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TABLE OF CONTENTS

7	Nathalie DEL SOCORRO <i>Archaic Funerary Rites in Ancient Macedonia: contribution of old excavations to present-day researches</i>
15	Wouter VANACKER <i>Indigenous Insurgence in the Central Balkan during the Principate</i>
41	Valerie C. COOPER <i>Archeological Evidence of Religious Syncretism in Thasos, Greece during the Early Christian Period</i>
65	Diego PEIRANO <i>Some Observations about the Form and Settings of the Basilica of Bargala</i>
85	Denitsa PETROVA <i>La conquête ottomane dans les Balkans, reflétée dans quelques chroniques courtes</i>
95	Elica MANEVA <i>Archaeology, Ethnology, or History? Vodoča Necropolis, Graves 427a and 427, the First Half of the 19th c.</i>
117	Dimitar LJOROVSKI VAMVAKOVSKI <i>Greek-Macedonian Struggle: The Reasons for its Occurrence</i>
133	Strashko STOJANOVSKI <i>National Ideology and Its Transfer: Late Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Relations</i>
153	Nikola MINOV <i>The War of Numbers and its First Victim: The Aromanians in Macedonia (End of 19th – Beginning of 20th century)</i>
193	Сергей Иванович МИХАЛЬЧЕНКО <i>Королевство Сербов, Хорватов и Словенцев глазами русского эмигранта: традиции и политика</i>
203	Botče ILIEVSKI <i>The Ethnic and Religious Structure of the Population in the Vardar part of Macedonia according to the Censuses of 1921 and 1931</i>
219	Irena STAWOWY-KAWKA <i>Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia in the years 1991-2000</i>

*Archaic Funerary Rites in Ancient Macedonia:
contribution of old excavations to present-day researches*

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Scholar's attention has started to be drawn over the past few years to the archaeological finds exhumed in the Balkan Peninsula. As a result, a number of exhibitions have been organised recently in leading institutions, most of them focusing either on the Greco-Roman or Byzantine periods¹. In this article, I will try to present a chronological era that is not well-documented by sources and which starts around the 6th century B.C. and ends around the middle of the 5th century BC. The main source of archaeological evidence concerning this period are necropolises, some of which were excavated at the beginning of the 20th century and are now being "rediscovered" in the light of new excavations led in modern Greece and the Republic of Macedonia.

During the First World War, a division of the French army, the French Army of the Orient, was positioned in the region of ancient Macedonia. Disembarked in Thessaloniki in 1915 the soldiers progressed inland towards Bitola and Skopje and left in 1919 after the peace treaty. Among these 300,000 men, there was a high number of archaeologists and members of the French School of Athens, most of them having personally requested the permission to serve in this particular region as they felt their ability to speak the local languages could be of use. One of the tasks of these soldiers was to make an accurate map of

¹ "Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand, la Macédoine antique", Musée du Louvre (France), 13/10/2011-16/01/2012; "From Heracles to Alexander, Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy", Ashmolean Museum (United-Kingdom), 07/04/2011-29/08/2011; "Trésors médiévaux de la République de Macédoine", Musée National du Moyen Âge (France), 09/02/1999-03/05/1999...

the territories they were stationed at². It appeared necessary to those men not only to make a topographical map, but also to use this opportunity to study and list the archaeological discoveries during the war, and to lead excavations whenever it was possible³. This peculiar context led to the creation of the SAAO (Service Archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient), which existed from 1916 to 1919. One should not forget the context of these excavations, as the First World War was a trench war. This tactic implied that soldiers on both sides of the front line were to dig very large trenches and remain in them for some time. It was therefore natural for those who had had previous archaeological training to spend some of their time in studying whatever objects they might have found at this occasion. Therefore, archaeological excavations were only led in the trenches or very close to them.

British troops also noted the importance of preserving and recording the antiquities found. In consequence, they issued orders that all objects should be reported to Headquarters immediately⁴. An informal conference was held in 1915 between British, French and Greek authorities, and it was agreed then that the Allied troops would take charge of all antiquities found in their area but that those would remain the property of Greece.⁵ These antiquities were stored in Thessaloniki either in a specific building for the French army or at the White Tower for the British army⁶. It is interesting to note that one of the projects that were formed at that time was the construction of a local museum which would present the objects discovered and highlight their scientific contribution⁷. At the end of the war, some of the objects were given to the British and French armies due to diplomatic reasons. They are now kept at the British Museum and the Musée du Louvre, the rest of the objects are kept at the Museum of Thessaloniki⁸.

In 1916, British soldiers came across three sarcophagi while digging a

² PICARD 1919 p. 2

³ RENE-HUBERT 2010

⁴ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 10

⁵ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 11

⁶ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 11. The exact location of the first building is not mentioned.

⁷ HOMOLLE 1918 p. 307, CASSON et al. 1919 p. 11, 27 on the creation of the future Museum of Thessaloniki.

⁸ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 43

trench near Lagadas.⁹ The third sarcophagus was still intact; it was made of local stone and was covered by two irregular slabs. The bottom was paved with small pieces of stone. Fragments of the skull indicated it was placed at the south-east side¹⁰. The position of the bones of the feet indicated that the sarcophagus was smaller than the individual that was placed in it. The feet probably laid completely against the north-western side of it, the knees seemed to have been slightly raised¹¹. Objects found were a mouth-piece, a golden bead, an amber bead, a bronze fibula, two bronze armlets, two bronze rings, and terracotta vases¹². Another tomb was found adjacent to the second tomb, separated by slabs of stone. It contained the remains of an adult individual who was buried with the head towards south-west along with remains of a child who was buried towards the north-eastern area¹³. This is one of the only descriptions of a multiple burial from the Iron Age.

This tomb contained remains of two spears and an iron knife, as well as two gold bands and fragments of local pottery. These objects allowed the dating of the tombs to the 6th century B.C.¹⁴

Excavations on the site of Zeitenlik started on May 21st 1917, when French soldiers deployed in the outskirts of Thessaloniki discovered a marble sarcophagus while digging a trench¹⁵. The results were published by Léon Rey who supervised this excavation. Two other sarcophagi were unearthed, along with two funerary vases and some tile tombs. The funerary vases contained cremated remains and were dated approximately from the 6th century B.C.¹⁶ The

⁹ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 17

¹⁰ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 18

¹¹ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 19

¹² CASSON et al. 1919 p. 19-22. The report from the excavation of this tomb was made by a Major of the army to Casson. The mouth-piece was mistaken with a pectoral, some of the objects found were compared to Egyptian objects probably due to the fact that his previous excavation experience had taken place in Egypt, as is stated in the report. An exaleiptron is interpreted as a lamp. The skeleton is identified as belonging to an elderly woman but this identification is not explained.

¹³ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 23 This tomb was excavated by Casson himself, who identifies the adult individual as a man based on the objects that were found.

¹⁴ CASSON et al. 1919 p. 23

¹⁵ REY 1927 p. 28

¹⁶ REY 1927 p. 45

tile tombs were dated from the Roman period and contained no other objects¹⁷. The three sarcophagi were noted A, B and C. B had a large hole on its cover and had been previously looted. It was empty except for a few fragments of skull and lower limbs. However, an interesting detail caught the attention of the diggers: the tank had probably been fractured when it was lowered into the ground and had been repaired with lead. The other two sarcophagi contained remains of human bones, vases and weaponry. A thin layer of brown dust seemed to indicate the presence of wooden coffins¹⁸. The position of the objects in the tomb and of the bone fragments indicated that the bodies were buried with the heads to the west and the feet to the east. Helmets of Illyrian type were found on the fragments of skull bones which indicated that they were probably put on the head. Sheets of gold in the shape of a lozenge were placed over the mouth. A spear was found on the left, a sword was probably laid with the handle on the chest and the end directed to the left outer side of the body. A silver ring was found in the chest area, which led to the hypothesis that one of the hands was positioned on the sword which was held by a baldric¹⁹. A large skyphos with a cup placed inside it were found between the lower limbs. The full contents of the two tombs are listed in the excavation report along with a number of measurements.

The peculiar position of the bodies with a hand raised on the chest might indicate a link with the necropolis of Archontiko which was excavated from 1992 to 2010 under the direction of the 17th Ephoria of Pre-historical and Classical Antiquities²⁰. A similar position can be noted in tombs n°9²¹, 131²², 194²³ and 239²⁴, in which bone remains from the upper limbs were still existent at the time of the excavation. A number of reports from the necropolis of Archontiko have been published which allowed a better idea of the position of the body and of the objects inside the tombs that followed this spatial organisation.

