Fteri. The inhabitants of Livadi migrated chiefly to Servia and Katerini, which explains why the population fell from eight thousand to three thousand.

Thebesoniki – Paiko (Karadjova)

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

Map 18: The Karadjova Vlachs of Paiko

73. Weigand, G., (1895). Die Aromanen Ethnografische - philologisch - historische Untersuchung, ocl. 287: "Gruppe der Dörfer des Nangu-Gebirges westlich von Veria: Xerovradhi auf dem Daxberge (150 Nufus) 450 * Doljan (82 Nufus) 250 * Selja a, 400 Familien h, 200 Familien der Fanarioten 3000 * Volada (41 Nufus) 120 * Kastanja (64 Nufus) 200 * Maruca (121 Nufus) 400 * Tsarikovran (41 Nufus) 120..."
74. Wace, A. Thomson, R. (1914). The Nomads of the Balkans, ocl. 212: "The only other Vlach village in these hills is Gramatikova which is a Warberot settlement."
Livadi on Olympus and Vlahoklistisoura near Kastoria. Even today there are five thousand Thessalians whose distant roots lie in Vlahoklistisoura. Weigand reports that in 1889 a large number of Hellenised Vlachs in Thessaloniki lived in the Ayia Fotini, Ayios Nikolaos, and Ayos Athanasios districts.70

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 Paiko, which is the home of the Turko-Mongolian Karadzavalides, Vlachs who used to call themselves Vlaski or Vlaskides. Apart from the Aromanian Vlachs of Megalo Livadi, all the inhabitants of Paiko 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 Kardjova, on Paiko. This is why the captives were referred to as ‘Moglena Vlachs’.71 The Petchenegs were termed ‘Vlachs’ because they spoke the Daco-Romanian dialect they had learnt in Romania, a dialect that is incomprehensible to the Aromanian Vlachs of Paiko. By 1898, the Hellenised descendants of Alexius’ Petcheneg prisoners numbered 14,000 and lived in the villages of Nonte (Notia), Osin (Arhangelos), Lountsi (Lagadia), Lounmitsa (Skra), Borislav (Periklia), Koupà, Tsemareka, Tsonna, Marovitsa, Sirmirina, and Koinisko.72 The last two villages are on the Macedonian side of Paiko; and the completely Slavonised villages of Kornitselovo and Krova are also mentioned in other literary sources as ‘Moglena-Vlach’ villages.73

All the Paiko 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 Slavonised inhabitants of Koinisko and Sirmirina, in Macedonian territory, were also Petchenegs. And there were colonies of Bulgarianised Petchenegs around Sofia.74


71. Kastriotis, P. and Ts. (1984). Peri ton Bleýon ton ellínikon choriov, st. el. 35: «Estai gnwstiká en téis Ístoriá òti ó Mouglenoi Bélako einai diapoi twn Patruná wneis tois evrous twn kóloun kai tois oríziak». Oi 'Alekatóres Komvnií kathárpano kanontai. Kátoixoun autó toues stin theóhiani tou Ósini (Móglona), Lountsi (Lagadia), Lounmitsa (Skra), Borislav (Periklia), Koi nosko (Kouska) kai to Kordelovo tis Noute... 


73. Jirecek, C. (1886). Návraty istorie, ocl. 56: «...v plachýmou káthou ois 'Arkastókikoi agogónikano me tis teoriá kai ósota stin xorà tis periochís. Ósía kai Lóümnta (Leváldia), MèdrŠska (Elynas), Köntssko (Kontsko), Xómba, Kúpsa, Óskóna (Arxhángelos), Ólóvnta (Ska), kai Xerínov. Plagýmou éna kai ois mohammedanikoi kouboolaki Noute me 900 perisfoi ohrounta égklaipomenés stis 1759 kathos kai ois ékantinkoi Xómba... Sti Karpézida ois plachýmikoi ékou dunánta periusastérresi epoihéses apo tis boulwpráktik, óste òa kólmazoun xorà, ótis ois 'Arkastóko Łokbo, o Kómpa kai ois Tómmos Pekó éignan tleis eklóbooun».

Moving out of Serres town, we find numerous Vlachs in the northern part of the prefecture; 500 in Sidirokastro, 800 in Ano Poroi, 325 in Ramna (Omalos), and 200 in Ali-Baba.\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{10} 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.

\textbf{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.


\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Wace, A., Thomson, B., (1914). The Nomads of the Balkans.} \textit{loc. cit. 198:}—"... at Dzhumaia which has three hundred families from Bainsa, Poiri, Nigrita, Melnik, Nevrekop and at Peshtera on Rhodope.".
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 Ćvijić of Belgrade University, a scholar of international repute, reflects the views expressed in most of the European literature. One notable inconsistency on Ćvijić’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 20: The ethnological map drawn by Sotiriadis

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. Vociopoulou, A. (1970), Origins of the Greek - Nation 1204-1461, ch. 32: «He preferred the more challenging apostolate in Grevena among a people who were predo-minantly uncivilized and spoke a foreign language.»
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 Vlahokissoura group, who lived in Vlahokissoura, Vlatsi, Sissani, and Stiatista. These Vlachs abandoned the nomadic life very early on and embraced Greek culture to the point where many modern natives of Stiatista 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. As far as the Greeks of Grevena are concerned, most of them were Kupatshari and Hassiots. 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. They were not in fact Turks, but Albanians, led by Ali Farmaki, who was closely related to the celebrated freedom fighter Theodoros Kolokotronis.

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.

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89. Von den Griechen sind die allermeisten, wenn nicht alle, sogenannte “Kupatshari” d.h. Aromunen,... Von einer ganzen Anzahl von Dörfern weiß man bestimmt, daß sie früher arischen Zügen waren, wie z. B. in Lava, Lipnista, Šarganli, Kipurjie, Vudinsko u. a. m.»
91. Weize, M. G., (1907), Οι Αλβανοί κατά την κυρία Ελλάδα και την Πελοπόννησο, Έκδοσεις Σπάρτης, S. 84: «... τού Θεοδωρού Κολοκοτρώνη, δέ τον εσπεραστέον των Ἑλλήνων ‘Αρματολικόν καὶ τοῦ νεὰ Λαλά Τουρκοκλάνδον φύλου τοῦ Ἀλβ. Φορμάκη, στενευμένον συνεδρυμένον μετὰ τοῦ οὖρου Ἑράκλειος διὰ ἀρχαίως εἰκονογένεσιαν δεξιώματα.»
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. Romani).

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 Rumliki).

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 Paisiy 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 Asparuh’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: Patriarchs with Greek national consciousness, Exarchs with Bulgarian national consciousness, and Archbishops 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 fought 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 are at least described by the Metropolitan of Kastoria, Yerouman 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.’

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 massacre of murder, persecution, and population exchanges, whether compulsory or otherwise.

92. Κομπαστίδης Γερμανίας: Απογνωμονεύοντα. Ο Μακεδονικός Άγνοιας, σχ. 32:
Τότε άρα όμως την Βουλγαρική Επανάσταση επηρέασε η φρίκη των Βουλγάρων, μετά μέσα στο γεγονός και εκφράσθη στην βρέχη. Επείτε, σκέψεις, ντροπά, όργανα διδακτολογίας, χάρτες, βιβλιοθήκες, εκκλησίας του εξήγησαν ίδσια. Τότε ήταν η καταστροφή που υπό το σχέδιο αυτό δεν έφθάνει το σχέδιο. Μα όταν τα σχέδια της ιστορίας ρώσες τους τι έκαναν.

Τάκε συνεχίζονται και τα γεγονότα δευτερευτή Βουλγαρικής Κοινότητας της Καστορινης και Φιλάρτων Αδος Παντελικός Τράκκαρ —— είχε πάντα κάτω στα ηγετικά, της Βουλγαρίας, του Κορσότου και της Επάνω του Καταλήνου, ο Ναυτικός Α.ΟΔ Ο Τράκκαρ και ο Ευγένιος Καμίνος, που συνεχίζονταν έπειτα σε υπόλοιπο τον Ευγένη και το Ναυτικό στην Δημοκρατία.

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 Konstantinos 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 Proto-Bulgarian 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 εμπορική ανταλλαγή των ελληνικών μεταξύ Ελλάδος και Τουρκίας, σχ. 26: Όσον, στη Ναυτικό, στη σεζόν ικανοποίησης του 1922 των μελών της Ευρωπαϊκής Ερευνητικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος και της Ευρωπαϊκής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος, αποδείχθηκε ότι έχει πάντα κάτω στα ηγετικά, της Βουλγαρίας, του Κορσότου και της Επάνω του Καταλήνου, ο Ναυτικός Α.ΟΔ Ο Τράκκαρ και ο Ευγένιος Καμίνος, που συνεχίζονταν έπειτα σε υπόλοιπο τον Ευγένη και το Ναυτικό στην Δημοκρατία.
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 ethnogenic 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 Macedon; 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 Orestito 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 Orestito 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.

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.

With regard to the mother tongue and the number of the inhabitants in the villages of the Kastoria area in 1900, Kanchchev’s information is universally considered to be the most accurate. 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), Zdratzi (mod. Ambelokipi), Shkrapari (mod. Asproneri), Beba Tserka (mod. Asprokllisia), Osmitzani (mod. Kastanofito), Gosno (mod. Lahanokipi), Psorori (mod. Ipsilo), Stariotzani (mod. Lakkomata), Ludovo (mod. Kria Nera), Galishta (mod. Omorokllisia), Radigoshe (mod. Ayia Anna), Zhovzeltzi (mod. Spilaia), Doloni (mod. Zevgostassi), Orontzehi (mod. Kranthori), Grathe (mod. Ftelia), Stensko (mod. Stena), Nestram (mod. Nestorio), and Ezerets (mod. Petropoulaki) (see Map 23).

Modern Greek writers have produced extensive studies confirming Kanchev’s information.

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

95. Μαρτζέζες Ν. I., (1886). Εμείς οι Μακεδόνες (σ. 111: „Τέσσαρα χρόνια αρχάγγελος, το 1892, διακόπησε εξίσου αναρκτικά η κρατική επιχείρηση προς 44 χωριά της επαρχίας Κωστορίας. Από αυτά τα 26 ήταν πλημμυρώνα με τα 11 ορθοδόξων.”)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aposkep (Aposkepos)</td>
<td>0 + 740</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bela Tserkva, Bela Tsrkva (Asprokliassia)</td>
<td>0 + 1,650</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diben, D’mbeni (Dendrobori)</td>
<td>0 + 224</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doleni, Doliani (Zevgostassia)</td>
<td>0 + 480</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doupjak, Doupaki (Dispilio)</td>
<td>0 + 1,207</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dronitchi, Drenitchevo (Kranobori)</td>
<td>20 + 280</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dranoviani, Drenoveni (Kranonas)</td>
<td>0 + 280</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezerets (Petropoulaki)</td>
<td>0 + 105</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galishta (Omorofokia)</td>
<td>160 + 600</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>113 (27.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosno (Lahanokipi)</td>
<td>0 + 152</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratche, Grentchi (Ftelia)</td>
<td>0 + 195</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izglibi, Izglibe (Poria)</td>
<td>0 + 430</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirchishta, Kirchishta (Polianemo)</td>
<td>30 + 385</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kostenetsi, Kosinet (Yeropiyi)</td>
<td>0 + 1,360</td>
<td>1,021</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>50 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludovo, Lutovo (Kria Nera)</td>
<td>0 + 168</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniak (Maniaki)</td>
<td>0 + 128</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the western part of Kastoria prefecture
According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the inhabitants of the Slavonic-speaking village of Dranitsi/Kranohori were Exarchists.99 A report by the Greek General Staff refers to Osnitchani/

99. Χαλκίππουλος Α., (1910), Μακεδονία: Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βουλγαρικών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μακεδονίας, σελ. 100:
2. ΚΑΛΕΤΣΑΚΟΣ Γ.Α.

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

Kastanofito as an ‘Exarchist village’, which was attacked by Greek partisans.100 The same report describes Stariarchani/Lakkomata and Ezerets/Petrooulosaki as ‘schismatic villages’,101 meaning Slavonic-speaking and at the same time Bulgarian-minded.

Of the Slavonic-speaking villages mentioned by Kanchev, only Galishta/Ormoniklia, according to the 1923 census, received a significant number of Asia Minor refugees (27.9 per cent of the total population), who replaced the departing Muslims. 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 1923 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

Νεότερο, 1.000 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Οχιάνα 60 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Τούρκα 325 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Προφήτες 140 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Βιόπαντες 950 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Δραπέτες 577 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Σωρίδια 830 ορθόδοξοι 'Ελληνες υπό την βουλγαρική τρομοκρατία από το 1904 και 750 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες,
Γεμιστία 100 ορθόδοξοι 'Ελληνες υπό την βουλγαρική τρομοκρατία από το 1904 και 200 σχηματικοί βουλγαριώντες.

100. 'Εκδοση Δημοσίων του Εισαγωγών Στρατού, (1979). Ο Μακεδονικός Ασίατης και η εις έργας Εργάτης, σελ. 216: 134. Την 4η Μαΐου ο Βλαχής έδωσε διάταγμα του Κέντρου Μοναστηριακού να προσβεί το Ελληνικό για την Τηλεδιάσκεψη τους Καπονίζουντας.
101. 'Εκδοση Δημοσίων του Εισαγωγών Στρατού, (1979). Ο Μακεδονικός Ασίατης και η εις έργας Εργάτης, σελ. 248. Την 18η Μαΐου προσβάλε το σχηματικό χωριό Σπεριάνα (Λουλούδι), εις το οποίο, προς τη συμβολή έντονου αντίστασης των ενδεχόμενων απεραντήθηκε από του επισκόπη διεδράσας; την επιμένου την θέση του σώματος του υπό τον οποίον η πολιορκημένη ακτιβίστησε σε περιοχή για το σχηματικό χωριό Λουλούδι (Σπεριάνα) και μετά μερικών αντίστασης επιμάχοτα διεδράσας.
concerned, because only 333 people settled there before the Asia Minor Disaster; eighty-eight of them in Hroupishta (Argos Orestiko). 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 82,099 Greek-speaking inhabitants in the Florina and Kastoria area and 38,566 who spoke the ‘Macedonoslavonic’ language; but in the census of 1951, the ‘Macedonoslavonic’ language spoken in the prefecture of Kastoria had been renamed ‘Slavonic’, and was spoken by 1,009 inhabitants.

This sort of play 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 blamed 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 Epirus is Greek.’ And she goes on to cite part of the second edition of the present volume:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2'. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΩΛΙΝΑΣ</th>
<th>Γενικά σύνολον</th>
<th>46,407</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ελληνική</td>
<td>44,130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τουρκική</td>
<td>861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σλαβική</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κουσοβοδωλασιακή</td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αλβανική</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ποσοτική</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρμενική</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αρμενική τουρκική</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ρουμανική</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ιταλική</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αγγλική</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ιταλική</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γερμανική</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ιταλική</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σύνολον ξένων γλώσσων</td>
<td>2.277</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to these theories, even the Greeks of Epirus are a melange of Hellenised Albanians, Slavs, and Vlachs. Descendants of the ancient Greeks, if they exist at all, are to be found only on the coast.  

The text she refers to quite clearly concerns ‘the Greeks of Epirus’, 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 Epirus 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. Kolokointiou), Izglibi (mod. Pora), Apostepe (mod. Apostepeos), Seima (mod. Kefalari), Sistavo (mod. Sidirohori), Dranovian (mod. Kranionas), Dibeni (mod. Dendrohori), Kosteneti (mod. Yeropiti), and Kirchishta (mod. Polianemo) (see Map 23).

Modern Greek writers confirm what Kantchev says, for they describe Zhoupanishta/Ano Lefki, Apostepe/Apostepeos, and Sistavo Sidirohori as purely Bulgarian — i.e. Slavonic-speaking — villages. 

According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the inhabitants of the Slavonic-speaking villages of Dibeni/Dendrohori, Orman/Kato Lefki, and Izglibi/Pora were all Exarchists. In the Greek General Staff’s publication, the village of Kostanishta (mod. Yeropiti) is described as a strong centre of Bulgarian partisans that was attacked by Greek partisans, and the Slavonic-speaking villages of Zhoupanishta/Ano Lefki, Vapori/Pimeniko, and Apostepe/Apostepeos as Exarchist villages.

Of the Slavonic-speaking villages mentioned by Kantchev, according to the 1928 census a significant number of refugees settled only in Kosteneti/Yeropiti, 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).
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, Kanchev lists the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Kladorap (mod. Metamorfossi), Tiholisha (mod. Tiho), Litchisha (mod. Polikarpi), Bomboki (mod. Stavropotamos), Koumanitcheu (mod. Lithia), and Gorentsi (mod. Korissos); and north-east of the lake, from south to north: Mokreni (mod. Varikon), Bobishta (mod. Verga), Zagoritchensi (mod. Vassiliias), Holisha (mod. Melissotopos), Tchereshnitsa (mod. Polikerasso), Bougaroblats (mod. Oxia), Vishani (mod. Vissinia), Prekopana (mod. Perikopi), Sreibeno (mod. Aspyra), and Zelenitch (mod. Sklihro) (see Map 24).

That these villages were indeed Slavonic-speaking is confirmed by some extremely nationalistic Greek writers, who describe Bougaroblats/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](image)

**Table 3**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kanchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1923 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bobishta (Veriga)</td>
<td>0 + 684</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomboki, B’mboki (Stavropotamos)</td>
<td>0 + 260</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougaroblats, Blatcha (Oxia)</td>
<td>0 + 555</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorentsi (Korissos)</td>
<td>550 + 1,800</td>
<td>1,731</td>
<td>1,216</td>
<td>252 (17.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holisha, Olihta (Melissotopos)</td>
<td>0 + 390</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kladorap</td>
<td>0 + 190</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koumanitcheu (Lithia)</td>
<td>150 + 1,020</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>59 (9.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litchisha (Polikarpi)</td>
<td>120 + 270</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>195 (33.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mokreni (Varikon)</td>
<td>0 + 1,180</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prekopana (Perikopi)</td>
<td>0 + 1,100</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sreibeno, Srebreno (Aspyra)</td>
<td>0 + 560</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchereshnitsa (Polikerasso)</td>
<td>0 + 520</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiholisha, Tiotlisha (Tiho)</td>
<td>0 + 500</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishani, Visseni (Vissinia)</td>
<td>0 + 1,150</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagoritchensi (Vassiliias)</td>
<td>0 + 3,300</td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>72 (9.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zelenitch (Sklihro)</td>
<td>572 + 1,800</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>1,004</td>
<td>346 (25.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Halkiopoulos reports that in 1910 the Slavonic inhabitants of Boulgaroblati/Oxia and Kounamitchev/Lithia were exclusively Exarchists, while in the villages of Zagorichani/Vassilias and Zelenitch/Skithro the Exarchists made up about 75 per cent of the population.99,116

As regards the villages in Table 3, according to the 1928 census a significant number of refugees settled only in Gorenitsi/Korissos (making up 17.2 per cent of the population), Zagorichani/Vassilias (9.4%), Zelenitch/Skithro (25.7%), Kounamitchev/Lithia (9.2%), and Litchishta/Poliakrpi (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 Hroupitsa/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/Skithro 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/Virikon and eighteen fellow fighters. As soon as Katehakis’ 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

99 116
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.\textsuperscript{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 Zagoritchan/Vassilias. Yermanos Karavangelis, Metropolis of Kastoria, tells us that many of the Zagoritchan/Vassilias villagers had helped to burn down the Patriarchal monasteries of Tsirilovo and Silveni (Koromilia), and two or three monks had been burnt alive. On 25 March 1905, Captain Vardas led three hundred partisans into Zagoritchan/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 Blata/Vlasti, and from Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists in Kastoria and Strebano/Asproya. Karavangelis himself supplied Vardas with a list of those whom he ‘should not kill’. The obsesión and ruthless inhumanity of that time are clearly apparent in the memoirs of Karavangelis, who wrote, shockingly, of the events at Zagoritchan/Vassilias: ‘And so our people remained free and strooled about the village all day long killing people.’\textsuperscript{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 Zagoritchan/Vassilias operation and about twenty houses were burnt.\textsuperscript{119} The official report issued by the Austrian consulate at Monastir describes the

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\textsuperscript{117} Καραβέλης, Γ. Π. (Εκδόσεις Π. Πετρεζίδη, 1994), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας, Αποκαλυπτήρια, σελ. 161:

\textsuperscript{118} Καραβέλης, Γ. Π. (Εκδόσεις Π. Πετρεζίδη, 1994), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας, σελ. 74: Η απελευθέρωση αυτή των μοναστηριών έγινε λόγω μέρους και πολλού Βούλγαρων χωρίων από τη Σταροπόρτα. Οι βόρειοι από την περιοχή της Σταροπόρτας στον κατάλογο των υποψήφιων κατά τη διάρκεια της επαφής με τους καταδικασθέντες και τον Ελληνικό στρατό. Τον Οκτώβριο είχε ίσως η επαφή αυτήν τα ανώτατα και κατά του πολιτικού και η αλληλεπίδραση των δυο πολιτικών.

\textsuperscript{119} Επικοινωνίες με τον Αυστροουγγαρικό Στρατό, σελ. 189: Η απελευθέρωση κατά τη διάρκεια της Δεύτερης Παγκοσμίας Πολέμου διεξήχθη στο θέμα των Βουλγαρικών και ανατίθηκε στην Ελληνική κυβέρνηση. Η διεξαγωγή της επικοινωνίας γίνεται συνεπώς και προστίθεται στην ενότητα της επαφής, όπως εξηγεί η Ελληνική Κυβέρνηση. Ο Καπνός ξεκίνησε την επαφή με την ομάδα του και τον Ελληνικό στρατό.
Zagoritechani/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 Komaritchewo (Lithia) not far from Kastoria, its name suggesting that its Slavonised inhabitants were probably of Kumanian origin. A few Kumanian did settle in Macedonia, though they were much more numerous in the area of eastern Thrace, Bulgaria, and the Republic of Macedonia.


Apart from this, to the south of Kastoria there is mention of remnants of Christian Vardariot Turks,121 i.e. Slavonised 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 Andjevadik residence in Kastoria, which has now been turned into a museum, suggests that there were Armenians within the Slavonic culture, because Andjevadik is an Armenian family name that is still used today.

The Vlah-speaking villages of Vlahokissoura and Blatsa (mod. Vlatsi) and the Albanian-speaking village of Lefkovo 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, Slavonised Persians, Slavonised Kumanian, Slavonised 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.


122 Tōsām, Π. Α., (1973), Μακεδονικής Αγών. σελ. 452. "Εκ των συναυλών κλάτον του Βίπα κέτο η Ελληνοβλάχικη, καμπάλας Νιβέσκα (Νιβέρας) και προς βοήθεια αυτής του Αλβανο-νότιου χωρίου Νεροκόμον (Μπλάχτορο). Προς νότον δε της Νιβέσκας και επί της αυτής ορανής μέρες κέτοι έπεφευρίσκετε Αλβανο-πουρντο στο Λιμέτρο...".
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 Delchev, 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, Sotiropoulos 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.124

Greek statistics compiled in 1912 which report 35 per cent of the population of the Florina area as Slavs125 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’;106 and according to the 1951 census, 14,476 people in

123. Σχεδιά, Ν. Θ. (1886), Οδηγοπρακτική Συμβολές Μακεδονίων Ηπείρου, σελ. 242:
ΦΑΛΗΡΙΝΑ
Πρωτεύουσα ευραμίστη Καβάλα,
Εξοχώς 32.974
14.000 Οθωμανοί και 3.000 Βουλγαροδέντρικοι.

the prefecture of Florina spoke ‘Slavonic’, 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. Drossopi) and Negovani (mod. Flamouro) had non-Slavonic populations.125

Belkameni was the scene of a violent incident which reveals the degree of degradation to which extreme nationalism can sink. Yeranos Karavangis 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/Drossopi and decapitated them, because one was pro-Romanian and the other pro-Albanian.

Karavangis 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

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. Triporatomos), Virbeni (mod. Itia), Yakouf Kioy (mod. Papayanni), Gorno Kalenik (mod. Ano Kalinik), Sakaulevo (mod. Marina), Klaboutchista (mod. Poliplatanos), Hassanovo (mod. Messohori), and Negochani (mod. Niki) (see Map 25 and Table 4).96

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

126. Καραβαγγέλης Γερμανίκος. Απονεμονομένα. Ο Μακεδονικός Αχάιος, σημ. 81, έτοιμα δύο ποιήματα: ένας αποκαλύπτει κλάκ και αλβανικός. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα. Με την χρηματική βοήθεια, που έπεσε το βουνό για την Ελλάδα, μπήκε μένα στο σώμα τους και τους κατερρήσα. Κι’ όμως γύρω στη Μακεδονία και την είδου το χωρικό μένει στα χέρια, κυριακοδικοί τραπεζοκαταθέτει. Είχε και αυτός δύο το σώμα.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kintelch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the 1926 census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians</th>
<th>Greek Subjects</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aytos (Aetos)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenovo, Ermenovo</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banitsa (Yevi)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boreshnitsa (Palaistra)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekshi Sou (Xino Nero)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1735</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gornitchevi (Kella)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>1103</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassanovo (Messoheri)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalenik (Kalliniki)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klabeuachtinta (Poliplatanos)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>181 (24.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotori Dolno</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotori Gorno</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koutchkoveni (Perasma)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krapeshnitsa (Atrapos)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krousourati, Krousouradi (Abhada)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lageni (Triandafilla)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazheni (Messonissi)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leskovets (Leptokaria)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyoubetino (Pedino)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotchan (Niki)</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neokazi (Neohoraki)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevolyani (Skopia)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>74 (5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Greek General Staff’s publication describes the village of Gorni Kalenik/Ano Kallinik 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 Kanchev, had the following Slavonic-speaking villages in 1900: Gornichevo (mod. Kella), Zaberedeni (mod. Lofi), Neokazi (mod. Neochoraki), Voshtareni (mod. Meliti), Yorouki, Krousorrai (mod. Ahlada), Setina (mod. Skopos), and Papadia (see Map 25). Modern Greek writers refer to Neokazi/Neochoraki, Zaberedeni/Lofi,


103. Σύμφωνα με το Ρουμπέν Σίστικο (1979), ο Συμπερασμένος Συναγερμός της Ελληνικής Σφαίρας διεξήχθη στους ανατολικούς πλούσιους περιοχές, και ειδικά στα Κεντρική Ελλάδα και την Κοινωνία.
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: Lasheni (mod. Messonitsi), Boreshntsa (mod. Palistra), Rossa (mod. Sataria), Pesotchntsitsa (mod. Ammohori), Nevolyani (mod. Skopis), Kourchkoventi (mod. Persamas), Leskovets (mod. Lepistaria), Krapeshntsa (mod. Atraso), Kotori (mod. Idroussa), Lageni (mod. Triandafilia), and Aytos (mod. Atos) (see Map 25).

Greek writers refer to Kourchkoventi/Persamas, Pesotchntsitsa/Ammohori, Kotori/Idroussa, Boreshntsa/Palistra, and Lageni/Triandafilia as ‘Bulgarian’, i.e. Slavonic-speaking, villages.\(^{130, 115}\)

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 ‘Boresană’ — i.e. Boreshntsa/Palistra — as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.\(^{128}\)

According to the 1928 census, of the above-mentioned villages, refugees settled in Pesotchntsisa/Ammohori and Nevolyani/Skopis, 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, 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-east

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

Greek writers refer to Banitsa/ Vevi, Pateli/Ayos Pandeleimon, and Ekski 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

\(^{129}\) Kourtchesi, L. (1936), O Makedonikoi Athin. Apoktromenýmeta, p. 475: 366 (..) Taverna náte epítësiasen eis tis Kalóðela Saíloipólision. Ëxkei ò prátësan oti 56 àyous kórrên pará to Xorakoptroúnika kóll斯塔 Xarafrismi epipístei o kakostas kaimikis (.). prousosth ein di diáforon energhôn kai múso melámëntas prousosth tin kórrên Ëlidos (Séfilos), ekxaritímen twn boulímón yufráion xwarón Súprinis, Políadís kai Zúrjes, nei epesiðèse eis tìn orthodóxia (..).


\(^{115}\) En Monastiría tì 28th Septembriou 1907

area before the Asia Minor Disaster. We know, for instance, that sixty-eight refugees settled in Pateli/Ayios Pandeleimon 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 Kanchiev described as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Kabasmitsa (mod. Proti), Kladorah (mod. Kladorah), Dolno Kleshtina (mod. Kato Klimai), Boufi (mod. Akritas), Bitousha (mod. Parori), Opsirina (mod. Ethmiko), Rakovo (mod. Kratero), and Sveta Petk (mod. Aya Paraskevi) (Map 26; Table 5).

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\(^{131}\) Σχέσεις περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείο Οικονομικών, Αθήνα, 1916, σχ. 26.

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kanchiev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armensko (Alonas)</td>
<td>0 + 1080</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitousha (Parori)</td>
<td></td>
<td>482</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boufi, Bou (Akritas)</td>
<td>0 + 1900</td>
<td>2288</td>
<td>1759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boukovik (Oxia)</td>
<td>0 + 120</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breznitsa (Varohori)</td>
<td>0 + 620</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the 1928 census, a significant number of refugees settled only in Dolno Kleshitna/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 Kleshitna/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.110

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.112 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 disrupted into Kladorah/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’.113, 114

112. Καραβίτης Α., Επιμέλεια Γ. Πατσίδη 1990) Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας, Απομνημονεύματα σελ. 319: Το Μπάφο έχει προσφεύγει προ 30 άτομα εξ θησαυρού σχήμα, έχεται κατα σφαιρικά και τον κοιμούντα ακριβώς και στον κοιμούντα στο θησαυρό που μετέτρεψε σε τοπικό κατά θησαυρό και τον κοιμούντα κατά θησαυρό, είχε κατα σφαιρικά και τον κοιμούντα, ακριβώς και στον κοιμούντα στο θησαυρό που μετέτρεψε σε τοπικό κατά θησαυρό που μετέτρεψε σε τοπικό κατά θησαυρό που μετέτρεψε σε τοπικό κατά θησαυρό.

113. Καραβίτης Α., Επιμέλεια Γ. Πατσίδη 1990) Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας, Απομνημονεύματα σελ. 352.

114. Καραβίτης Α., Επιμέλεια Γ. Πατσίδη 1990) Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας, Απομνημονεύματα σελ. 352.