The same year, soldiers of the French army stationed in the west of

¹⁷ REY 1927 p. 47

¹⁸ REY 1927 p. 30

¹⁹ REY 1927 p. 30

²⁰ CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2011 p. 30

²¹ CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p. 121

²² CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p. 125-126

²³ CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2002 p. 472-473, CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p. 122-123

²⁴ CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2002 p. 471-472, CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p. 124

Thessaloniki on the location that is now called Karabournaki discovered a series of graves while transforming old barracks into a military hospital²⁵. The site of Karabournaki is composed of a mound where a settlement identified as ancient Thermi was located²⁶, and a large necropolis which is situated downhill. At that moment, two areas of the necropolis were excavated: one north of the mound and one to the west. The latter comprised tombs that were comparable to those found in Zeitenlik, and were dated to the same period²⁷. Twenty-six tombs out of a total of eighty-two were published²⁸. The tombs were oriented east-west, some of them suffered from the movement of the soil which exerted a pressure against them, breaking some of the sarcophagi walls²⁹. Most of them were inhumations in sarcophagi or cists; some were cremations in funerary vases. Tombs n° II and III contained fragments of a spear on the left side of the body; a sheet of gold covered the mouth of the deceased. Some vases were placed either beside or on the legs. It is unfortunate that not all of the tombs excavated were published, nor the position of the tombs among themselves.

On the other side of the front line, there were also some excavations. The most famous of those, and possibly the most controversial³⁰, is located on the site of Trebenishte. Excavations were led by the Bulgarian army in 1918, when soldiers reconstructing the road leading to the north of Ohrid discovered seven tombs which contained a high number of objects from this particular period.³¹ Few skeletal remains were found, but the presence of weaponry seemed to indicate that all of these were male graves. According to the diagrams, the

²⁵ REY 1927-2 p. 48

²⁶ This settlement has been excavated by the University of Thessaloniki since 2005, see TIVERIOS and MANAKIDOU 2011 p. 669

²⁷ REY 1927-2 p. 49, which indicates that other tombs were also excavated by the Russian and British armies

²⁸ DESCAMPS-LEQUIME 2011 p. 105

²⁹ REY 1928 p. 60

³⁰ The confusion starts with the publication of the excavation report in FILOW 1927, probably due to the fact that it was only published ten years after the excavation. Filow emits some doubts about the tomb diagrams drawn by Schkorpil and also says that there might have been an error with the tomb numbers. Also, the fact that this site was excavated by archaeologists with different approaches and in several short campaigns makes it hard to study. See STIBBE and VASIC 2003.

³¹ FILOW 1927 p. 7, STIBBE and VASIC 2003 p. 13

shafts are particularly large compared to the size of the bodies. This is also the case in the two other diagrams from tombs that were excavated later, from 1930 to 1933 by the University of Belgrade³². This might indicate a specific type of tomb³³. Another specificity of this necropolis is the distance that exists between the “richer” tombs and the “poorer” ones³⁴. Later excavations were led from 1953 to 1954 by the National Museum of Ohrid³⁵. The objects found are kept at the museums of Sofia, Belgrade and Skopje according to the context of their find³⁶. In spite of some local specificity, all of these necropolises have common characteristics. Individual tombs with no distinctive marker on surface are used, the richer graves containing a large amount of grave goods. These grave goods can generally be classified as social gender indicators³⁷. Bone remains are scarce in most cases due to the acidity of the soil, which has contributed to their deterioration. In the case of female graves, different types of jewellery can be found (necklaces, earrings, pins), vases and terracotta. In the case of male graves, there is a strong presence of weaponry (swords, spears, knives, helmets and shields), often richly decorated with golden leaves. The richest tombs, both male and female, also contained a very specific type of grave goods: golden leaves that were used to cover the mouths of the deceased, face (funerary masks) or other spe-

³² VULIC 1931 and 1933

³³ STIBBE and VASIC 2003 p. 73 This aspect is hard to verify for old excavations, but perhaps a similar construction might be noted for instance, in the tomb n°194 of Archontiko where pictures show a much larger shaft than the coffin it bore, see CHRYSOSTOMOU and CHRYSOSTOMOU 2007 p. 122

³⁴ This is difficult to verify as in most cases, only objects from the necropoleis are published most of the time. It appears that in Archontiko and Sindos for instance, there was no separation.

³⁵ STIBBE and VASIC 2003 p. 9-10

³⁶ It is interesting to note that there is a project of an exhibition at the Ohrid Museum related to the gold objects found in Trebenishte, hopefully other objects from the tombs might also be displayed.

³⁷ To my knowledge, no osteological study has been published on the matter, social gender indicators being generally accepted as biological gender indicators. Moreover, I will not use generic terms like “princely” or “warrior” graves that were often used in literature as there seems to be too many of these rich graves to consider their users as princes, they might have rather been representatives of a high social class. The weapons found in the male graves also could be social markers rather than a testimony of a military activity.

cific parts of the body (hands, feet). There were also miniature objects representing carts (with two wheels in male tombs, four in female tombs) pulled by small terracotta horses, spits (generally called *obeloi*), miniature tables and chairs.

These common characteristics show that the populations that lived during this short period had similar beliefs in an afterlife and funerary rites. It also indicates a form of social stratification, perhaps linked with a form of economic development related to trade with other populations. The high social status of some of the deceased could also indicate a form of heroisation of the dead. Moreover, the inhabitants of these regions practised transhumance since the Neolithic period, which could be the explanation for the development of such strong links at this early period³⁸. Trade and communication were therefore facilitated by already existing contacts³⁹. The development of iron working techniques, and of metallurgy in general, was a crucial moment at the beginning of the 6th century BC. The fact that these regions had rich soils containing iron, copper, silver and gold the economical improvement of their populations as metallurgy techniques began to spread.

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³⁸ BAURAIN 1997 p. 70-71

³⁹ This might have been the result of the foundation of the Eretrian colonies of Methoni and Pydna in the VIIth century B.C.

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Indigenous Insurgence in the Central Balkan during the Principate

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Cases of insurgence provide valuable clues for the character of Roman imperial rule in the provinces. On the one hand, they allow us to gain an insight in the effectiveness of the Roman administration. On the other, as acts of negative negotiation of imperial policy, they provide an opportunity to measure not merely the (in)effectiveness of positive negotiation modes, like diplomacy and patronage, but also to grasp the limits of indigenous tolerance towards the political, cultural and economic integration of the region in the Roman Empire. Moreover, the characteristics of the acts of insurgence can often be reconnected with the particularities of the indigenous socio-political, cultural and economic structures. Thus, the examination of the cases of indigenous insurgence in the Central Balkan region, once described as “the keystone of the imperial arch”, can elucidate much more than merely the more or less bumpy trajectories of political incorporation of the various tribes¹.

Chronologically, this paper is limited to the period between the rise to autocracy of Augustus until the end of the Severian dynasty (BC 31 – AD 235). This choice is based on both the relatively rich amount of sources during this period, in comparison to the previous and later eras, and the fact that during this period the region was particularly marked by the initiation and development of political, cultural and economic structures as a result of its more intensive incorporation into the Roman empire in the age of Augustus. I have considered

¹ SYME, R. (1971) Augustus and the South Slav Lands. In SYME, R. (Ed.) *Danubian Papers*. Bucharest, Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, 14.

what eventually became to be the provinces of Dalmatia, Macedonia, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior and Thracia as making part of the Central Balkan. The Dacian and Pannonian provinces have been omitted, since they were, and remained, frontier provinces. Therefore they are potentially distortive for the current analysis, since in frontier zones it is often particularly difficult to distinguish internal conflicts from external ones (like invasions). Obviously, such conflicts like mutinies of the legions and usurpators may similarly distort the current analysis and are therefore likewise omitted.

Literary attestations

Especially in the case of the earliest uprisings the literary accounts are often particularly concise, leaving few space for the localization and description of the events. After I excluded those conflicts which were certainly or most probably exploratory campaigns or acts of conquest, I retained 11 cases:

1. Thracian Revolt of 29 BC

After the victories he earned against the Bastarnae and the Moesians, Marcus Licinius Crassus (cos. 30 BC) decided to retire to winter quarters through Thracian lands, which he thought to be friendly territory. However, a number of Thracian tribes decided to revolt. Only with considerable effort Crassus succeeded in warding off the insurrection and restoring Roman authority in the land of the Thracians. As a punishment, he cut off the hands of the captives who belonged to the Maedi and the Serdi².

2. Moesian Revolt of 29 BC

The same year was marked by a (poorly attested) revolt of Moesian tribes that had recently been subjugated. Since Marcus Licinius Crassus assigned the task to his generals, the uprising must have been of minor dimension³.

3. The Balkan Wars of 16 BC

In 16 BC various conflicts seem to have struck large parts of the Balkan region, but our source, Dio Cassius, provides little information. In brief, he narrates how Publius Silius Nerva (cos. 20 BC) had to face a coalition of Pannonian tribes and invaders from Noricum that ravaged the lands of Istria. At the

² D.C. 51, 25, 4-5.

³ D.C. 51, 27, 1.

same time there was an uprising in Dalmatia, which was quickly suppressed. Also in Macedonia the Thracian Dentheleti and (predominantly) Celtic Scordisci caused serious havoc, but it is unclear whether and how the Romans intervened⁴.

4. The Balkan Wars of 11 BC

Five years later, a chain of insurgency marked the region once again. The future emperor Tiberius had not merely to cope with a revolt of the Dalmatians, but then also had to take the field against the Pannonians, “who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army”⁵. Tiberius managed to achieve success by fighting both enemies simultaneously, thus preventing each of them to regain forces. Importantly, by the conclusion of the hostilities, the lack of internal order and the strong Pannonian influence entailed the transformation of the province of Dalmatia to an imperial province directly controlled and managed by the emperor through his *legati Augusti pro praetore*, and provided with a legionary garrison⁶.

5. Rebellion of the Bessi in 11 BC

It may not be coincidental that at the same time a rebellion broke out among the Bessi, “who are even called brigands by the brigands”, in Thrace⁷. The Bessi are said to have surrendered to the Romans during the Illyrian campaigns of Octavianus, the future emperor Augustus⁸. This hostile relationship between the Romans and the Bessi had already become clear during the aftermath of Marcus Licinius Crassus’ restoration of Roman power in Thrace (cf. case 1) which predated another precedent in 18-17 B.C., when the subjugation of the Bessi by Rhoemetaces, the Thracian client prince, was actively supported by Marcus Lollius (cos. 21 B.C.)⁹. In 29 B.C., Crassus had rewarded the tribe of the Odrysae with land he had taken from the territory of the Bessi¹⁰. However, in 11 B.C., the latter tribe, lead by Vologaesius, rose in rebellion and obliged the client prince to flee after they killed Rhascyporis, the son of his brother-in-law.

⁴ D.C. 54, 20, 2-3.

⁵ D.C. 54, 34, 3. Transl.: CARY, E. (19684), *Dio’s Roman History*. Vol. VI. Books LI-LV (Loeb Classical Library), 369.

⁶ D.C. 54, 34, 3-4.

⁷ Strabo 7, 5, 12.

⁸ App. *Illyr.* 16.

⁹ D.C. 54, 20, 3.

¹⁰ D.C. 51, 25, 4-5.

A subsequent confrontation with Lucius Calpurnius Piso (cos. 15 B.C.), the governor of Pamphylia, resulted into the uneasy submission of the tribe and the bestowal of triumphal honours upon the victorious commander:

“At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others as the result of battles; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.”¹¹

Florus relates that Rhoemetalces had given his military units a training and organization after the Roman example, and although this might be an expression of Florus’ exaltation of the Roman army rather than a historical truth, this situation could in part explain the difficulty with which Lucius Calpurnius Piso had to suppress the insurgents¹². One of the most remarkable features of this uprising is its religious undertone, suggested by the connection between the land loss to the Odrysaе, which was perceived to be sacral as it contained the Dionysus sanctuary in the Rhodope mountains, and the fact that Vologaesus was a priest of the same deity¹³.

6. Dalmatian Tribute Revolt (10 BC)

In 10 B.C., the Dalmatians revolted. They reacted against the tribute exactions that had been imposed on them. Tiberius was assigned to crush the revolt¹⁴. According to Velleius Paterculus, he succeeded in extorting a definite confession of submission (*certam parendi confessionem*) from the Illyrians and the Dalmatians¹⁵.

7. The Balkan Wars of 9 BC

A year later, however, Tiberius had to launch another campaign against revolting Dalmatians and Pannonians. For his efforts he received an *ovatio* and celebrations were held in Rome¹⁶.

¹¹ D.C. 54, 34, 5-7. Transl.: CARY, E. (19684), Dio’s Roman History. Vol. VI. Books LI-LV (Loeb Classical Library), 371. The assignment of Lucius Piso has also been mentioned by Seneca, although concisely, cf. Sen. Ep. 83. Also Tacitus gives mention of his exploits: Tac. Ann. 6, 10, 3.

¹² Flor. Epit. 2, 27.

¹³ D.C. 51, 25, 4-5 and 54, 34, 5.

¹⁴ D.C. 54, 36, 2-3.

¹⁵ Vell. Pat. 2, 39, 3.

¹⁶ D.C. 55, 2, 4. Vell. Pat. 2, 96, 2-3.

8. The Great Illyrian Revolt (AD 6-9)

Within the given timeframe, no greater indigenous revolt challenged Roman rule in the Central Balkan than the Great Illyrian Revolt. Only with much hardship and the employment of 15 legions and as many auxiliary units, Tiberius succeeded in suppressing the revolt¹⁷. Rome's opponents numbered around 200000 infantry and 9000 cavalry, according to Velleius Paterculus¹⁸. As in the case of the Bessi, the imitation of Roman military organization and discipline is mentioned as a substantial problem for the Romans in their struggle against the Pannonians¹⁹. Suetonius relates how the war scene stretched the entire region between Noricum, Thrace and Macedonia as the Pannonians allied with Dalmatian mountain tribes²⁰. Yet in contrast to Velleius Paterculus, who emphasized the crucial role of these Pannonians at the early stage of the conflict, Dio Cassius identifies the Dalmatians as the initiators of revolt²¹. As Velleius Paterculus himself fought as a legate in the army of Tiberius during this war, his view in these matters can probably be considered more valuable than Dio's account, which was composed about two centuries later.

According to Dio, in AD 6 the Dalmatians were already displeased with the tribute that was demanded from them. Hence, when a new order came in to send a contingent of levies to support Tiberius in his war against Germanic tribes, this was met with particularly great resentment. The Dalmatian tribes assembling to decide about the division of the levies, agreed that if an army was to be sent to the Romans, it had to be to fight them. The fact that Marcus Valerius Messalla Messallinus (cos. 3 B.C.), the governor of Illyricum, was already under way with his army to Germania was no doubt taken as an opportunity to revolt.

The Dalmatian rebels, whose number increased after the first successes, were led to Salona by Bato, of the tribe of the Daesidiatiae. The revolting Pannonians, who marched upon Sirmium, were commanded by another Bato, called

¹⁷ Suet. Tib. 16. Velleius Paterculus mentions 10 legions and numerous squadrons, auxiliary and veteran units, the greatest army assembled since the civil wars. Vell. Pat. 2, 113, 1-2.

¹⁸ Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 3.

¹⁹ Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 5-6.

²⁰ Suet. Tib. 16.

²¹ Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 2.

the Breucian, and a certain Pinnes²². The first offensives directed towards the towns of Sirmium and Salona were unsuccessful. Aulus Caecina Severus (cos. AD 1), the governor of Moesia, checked the Pannonians near the Drava. The defense of Salona proved to strong for Bato the Daesidatian, who got wounded in combat. The Dalmatians proceeded with ravaging expeditions along the Illyrian coast²³.

The outbreak of this revolt, so close to Italy, urged the Romans to reconsider the employment of their military resources²⁴. The war against the Germans was temporarily put to a halt and Tiberius sent Valerius Messallinus in front of him to fight the rebels. According to Velleius Paterculus, the latter succeeded in routing more than 20000 men with only half a legion and was later for this reason granted the *ornamenta triumphalia*²⁵. Additional support was provided by Rhoemetaces, the Thracian client king. Although the Roman military power rose significantly as units entered the region from Germania, the situation nevertheless deteriorated for them. Not only was the number of revolting tribes constantly increasing, also their high mobility and their better knowledge of the terrain were clearly to their advantage. They also protracted the war during the winter period by performing raids from their mountain fortresses. An incursion into Macedonia was successfully warded off by the client king²⁶.