131. Από τον Τόπο της Νέας Φωλιάς έζησε ως Χλωντρόκα, παρά την Φωλιάνον, άνδρα τύπου Ζελεύτης συνεπλάκησαν μετα κοιμούντα και εφικτούσαν 25 Βουλγάρουνα όπως ζητήθηκε σε σελ. 975, αρ. 10.
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), Zheleovo (mod. Andartiko), Ostima (mod. Trigono), Timovo (mod. Prasso), Tirsia (mod. Trivouno), Nered (mod. Polipotamo), Statista (mod. Melas), Touria (mod. Korifi), Konoblati (mod. Makrohori), Posidivita (mod. Halara), and Tchernovishta (mod. Mavrokambos).

Greek writers refer to Zheleovo/Andartiko, Tirsia/Trivouno, Timovo/Prasso, Posidivita/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 Zhelevo/135, 136, 137

Five years later, the Germans inflicted similar reprisals on the village of Hortiatis 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 Kladorah/Kladari 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.

\[
\beta \text{ Κισσαφοβασιλείου Πράξεις και Αυτογραφίας} \\
\text{Tάξηρας 35} \\
\text{Στον Νέο Τύπο περίπου 1,000 άνδρες ελληνικής συμμορίας εισήχθησαν στο Κλάδορα Κοινό} \\
\text{στη Φλώρινα και σκότωσαν 17 εξαρχικούς χωρικούς με μια μεμέρισθη. Λεπτότερη χείρ απομείνει. (…)} \\
\text{[Μετάφραση: Κώστα Κοπέρ] \\
\text{[Αυτογραφικό, βλ. σελ. 973 αρ. 6] } \\
\text{γ) Ελληνικός Πραξικόπημα} \\
\text{Αρ. 751} \\
\text{Μοναστήρι 5-8-1905} \\
\text{… Σαν να ξέρει η 30ή οικολογία} \\
\text{εξαρχικών συμμορίων εισήχθησαν εκεί να περάσει την Φλώρινα Κοινό} \\
\text{στη Φλώρινα και σκότωσαν 17 εξαρχικούς χωρικούς με μια μεμέρισθη. Λεπτότερη χείρ απομείνει. (…)} \\
\text{[Κοπέριν, βλ. σελ. 978 αρ. 52] } \\
\text{δ) ‘Υπερέχα’ από λίγες ημέρες, οφείλη εξουσιοδότησε το σώμα, περικυκλώθηκε με τον Καραδή} \\
\text{το θεματικό χωρίο Κλάδορα, που ήταν ίσον με τα κινήματα στην Νοσακ. Μιλάς είχε ο νέος Κέντρο ένα} \\
\text{συμπλήρωμα να πάρει εκεί να οικοδομήσει πέταξε μονόλογο με παραλλαγή των κομματιών, ένας} \\
\text{διόπτης ο ίδιος μέχρι να πάρει πάνω, πάνω, πάνω. Πάνω, πάνω} \\
\text{εικόνα είπε τη δεκαετία, ήταν ακόμη χωρικό. (…)} \\
\text{[Καραδή, Λ. (Επιμελεία Γ. Πετσέλλα 1994), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγών, Αποκαλυπτόμενο, σελ. 351] } \\
\text{— Εφιάλτης.} \\
\text{— Συμπληρώνεις τους ισχύς.} \\
\text{Του δίνει ένα γερί μεγαλοπρεπές, τροποποιημένο, που είχε. Ο Αρίστες απομακρύνει το χωριό, το περι} \\
\text{τρόπο, και διαγράφει χάνοντος, καταπάντως το φασίστα και μειώνει το δέχε ένα.} \\
\text{— Είναι κρύμα, μια μένει, να κρυφτείνεμε μέσα στο σώμα τέτοιου αντισώματος. Αυτό θέ} \\
\text{λεται έτος, και αντικέντρετο έναν στο βαθύτατα κατά του δείχνει να είμαι κτώριο στοματί από την κοινότητα. Είναι κάποιο o} \\
\text{βιασμός τέρας χωρίς να προκαλεί εμπόδια.} \\
\text{— Μπά, θες ανάφη, ένα, δεν είναι τρίτος ισχύς του λέγω. Και βάζεις τους Μοναστηριώδες} \\
\text{να τους δώσουν από μια μεμέρισθη στο αριστερό πλευρά και όπως ζήτησα, χαλάλα του. Έτσι θα} \\
\text{πάρουν εις νευτικότερη τον αέρα του μεμέρισθη.}
Andartiko. This is in contrast to the nationalist Greek literature, which persistently describes Zhelevo/Andartiko as exclusively Patriarchist.

The Greek General Staff’s publication refers to the villages of Konoblati/Makropolohori, V’mbel (mod. Moshkohori), and Ostima/Trigonos as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist. 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, Kanchev lists the following villages as Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Nivista (mod. Psarades), Graždheni (mod. Vronderos), Orovnik (mod. Karriës), Lag (mod. Mikrolimiti), and Boukovik (mod. Oxtia).

Slavonic-speaking villages further south were Roulia (mod. Kotas), Brezniita (mod. Vatohori), Smardeshi (mod. Kristalopi), and Gabreshi (mod. Gavros).

According to Halkiopoulos, Smardeshi/Kristalopi and Tchernovisht/Navrokombo were Exarchist and Slavonic-speaking in 1910, and he describes them as victims of Bulgarian violence. Other Greek writers refer to Smardeshi/Kristalopi, Gabreshi/Gavros, Roulia/Kotas, and Orovnik/Karriës as Slavonic-speaking villages. According to the Greek General Staff, the Slavonic-speaking village of Gabreshi/Gavros was Exarchist.

No refugees settled in these villages, so even after 1928 they were 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 Agra (the nom de guerre of Teris 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 Yermonos Karvanangis himself, probably because of his aforementioned attitude, with which the Metropolitan of Kastoria seems to have disagreed.

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

138. Άρθρο του Γεωργία Παπανδρέου, Επιμέλεια των Αρχείων της Μακεδονίας (1825-1941), σελ. 260: "Απεργείον της Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών της Ελλάδος, που ανήκε στην Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, ένας από τους τόπους που υπέρ του Ελληνικού και Πανελλήνιου Εθνικού Αθλητήτρια." Από το γεγονός αυτό προκύπτει ότι η μπαμπάτα ήταν η λίμνη της Μακεδονίας, προκαθορισμένη στην ομοιόμορφη ένταξη της εθνικής ιδέας στην Αρχαία Ελλάδα.

139. Προσωπογραφία του Κ. Α. (1946), Νεωτήρες Ιστορίες της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912), σελ. 260: "Αρχαία μπαμπάτα που ανήκε στην Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, που ανήκε στην Ελληνική Δημοκρατία, ένας από τους τόπους που υπέρ του Ελληνικού και Πανελλήνιου Εθνικού Αθλητήτρια." Από το γεγονός αυτό προκύπτει ότι η μπαμπάτα ήταν η λίμνη της Μακεδονίας, προκαθορισμένη στην ομοιόμορφη ένταξη της εθνικής ιδέας στην Αρχαία Ελλάδα.

At any rate, regardless of the criteria used to compile them, the
be noted, Greece has undertaken to preserve the lesser used languages.140

The Kozani and Ptolemaida 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 Ptolemaida area had a considerable Turkish and Slav population. According to Kanchev, in 1900 the following villages were exclusively Slavonic-speaking with a Turkish element: Debrets (mod. Anarali), Douroutovo (mod. Prawoto), Embore (mod. Emborio), Katranitsa (mod. Pirgos), Koman (mod. Komano), Kounou (mod. Drosero), L’ka (mod. Miohoroi), Lipintsi (mod. Arvestopetra), Biralti (mod. Perdikas), Boshovtsi (mod. Mavropi), Pulyor (mod. Foufas), Rakita

140. Report to the European Commission, (1993), Minority Languages in Northern Greece, 66A.

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 (12,327)
(19 Slav/refugee, 2 Slav/Albanian, 2 Slav/Vlach,
3 refugee/Vlach, 2 refugee/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 (5,315)
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 Ptolemaida area in 1913

Table 6
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Ptolemaida area

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


According to Halkiopoulos, Emborio, Palyov/Foufas, and Nalbant Kioy/Perdikas were Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist villages in 1910. When Skhinas travelled around the area in 1886, he reported that Trebino/Kardia, Koman/Komanos, Trepitsha/Ayas Hristoforos, Boshovtsi/Mavropiysi, Lipints/i/Asvestopetra, Palyov/Foufas, and Rakita/Olimbias were Bulgarian-speaking (i.e. Slavonic-speaking). Identical information is supplied by the late Todor Simovski, a modern writer from the Republic of Macedonia.

According to the 1928 census, a considerable proportion of the 20,348 refugees who came to the Ptolemaida area after 1922 settled in some of the aforementioned villages, specifically: Debrets/Anarahi (accounting for 50.4 per cent of the population), Douroutou/Proastio (45.4%), Emborio (16.8%), Katranitsa/Pirgos (30.2%), Koumou/Drosis (53.5%), L’ka/Kardia (55.3%), Lipints/i/Asvestopetra (39.5%), Biriltsi/Perdikas (40.7%), Palyov/Foufas (24.4%), Radounitsa/Kriovrisi (60.5%), and Trepitsha/Ayas Hristoforos (47%).

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

141. Χαλκιόπουλος, Α., (1910), Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βαλκανίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου, σελ. 108.

2. ΚΑΖΑΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΑΡΙΟΥ, Επιστολή του Πρωτοβαπτιστή Ελλήνων, 400 σχετικούς βουλγάριστες, 400 Μουσουλμάνους, Πολακοί, 30 ορθόδοξοι. Ελληνες, 300 σχετικούς.

3. Νικολάκης, Κ., (1913), Σχεδιασμοί για την Ελληνική Αυτοδιοίκηση της Μακεδονίας, Επιστολή του Πρωτοβαπτιστή Ελλήνων, σελ. 154.

Φραγκίσης

Έχει 30 οικογένειες χριστιανικών βουλγάριστες και εκκλησίες, και 20 οικογένειες και τμήματα.

Τρίπτυχος

έχει 1/2 χώρο της οικογένειας και 1/4 του κοινοτήτως και έχει 30 οικογένειες χριστιανικούς.

Πολυγόνος

έχει 25 κοινοτήτες της οικογένειας και έχει 300 κοινοτήτες χριστιανικούς βουλγάριστες, εκκλησίες και μέλη.

Πολυγόνος

έχει 60 οικογένειες σχεδιασμένες και ημιορθόδοξους.

Πολυγόνος

έχει 80 οικογένειες χριστιανικά.

Πολυγόνος

έχει 80 οικογένειες χριστιανικά.

142. Σχεδιασμοί για την Ελληνική Αυτοδιοίκηση της Μακεδονίας, Επιστολή του Πρωτοβαπτιστή Ελλήνων, σελ. 154.

143. Σχεδιασμοί για την Ελληνική Αυτοδιοίκηση της Μακεδονίας, Επιστολή του Πρωτοβαπτιστή Ελλήνων, σελ. 154.

Τrebino/Kardia, Boshovtsi/Mavropiysi, 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 Ptolemaida 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 Ptolemaida itself, 57 in Debrets/Anarahi, 121 in Emborio, 62 in Katranitsa/Pirgos, 77 in Lipints/i/Asvestopetra, 46 in Rakita/Olimbias, and the rest in non-Slavonic-speaking local villages.

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 Palyov/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 Kallaria 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 [Palyov].

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 Palyov to Foufas by royal decree, thus contributing as little as possible to reconciliation between the Slavonic.
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. Γωνάρης Β., Μιχαηλίδης Ι., Αγγελίδου Γ. (1997), Ταυτότητες στη Μακεδονία, σ. 48.

‘Εγγραφή του Βρετανέζου ανακολούθησης Γενικού Πρόξενου στη Θεσσαλονίκη την άνοιξη του 1914:

«Ο κόσμος βουλευτικού ήλιος, εντός της επαρχίας του, διάκρινε τους σπηλαϊκούς των γενέσεως του και προσπαθεί να πετύχει τη δικαιοσύνη του ενάντια του κόσμου, επιδιώκοντας μεγαλορώνας την προσφυγή τους στις πράξεις παλ γενέσεων και απαράδεκτες τις δικές τους».

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, inculpate 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 kaza: these were the kaza of Vodena (Edessa), the kaza of Yannissa, and part of the kaza of Tilkès 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 Athanasios (Kavakli) and Yannissa, 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)

Lithoxóou presents Stenofos Dragoumis’s statistics, according to which there were no Greek-speaking Christians in the kaza of Vodena/Edessa,146 because both the Exarchs and the Patriarchs were exclusively Slavonic-speakers.

On the same subject, it is interesting to note the information supplied by Skiros 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-thirds Modern. 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

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

Kalogiopoulos tells us that in 1866 the people of Vodena/Edessa spoke the Slavonic tongue exclusively.148

Finally, document No. 991 from the governmental delegate to 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. Σκλαδάρος, Σ., (1913), Η Νέα Ελλάς, σσλ. 119:
Η υποκατάσταση Βοιδενών......

148. Καταλαλήθη, Ι. Ν., (1886), Μακεδονίας, έπειτα μελέτη ακομικαχνία, ιστορική και ανθρωπολογική της Μακεδονίας, σσλ. 66: «Τα Βοιδενά (Εδεσσά, ...) καταλαλήθη, εν της Βουλγαροφώνου κοινότητας, ἤνθε πρό εἰσοῦν ή πρό οὖσαν εἰς τοιαύτα ταύτα παράκατον η διάθεσιν τῆς Μακεδονίας».

149. Ιστορικό Μουσείο Μακεδονίας, Φάκελος 53. Πένθες επειγονικής πληθυσμού περιοχές Βοιδενών.
(β) Συνοικισμοί μικτούς έχουν την Σελλί και την Σελλίκα (μικτή γλώσσα) των Βοιδενών.

139

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kankaev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1925 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dolno Gramatikovo</td>
<td>300 + 480</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolno Rodinovo, Dolno Rodivo</td>
<td>0 + 250</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotofo, Koutovo Vrati</td>
<td>0 + 260</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamenik, Petrea</td>
<td>0 + 220</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krontselevo, Kerasei</td>
<td>280 + 300</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messimer, Messimeron</td>
<td>0 + 880</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissya, Nission</td>
<td>0 + 340</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novo Selo, Eni Kio</td>
<td>0 + 75</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arhangelos, Arhangelos</td>
<td>0 + 50</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osliani, Aya Fotini</td>
<td>450 + 750</td>
<td>1498</td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostrovno, Armarina</td>
<td>0 + 350</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pod (Flamouri)</td>
<td>0 + 200</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potchep, Margarita</td>
<td>0 + 250</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rousselova, Xanthoula</td>
<td>0 + 244</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samari, Samarioun</td>
<td>0 + 700</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segan, Tchegan</td>
<td>0 + 750</td>
<td>1043</td>
<td>1024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arios Athanasios</td>
<td>35 + 750</td>
<td>1105</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorovitch, Sorovitchov</td>
<td>0 + 604</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vakotce (Kardia)</td>
<td>0 + 300</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>92 (40.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vodicy (Skirta)</td>
<td>0 + 300</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlado (Abras)</td>
<td>0 + 740</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavorjani, Platanis</td>
<td>0 + 66</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zerti</td>
<td>0 + 290</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The northern part of the Vodena area

Kantchev reports that in the northern part of the Vodena 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, Krontsellovo (mod. Kerassë), Nissya (mod. Nission), Dolno Rodino (mod. Kato Koril), Potchev (mod. Margarita), and Roussilovo (mod. Xanthoyia) (Map 29; Table 7).36

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 Koril, Sarakinovo (mod. Sarakin), Potchev/Margarita, and Gougovo/Vrita.150, 151

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

150. Халякапулос, А. (1910), Македония Единолична Статистика на Вилаетовите Едеслионки и Монастири, с. 23: 7. КАСАРОВ, Б. Педарова и сести Величко и Стоил Димов, 330 схизматични българи, избягали и усърдно искания, а след това и биологически и сътворени същества и възлеси и Праби и Иоанис Монки. Стотинки, 234 общини имат Елени, 670 схизматични българи, 595 Мусулюмов.