The second year of the revolt seems to have been somewhat less turbulent. Although the army of Caecina Severus suffered from an ambush by both Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes, the Romans gained strength by improving their numbers and organization. The Roman army was divided in smaller detachments in order to extend the army's action radius. However, "many detachments did nothing worthy of note"²⁷. Still in AD 7, Germanicus arrived and successfully subdued a Dalmatian tribe called the *Mazaei*²⁸.

In the following year, in the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, famine and disease weakened the insurgents. This evidently softened the

²² D.C. 55, 29, 1-3. For the first mention of these leaders in Velleius, cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 4-5.

²³ D.C. 55, 29, 3-4 and 30, 1-2.

²⁴ D.C. 55, 28, 6-7.

²⁵ Vell. Pat. 2, 112, 2.

²⁶ D.C. 55, 29, 3 and 30, 3-6. Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 4.

²⁷ This is also mentioned in Vell. Pat. 2, 113, 1-2.

²⁸ D.C. 55, 32, 3-4.

bellicosity and the ambition of many among them, and pushed some of the rebels to desert.²⁹ Although there is no hard evidence for this, some scholars believe this famine was the consequence of a scorned earth policy of the Romans, “a methodical destruction of crops and settlements that would eventually starve the indigenous population and break their will to fight”³⁰. It should be mentioned, however, that at least to some extent this famine was a consequence of a very tough winter, since Velleius Paterculus, our eye-witness, refers to the winter of AD 7-8 as *asperrimae hiems*³¹. Nevertheless, the situation was still critical enough to induce Augustus himself to move to Ariminum, in order to be closer to the field of operations and to increase his personal advisory involvement in the submission of the revolting tribes³². Notably, the emperor himself had acquired military experience in Illyricum during the operations he conducted in this region in 35-33 BC³³. His expeditions were primarily concerned with the suppression of piracy in the Adriatic and the enforcement of tribute exactions. No doubt they generated income, status and military experience which could have been particularly useful in the last civil war against Marcus Antonius. Interestingly, Appianus names the Daesidiatae, who took a supreme role in the Great Illyrian Revolt, as one of the tribes that were most troublesome to Octavianus, the future Augustus³⁴.

In AD 8, and perhaps a consequence of the serious level of distress caused by the famine that struck them, unity was broken among the rebels. According to Dio Cassius, Bato the Breucian had betrayed the other Pannonian

²⁹ D.C. 55, 33, 1-2.

³⁰ RADMAN-LIVAJA, I. & DIZDAR, M. (2008) Archaeological Traces of the Pannonian Revolt 6-9 AD: Evidence and Conjectures. In AßKAMP, R. & ESCH, T. (Eds.) *Imperium - Varus und seine Zeit. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium des LWL- Römermuseums am 28. und 29 April 2008 in Münster*. Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 48.

³¹ Vell. Pat. 2, 113, 3.

³² D.C. 55, 34, 3.

³³ Vell. Pat. 2, 78, 2. During these operations the soon-to-become emperor was repeatedly wounded, according to Suetonius and Appianus. Cf. Suet. Aug. 20; App. Illyr. 20 and 27. Augustus celebrated his victory in Dalmatia in his triple triumph of 29 BC (along with his victories in Actium and Alexandria). Cf. Suet. Aug. 21, 22. Also see App. Illyr. IV, 28.

³⁴ App. Illyr. 17.

leader, Pinnes³⁵. Interestingly, this statement allows us to contextualize the statement of Velleius Paterculus, that Pinnes gave himself up³⁶. All these events did evidently no good to the cohesion among the rebels, and indignant with the execution of Bato the Breucian, a number of Pannonian tribes apparently left the coalition.

But these separated tribes formed the target of Marcus Plautius Silvanus (cos. 2 B.C.). This general had arrived with reinforcements from Galatia and Pamphylia and now profited from the dissent and was able to subdue many of them, amongst whom also the Breucians. These developments brought the uprising in a new stage. Bato the Daesidiatian went completely in the defence, confining his warfare to the mountain passes between Pannonia and Dalmatia³⁷. Consequently, and as a result of the campaign of Silvanus, the greater part of the remaining Pannonian rebels surrendered at a river called the Bathinus³⁸. What was now left of the Pannonian side of the uprising were bands of brigands that were scattered and apparently badly organized³⁹.

In the last year of the rebellion, Germanicus captured, among others, the Dalmatian settlements called Splonum and Seretium, but could not take Raetinum⁴⁰. After a short stay in Rome, Tiberius had meanwhile divided the army in three parts, distributing the Roman forces among Germanicus and himself, Marcus Plautius Silvanus and Marcus Lepidus (cos. AD 6). The latter two commanders proved to be successful in their particular assignments⁴¹. But not without serious effort, Tiberius and Germanicus, leading an army that outnumbered Bato's forces, pursued the insurgents and took the strongholds of Andetrium and Arduba, amongst others. They also subdued not merely the tribe of the Perustae, but also the Daesiadiates, who had probably played a prominent in the rebellion. A number of rebels surrendered. Notably, one of these was their leader Bato, who, perhaps surprisingly, was given a quite comfortable exile in Ravenna afterwards⁴². When being asked for the reasons of his insur-

³⁵ D.C. 55, 34, 4.

³⁶ Vell. Pat. 2, 114, 4.

³⁷ D.C. 55, 34, 6-7.

³⁸ Vell. Pat. 2, 114, 4.

³⁹ D.C. 55, 34, 4-7.

⁴⁰ D.C. 56, 11 and 12, 1.

⁴¹ D.C. 56, 12, 2-3.

⁴² D.C. 56, 12, 3 to 16, 2. Suet. Tib. 20. Vell. Pat. 2, 115, 4.

gence, Bato would have pointed to the dreadful treatment of the subjugated peoples by the Roman administrators⁴³. Thus ended the Great Illyrian Revolt, the greatest challenge the indigenous population posed to Roman rule in the Central Balkan. Undoubtedly, it was also the most expensive one since “the war was ended after the loss of many men and immense treasure; for ever so many legions were maintained for this campaign and but very little booty was taken”⁴⁴. The size of the revolt is reflected by the triumph celebrated by Tiberius and the military decorations won by other commanders⁴⁵. One inscription that can be related to the rebellion commemorates the donation of military decorations to a soldier who fought in the army of Tiberius⁴⁶.

One can pose the question whether as a conflict so great in size the Great Illyrian Revolt has left archaeological traces. Surprisingly, the answer may rather be in the negative. Radman-Livaja and Dizdar have posed that, except for a logistic camp in Obrežje, “there are no finds which would undoubtedly corroborate the sources. No battle nor siege sites were identified, no marching camps, no inscriptions, in fact not a single find or archaeological site which would point to any known event of the Pannonian revolt”⁴⁷. However, both scholars have pointed to a number of artefacts found in Croatia which can be dated to the early first century AD and thus could be connected with the uprising. Many of these artefacts are found in the Sava valley, and this, according to Radman-Livaja and Dizdar, should be linked with the strategic importance of the Siscia - Sirmium axis⁴⁸. However, although the discoveries can indeed be connected with frequent manoeuvring of Roman forces in the Sava valley between Siscia and Sirmium, it can be questioned whether the (relatively) dense concentration of Roman

⁴³ D.C. 56, 16, 3.

⁴⁴ D.C. 56, 16, 4. Transl.: CARY, E. (20007), Dio Cassius. Roman History. Books 56-60 (Loeb Classical Library), 37.

⁴⁵ Vell. Pat. 2, 121, 2 and 2, 116, 1-2.

⁴⁶ CIL 3, 3158.

⁴⁷ RADMAN-LIVAJA, I. & DIZDAR, M. (2008) Archaeological Traces of the Pannonian Revolt 6-9 AD: Evidence and Conjectures. In AßKAMP, R. & ESCH, T. (Eds.) Imperium - Varus und seine Zeit. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium des LWL- Römermuseums am 28. und 29 April 2008 in Münster. Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 47.

⁴⁸ Which had also been acknowledged by Syme, cf. SYME, R. (1971) Augustus and the South Slav Lands. In SYME, R. (Ed.) Danubian Papers. Bucharest, Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, 21.

finds in this area is also a result of the fact that this region is marked by a higher rate of excavation and modern habitation.

One of the most important discoveries that is probably related to the outbreak of the revolt, is a coin hoard found somewhere between Osijek and Valpovo. These coins, of which the latest piece was produced in 2 BC, could well have been hidden by a desperate Roman who fled from the rebels who, according to Velleius Paterculus, hunted down the Romans in the region at the outbreak of the revolt: “Romans were overpowered, traders were slaughtered”⁴⁹.

This treasury, as well as the entire set of helmets, spears, scabbard fittings, chapes, daggers and swords found in various places in the Sava valley (Podsused, Rugvica, Bok, Sisak,...) may form the sole archaeological evidence on the Great Illyrian Revolt that has yet been discovered⁵⁰. The connection between the Roman campaigns at the time of Augustus and other types of material evidence found in the Drava and Sava valleys, like pottery, is in my view more speculative⁵¹. Archaeologists can expectedly make similar connections between this revolt and other artefacts that have possibly been found outside Croatia but apparently neglected by Radman-Livaja and Dizdar. Finally, there is a distinct possibility that additional discoveries can still be found during new archaeological campaigns in the region, not merely in the river valleys but also in the interior. These campaigns could aim for the localization of both indigenous settlements and Roman camps. However, the increasingly criticized connection between destruction layers encountered in various sites in Baetica and the literarily attested raids from the Moors during the second century AD should warn every archaeologist (and historian) for the effects of the tendentious interpretation of this kind of evidence⁵². After all, it is often impossible to render a precise date for a large number of demolitions and destruction layers. For instance,

⁴⁹ Vell. Pat. 2, 110, 6.

⁵⁰ RADMAN-LIVAJA, I. & DIZDAR, M. (2008) Archaeological Traces of the Pannonian Revolt 6-9 AD: Evidence and Conjectures. In AßKAMP, R. & ESCH, T. (Eds.) *Imperium - Varus und seine Zeit. Beiträge zum internationalen Kolloquium des LWL- Römermuseums am 28. und 29 April 2008 in Münster*. Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 49-55.

⁵¹ WILKES, J. J. (2005) The Roman Danube: an Archaeological Survey. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 95, 149.

⁵² On these raids, cf. SHA (Capit.) Marcus Antoninus, 21,1. SHA (Spart.) Severus, 2, 4. CIL 2-5, 783 = CIL 2, 2015 = AE 1961, 340; CIL 6, 41140 = AE 1934, 155 = AE 1958, 26; CIL 2, 1120 = AE 1961, 339.

in order to date the destruction of the aqueducts of Emerita Augusta, one archaeologist argued that the aqueducts were perfectly plausibly demolished by the aforementioned Moorish raiders. However, according to his relative date based on the material evidence, the destruction could actually have taken place somewhere in the two-century time span between the reign of Hadrianus and Constantinus⁵³. The repetitive association of literarily attested conflicts with destructions, for which a relative date is the best we can get, remains highly speculative and it entails the potential danger of serious overestimating those conflicts.

A final remark can be made about the apparent difference in objectivity encountered in the principal sources on this conflict. Velleius Paterculus may at first seem to be more trustworthy than Dio Cassius due to his position as an eyewitness. However, the lavish praise for Tiberius in Paterculus' work should not be so readily adopted, since, it has been noted, the author served Tiberius as a *legatus* in this very conflict. The narration of Dio Cassius, however, is more neutral, which is reflected in the treatment of the defeats of the Roman generals. No doubt, this also explains why the tactical error of Tiberius at Andetrium receives much more attention in Dio's recite. Similar discrepancy marks for instance the treatment of the capture of Pinnes. It is tempting to assume that for Velleius Paterculus the surrender of a chief renders more grandeur to the Roman actions than the unplanned capture of a betrayed one.

9. The Thracian Uprising of AD 21

This revolt in the client kingdom of Thrace took the form of an internal conflict, in which various tribes fought against Rhoemetalces and each other. The turmoil was ended by the swift intervention of Publius Vellaeus, governor of Moesia. The threat was, according to Tacitus, minimal and its suppression effortless: "Neither battle nor engagement is a term applicable to an affair in which

⁵³ JIMENEZ, A. (1975) Los acueductos de Emerita. In BLANCO FREIJEIRO, A. (Ed.) *Augusta Emerita. Actas del Simposio internacional conmemorativo del bimilenario de Mérida, 16-20 de Noviembre de 1975*, 111-125. Other examples from Baetica, for which a connection is, admittedly, somewhat less doubtful, are the destruction of an olive mill in Aratíspi and the abandonment of the Rio Tinto mines, cf. JONES, G. D. B. (1980) *The Roman mines at RioTinto. The Journal of Roman Studies*, 70, 146-165. PERDIGUERO, M. (1995-1996) *La fase romana en Aratíspi (Cauche el Viejo, Antequera). El molino de Aceite. Mainake*, 17, 125-169.

half-armed men and fugitives were butchered with no effusion of Roman blood.”⁵⁴

10. The Thracian Revolt of AD 26

Another conflict was fought in Thrace in AD 26, as Thracian mountain tribes refused to deliver levies to the Roman army. The Roman general, Caius Poppaeus Sabinus (cos. AD 9), received legionary reinforcements from Moesia and Thracian auxiliaries from the Macedonian client king, and proceeded against the rebels after refusing to concede at negotiations. After initial battles conducted with the Thracian auxiliaries, one stronghold was besieged until famine and thirst induced the insurgents to surrender. Other rebel groups likewise laid down their weapons. For this victory Poppaeus Sabinus earned the *ornamenta triumphalia*, although the advent of winter did not allow him to suppress the rebellion completely⁵⁵.

11. The presence of banditry in Dalmatia in the late II century AD

The next literary attestation refers to a situation of banditry among the Dalmatian and Dardanian tribes during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, as it is said that this emperor recruited bandits from these areas into the army⁵⁶.

It is unlikely, though not completely implausible, that there was another internal conflict at the confines of Dalmatia during the reign of Commodus. One should rather think of an incursion, perhaps of the Dacians, although the conciseness of the statement in the *Historia Augusta* renders every hypothesis in this case nothing more than an assumption⁵⁷.

Epigraphic attestations

There are numerous acts of insurgence attested epigraphically for the given chronological and geographical circumscription. However, the nature of the sources rarely enable us to give a precise date and description of the events. In fact, through their conciseness and stereotypy, inscriptions often only pro-

⁵⁴ Tac. Ann. 3, 38 and 39 (quote). Transl.: JACKSON, J. (19626) Tacitus. The Annals (Loeb Classical Library), 587.

⁵⁵ Tac. Ann. 4, 46-51.

⁵⁶ SHA (Capit.), Marcus Antoninus, 21, 7.

⁵⁷ SHA (Spart.), Didius Julianus, 1, 9.

vide a glimpse of a particular major or banal historical event they refer to. Only one case can be dated precisely, but the remaining inscriptions can all be dated broadly from the second to the third century AD by secondary indications (the letter forms, expressions or the names of the persons, especially the *dua nomina* of the second order, the *gentilicium* and the *cognomen*).

1. Murdered by bandits in Moesia Superior (*AE* 1934, 209; Peć, Serbia).

“To the holy spirits. For Flavius Kapito, freedman, who at Dasminium, on his way to Viminacium, was inflicted a most cruel death by bandits.

Flavia Va[---], his mother, (has placed <this monument>?) for her son [---]”⁵⁸.

2. An execution by *stationarii* near Timacum Minus, in Moesia Superior? (*CIL* 3, 8266 = *CIL* 3, 14574 = *IMS*-3-2, 108; Urbica, Serbia).

“[<name of the erector>, for <name of the deceased>, who] lived [---] years [---], who was killed by *stationarii*(?) together with Diurpagisa, his son, who lived 18 years, has placed <this monument> for them who deserve this”⁵⁹.

This badly preserved funerary inscription is not easy to interpret due to the difficult restoration of *tionaris*. On the one hand, the victims could have been slain by *stationarii*, a military police force who were appointed “to protect the quietness of the population and to report of what happens everywhere”⁶⁰. In late antiquity, *stationarii* were employed behind the frontier to ward off raiders and marauders⁶¹. On the other hand, it cannot be expected that this shameful execution would be commemorated on a funerary monument. Therefore, Mócsy has argued that the murderers were bandits, implying that *tionaris* stands for a local term⁶². It is also possible to think that the word refers to foreign invaders, or to a poorly subjugated tribe within the empire’s borders. The letter

⁵⁸ *AE* 1934, 209: D(is) M(anibus) / Fl(avio) Kapitoni liber/to qui casu Vimi/nacium Dasmini a / latronibus atro/cissima(m) mortem / [per]pessus est Fl(avia) Va/[---] mater filio / [---]S[---].