151. Халякапулос, А. (1910), Македония Единолична Статистика на Вилаетовите Едеслионки и Монастири, с. 26: 8. КАСАРОВ, КАРАТАЗОВ, Иван Иванов, 1270 схизматични българи, Атанас Мечков, 125 схизматични българи, Коста Радиев, 135 схизматични българи, Тома Иванов, 50 схизматични Елени, 650 на вълна и български език, 250 и Мусулмани. О Илиополис Надя екзилът върху съвместни български языкови и 500 Мусулмани. О Илиополис Надя екзилът върху съвместни български език, 250 Мусулмани. О Илиополис Надя екзилът върху съвместни български език, 250 Мусулмани.

152. 'Едеслионки със синьо и червено покривници: Въпросите на християнството, Атина, 1916. с. 22:

Slavonic-speaking Macedonians with Bulgarian national consciousness.152 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. Kroetschelov/Kerassë (24.2%), Potchev/Margarita (10.6%), Samari/Samarion (13.3%), and Valkoyanev/Liki (40.3%). The rest of the inhabitants of these villages, like the whole 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 Aridea in 1914. Of these, 421 settled in Edessa town, 137 in Soubotsko (Aradatia), 102 in Kamenik (Petrea), and 64 in Ostrovo (Arnnisa), 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
is described by Karasevadas, one of the participants in the butchery, in a document published recently by Petsivas.\footnote{Karasevadas, I., (Espoulaia G. Peptesia 1984), O Macedonian Agon, Apomatikojmya, σελ. 494:} 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.'\footnote{154}

153. Karasevadas, I., (Espoulaia G. Peptesia 1984), O Macedonian Agon, Apomatikojmya, σελ. 494:

154. Ενακα τούτο τον 25η Ιουλίου 1906 δούλοι οισοντοποθήτηκε μετά την καταστροφή του Γενεύτοπου συναγερμού ο Καρασεβάς και εγκαθέτηκε τον Μυλούνη, επί των προς το άνω χρόνο κινδύνου της Νεκτάρα Μαρούλα οισοντοποθήτηκε επιμελήτης της εικονοσοφίας της Μακεδονίας κα έσφυγαν εκεί κατακλυσμούς οισοντοποθήτων να προβληθούν την Πατρίσσαν (...) Οι ημέρες, λυπάντης εκ της αντιπάλωσής επιτέθηκε μια οισοντοποθήτηση στους εξής εκχωρίζοντας οισοντοποθήτησες και εφόσον εργάζοντας ή έσφυγαν τους άνθρωπους, άρνησε να επιθετεί έθεσε πως εκ της ϕωνής τους οισοντοποθήτησε. Εκ τούτου εκ γενικόλαχα εφαρμογής έλεγχοι και ιδίως εκ των ιδίων επιθετείς με την εικονοσφός των εργαζομένων ή κατεξόρυθμων επιθετείς διάλυσε τον οισοντοποθήτηση έτος και κατά της καταστροφής. Το θέμα βρέθηκε ξένον ερώτητης εν δύο και κατεξόρυθμων επιθετείς κατά τους αντικείμενους διαλύσεων των λιθογραφιών, ανάμεσα εντολές επιθετείς είπεν.

155. Έκκλησε διαθέματα Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1970), O Macedonian Agon και το εις Θράκην Γεγονότα, σελ. 225:

The southern part of the Vodena area

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

According to Halkiopoulos, the following villages were schismatic and Slavonic-speaking: Messimer/Messimerion, Ostrovo/Arnissa, and Vladovo/Agras.\footnote{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/Agras.\footnote{155}

According to the 1928 census, refugees in Dolno Gramatikovo/Kato Gramatikon made up 19.2% of the population, in Kamenik/Petrea 9.3%, in Novo Selbo/Arhangelos 38.2%, in Ostrovo/Arnissa 23.6%, in...
Pod/Flamourio 9.4%, and in Sorovitch/Amindiaon 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 1925 (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/Amissa.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 Agapitios), 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 komitadji 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, Gougo/Varita, Patrechna/Patima, Gorno and Dolno Rodino/Ano and Kato Korfi, 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


‘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 Beržites, 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, Orientalis known as Kondarati settled outside Edessa in 1015. There is a village named Sarakino or Surakino 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. 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. Despite the strongly nationalistic tone of his book, Filippidis 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](image-url)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8</th>
<th>The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Tilkos or Moglena (Ardiaia)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorno Gneshevo, Gorno Tsreshevo (Ano Garefion)</td>
<td>0 + 2004 1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pozhar (Loutraki)</td>
<td>0 + 336 436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straisha (Ida)</td>
<td>130 + 150 506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toundoutsi (Theodorakion)</td>
<td>0 + 1200 1057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsoskini (Hrissa)</td>
<td>250 + 430 1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voulchithia, Voltchithia (Idria)</td>
<td>0 + 260 346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vraovo, Baovo (Promahi)</td>
<td>0 + 560 1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zborsko (Pelkoto)</td>
<td>0 + 880 1102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To take a detailed look now at the kaza of Tilkos or Moglena, according to Kantchev, the following villages were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Gorno Gneshevo (mod. Ano Garefion), Pozhar (mod. Loutraki), Straisha (mod. Ida), Toundoutsi (mod. Theodorakion), Tsoskhini (mod. Aetohori), Tsakini (mod. Hrissa), Voulchithia (mod. Idraya), Vraovo (mod. Promahi), and Zborsko (mod. Pelkoto) (Map 30; Table 8).

Halkipopoulos describes Voulchithia/Idraia, Zborsko/Pelkoto, Pozhar/Loutraki, Tsakini/Hrissa, and Tressinos/Orma as schismatic and Slavonic-speaking in 1910.139

The Greek General Staff’s publication describes Soubotsko (Ardiaia) itself as Slavonic-speaking and schismatic; and Tressino/Orma as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.111,115

According to the 1928 census, refugees who settled in Voulchithia/Idraia made up 45.3 per cent of the population, in Gorno Gneshevo/Ano Garefion 25.8%, in Tressino/Orma 17.4%, in Straisha/Ida 22.2%, and in Tsakini/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/Ardiaia.132

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 rioted 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.139

Another factor that exacerbated this inhuman conduct by the

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139. Κορακίτης, Ι., (Επιμέλεια Γ. Πεππίλη 1994), Ο Μακεδονικός Άγιος, Αποκαλυπτόμενα, σ. 787.
partisan bands was the fact that partisans who had come from Athens or Sotia 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 untruly 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 thieve 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 pitiful criminals as these are capable of anything.160

The same, and worse, information is to be had from Nikolaos

534. a) KAPATZÓΠHA: To ἐν τω διαμετάφρασις τοῦτο ενεργοῦν σώμα ὧν ἦν τοῦ Καπταζούπην ενήγησε διὰ μερικοῦς ἐφορευόμενον ἐν τοις πέρα τοῦ μονοῦ συνομοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετήματος. Ἡ ἐπιρροή ἡμῶν περικράσια ἐν μᾶλλον εἰρηνικὴ ἐνήγησεν τοὺς προσιτούς... Ὁ κατάληκτος ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἠμαρτήματος τοῦ χαρᾶ τοῦ Πέλαγη, καλλιεργηθεὶς δὲ τὸ θραύσμα ὡσιάς διὰ τοῦ χαρῶν Τρέσσων ἡ ὁμογενεῖς 2 φανερώθησαν σημαντικά ἐντυπωσία
d
Από της 31 Μαΐου ιστορία μετελευτημένη και λίγο ἀσπάζοντας της μνήμης ελεύθερη χώρο Η επίθετος παρά σαμποτής τόπους διερχομένων τοῦ κατά τον καθε γεγονός και μεταβολήν ταις οικολόγοις περι τοῦ τοπικού περι τας 20 από τον τος των 15 χρόνων. Τέλος της αυτόλαβης ἐγκαίνιας της τους δύο μήνες ἡβολείσιας βολανοχαρούσης συμμορίας της Τρέσνων, η παρελάσεις σαμποτής σκέλους 2 ακριβώς ο κόσμος και ο φόνος 3 αδένων 3 ζωόν εκ των 8 στα σπάνιας αὐτοπροφυλάξεις εκέ. Εντούτοις είναι τόπος προς το πολὺ εκεί διατριπτότης μετακυλάτως.
160. Καραβήτης, Ι. (Επανάσταση Πετσία 1944). Ο Μακεδονικής Αγών, Απανθηγογία, σελ. 923.
Antíghronos epistólytis
Iwannós Xristoulákis, ollitio to prin Moróchiwx samútmos Nikolódh
Kýria Prémen, dén gnorízam tis etoúntan the osas káthos Íh apístólytis mou. To vplóthte osws kai en ouleusíte-
té, etoióthte kathén mou na stis kataktstam gnázoun tin kúklwson, tin óltos oedóforó-
gan tis Íh sámítos Skolídís kai Nikolódh, éna to Ín twn osíon díatugith Íh (to Ín-
Xidakis’s letter to the consul in Monastir, from which we learn that Nikoloudis did indeed murder the unfortunate Hristoulakis.161

Leaving the Arideia plain and heading towards the border with the Republic of Macedonia, near Idomeni we come to Mount Paiko, the home of the Karadjovaïdës. Of Turk-Mongolian origin, these Velachs descended from the Petcheneg prisoners of Alexius Comnenus and made up the entire population of Paiko, apart from the Aromanian Velachs of Megaló Livadi, who are of Indo-European origin.

As the centuries passed, the Karadjovaïdës 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. Langadja), Lounmita (mod. Skra), Koupá, Tsoumas, Tzernareka (mod. Karpí), Barovitsa (mod. Kastaneri), and

Kalòdhis.
Kai en πρώτως, αφότερα τα σώματα τετάρτα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν από άνδρες εννοιοκρατούντας. μη
dén Ísos kai τόπων ληξάμενον. Εκ των εἴκοσι εξ, ισχυρών των, αποτελούμενον τα δύο σώματα δεν πιη
sáma vniatice Ísos kai τοις εκεί και περιθάνει τα προσεχόντα τοις χαρών Πέλαγη, καλλιεργηθείς καὶ το θραύσμα Ísos διὰ το δύο μήνες ἡβολείσιας βολανοχαρούσης συμμορίας της Τρέσσων, η παρελάσεις σαμποτής σκέλους 2 ακριβώς ο κόσμος και ο φό
νος 3 αδένων 3 ζωόν εκ των 8 στα σπάνιας αὐτοπροφυλάξεις εκέ. Εντούτοις είναι τόπος προς το πολὺ εκεί διατριπτότης μετακυλάτως.
B. EΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΙΟΝ
Εν Μονασταρίᾳ τη 28η Δεκεμβρίου 1905
Ἀριθ. 1233
Kýria Υπουργί,
... Ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους συνελεύσεις ἡμῶν τοῦ τοιούτου τοῦ συνελεύσεως τῆς Καρά-
δονος Χριστούλακης κοινωνίας. Κατόπιν τούτου, δέος ρέανεται να εἶχε διαλέγειν συνελεύ-
σεις καὶ ὦτα τοῦ τοῦ θαυμάτων τῆς εἰρήνης ὁικονομίαν, δοκοῦσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου ὄρχι-
χον τοῦ...
Οι χωρικοί του Μορόχημα, όπως τα οικεία επεκτάσεως τους ενοποιούντος ἐνθάντας, εκ-
φανίζονται προς αυτούς μετα αποστροφής καὶ κρίσις, προτείνεται δὲ να να προσκαλείσθαι τοῦ Στρα-
τού, ὡς εὐκοπηθητέριον χρήσιμον τοῦ τοῦ καθώς τοῦ συνόλου αὐτού ἐκ τῶν βοίων καὶ τῶν επι-
δραματικών των ελπίδων επιθύμησιν ἢ καλείσθαι τοῦ ελληνικοῦ σώματος, πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο μετα-
tosophs τους ενοποιεῖτο εἰκόνομον.
Επιστολή
N. Σούδης
(Θέσσαλονική 1905, ΑΣΕ)
Borislav (mod. Periklia). Konstantinos Vakalopoulos describes Komittedovo, Krova, and Tsermarea/Karpi as Slavonicised villages.\(^2\) Jirecek describes Barovitsa/Kastaneri as Slavonicised.\(^8\)

The smaller group of Karadjivaldies is established in the geographical territory of the Republic of Macedonia, specifically in the villages of Koinisko (mod. Houma) and Sermenin (mod. Sirminina), whose inhabitants are completely Slavonicised.

Although the Karadjivaldies 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 nationalist 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 Manichaeneans. The literature tells us that St Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena, waged intensive battles against the numerous heretics in the area, specifically the Armenian Manichaeneans 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. Hultek 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 Manichaeneans, 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 Polyan (Polikarpi), Kostourino (Xilonia), 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 Armenian Monophysites, Slavonicised Armenian Manichaeneans, and Hellenised Vlachs of Turk-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 Aromanian Vlach language.

**The Yannitsa area**

Stefanos Dragoumis tells us that there were no Greek-speaking Christians in the Yannitsa area in 1913,\(^1\) 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.

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Map 31: The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Yannitsa area in 1913
Table 9
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Yannitsa area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects in 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Babani, Babyani (Laka)</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltsa (Melission)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golo Selo (Yimna)</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorno Vlassi (Esovalta)</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyoutchevo (Yipshor)</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadinovo (Galahtades)</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolivite (Kalivia)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kornishor (Kromiti)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroushari (Ambelloni)</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radomir (Asvestario)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sveti Gyorgyi (Ayos Yeoryios)</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchichig's (Stavromodi)</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrechiot (Ayos Loukas)</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yannitsa</td>
<td>5100</td>
<td>7167</td>
<td>5280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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

Kanthou, 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, 3,548 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.164

Xωριά επί των υπαρχόντων του όρους Πάτσιου.
Οι φυλετικές, οι οικογένειες και οι κοινότητες κατά τη διάρκεια του 1910. Το Υπουργείο Εθνικής Ανάκαμψης και Πολιτισμού, Δήμος Κοζάνης, Σελίδα 28: 9. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΤΑΝΑΤΣΗΣ

(2) Για τον Κάτα, ως ειδικό αρχαιολογικός οπαδό του Ελληνικού Μητροπόλεως Βόδων, δείτε την κατάλογο εκκλησιαστικών κάτω από 1.500 ορθόδοξους της εποχής της Σοφίας Ευελπίδων, 2.600 χριστιανούς της εποχής της Ευελπίδων, 3.500 χριστιανούς της εποχής της Σοφίας Ευελπίδων, 4.000 χριστιανούς της εποχής της Ευελπίδων.

162. ΧΑΛΚΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Δ. (1910), Μακεδονία, Εθνικογραφική Στατιστική των Βλαχικών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μυστικομάρτυρ, Σελίδα 28: 9. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΤΑΝΑΤΣΗΣ

163. ΧΑΛΚΙΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Δ. (1910), Μακεδονία, Εθνικογραφική Στατιστική των Βλαχικών Θεσσαλονίκης και Μυστικομάρτυρ, Σελίδα 28: 9. ΚΑΖΑΣ ΤΑΝΑΤΣΗΣ

164. Έκθεση περί των εν Μακεδονία προσφύγων. Υπουργείο Οικονομικών, Αθήνα, Σελίδα 23:
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 God. Such was the callousness of the nationalist 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 she wishes to belong to, as long as the frontiers and the laws of the country which she lives in and is a part 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 Kanchev, the following villages in the north of the Yannitsa area (north of the modern Yannitsa–Edessa road) were Slavonic-speaking in 1900: Baltsa (mod. Melisson), Kroushari (mod. Ambelion), Radomir (mod. Asvestario), Gyuoupchevo (mod. Yipsohor), Babani (mod. Laka), and Kornishor (mod. Kromni). Slavonic-speaking villages in the south of the Yannitsa area were: Sveti Gryorgyi (mod. Ayos Yeoryos), Kadinovo (mod. Galatades), Vrezhor (mod. Ayos Loukas), Gorno Vlassi (mod. Essovalta), Golo Selo (mod. Yimna), Novo Selo (mod. Arhangelos), Tchitchig’s (mod. Stavrodromi), and Kolivite (mod. Kaliva).

The Greek General Staff’s publication mentions an attack by Greek partisan groups on the ‘contested’ village of Golo Selo/Yimna.165

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 Gyoupchevo/Yipsohor (15%); in the southern part, refugees settled in Golo Selo/Yimna (33.6%), Kadinovo/Galatades (45.9%), and Kolivite/Kaliva (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;161 which means that the remaining 710 refugees did 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 1856.166

Kanchev mentions the following villages in the area between Veria

165. Αραβαντίνης (1856). Χρονογραφία της Ναύπακτου, Τέμος Νεάπολι, σελ. 116. «Ναύπακτο –Νά της Μακεδονίας πόλεις ακούμενη εκ διόν χιλιάδων χριστιανών οικογενεια πληθυς Βουλγαρής.»

166. Αραβαντίνης (1856). Χρονογραφία της Ναύπακτου, Τέμος Νεάπολι, σελ. 116. «Ναύπακτο –Νά της Μακεδονίας πόλεις ακούμενη εκ διόν χιλιάδων χριστιανών οικογενεια πληθυς Βουλγαρής.»

According to Halkiopoulos, in 1910 the following villages were Exarchist (i.e. Slavonic-speaking): Ayia Marina, Yantchista/Yanissa, Zervohori, Veshista/Angelohori, Gorno Kopanovo/Ano Kopanos. 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, Yantchista/Yanissa, and Monospito were Slavonic-speaking Macedonians.

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166. Χαλκιόπουλος Α., (1910), Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βουλγαρίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου, σελ. 20:

Το χωρίο του τότε κατά το 1905-6 εξελιγμόθηκε η Μοναστήρι της Λεβάνης, η Νικόλαης, η Αγία Μαρίνα, η Αγία Προφήτης, η Αγία Μαρίνα και η Αγία Μαρίνα.

167. Χαλκιόπουλος Α., (1910), Μακεδονία, Εθνολογική Στατιστική των Βουλγαρίων Θεσσαλονίκης και Μοναστηρίου, σελ. 157:

Στον κατά την Βεροίας υπήρχαν και ορισμένα στρατευτές χωριά, τα οποία βρέθηκαν στην πεδιάδα των Γιαννιτσών όπου η Γιάννινα (Γιάννινα), το Μοναστήρι, η Αγ. Μαρίνα και άλλα.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kanchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sveta Marina (Ayia Marina)</td>
<td>0 + 185</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>211 (47.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veshista, Veshitse (Angelohori)</td>
<td>0 + 320</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>385 (53.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yantchishhta (Yanissa)</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>858</td>
<td>272 (31.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zervohori</td>
<td>0 + 240</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>236 (49.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even the publication by the Greek General Staff gives the lie to Halkiopoulo’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 Dolianni (mod. Koumaria).\(^{165}\)

We also know from Penelope Delta that the local Bulgarian komitadji used the Slavonic-speaking villages of Zervohori, Golo Selmo/Yimna, and Prishina 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 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 Yantchishhta/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, Dolianni/Koumaria, Xirolivadi, Kastania, and Tsarxovian/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 Lallot 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 Drogovite settled around Yannitsa Lake, and more specifically between Veria and Thessaloniki, in 620; while the Slavonic

\(^{166}\) Έκδοση Διεθνές Ιδιωτικού Ίδρυμας Σεραφενί, (1979), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα είς Θάκην Γεωργίανη, σελ. 234.

\(^{165}\) Οι Βουλγάροι όμως αποστάτησαν την ανθρωπότητά και είχαν περιορισθεί εις υμνούς. Διό ην υπό προκλήσει, προσέβλεσα το σχηματικόν Σαμβούρων, εις το απολογειακόν και του εξ αυτών σύμμαχον Γιάννον Γιάννα, επιμελήτης μερικάς οικείας και συνελάβεν ανεπιθύμητους.

\(^{169}\) Αραχαντάς, (1856), Χρονικογραφία της Ιππότισσα, Τόμος δύοτος, σελ. 32: "... κατοικείται υπό περίπου 1.000 οικογένειες των πλείστων Οθωμανικών, κατοικημένων εκ τῆς εν Πελοποννήσια Δάλας".
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 Rumluksi, 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 Záhni, 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 Drogvitae 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 Drogvitae 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 (Kilikis)

When Macedonia was under Ottoman rule, the present-day prefecture of Kilikis comprised three kazas: Gevgeliya, Doyran, and Avret-Hissar (the Kilikis area) (Map 33).

The Turks regarded the Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in Kilikis 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 Kilikis 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.
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 Kilkis 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 Delchev from Kilkis, who later graduated from the Military Academy of Sofia, Gruiev from Smilevo, a printer's proof-reader, and Tatarchev, 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 Kilkis at the dawn of the twentieth century produces quite specific conclusions.

Almost all the ethnological maps compiled by nineteenth-century European scholars place the kaza of Gevgeliya, Doyran, and Avret-Hissar/Kilkis 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/Kilkis 0.1 per cent.146

On the official Greek ethnological map drawn by Sotiriadis and published in 1919, the whole of the Kilkis 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 Kilkis 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 Kilkis 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.

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 (Paonia) in 1913

Table 11
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the area of Gevgeliya (Paonia)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kamchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barovitsa (Kastaneri)</td>
<td>0 + 750</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyemitsa (Axioupoli)</td>
<td>625 + 1120</td>
<td>1516</td>
<td>1108</td>
<td>837 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goumendje (Goumenissa)</td>
<td>0 + 3150</td>
<td>3415</td>
<td>3105</td>
<td>1328 (29.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koushino (Polipetro)</td>
<td>0 + 130</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kriva (Griva)</td>
<td>0 + 1300</td>
<td>1049</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>154 (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matchoukovo (Evzioni)</td>
<td>0 + 1300</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>105 (15.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrovo (Ayos Petros)</td>
<td>0 + 620</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>422 (38.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramna (Ormalo)</td>
<td>106 + 100</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sehovo (Idomeni)</td>
<td>0 + 800</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>227 (42.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toshilovo (Statiss)</td>
<td>0 + 220</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>82 (26.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tserna Reka (Karti)</td>
<td>0 + 400</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Patko and around Yannitsa Lake, acting as a counterforce to Captain Agra (Telis Agapinos) and defending a rival national ideology.

With regard to the language spoken by the general population, Kamchev lists the following villages in the Gevgeliya/Paonia area as Slavonic-speaking: Goumendje (mod. Goumenissa), Kriva (mod. Griva), Koushino (mod. Polipetro), Matchoukovo (mod. Evzioni), Barovitsa (mod. Kastaneri), Boyemitsa (mod. Axioupoli), Petrovo (mod. Ayos Petros), Ramna (mod. Omal), Sehovo (mod. Idomeni), Toshilovo (mod. Statiss), and Tserna Reka (mod. Kari).
According to Halkiopoulos, the following villages were Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist in 1910: Sehovo/Idomeni, Matchoukovo/Evzoni, and Boyemitsa/Axioi poloi. With regard to Goumenidje/Goumenissa, he notes the presence of 700 Orthodox Greeks and 2,250 inhabitants ‘terrorised by the Bulgarians’ and Bulgarian-minded Schismatics. (By ‘Orthodox Greeks’ he means Slavonic-speaking Patriarchists.)

The General Staff’s publication records Matchoukovo/Evzoni and Boyemitsa/Axioi poloi as Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist.

With regard to Matchoukovo/Evzoni, V. Aarbakke’s doctoral thesis tells us that, according to the 1884 referendum ordered by the Vail of Thessaloniki, out of a total of 163 households in the village, 150 declared themselves to be Exarchists and only 13 Patriarchists.

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Goumenidje/Goumenissa (making up 29.9 per cent of the population), Kriva/Griva (17.5%), Matchoukovo/Evzoni (15.3%), Boyemitsa/Axioi poloi (43%), Petrovo/Aillos Petros (38.4%), Sehovo/Idomeni (42.6%), and Toshilovo/

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/Paonia, of whom 58 had settled in Goumenidje/Goumenissa in 1914, 85 in Matchoukovo/Evzoni, and 510 in Boyemitsa/Axioi poloi.

Lastly, the Ethnological Statistics of the population of the educational district of Goumenidje in 1913–14 (History Museum of Macedonia, file 49) describes the inhabitants of the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Goumenidje/Goumenissa, Koushinovo/Polipetra, Barovista/Kastaneri, Boyemitsa/Axioi poloi, Petrovo/Aillos Petros, Rama/Omalos, 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 Barovista/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 Dragounis 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 schismatic, 1,500 Bulgarian-minded Catholics, and 1,120 Moslems. He also describes as Exarchist and Slavonic-speaking the villages of Popovo (mod. Mirifito), Moutilovo (mod. Metaxohori), Strezovo (mod. Areyroupolis), and Sesovo (mod. Sevasto).175 176


Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gola (Korifi)</td>
<td>+ 340</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelovo (Ayos Andonios)</td>
<td>250 + 400</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moutilovo (Metaxohori)</td>
<td>0 + 850</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemantsi (Dipotamos)</td>
<td>0 + 160</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popovo (Mirifito)</td>
<td>40 + 360</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesovo (Sevasto)</td>
<td>0 + 200</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strezovo (Areyroupolis)</td>
<td>0 + 135</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the area of Avret-Hissar/Kilkis, Kantchev describes the following villages as Slavonic-speaking: Gola (mod. Korifi), Lelovo (mod. Ayos Andonios), Moutilovo/Metaxohori, Nemanti (mod. Dipotamos), Popovo/Miriofíto, Seselovo/Sevasto, and Strezovo/Aryiropolóis.

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%), Nemanti/Dipotamos (50.2%), Popovo/Miriofíto (30.8%), Strezovo/Aryiropolóis (58.6%), and Seselovo/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 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.’175 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.’

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 ‘scalania’ 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 scalania 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. 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
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Thessaloniki area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baldja (Melissobori)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,675</td>
<td>1,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daout Bali (Oruiokastro)</td>
<td>0 + 250</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradober, Gradobor (Pendalofos)</td>
<td>0 + 800</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayali (Vrahia)</td>
<td>0 + 240</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novo Selo (Neohorouda)</td>
<td>0 + 772</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peyzanovo (Asvestohori)</td>
<td>0 + 4,200</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>2,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedes (Therni)</td>
<td>0 + 200</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trikkala</td>
<td>0 + 215</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youndjoular (Kimina)</td>
<td>0 + 890</td>
<td>1,247</td>
<td>1,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youndjoular, Konyari (Valmada, Anatoliko)</td>
<td>0 + 1,220</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>1,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zorbatovo (Mikro Monastiri)</td>
<td>0 + 225</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Drzhilovits, brothers, Slavonic-speakers from the village of Drzhilovo (mod. Metamorfozsi) near Naousa.

Although the Dinga brothers are known to have been Slavonic-speakers from Drzhilovo/Metamorfozsi, Halkiopoulos tells us that Drzhilovo was inhabited by 125 Vlach summer residents, whose permanent place of abode was Naousa. In 1852, Kiriakos Drzhilovits printed the first Gospel in the Bulgarian language but in Greek script, and in 1869 Konstantinos Drzhilovits 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 Sylanddjev, following the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate.

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
cadres were Delchev, Gruev, and Tatarchev, 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 Yeμιδιστές. 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.

\(^ {170} \) Ένδειξη Δημοσίωναις Ιστορίων Στρατιώτη, (1978), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εις έτος 1997 γραμμένα, σημ. 211:

To τρόπο του Εκτελεστικού προέβλεξε κατά κοινούς εις ξιλοδιαφορός καταστομίσεως καταστομίσεως, εκτέλεσεν διαφόρας επιτύχεις, κατά την σχετική εντολής της Οργανώσης. Επόμενον, η συμφωνία τους εκτελείται κατά την εντολής της Οργανώσης ομοσπονδιακής Βουλής και ο βοηθός τους εμπορος δεσμεύεται βάθους. Εκτελέσες το τρόπο τους εργασιακά στοιχεία και καταστομίσεως εις την εποχή της Αμφιβολίας.

\(^ {179} \) Χρόνια επαναλήψεων του πολιτικού συγκροτήματος του Ελληνικού Κράτους. Όταν εγένετε καταστομι- νής η συμμετοχής της εργασίας αυτής, προφύλαξες ήρεμοι οι εύθυνοι εφαρμογής να συμβάλλουν εις τα έξωδα της Οργανώσης. Κατά τον κοινό κατηγορήθηκε κατά λόγους παιρίνουν, οι οποίοι ηθο- νοντο σε νέα συναξέσεις περιζήτησαν.
Major Skhinia 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 Koula (Halastra) spoke a 'corrupt' language and that a large number of villages in the area were exclusively Bulgarian-speaking, a fact which is corroborated by many other sources.

Gotchhe Velitch has reported that, in 1885, apart from Halastra/Koula, the inhabitants of Tekel/Sindos, Youndjoular/Valmada or Anatoliok, and Youndjoular/Kimina spoke only Slavonic. It is worth noting that Gotchhe Velitch confirms Skhinia's information that Koula/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 Skhinia's and Gotchhe Velitch's information is correct.