⁵⁹ *CIL* 3, 8266 = *CIL* 3, 14574 = *IMS*-3-2, 108: Qui] / [v]ix(it) an[n(os) [---] in]/terfectus a [sta]/tionaris(?) cum Di/urpagisa(?) filio suo / qui vix(it) ann(os) XVIII / b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuit).

⁶⁰ *Dig.* I, 12, 12: ad tuendam popularium quietum et ad referendum sibi quid ubi agatur. Cf. FUHRMANN, C. J. (2012) *Policing the Roman Empire : soldiers, administration, and public order*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 207f.

⁶¹ This strategy has been applied in Mesopotamia in AD 354, cf. *Amm.* 14, 3, 2.

⁶² MÓCSY, A. (1970) *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 194 (note 2).

forms of the inscription point to a third century date of the inscription.

3. Killed by bandits near Timacum Minus, Moesia Superior (*CIL* 3, 14587 = *IMS*-3-2, 93 = *AE* 1901, 19; Ravna, Servia).

“To the holy spirits. Val(erius) Marcus lived 19 years, was killed by bandits. Valerius Eutyclus and Sextilla Frontina have placed <this monument> for their son, who deserves it”⁶³.

4. Another victim of banditry in Moesia Superior (*CIL* 3, 8242; near Prizren, Kosovo).

“To the holy spirits. Scerviaedus Sitaes, who lived 30 years, was killed by bandits. Sita Dasi has placed <this monument> for his most pious son, and for himself and for Caia D[-]si, his wife, who deserves this. He cared for the erection <of the monument> when alive”⁶⁴.

5. A gladiator slain by bandits in Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 8830; Solin, Croatia).

⁶³ *CIL* 3, 14587 = *IMS*-3-2, 93 = *AE* 1901, 19: D(is) M(anibus) / Val(erius) Marcus / vixit annis / XVIII a la/tronibus / interfectus / Val(erius) Eutyclus et Sextilla / Frontina / filio / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).

⁶⁴ *CIL* 3, 8242: D(is) M(anibus) / Scerviae/dus Sitaes / vix(it) ann(os) XXX / interfec<t=I>us / a latroni/bus Sita Pa/sip(i) f(ilia) p(osuit) et sibi / <et=FI> Caia<e=F> D[-]/si coniu/gi b(ene) m(erenti) vi/(v)us f(aciendum) c(uravit). Mócsy provides an alternative reading of the text, with alterations with respect to the names and erectors of the monument and the their relationship with the deceased: D(is) M(anibus) / Scerviae/dus Sitaes / vix(it) an(nis) XXX / interfectus / a latroni/bus Sita Da/si p(ater) f(ilio) p(ientissimo) / et sibi / et Caiae Da/si coniu/gi b(ene) m(erentibus) vi(v)us f(aciendum) c(uravit). MÓCSY, A. (1970) *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 195. Moreover, Mócsy explains Sitaes as a Thracian form denoting the filiatio, namely Sitaes filius. MÓCSY, A. (1974) *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: a History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Boston (Mass.), Routledge and Kegan Paul, 65. One could object that the same case of the cognomen Dasi is difficult to understand as each form should have a different grammatical case (first nominative, then dative), but the current forms could also be explained by the influence of the local language. In the light of these considerations, I do not tend to agree with Shaw, who believes that the erector was the son of Scerviaedus Sitaes. Cf. SHAW, B. D. (1984) *Bandits in the Roman empire. Past and Present*, 105, 11 and SHAW, B. D. (1989) *The Bandit*. In GIARDINA, A. (Ed.) *Romans*. Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 311.

“For Maximianus, also called Aureus, gladiator, 22 years old, winner of five <gladiatorial> battles, assassinated by bandits. <This monument was erected by> his brother, for his most beloved brother, <and> Maximina, his wife, who misses him very much”⁶⁵.

The correction of *a latrone bos* into *a latronibus* is correct, as it seems that the ancient epigrapher made an error, perhaps due to his poor knowledge of Latin. However, *bos* could refer to the name of his brother, since an ablative singular *latrone* still makes sense in the text. In that case, it remains nevertheless unclear what this indigenous name could be. A connection between this inscription and the militarization of gladiators by Marcus Aurelius seems unlikely as Maximianus was *deceptus* (deceived, trapped, ambushed,...) by bandits, which stands in contrast with a death *in pugna*, which is more glorious. Moreover, the incorporation of gladiators into the army was decided in the context of the preparation of the Marcomannic and Germanic wars and the plague⁶⁶.

6. An expedition against brigands at the border zone of Macedonia and Thrace (*AE* 1956, 124 = *AE* 1959, 183 = *AE* 1962, 390).

“Marcus Valerius Maximianus, son of Marcus Valerius Maximianus quinquennalis sacerdotalis, pontifex of Poetovio ... governor of Moesia Inferior, and at that time sent as commander of bodies of legionaries to the border zone of Macedonia and Thrace in order to subdue a band of bandits of the Brisei...” (abbrev.)⁶⁷.

Due to various datable offices and events mentioned in the full text, the expedition against the *latrones* near the common border of Macedonia and Thrace can be dated to AD 175 or soon afterwards (not later than AD 178).

⁶⁵ CIL 3, 8830: Maximiano cui et / Aureo sec(utori) an(norum) XXII / pug(narum) V deceptus / a latron<i=E>b<u>O>s(?) fr/ater fratri caris(s)i(mo) / Maximina coniux / desideratis(s)imo.

⁶⁶ On the militarization of gladiators as obsequentes, cf. SHA (Capit.), Marcus Antoninus, 21, 7 and 23, 5. KYLE, D. G. (2001) Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome, New York, Routledge, 67 (note 81).

⁶⁷ Inscription from Diana, Numidia (Mergueb ez Zana, Algeria). *AE* 1956, 124 = *AE* 1959, 183 = *AE* 1962, 390: M(arco) Valerio Maximiano M(arci) Valeri Maximiani quinq(uennalis) s[ac(erdotalis)] / f(ilio) pont(ifici) col(oniae) Poetovionens(ium) ... adeptus procurationem Moesiae inferioris / eodem in tempore praeposito vexillationibus et a<d=T> detrahen/dam Briseorum latronum manum in confinio Macedon(iae) et Thrac(iae)... (abbrev.).

7. Murdered by runabouts in Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 9054; Solin, Croatia). “For Euplus, 25 years old, killed by runabouts”⁶⁸.

8. Caius Tadius kidnapped by brigands in Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 2544; Solin, Croatia).

“For Caius Tadius Severus, son of Caius, was kidnapped by bandits, 35 years old, and for Proculus, his son, 6 years old, [---]bricia Primigenia, freed-woman of Lucius, has placed <this monument> for her husband and son. The son was destined to set up this inscription for his mother [”⁶⁹.

9. A girl murdered for her jewelry in Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 2399; Solin, Croatia).

“To the holy spirits. For Iulia Restuta, most miserable, murdered at the age of 10 years, for the reason of her jewelry, Iulius Restutus and Statia Pudentilla, her parents <placed this monument>”⁷⁰.

General analysis

Apparently, the general image of insurgence in the Central Balkan during the Principate is one of severe resistance at the time of Augustus and Tiberius, as we count as many as 11 revolts in this relatively short period, followed by the apparition of small-scale banditry, especially in Dalmatia. However, in my opinion, some critical remarks can be suggested about this image. In both its earlier and later form, indigenous insurgence in the region can be easily overestimated as a result of a number of shortcomings of the sources. With respect to the rebellions at the time of Augustus, it is fairly plausible to argue that a number of these conflicts that predate the Great Illyrian Revolt were rather Roman expansionist operations instead of internal revolts. In some cases, the subjugation of conquered tribes took place along with the suppression of revolting neighbours. Although Velleius Paterculus and Dio Cassius chiefly identify the conflicts as revolts, Augustus himself relates in his *Res Gestae* that he ex-

⁶⁸ *CIL* 3, 9054: Euplo / ann(or)um XXV occis(o) / a viatoribus.