Kantchev describes the inhabitants of Halastra/Koula 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 Youndjoular/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 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 Yannis Lake (Yidas, Koula/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 Drogovites, 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: Youndjoular or Konari (mod. Valmada or Anatoliok), Youndjoular (mod. Kimina), Gradebore (mod. Pendants), Zorbatovo (mod. Mikro Monastiri), Kayali (mod. Vrahia), Balda (mod. Melisshot), Novo Selo (mod. Nechorouda), Daout Bali (mod. Oraikastro), Peyzanovo (mod. Asvestohori), Sedes (mod. Thermi), and Trikala (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/Therma (55.8%), and Trikala (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 5,080 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

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181. Σεχνία, Ν. Θ. (1886), Οδοπρόμαχοι Στρατιωτικοί Μακεδόνας Ηνίου, σελ. 207; Αυτοκράτορας ημών των ρωμανών Κολοκυθαίος, Βολιμίτος και Γιαννακές, ως και του υπό Οθωμανών εκκουμένου χαρόποντος Μιχαηλίπρος, όπως το λεγει εσθε τριάδισεν μιαν αγαθήν ανοιξήμαν ελλήνων ισκερείμοναν, ον ὡς ποις τα πράτει, ως ορθῆθη, ορμήσαν διερρεύμενην τον γόμαν και ευμαιμήν θύσιμον μόνον πάντως θείαν θεοψευδώνα.
of houses and executed people who had succoured Bulgarian partisans, and thus ‘persuaded’ the schismatic villages of Krđilj, (Adendorf), Saridja (Valtohorii), Tchohalar (Parthenion), Kayali/Vrahia, Zorbatova/Mikro Monastiri, and Ayii Apostoli (Pella) to return to the Patriarchate. 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 Klli in 1900, a euphemism that signifies ‘Slavonic-speaking and Exarchist’. 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 Arapi (Nea Magnissia), Doudoular (Diavata), Tekeli (Sindos), Inglis (Anhialos), Topsis (Yelira), Itidjevo (Nea Halkidona), Krđilj, (Adendorf), and Koutalovo (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. Εκδοση Πειρατών Ιστορίας Στρατού, (1929), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα ευς θρόκεν Πειρατών, σελ. 183:
Μετά την εκπροσώπηση του στην Μπουκοβάλα έστερε την προσωπική του προς το περιβάλλον την λίνη γύρω, όπου συνελήφθησε και εφόσον τος διοικήτης της διοικήσεως των κυβερνήτων, διά να αποκλητή την προφανεία τον ως τον λίμνην βουλγαρικόν συμπαθείς.

The Lagadas area

According to Gopcevic, in the nineteenth century, Slavonic was the only language spoken in Sohos and in many villages outside Lagadas. Indeed, Slav linguists made a study of the Slavonic dialect of Sohos because of its distinctive linguistic features. There is unconfirmed information that Slavonic is still spoken alongside Greek in Sohos.

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. Sohos).

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Vissoka/Ossa, accounting for 15.8 per cent of the population, and Soho/Sohos (15.5%).
Table 14
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Lagadas area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayvat, Ayvatovo (Liti)</td>
<td>0 + 1,580</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreminlava (Drimos)</td>
<td>2,612</td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Klissani (Proftisi)</td>
<td>0 + 450</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layinovo (Layina)</td>
<td>0 + 700</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>1,229</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negovan, Negovan</td>
<td>250 + 1,960</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souho (Sohos)</td>
<td>1,000 + 2,600</td>
<td>3,750</td>
<td>3,121</td>
<td>573 (15.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vissoka (ossa)</td>
<td>200 + 1,350</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>257 (15.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Kiy (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, 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 Ayvatzik (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 Darmakohoria (Ayo Pnevna, Pendapolii, and Hriso) 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 Turkic-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 Damakohoria) 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 Frashti (Ano Orini), taking in the kaza of Demir Hisar (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. Issomax) near Serres, tells us that the villagers spoke the ‘Macedonian’ language.184

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183. Βασιλείδης Κ. Α., (1995). Νομική ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1830-1912), σελ. 83: “...η Ελληνική φολιέ, εκτός του μέρους όπου κατέχει... χωριζόμενη διά γραμμής σχεδίων ευθείας αφενός από την και σημείου σχεδίων εν Θεσσαλόνικη... τής το δοκείται εξελικτόν διά γραμμής αντέχουσα από την θέση της Βολβίης εκ Νερότων και Σέρρων και εκείθεν κατά κοινού διά της Επαρχίας Σέρρης εκ Καβάλα και Σάντην. Προς βορράν της γραμ- μής επάνω στεγάζεται η Μακεδονική φολιέ”.

184. Ιστορικό Μουσείο Μακεδονίας, Φιλοξ. 55. Στατιστική πληθυσμικού και Εκπαιδευτικού Σερρών και Νιρίττας.
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 Poroiça (mod. Ano Poroiça), Kyouprî (mod. Yefiroúdi), Kroushovo (mod. Ahladóhori), Latrovo (mod. Hortero), Leshnitza (mod. Faia Petra), Bouyouk Mahale (mod. Megalóhori), Ramna (mod. Omalo), Saviako (mod. Vamvakófìto), Spatovo (mod. Kimissi), Tsingeli (mod. Angistro), and Tchiflidik (mod. Strimonoíhori).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 Poroiça/Ano Poroiça were Vlachs from the villages of

185. Στατιστικοί Πίνακες του ελληνισμού κατ' εθνοτήτες των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αρχ. Φακέλ. 5, σελ. 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Πόλεις ή χωριά</th>
<th>Βιολλάκια</th>
<th>Σταμάτσι</th>
<th>Αλεύρι</th>
<th>Ρεύματα</th>
<th>Βσ. των Βαλκάνων</th>
<th>Βιολλάκια</th>
<th>Αλεύρι</th>
<th>Ρεύματα</th>
<th>Βιολλάκια</th>
<th>Αλεύρι</th>
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<tr>
<td>Πάρι</td>
<td>1050</td>
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<td>450</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>Βεζέροφόροι και συνεπείς</td>
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<td>Κριστάλλον</td>
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<tr>
<td>Θεοφιλέτσι</td>
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<td>230</td>
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<td>230</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Κοσιάλι</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The western Pindus.185

Halkiopoulos gave similar information about the inhabitants of Gorno Poroiça/Ano Poroiça in 1910: of the 790 Orthodox Greeks in the village, 725 were Vlach-speakers and 352 Romanians; a further 1,487 villagers were Slavonic-speaking Exarchists and 306 were Moslems.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Demir Hissar (Sidirokastro) area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kantchev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouyouk Mahale (Megalóhori)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorno Poroiça (Ano Poroiça)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kroushovo (Ahladóhori)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyouprî (Yefiroúdi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latrovo (Hortero)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leshnitza (Faia Petra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramna (Omalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saviako (Vamvakófìto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatovo (Kimissi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchiflidik (Strimonoíhori)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsinigeli (Angistro)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the villages which the General Staff describes as Slavonic-speaking, according to the 1928 census refugees settled in Gorno Poroiça/Ano Poroiça, making up 38.5 per cent of the population, Kyouprî/Yefiroúdi (23.9%), Kroushovo/Ahladóhori (43.3%), Latrovo/Hortero (45.3%), Leshnitza/Faia Petra (14.6%), Bouyouk Mahale/
Megalohori (50.5%), Spatovo/Kimissi (33.1%), Tsingeli/Angistro (26.9%), and Tchilidzik/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 Poroi/Ano Poroi, where 336 refugees settled in 1914.

According to the 1928 census, 3,752 people settled in Sidirokastro province before the Asia Minor Disaster; the Ministry of Finance report 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 Eleutherios Venizelos and not by the Turkish government of Kemal Ataturk 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 Vrondou (mod. Ano Vrondou), Gorno Frashanti (mod. Ano Orini), Gyoudeke (mod. Vamvakouassa), Dimitris (mod. Dimitrision), Kakaraska (mod. Aya Eleni), Kafli Kioy (mod. Hionohori), Dolno Frashanti (mod. Kato Orini), Kouli (mod. Ammoudia), Beylik Mahale (mod. Valtoropi), Melinikith (mod. Melenikithion), Mirttati (mod. Xirotropos), Osman Kamila (mod. Ano Kamila), Prosnik (mod. Skotoussa), Tchoutcholi (mod.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Πόλεις η χωριά</th>
<th>Ελλήνες</th>
<th>Σέρμονες</th>
<th>Το άθω των Ελλήνων</th>
<th>Πασάριτοι Σέρμονες</th>
<th>Μακεδόνες</th>
<th>Το άθω των πασαρίτων</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 Λυκα Βροντινό</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Φρικάτσου Χια</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Γκούτικα</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 Κασαρίτσικο</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Καρικέτι</td>
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<td>548</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>498</td>
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<tr>
<td>73 Φασαλίτσα Κέτι</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Βελιτικ Μακαλί</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Χαρίτης</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Μητραπάτης</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 Λεστρόχιτι</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Λιοντ Κούλιμ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 Πράσοντι</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Ταποπολούκ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Κούλιμ Καταρέ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 Χαρίτης</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Λεμπροτιν</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

186. Στατιστικοί Πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνοτήτες των νομών Σέρρων και Δράμας (1919), Αριθ. Φοιλίκ. 5, σελ. 5.
Anayennissis), Hristian Kamila (mod. Kato Kamila), and Hristos. The Slavonic-speaking villages in which refugees account for more than 60 percent of the whole population are not mentioned here.

According to the 1928 census, refugees settled in Gorno Vrondou/Ano Vrondou, accounting for 27.6 percent of the population, Gyoundele/Vavnvakoussa (49.7%), Dimitritis/Dimitritsion (22.5%), Kazaraska/Ayia Eleni (21.8%), Koumli/Ammoudia (19.6%), Beyilik Mahale/Valtotop (38.2%), Osman Kamila/Ano Kamila (31.7%), Prosmik/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.

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. 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 Homonidos (Mitroussi), Karadjia Kiroy (Monoklissia), Elshani (Karperi), Koumli (Ammoudia), and Savek (Vavnakofito).

187. Συναπόδειξη, Β. (1955), Προασφαλτικά στην άλμα της δικαιοσύνης των καταστατικώνλαθες διοικητών έθεσε σε σχέση τις περισσότερες αυτές ρομανοκατοικήσεις."
Table 16
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Serres area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kachtev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1928 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beylik Mahale (Valtotopi)</td>
<td>0 + 450</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>179 (38.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimitris (Dimiristion)</td>
<td>150 + 550</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>241 (22.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolno Frashani</td>
<td>0 + 780</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kato Orini)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorno Frashani</td>
<td>0 + 545</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ano Orini)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorno Vrondou</td>
<td>0 + 6,100</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>245 (27.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ano Vrondou)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyoundelev, Goudeli</td>
<td>0 + 360</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>183 (49.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varnavokoussa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hristian Kamila</td>
<td>0 + 180</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>419 (42.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kato Kamila)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hristos</td>
<td>0 + 240</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>58 (12.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakaraska (Ayia Eleni)</td>
<td>0 + 500</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>81 (21.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karli Kioy (Hionohori)</td>
<td>0 + 480</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>120 Vlachs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koumli (Ammondia)</td>
<td>195 + 750</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>161 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melnikitch (Melenkitson)</td>
<td>0 + 550</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirtati, Mrtatovo</td>
<td>0 + 500</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osman Kamila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ano Kamila)</td>
<td>110 + 210</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>156 (31.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prоказ (Skotoussa)</td>
<td>0 + 900</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>1,044</td>
<td>263 (20.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchoucholl, Tchouchoulgovo (Anayennisis)</td>
<td>0 + 560</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the village of Karadja Kioy/Monoklissia, the General Staff’s book gives a more detailed account of the activities of Yagia’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 descendents 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 Διεθνώς Ιστορίας Ιστορίας Συμμαχού, (1979), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εξ άλλων Γενοκτονίας στην Ελλάδα του 20ου αιώνα, σελ. 229.

189. Πολύτιμος, Πολύτιμος, (1979), Ο Μακεδονικός Αγώνας και τα εξ άλλων Γενοκτονίας στην Ελλάδα του 20ου αιώνα, σελ. 226.

Εις την Αναζήτησιν Μακεδονικού Κατοίκων των Αποκλεισμένων Χωρών Επισημασμένα Χώρα Κατοικισμού Μακεδονός Εθνικής Σημασίας, την 8η Μαρτίου του 2000, Συμμετείχαμε στην Συνέντευξη του Ευγενούς Προέδρου της Ελληνικής Επιστημονικής Ομοσπονδίας Κατοικίας Κατοίκων Μακεδονικής Εθνικότητας, στην Ιανουάριο του 2010, στην Ελληνική Επιστημονική Ομοσπονδία, στην Χανιέ, Ελλάδα.
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 Georgians at the Battle of Kushevand (1243). In 1259, the Seljuk 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 despotsate 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 Vertia 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 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                | Turks and       | No. of         | Turkish-        | Refugees       |
|                | Turkish-        | Greek          | speaking        | after 1922      |
|                | speaking        | subjects       | Macedonians     | according to   |
|                | Macedonians     | according to   | according to    | the 1928        |
|                | in 1900         | the 1913        | the 1928         | according to    |
|                | according to    | census          | census          | the 1928        |
|                | Kanchev         |                 |                 | census          |
| Horovishta     | 480 + 120       | 546             | 815             | 332 (28.9%)     |
| (Ayos Cristofores) |            |                 |                 |                 |
| Kato Noushka   | 150 + 450       | 648             | 956             | 648 (40.3%)     |
| (Dafnoudi)     | 300 + 550       | 394             | 446             | 198 (29.2%)     |
| Porna (Gazoros)| 350 + 500       | 667             | 259             | 540 (67.5%)     |
| Rahova (Messorahi)|            |                 |                 |                 |
| Rossilovo      | 850 + 1760      | 2,075           | 2,213           | 922 (29.4%)     |
| (Haritomeni)   | 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.
Kalostiopsis refers to 2,800 ‘Turkish-speaking Greeks’ in the village of Zelyahova or Zelahoo (mod. Nea Zihni). Regarding the Christians of Zelyahova, Skhinias in 1866 and Filippidis in 1877 tell us that they spoke only Turkish and had no knowledge of Greek.

![Map 41: The Gagauz Turkish-speaking villages in the kaza of Zelyahovo (Nea Zihni) in 1900](image)

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. Dafrnoudi); 550 in Rahova (mod. Messorahi); 150 in Tholos; 500 in Rossilovo (mod. Hartomeni) (Table 17, Map 41). With regard to Kato Noushka/Dafrnoudi 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 Praziositis, 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 Porma/Gazoros, Rahova/Messorahi, Horovistha/Ayos Hristoforos, and Kato Noushka/Dafrnoudi. Even extremely nationalist studies tell us that these villages were Turkish-speaking and that Greek education was introduced much later.

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, Porma/Gazoros (40.3%), Rahova/Messorahi (29.2%), and Horovisnta/Ayos Hristoforos (15.5%). We have no information about Kato Noushka/Dafrnoudi.

190. Празиозитис, И. Г., Η Ζήγη, διδάσκει τους αυτόνομους, σελ. 98.
191. Празиозитис, И. Г. (1992), Η Ζήγη διδάσκει τους αυτόνομους, σελ. 97.
192. Ο Ν. Φιλαππάτης (-Μοσχεδώνικη, Περιήγηση των εν Μοσχεδώνικη επαρχίαν Δρόμου, Ζήγης και Ελευθεριουπόλεως), σελ. 128-129.

200

201
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 kazas of Nevrokopi towards the frontier and the kazas of Drama to the south (Map 42). According to Sotiriadis’s official ethnological map, the inhabitants of the kazas 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.
The Nevroki area


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Пόλεις ή χωριά</th>
<th>Ελληνοί</th>
<th>Σταμνατικοί</th>
<th>Τούρκοι των Ελληνών</th>
<th>Ελληνοί στα Σταμνατικά</th>
<th>Μακεδόνες</th>
<th>Τούρκοι των Ελληνών</th>
<th>Τούρκοι των Ελληνών</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Αναστασία</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Αλιστράτι</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Βουρνοπόλιο</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Βλάκκος</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Βούβλικας</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Ζυγορέτσι</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Γράνιτσα</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Γράνιτσα</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Δρόνοβος</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Κορίλινα</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 Ζήρεντον</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Κολλοχώρια</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Κόπιτσανια</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 Πεζαία</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134 Πρεσπανέζη</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 Ζάχαρες</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

193 Στατιστικοί Πίνακες των πληθυσμών κατά ηθνικοτήτων των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αρχ. Φοιλάζ 5, σελ. 12.

Table 18
The Slavonic-speaking villages in the Zimovo (Nevroki) area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkish and Slavonic-speaking Macedonians in 1900 according to Kountchev</th>
<th>No. of Greek subjects according to the 1913 census</th>
<th>Slavonic-speaking Macedonians according to the 1975 census</th>
<th>Refugees after 1922 according to the 1928 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Alistrat (Kato Nevroki)</td>
<td>1.896</td>
<td>2.762</td>
<td>1.024 (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anastassia</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Dranovo, Drenovo (Monastiraki)</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>79 (13.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Egri Dere (Kallithea)</td>
<td>1.328</td>
<td>1.290</td>
<td>142 (9.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gornitsa, Gorentsi</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>211 (17.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kali Vrissi</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gratchan, Gratchen (Ayohori)</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>209 (36.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gyomredik (Granitis)</td>
<td>1.632</td>
<td>1.141</td>
<td>1.062 (48.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Karlikova, Karloukovo (Mikropolis)</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Klepoushna (Agriani)</td>
<td>1.212</td>
<td>2.683</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Plewna (Petroussa)</td>
<td>4.120</td>
<td>3.553</td>
<td>2.482 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Prosotsani</td>
<td>1.951</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>661 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Startshita, Starchishta (Perithori)</td>
<td>1.544</td>
<td>1.529</td>
<td>396 (20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Vissotchan</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Volak, Volax</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Volvitsion, Bobolts (Piryi)</td>
<td>2.105</td>
<td>1.762</td>
<td>506 (22.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Zimovo</td>
<td>1.950</td>
<td>2.105</td>
<td>1.762 (506)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

193 Στατιστικοί Πίνακες των πληθυσμών κατά ηθνικοτήτων των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας (1919), Αρχ. Φοιλάζ 5, σελ. 12.
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.

A relatively recent publication on the area reports that there were 310 Slavonic-speaking families living in Zimnovo/Kato Nevrokopi, 10 Vlach-speaking and 15 Bulgarian-speaking families living in Startitsa/Perithori, and 160 Bulgarian-speaking families living in Dolno Vrondou/Kato Vrondou. It also tells us that many of these villages were later forced to go over to the Exarchate. 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/Kallithia, Karakiyo/Karanliion, Volak/Volax, and Gyourejdk/Granitis.

It seems that certain historians with nationalistic 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 Startisha/Perithori is concerned, in contrast to the aforementioned data, another recent publication reports 28 Patriarchist and 300 schismatic Slavonic-speaking Macedonian families. 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 Vissocantia/Xirotopamos, making up 20.5 per cent of the population, Gyourejdk/Granitis (36.4%), Egri Dere/Kallithia (9.9%), Zimnovo/Kato Nevrokopi (22.3%), Gornitsa/Kali Vrissi (17.5%), Prosotsani (41%), and Startitsa/Perithori (48%).

194. Καραθανάσης, Α. Ε., (1991), Ο Ελληνισμός και η μητρόπολις του Νευροκόπου κατά του μακεδονικού αγώνα, σελ. 96:
 Το Ζίρνοβο (Κ. Νευροκόπου), νότια και ανατ. του Νευροκόπου και σε απόσταση 7 χιλιών από το Νευροκόπο, κατοικούνταν από 310 καθηκόντα πατριαρχικών, ολόκληρη η μητρόπολη από 10 εκατ. οικογένειες.

195. Δελεκ, Ι. Κ., (1991), Οι Έλληνες Παλαιοβασιλείς της Μακεδονίας, σελ. 115:
 Στάκτωνα, η ελληνική ιστορία της είναι μικρή (28 οικογένειες) μέσα σε 300 σχηματισμούς και 120 οικογένειες.
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 Nevrokipi/Zirnovo in 1914. Of these, 65 settled in Vissotchan/Xiropotamos, 46 in Gyouredjik/Granitis, 124 in Zirnovo/Kato Nevrokipi, 45 in Klepousha/Agriani, 296 in Prosotsani, and 250 in Staurithia/Perihori.

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 Petralia 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.

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


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 Etoni, the Moesians, the Dardanians, the Maedi, the Dentineetae, the Sapaei, the Piers, the Triballi, the Odomantes, the Bisalatae, the Crestonians, and the Agrianis.

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 Dominium (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

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.

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 Tylis. 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 Galattian dominion to an end and restored Thracian independence for another two hundred and fifty years.

THRAICAN 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 northeastern 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
Bulgaria, starting in Nero’s reign (when 100,000 farmers of unknown nationality from beyond the Danube settled there in AD 64)\textsuperscript{200} and accelerating when the Roman frontiers along the Danube were destabilised. One hundred thousand Bastarnae settled in the area in 275,\textsuperscript{203} followed by Gepidæ and more Bastarnæ 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.\textsuperscript{200}

After rejecting paganism, the Thracians in southern Bulgaria finally

\textsuperscript{200} Κασσυράκης, Δ. (1979), *Η Θράκη κατά τους ρωμαϊούς χρόνους*, σελ. 18: "ό θρήσκευτης ὧν ἐκτίθεντον εἰς τοὺς Τόμο:ς, ὧν καὶ ἀποθάνον. Εἰς τὸ ποιητά του μὲς περιγράφει... οὗ τούτου τῆς θρακίας ὁ ἐλληνικός μισθός πολύ δέχεται ὧν ἄμεστο ἡ ἐλληνικὴ καὶ μάλιστα μὲ γειτονικὴν προφορὰν. Γέμας καὶ ἀπουθανετὰς ἡμέρας τῆς νὰ ἄργε ἡ περιοδικώμενα εἰς τοὺς ὀθόνους καὶ τοῖς ἐλληνικοῖς κάτοικοι νὰ στρέφον γειτονικὰς ἀναφορὰς.

\textsuperscript{201} Ἡ ιστορία τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ Έθνους (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδόσεις Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 201: "Εἴ όλους πουλοὺς θράκες ἠξελεράθησαν, ἀρδείο δωρίς προηγομένως εἶχεν

\textsuperscript{202} Η ιστορία τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ Έθνους (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδόσεις Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 143: "Εἴη Νερίναι, γύρω στὰ 64 μ.Χ., ἕνας προσβεβηκτής τῆς Μυστίας, ὁ Πλατώνος Αλκανός... ἐγκαταστάθηκε στή Μυστα 100.000 γεωργοῖς ἀκοῦ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ Περιμέτρου."}

\textsuperscript{203} Η ιστορία τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ Έθνους (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδόσεις Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 150: "Από τὴν ιστορία τοῦ Μάρκου Λούριου, ἀλλὰ κυρίος κατὰ τὸν 3ο αἰ. μ.Χ., οἱ λαοὶ Καρπαθιανοί ἐγκαταστάθηκαν ἐπὶ ήπειρος στὶς ἐπαρχίας τῶν Δορικῶν καὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων (100.000 Γυναικών καὶ Πατρίων, συμφώνω μὲ δρομολογίας πτηνών)."

\textsuperscript{204} Beitzler (1963), *Die Thraker im ausgehenden Alters*, σελ. 254: "Οἱ Βάσαρες τῆς Βεσίας ἦσαν γνωστοί στὴν Αρχαία διότι ἦσαν τοῦ 364 μ.Χ. οἱ Βισκορούπιοι, κατανοημένοι μὲ δρομολογίας".
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 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 Ernath, 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 Phosadisti 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 Marciapolis, 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, Seyrians, 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 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.

205. Setton, K. M., (1950), The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century, och. 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.’
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 central stage in Balkan history, and they were the Byzantine Empire’s most indubitable 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 Peloponnesse), they departed, taking 120,000 captives with them.206

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.207

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: «Και την δνοιη το 541 πέρασαν τον Δούναβι, διέσχισαν την δροσια του Αμβού και εισέβαλαν στη Θράκη λαξευάντας και αγνοϊκονοίς. Ἐπειτα χρηόθηκαν σε τρεις ημέρες. Το ήσα νυν θυμάμενα ήνεα τῆς Ἑλλάδος και ἐνίστη γντ ἐς τὴν ὑποκορίη τῆς Κορινθίας... Ὀνομάζομεν το φθινόπωρον οι Βαλκανοί ἐπηχόμενα. Ἀπέγιναν δημος στις ιταλίς τους, πέρα ἀπὸ τὸν Δούναβι, ἀνατρέποντας κατα σπαρυ καὶ 120,000 ανθρώποις».

206: Ἰαννίν, Ν. Γ. Λ., (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 Εθνος, (1881). Τόμος Ζ, Εκδοτική Αθηναίων Α.Ε., σελ.
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 (Constance) 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. 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 nationalist 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. This underscores the fact that the Slavs in Bulgaria were assimilated and swiftly lost their ethnic identity.

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’, 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 Tuvash people most closely resembles Protobulgarian.

Bulgarian dominion in Thrace

After Byzantium had recognized 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, 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 Teledzids.


213. История на Славите (1963), Том II, Едрична Атнонй, А. Е., o.c. 33: «Мето тя падна дейност почеркло и Емисир во северна Македонија и цялата делителна мрежа на 762 година се означава вистина и еднаа истина означава и «Нака еченона, ор синапеса пона, далечи, етане еченона» с 30, докрае пароделишо и таката седе орчишо и да се врши оки вове северна Атнонйската...».
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 Protagobulgarian 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 Theophilius. 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 the 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 Αθηνάς Α.Ε., σελ. 183: “Η έκτρατημάχει το του Νικεφάρου Α’, εναντίον των βουλγαρών (811) προκάλεσε την αντιπάθεια του Κρούμου, ο οποίος άρχισε να διαφέρει τις πόλεις και την έναρξη της θρήσκευσης (περιοχής Δραπετζίας, Άγκυρας, Βερόνας και Πισκίπουλας). Το 813 η Άδριανοπόλη καταστράφηκε ολοκληρωτικά και οι 40.000 κάτοικοι της πόλεως και της περιοχής της, αιγιάλων των βουλγαρών, μεταφέρθηκαν στα πέρα του Δούναβη περιοχές.”
216. Charonis, P., (1972), The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire, σελ. 199: “Many of the Armenians settled in Thrace were seized by the Bulgar Krum (802-814) 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.”

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 Tzimisces (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 Bulgarian 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
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...
headed by the, likewise Armenian, Byzantine general Musel Mamikonian. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality of settlers</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>No. of settlers or horsemen</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>Maurice</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>100-150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrians</td>
<td>c.690</td>
<td>Justinian II</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaurians</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>Anastasius II</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armeno-Syrian Paulicians</td>
<td>c.750</td>
<td>Constantine V</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armeno-Syrian Jacobites</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>Leo IV</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>50-80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Paulicians</td>
<td>c.970</td>
<td>John Tsimiace</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenian Paulicians</td>
<td>c.1020</td>
<td>Basil II</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>195,000</td>
<td>c.350,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. In the feudal structure of the society of that time, horsemen

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. 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 Marashli 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. 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

217. Charonis, P. (1972). *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, στ. 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 Musel (Moutagh) Mamikonian."

settle in southern Bulgaria and eastern Thrace. The number of these refugees is unknown, but tens or hundreds of thousands of individuals must have been involved.

The fifth wave of Armeo-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 Armeo-Khazar-Syrian Leo IV, who was surnamed ‘Khazar’ because his mother was of Khazar origin. 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, 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, which gives a total population of between one and two hundred thousand.

221. Charman, P., (1972), Ethnic Changes in seventh-century Byzantium, p. 30: «During the reign of Constantine V Copronymus thousands of Armenians and monophysite Syriacs were gathered by the Byzantine armies during their raids in the regions of Germanica (Marath), Melitene, and Erzeroum, and were settled in Thrace.»

222. Iotape to to Ellektikou Katothos, (1981), Τόμος Β, Εκδοτική Αθήνας Α.Ε., σελ. 31: «Ο Κωνσταντίνος Ε’... προμητευόταν το 746 εκκατομμύρια στη Συρία και το 752 στην Άρμενικη και στη Μεσοποταμία. Κατά την πρώτη κατάληψη της Ηρακλείας και τη διοίκηση από τις απειλείς μέταφερε συνεπώς μονομαχικούς ελληνομάχους στη Θράκη, και κατά τη δεύτερη μεταφέρθηκε πάλι στη Θράκη. Άρμενους και Σύρους από την Μεσοποταμία και τη Θεοδοσιανία, τις απειλές έστησε καταλάβει.»

223. Charman, P., (1972), Ethnic Changes in seventh-century Byzantium, p. 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. Nieperhus I used Armenians,»

224. Iotape to to Ellektikou Katothos, (1981), Τόμος ΣΤ, Εκδοτική Αθήνας Α.Ε., σελ. 183: «...ο Κωνσταντίνος Ε’ μεταφέρθηκε από τις περιοχές της Καραχής, Μεσοποταμίας και Θεοδοσιανίας Παύλους Αρμενίους και τοαί εκτόπισε στα «άνδροδρομα παλέγα» της Θράκης. Οι ανεπικοινωνητές στην Ιράκ, και την Συρία που ο Κωνσταντίνος Ε’ μεταφέρθηκε στην Ήσυα περιοχή.»


The second historically attested settlement of Manichaean and Paulicians in the Philippopolis area took place in 974 on the orders of John Tsimisces, after he had defeated the Paulicians of Tephricula.

The last time Armenian Paulicians arrived in Thrace was in 1020, on the orders of Basil II ‘the Bulgur-slayer’, after he had quelled the rebellions by Bardas Phocas and Bardas Sclerus in Asia Minor. 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 Bulgur-slayer and John Tsimisces. The latter was a first-generation Armenian and his real name was Tchemtchik. 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 Manichaeanism (another Armenian heresy) and was instituted by Paul the Armenian, son of Callinice, who was herself a zealous adherent of Manichaeanism. 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...
1114. Modern Bulgarian writers present the Paulician uprisings as anti-Byzantine Bulgarian resistance, but this is incorrect. At that time, many Armenian Paulicians or Manichaean 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 Manicheans 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 Manicheanism and it was the Armenians who most zealously propagated the heresy. 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. 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, 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 Tschiprovats area north of Philippopolis, which included the villages of Kissoura, Koplavos, and Xelezna. The same source tells us that Kabhrorno, Nove Selia, Dasotchevo, and Kolatchevo in the Philippopolis area were also Paulician villages.

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 Tschella 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: Davdijovo,

228. Charonis 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...”


230. Anastasopulos, I. E., Oi Paulikianoi eis tēn balkanikēn kathē tēn perianēs tōn touropokratias, σελ. 87: “Kata tōn IC ‘apō kentron tōn Rumanokastolikōn tēs Balkanikēs kathē tē touropokratias (Springeas, Girovaras) exafrosiamenon eis tēn kovados tōn potamō ‘Okeānios kathē tēs kefēs tēs Melanikōs kai tōn koudēs kai kelyfēs.”


232. Anastasopulos, I. E., Oi Paulikianoi eis tēn balkanikēn kathē tēn perianēs tōn touropokratias, σελ. 103: “...dia tēs metaxtrēmias tēs Paulikianou prēxēmatoyn kai tēs melanikēn kai tēn prōtēn tēn prōtēn tēs Koptolampas.”
Hambartli, Douvanli, Seldjikovo, Giren, Kavakli, and Baltadji. 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


Nocopolis (ville) et banlieue (Ahan et Komat) 3800
Davdova (village du district de Carlowa) 500
Hambarly 1200
Douvanly 550
Seldjikovo 400
Kalaschly 2300
Baladji 2200
Ghiren-Kesi 500
Salaly 150


Jirecek, There are twenty thousand Bulgarian Catholics of Paulician origin in the Plovdiv area today, three thousand of them living in the Pavlikana district of Plovdiv itself.