⁶⁹ *CIL* 3, 2544: C(aio) Tadio C(ai) f(ilio) Seve[ro] / abducto a latronib[us] / ann(or)um XXXV et / Proculo f(ilio) ann(or)um VI / [---]bricia L(uci) l(iberta) Primi-gen(ia) / [co]niugi et filio pos(u)it / [fili]us hunc titulum / [debe]at ponere matri / [.

⁷⁰ *CIL* 3, 2399: D(is) M(anibus) / Iul(iae) Res/tutae in/felicissi/mae inter/fectae / annor(um) / X caus(a) or/namentor(um) Iul(ius) / Restut(us) et / Statia Pudentill(a) parent(es).

panded the frontier of Illyricum during his reign⁷¹. A thorough identification of the ‘false’ revolts is however particularly difficult, not in the least because of the concise description of the earliest rebellions.

Through its scale and suddenness, the Great Illyrian Revolt, however, definitely assorts among the ‘true’ rebellions. That the Romans were surprised by its outbreak and size is also shown by the truce they hastily concluded with the Germanic tribes. The Thracian revolt of 29 BC should also be considered as a valid case, as Dio Cassius explicitly mentions that the Roman general was opposed by tribes which he considered to be thoroughly subjugated. When considering the sequence of conflicts in Thrace it becomes particularly clear that statements made by ancient authors concerning the definite subjugation of tribes should not always be taken for granted. As we have seen, Dio Cassius refers to the restoration of Roman rule in Thrace and the loss of sacral territory of the Bessi, thus implying that the latter tribe was involved in the conflict. However, later in his narrative the same author relates that 13 years later the Bessi were to be subjugated by the client king of Thrace, and that in 11 BC the very same tribe revolted, stirred up by a charismatic leader called Vologaesús. A definite subjugation, resulting into a *certa parendi confessio*, is often not as definite as it would seem in the accounts of the ancient authors. So, although the victory Tiberius earned in Illyricum in 10 BC received much praise by Velleius Paterculus, it can hardly be said to have been effective in the imposition of Roman rule. In a number of cases it is particularly difficult to recognize the causes of the revolts. This problem is in part a consequence of the Roman identity of the authors, their focus on the role of the individual leaders and the resulting lack of interest they had for the collective motives and views of the rebels. Hence, in the accounts of the four earliest cases few, if none, attention is paid to the intentions of the rebels or the causes of the uprisings. Fortunately, direct clues are given by Dio Cassius in the case of the Dalmatian revolt of 10 BC. The cause of this revolt would have been the exaction of tribute. Similar discontentment with tribute exactions has also been mentioned as a cause of the Great Illyrian Revolt, along with the extensive exploitation of the indigenous human resources for Rome’s military exploits in Germania. Interestingly, the number of tax revolts was particularly high in this period of the Roman Empire⁷². I believe that the

⁷¹ R.G. 5, 30.

⁷² Among others, a minor revolt in Thebe, Egypt (ca. 25 BC), Gallic revolts eventually suppressed by Drusus (16-12 BC), uprisings in Syria and Judaea (AD 17), the

abundance of tax revolts is a concrete consequence of a deliberate policy of Augustus to ensure a stable influx of income in order to meet the costs of the military resources and administrative structures that guaranteed both the efficient government of the Empire and the very existence of the regime itself.

Notably, in the case of the rebellion of the Bessi in 11 BC, the revolt seems to have been more than just a struggle for independence. As Vologaesius, the leader of the rebels, was a priest of the cult of Dionysus, the revolt could have been influenced by religious motives as well. It has been mentioned that in 29 BC the Bessi lost sacral land that was related to the Dionysus cult as Crassus added this land to the territory of the Odrysaë. It can therefore be assumed that Vologaesius could attract a substantial retinue based on the combination of his charismatic leadership with religious overtones and tribal religious (and perhaps also economic and political) resentment following this land loss. According to Dyson, this element renders this revolt comparable to so-called “nativistic revolts” and “revitalization movements” of modern periods⁷³.

Another consequence of the relative disinterest – or lack of knowledge – of the ancient authors with respect to the rebels is the absence of specifications regarding the socio-political and cultural identity of the rebels⁷⁴. This entails the use of general names and terms to denote Rome’s opponents. Scholars who fail to perceive this type of generalization will evidently overestimate the size and importance of the conflict. A similar lack of specification in ancient accounts of conflicts in North Africa convinced modern scholars of the rightness

rebellion of Tacfarinas in North Africa (AD 17-24) and of Sacrovir in Gallia (AD 21). On the need for money for military purposes, also involving the imposition of taxes on the Romans, in A.D. 7, cf. D.C. 55, 31, 4.

⁷³ DYSON, S. L. (1975) Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 2, 170. On nativistic revolts and revitalization movements, cf.: LINTON, R. & HALLOWELL, A. I. (1943) Nativistic Movements. *American Anthropologist*. New Series, 45, 230-240, WALLACE, A. F. C. (1956) Revitalization Movements. *American Anthropologist*. New Series, 58, 264-281, LANTERNARI, V. (1974) Nativistic and Socio-Religious Movements: a Reconsideration. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16, 483-503, CARROLL, M. P. (1975) Revitalization Movements and Social Structure: Some Quantitative Tests. *American Sociological Review*, 40, 389-401.

⁷⁴ Appianus’ account of the campaigns of Augustus in 35-34 BC forms a notable exception, cf. App. *Illyr.* 4, 16f.

of their maximalist reconstruction of revolts and resistance in the region⁷⁵.

When turning to the epigraphically attested cases, one can be surprised by the absence of any indigenous revolts or rebellions after the reign of Tiberius. Another remarkable feature is the relatively high number of cases of *latrocinia* or banditry in the region. Except for the honorific inscription from North Africa, all other cases are known through funerary inscriptions dedicated to the victims of banditry. Contrary to the literarily attested sources, we have seen that they can be dated to the second and third century. However, this does obviously not imply that banditry as such did not exist before the second century AD. In fact, the absence of earlier attestations may simply be explained by the unpopularity of the epigraphic habit in this region at that time⁷⁶. It should be noted that it is not a coincidence that 4 attestations are found at Salona, one of the towns in the region where the impact of imperial culture was most profound⁷⁷. Importantly, the erection of these monuments in Salona does not imply that the victims were killed in its immediate vicinity. Few in number as they are but still numerous in comparison to many other regions in the Roman empire, the inscriptions attesting banditry probably attest of the existence of a phenomenon that was actually more widespread than these inscriptions quantitatively reveal. It is highly plausible to assume that the high costs connected with the erection of funerary monuments and the production of extensive inscriptions prevented similar cases from being attested, namely those of which the victims were not wealthy enough to meet these costs.

Interestingly, the statement in the *Historia Augusta* about the omnipresence of bandits confirms the violent image provided by the epigraphic sources. At the same time it offers additional evidence for the view that the phenomenon of banditry was a permanent feature of the mountainous interior of the Central Balkan. Who were these *latrones*? Perhaps they should be identified with tribal segments which were never thoroughly subjugated. However, they may also be identified with impoverished groups and other social outcasts for whom

⁷⁵ As I have argued elsewhere: VANACKER, W. (Forthcoming) Differentiated Integration Trajectories of the Nomadic Population in Roman North Africa (1st-3rd cent. AD). Xth Impact of Empire Conference. Integration at Rome and in the Roman World Lille, 2011.

⁷⁶ On epigraphic habit, cf. MACMULLEN, R. (1982) The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire. *American Journal of Philology*, 103, 233-246.

⁷⁷ WILKES, J. J. (1969) *Dalmatia*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 220-238.

social banditry in a Hobsbawmian sense formed a crucial mode of economic redistribution⁷⁸.