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. These Paulicians were probably an offshoot of the Philippopolis Paulicians and moved to northern Bulgaria in 1089, when they formed an alliance with the Pechenegs against the Byzantines, and after 1204, owing to their alliance with the Bulgars Tar 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: Petikladej, Tritichevitsa, Belyani, Brestovats, Orestie, Korchevovo, Brashovo, Varena, Lower Louzani, Upper Louzani, Telezani, Bouchchevo, Kalouertya, Sokiev, Kalabrovo, Daoutechevo, Hagiou, Orehowo, 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, their descendants probably believe themselves to be of Turkish origin.

235. Anastasiodé, J. E., Oi Pauliánioi eis tēn balkanikēn kath tēn perīōdōn tōs tachoskotias, p. 132: «Σήμερα οι πολλοί Πουλιάνες δηλ. Βούλγαροι οικογενεία, διότι δημιουργούνται εκ τῆς, άρθραι οὖσας εἰς 20.000 εἰς τὴν περιφέρεια τῆς Φίλιπποπολίας. Κατά τούτον έρχεται τοίς εἰς τὴν περιφέρειαν τῆς Φίλιπποπολίας τῆς τῆς Σερνένο-γοράς και ἀνατιθέμεναι ἀναστασίας τῆς Ἰσλάμης μέσω τῆς διάτημας τῆς Σερνένο-γοράς».

236. Anastasiodé, J. E., Oi Pauliánioi eis tēn balkanikēn kath tēn perīōdōn tōs tachoskotias, p. 109: «Φίλιππος Σταμός - Σελίδης, Απόκομπος Νικολάκης, Πευκήσης εἰς τὴν Επικοινωνίαν τού εἰς τῆς διάνοιαν τῆς περιπλανώμενον διά τῆς διάδοσης τῆς Ισλάμης εἰς τὴν περιπλανώμενον διά τῆς διάδοσης τῆς Ισλάμης».

237. Anastasiodé, J. E., Oi Pauliánioi eis tēn balkanikēn kath tēn perīōdōn tōs tachoskotias, p. 113: «Πάντα τούτων άνεφερονται εἰς διά τῆς περιπλανώμενον Πολιτικάνοιν εἰς τῆς Επικοινωνίας τῆς Επικοινωνίας. Κατά τῆς τῆς Επικοινωνίας τῆς Επικοινωνίας. Οριαστεί 30, Πεικλέντενα 10, Μεικλότης 20, Κοκόκοβο 10, Καδάκι 30, Μπάσχοβο 30, Μπάσχοβο 30.»
The vast majority of the Paulician and Orthodox Armenians in the interior of eastern Krumelia 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 Orakjo, 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 Orakjo was inhabited by Haierom or Greek-Armenians. 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.

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 Khazar-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 Paphlogonia with an Armenian father.

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 Porphyrogenitus, and Basil the Bulgar-slayer.

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 Paphlogonian (1034–41) and Nicephorus III Botanates (1078–81), who was of Armenian-Cappadocian descent.

A preponderence 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: Artavasdis, Mambionian, and Andzevadze). John Curcas, Artavasdis Mambionian, and Petronas were well-known ninth-century Armenian generals.

238. Βουγιωτάκης, Ι. Κ. (1891). Αρμενόσυροι Έλληνες έν Χουδόλα της Μ. Ασίας, σελ. 2: «καλοί ταν Χάιχοροιμέδες ἡτο Αρμενο-Έλληνες, εὑρίσκονται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Εγίν τῆς Αρμενίας, πλην τοῦ Χουδόλου, Ὄρτικοι, καὶ τοῦ Φούτοςκολή, κατείχαν τον Βιθυνίαν»

239. Chroustis, P. (1972). The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire, ch. 7: «Theodora, the wife of Theophilus, son and successor of Michael II, was a native of Ebissa in Paphlogonia, but she was of Armenian descent at least from her father’s side».

240. Nersessian, D. S. (1947). Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, ch. 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 Porphyrogenitus, his father-in-law, and the real ruler of the realm; John Tzimises (969–976), who married Theodora, the daughter of Constantine VII and the sister of the emperor Romanus».

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 Burzes, Mantiates, and Melias (Mieh 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 Zsaoutzes, known as protomagister Stylianos, father-in-law of Leo VI.245 It was Zsaoutzes 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: Tadja Ansevasti, Antavosan 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 Cucerus..."

242. Nersessian, D. S., (1959), The Armenians, p. 43. 243. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, p. 23: «Professor Grégoire has shown that the domain of Melias is exactly the same as that of Digenes Akritas, the legendary hero of the Byzantine epic poem by that name».

244. Nersessian, D. S., (1947), Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, p. 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».


246. Μάνος Α., (1933), Ποιοί είναι οι Γενικοί Οίκοι, σ. 385: "Εκεί κατά τής βυζαντινής πενής, ο Καγγέναρσιλαή είς τήν φερόμενον τής πόλεως και έτην

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/Romi, 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.236

246. Μάνος Α., (1933), Ποιοί είναι οι Γενικοί Οίκοι, σ. 385: "Εκεί κατά τής βυζαντινής πενής, ο Καγγέναρσιλαή είς τήν φερόμενον τής πόλεως και έτην
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-Mongol descent, known in modern times as Tchitaks or Gadjals.

It was at this time that a second Asiatic people of Turco-Mongol 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 harrassed 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.  

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. That the Kumani settled in these areas is historically attested. More specifically, in 1089 the Petchenegs managed to seize Byzantine Philippopolis by compelling 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...
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.

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251. Xehjergiço, Y. (1984). Otis Έλληνες Πομάκοι και η σχέσή τους με την Τουρκία, σελ. 30. «Παράλληλα με τα ανωτέρα και ο Σελένιτης Υψηλής, που ασχολείται ειδικά με τους Τούρκους του Εξωτερικού, ισχυρίζεται ότι μετά από τους Θράκες, Ούνονυς και Δαβρός ήθαν και εγκαταστάθηκαν στην περιοχή της οροπεδίας της Ροδόπης, ήδη από το 700 μ.Χ. και έξω, σε τοπικές φυλές των Ούζων, Πατσάνων, Ουσέινων, Κουμανών, Γεγκακάδων και Γιούρεων».


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 Philippiopolis (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.
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 Didimoticho and Bulgarian Ortakiyo.254

Persians (Tcheppni) settle in Rhodope

The area of western Rhodope known as Tcheppni or Tcheppinko 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 Tcheppni are of Bulgarian descent on the sole basis of the fact that they speak Slavonic. It is a historical fact that Proto Bulgarians never settled in Tcheppni. 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, whether 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 Tcheppni, place-names that certainly cannot be coincidental.

Modern Turkish writers assert that the Tcheppni 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 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 Theophobos.256 Interestingly enough, there is a village named Babek in the Bulgarian sector of Tcheppni today, a name that confirms some of the information cited above.

In the ancient period, Tcheppni 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 Tcheppni 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

254. Панагиотодаки, П., (1958). Οι Πομάκοι, σελ. 14: «ξελήψαναι Πομάκοι καὶ καλολεμονὶ Γράβανιτις καὶ Μαρήδεσι, οἰκονομοὶ κυρίας ἐπὶ τῶν ταιπείων ομπρείδων τῆς μέσης ἀνατολῆς Ροδόκαστρο παρὰ τῷ παραποτάμῳ τοῦ Εὐφραίου Ἐρυθροκοτάμῳ, μεταξὺ Διδυμοτέχνου καὶ Ορτάκιοι».

255. Χόλεργος, Π., (1884). Οι Έλληνες Πομάκοι καὶ οι σχέσεις των με την Τουρκία, σελ. 31: «κατά τα ἑπτα 816-837 η γένσει τῶν Χουρρομανῶν παραβίβαζ ου Βαβεκ που προηρμήθη αὐτό τό Χαλκοαντώνιον. Μετέρχεται ο Άγιος τον Βαβεκ καὶ τῶν Χούρρομανῶν γίνεται στα βαθμὶ τῆς ιστορίας, για τούτων μέν των εκτίμησις τῶν, οἱ Καράκλινοι (Τσερνίτες) γιόντες Αλεξάνδρες καὶ έχουν αυτής σεμερίδια κυρίας Χιλιανοκάκα καὶ τοπικοκάκα κατὰ τή διήλανσί τους από τα βόρεια μέρη τῆς Σμύρνης Τσερνίτες Τούρκους».

256. Charonis, P., (1977). 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».

Commens 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.  

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, Sweid Estriden 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. 

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, 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, p. 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, p. 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, p. 48: «...a little later Hopf writes that Alexis Comnenus approached Dyrrachium with an army of 70,000, among whom were many Varangians». Hopf, then, did not know that in 1081-1082 most of Alexis' Varangians were already Anglo-Saxons».

The first known mass settling of Varangians took place in 1085 in the newly established town of Chevetot, near Nicomedea, now Ismit in Asia Minor. 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.

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. 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, Liveros, 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, p. 32: «The Emperor Alexis 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, p. 59: «The identification of the Varangians with the English after 1081 results in the appearance of a compound term, ‘the English-Varangians’, Ἑλληνο-Βαράγγος, 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. Iστορία του Ελληνικού Εθνος, (1812), Υόρος 9, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σσ. 179: «και ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ὁ Καντακουζηνός βάπτισε πρὸς τὰ Σκώπα. Κατὰ τὴν Βέλασσαν ἦρθε τὸν Ἰωάννη Ολίβο (Λίβερο), ὁ ὅπως προσφέρετο νὰ μετολυθῇ στὸν Στέφανο Δουσάν». 
THE BULGARIANS RULE SOUTHERN THRACE AGAIN
(1188–1261)

The end of the Conmene 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 Bulgars 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 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 Constantinopole 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 Constantinopole.

After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinopole in 1261, one segment of the Latins remained in Constantinopole, 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 (Hellened as Dzefratis).

As time went by, the Latins were assimilated into Greek culture. Such Latin names as Dzefratis, Dzefronis, Dzefrios, and Gasmoulakis still survive today.

264. Hammond, N. G. L., (1975). Migrations and invasions in Greece and adjacent Areas, p. 39: «In 1188 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, p. 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 Península Balkanique, p. 471.
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 Roman 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 Kushtendag. The collapse of the Seljuk state must have been a gradual process, because the Sultan of Iconium, Izzeddin 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 Izzeddin’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 Izzeddin to bring his people and his fleet and settle in the ‘land of Kavouna’, which lay north of Varna, its capital being

Map 55: Political map of Thrace in 1261

Baltchik or Kavouna. It was here that the so-called despotate of the Gagauz was established and remained independent for 130 years.268

Having settled in Varna, Izzeddin’s Seljaks 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 Seljaks 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 Petcheng origin; and the southern group, made up of Christians of Uzi and Seljuk origin. The centres of the

267. Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους (1981), Τόμος Θ, Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., σελ. 117: “Ο Μιχαήλ, από τον πέμπτο μήνας συλληφθείς διά τον ποταμό Σαγγήριο και κατάφερε στον Κακάβαου Κακάβα από τον Παλαιολόγο. Επόμενη χρονιά ο Παλαιολόγος ξεσήκωσε τον Μιχαήλ για την παράταση στην Αιγύπτια και την αποστολή στη Βουλγαρία.”

southern Gagauz zone were Varna and Baltchik, of the northern zone the Danubian Sistria and Sumen. The Gagauz of the northern zone are known today as Tchitiks 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, Mangal, Malkots, Pazardjik, and Silistria.270

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

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269. Медов А. (1933). Повстание в Понтике, с. 389. — "О Ιστορία καθηκόντως του κράτους επαρχιάς είς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, άνθρωπος των θείων του Σαρκο-Σαλτικό (1263) νά διούση... "Ακολούθως δημω των Σαρκο-Σαλτικών, διηρύχθη τής χώρας των Καρλούχων παρουσιάζεται το Μαλλάκ εκ Τουρκικής γενεάς... Τόν Μαλλάκ μετά των διδηγής τού προσωπικού "Ουούζκος κι Ουρποτηρι (1354), δομημένος από τον Βεσσαριόν, Ελαμέ τίτλον δεσπότιον... "Ο Δομημέτριος, δομημένη το τσόλνων των Νερόκος, έφτασε το να ενσώσει το διάστημα και διοριστήρια...

270. Медов А. (1933). Повстание в Понтике, с. 400. — "Πόλεις και χωρία Ποντιακού εν Βουλγαρία και Δούρδουβρ, αν τα περισσότερα και σημείων κατα-
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 Balkos, Ballakis, and Gagaozis 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

The Moslem segment of the northern Gagauz, known as Gadzhis 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 Gadzhis 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 Tzetakis, Tzitakis, and Tzitakoglou 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 Palaeologus. The wealthy Cantacuzenes were the adversaries of the Palaeologus and had their eye on the throne.

The Byzantine civil wars, initially among the Palaeologus and later between the Palaeologus 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 son Andronicus III Palaeologus; in the second (1341–54) they were the Cantacuzenes and the Palaeologus. 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 Apocausus.

It was the Palaeologus who first brought the Turks into Thrace as mercenaries, while the Cantacuzenes were responsible for recruiting Serbian mercenaries against the Palaeologus. 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, Epirus, and Epirus to the Serbs was sealed by the Treaty of Skopje in 1342 between


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 Palaeologus, called Dragases 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 ethnographic 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 Proto Bulgarians 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 Proto Bulgarians 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

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 ethno-linguistic 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.

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 Seljusks 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 Yuriks and the Konyars after the Ottoman conquest. Of the two, only the Yuriks 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 Babatoua, 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.\textsuperscript{274}

As for the Konyara, 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 (34 per cent) were Yürük, i.e. of Turkish origin.\textsuperscript{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 multietnic 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{277}

An anthropological study of the Paeonians of Philippopolis lists as their characteristics: short stature, black hair, dark skin, and a large nose.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.
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 multicultural nation was regarded more or less as an ‘anti-Greek’ theory.

Constantine Karamanlis’s letter to François Mittérand, 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 Greek 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 Pioritis, 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 Zakynthos.

You also refer in your article to the letter published in the Ikonomikos Taxydromos 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 rubelose 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, these 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 Rafailidis, 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 unshined. 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 straitening 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 irredeemably 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
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, multicultural 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 Kdnou 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 regime 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 coexistence. The notion of a confederation, which some sensible Greeks (including Konstandinos Mitsotakis and Leonidas Kyriakos) 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.

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.

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 Lesvos 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 Pinoeiro 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 regime' 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 Kilkis (according to data from the Carnegie Report)

George Nakratzas

The victory of the Greek army at Kilkis 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 Kilkis, 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
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 Daxato 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 Daxato. 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 Daxato 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 Daxato 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 Daxato.

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.... [1] 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 Kilkis 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 Kilkis. 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 Kilkis 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 on 4 July, the town of Kilkis 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 Kilkis 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 Kilkis, 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 Kirchevo 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 massacred all the Bulgarians who fell 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.

The ancient Greek alphabets, starting, of course, with the Phoenician alphabet, which is the progenitor of them all*

* From T. Karzis, Η εποτοί α τις γλώσσας
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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?

Ihnefis (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 Goussounis 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 (‘Skopian Gypsies’, ‘ethnic hotchpotch’, and similar gems).

Aryf (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 marshals 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.

Anihnefis (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 personal 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 there 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 stupidity, 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.