However, resource extraction as an economic alternative can have different origins, rooted in the structural characteristics of the indigenous economy. In certain (though not all) inland regions in the Central Balkan, this economy was not so much based on agriculture, but on transhumance and perhaps even pastoral semi-nomadism⁷⁹. Hence a valuable hypothesis regarding these acts of banditry can be derived from anthropological studies on itinerant pastoral societies. It has been acknowledged that through their specialized nature pastoral economies are non-autarchic and continuously structurally imbalanced due to the instable and changeable nature that is characteristic their three main economic variables (i.e. the size of the human population, herd size, and the availability of pasture)⁸⁰. Notably, these features have not merely been observed in fully nomadic economies, but also in economies that in addition to pastoralism contained a minor agricultural sector as well⁸¹. The structural imbalance manifests itself for instance in the situation in which the increase of the human population is checked by the rise of herd sizes, the latter itself being checked eventually by both the limits to reproduction rates and the availability of pastures. For pastoralists, such a situation entails the quest for economic alternatives and the interaction with settled (fully) agricultural communities. However, the number of alternatives and their nature depend on the particular power relationship between the sedentary and (semi-)nomadic groups. When the sedentary power is particularly stronger, the economic alternative is often the commitment to hired labour and market consumption. In the opposite situation, the

⁷⁸ HOBSBAWM, E. J. (1959) *Primitive rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 13f.

⁷⁹ Notable exceptions form the greater river valleys such as the Sava valley. WILKES, J. (1969) *Dalmatia*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 178-180.

⁸⁰ KHAZANOV, A. M. (1994) *Nomads and the Outside World*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 69f and 121. POUCHA, P. (1979) *Bodenbauern und Nomaden im alten Mittel- und Zentralasien*. In SELLNOW, I. (Ed.) *Das Verhältnis von Bodenbauern und Viehzüchtern in historischer Sicht*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 124.

⁸¹ KHAZANOV, A. M. (1994) *Nomads and the Outside World*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 21. BACON, E. E. (1954) *Types of Pastoral Nomadism in Central and Southwest Asia*. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 10, 46.

settled groups are often subject to recurrent raiding and tribute exactions. Obviously, the need for economic alternatives is not necessarily continuous or invariable. Environmental disasters or stock diseases substantially increase the necessity of economic alternatives. Furthermore, the power relations and the related patterns of exchange and interaction between itinerant pastoralists and settled communities is dynamic as well. Interestingly, according to Mócsy, Roman occupation favoured the development of agriculture and promoted the position of agriculturalists, and thus destabilized the preRoman situation of symbiosis⁸². In this respect, it should also be noted that the Roman imposition of tribute and taxes could have provided at least some additional pressure on the pastoralist economy. From these considerations it can be argued that at least in some regions banditry possibly resulted from either the structural imbalance of the pastoral economy, and/or the ‘bouleversement’ of formerly symbiotic relations of exchange and power in the indigenous society. One solution to the problem could have been the military recruitment of these marginal groups, as Dio Cassius proposed and Marcus Aurelius, as we have seen, actually realized⁸³.

Notably, the development of intensive mining activities in the region during the Roman period has possibly connected to the aforementioned lack of autarchy of the indigenous economy in two completely different ways. On the one hand, labour in the mines could have formed an important economic alternative for the indigenous pastoralists during periods of distress. Obviously, this would put into perspective Florus’ observation that after their subjugation the conquered Dalmatian tribes mined the gold “with such zeal and diligence

⁸² MÓCSY, A. (1970) *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 196-197.

⁸³ D.C. 52, 27, 4-5: “For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one business, and the rest will find it easier to carry on their farming, seafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest will live without incurring dangers.” CARY, E. (19684), *Dio’s Roman History*. Vol. VI. Books LI-LV (Loeb Classical Library), 145-147.

that you would think they were extracting it for their own purposes”⁸⁴. On the other hand, the transports of silver and gold as well as the mobility of miners (and the salaries they earned) and merchants could have encouraged raids, thefts and robberies⁸⁵. It should be mentioned that at least two murders committed by bandits took place in or near mining districts. The most obvious case is clearly that of Flavius Kapito, who was killed along the road that connected Viminacium to the Metalli Dardanici and Ulpiani in the south, where gold and silver mines seem to have been abundant. At the same time, the geographical context was clearly advantageous to these bandits⁸⁶.

With regard to the main impediments to Roman domination and control of the Central Balkan, three factors can be observed. First, there is obviously the inaccessibility of its geography, which the literary sources repeatedly refer to and the Romans could overcome but with great difficulty. With respect to these geographical particularities, the Central Balkan resembles a number of North African contexts (for instance the Aurès in eastern Algeria, the Atlas ranges in Morocco and western Algeria) and it should be noted that the Romans reverted to similar strategies of containment, integration and adaptation. In North Africa, the Romans adapted their military resources to the enemy and the terrain, as they incorporated Syrian auxiliaries as well as trustworthy levies from North African tribes in their armies⁸⁷. Similarly, in the Central Balkan the Romans employed *equites singulares* from Isauria (now southern Turkey) and Dardanian levies⁸⁸.

⁸⁴ Flor. Epit. 2, 25. Transl.: FORSTER, E. S. (1929), *Florus: Epitome of Roman History* (Loeb Classical Library), 335.

⁸⁵ MÓCSY, A. (1970) *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 197.

⁸⁶ The other case is that of Valerius Marcus near Timacum Minus. On the geographical particularities of the region, cf. TALBERT, R. J. A. (2000) *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton, N.J.; Oxford, Princeton University Press, Map 21.

⁸⁷ For instance, the Ala II Syrorum mentioned in AE 1931, 36 = AE 1931, 38 = AE 1966, 607 = AE 1983, 998 = AE 1989, 914 = AE 1993, 1787 from Sala (Mauretania Tingitana); the cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum mentioned in AE 1913, 157 = AE 1985, 984 from Albulae (Mauretania Caesariensis).

⁸⁸ MÓCSY, A. (1970) *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 147 and 197. For instance CIL 3, 14513 = AE 1901, 128 = AE 1902, 2; CIL 3 14576 = AE 1902, 31.

The wars conducted in 16 BC and 11 BC give an indication of the seditious nature of the entire region. When one tribe rose arms against Rome, this was easily seen as an opportunity for others to undo or renegotiate Roman domination as well. One of the major difficulties the Romans encountered during the Great Illyrian Revolt was the swiftness with which the Pannonian and Dalmatian tribes could form major political coalitions. The participation in these coalitions were probably voluntary for many of the tribes, but in some cases it could have been enforced by dominant tribes⁸⁹. Especially in the aftermath of the Great Illyrian Revolt, the Romans therefore attempted to break up and loosen the existing political structures by dividing, deporting and resettling various (sub)tribes in the Central Balkan⁹⁰.

Another factor of instability was the relative closeness of the frontier and the unconquered peoples beyond it. In heavy contrast to most parts of North Africa, the Central Balkan was situated within range of military and political intervention of unconquered “barbarian” polities that were strong in terms of human and economic resources. Their potentially destabilizing influence is for instance suggested by the synchronicity of the incursion of the Dacians and the tax rebellion of the Dalmatians in 10 BC⁹¹. This connectivity also became obvious during the Great Illyrian Revolt, as the Dacians and the Sarmatians seem to have perceived his absence as an opportunity to invade Moesia⁹². The region was integrated into the larger geopolitical zone that ranged from the Black Sea to Northwest Europe. This is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that the outbreak of the Germanic Revolt, which entailed the massacre of the legions of Varus in the Teutoburger Forest, occurred when the Romans were occupied with the suppression of the Great Illyrian Revolt⁹³. In Late Antiquity, the emperors grew increasingly aware of the fact that the fatal challenge to Roman domination in the Central Balkan came from outside, not from within.

⁸⁹ As in North Africa, where the Musulamii compelled the Cinithii to revolt. Tac. Ann. 2, 52.

⁹⁰ WILKES, J. J. (1996) The Danubian and Balkan Provinces. In BOWMAN, A. K., CHAMPLIN, E. & LINTOTT, A. W. (Eds.) *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Volume 10, *The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.-A.D. 69*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. p. 576f.

⁹¹ D.C. 54, 36, 2.

⁹² D.C. 55, 30, 4.

⁹³ Vell. Pat. 2, 117, 1.

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Archeological Evidence of Religious Syncretism in Thasos, Greece during the Early Christian Period

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Introduction

In antiquity, Thasos enjoyed a rich variety of natural resources. Consequently, the island experienced waves of immigration, commerce and invasion. The historical record suggests that these resulted in a diverse and notably tolerant populace. Thasos presents a remarkable point of study on the question of religious syncretism. In a milieu noted for its religious tolerance, can evidence of religious syncretism be documented?

In this essay, I will examine the archeological records pertaining to two sites on the island of Thasos, each of which had been occupied from the pre-Christian to the early Christian periods. I will provide background information regarding these two sites, as well as the general history of the island, and specific information regarding a particular architectural artifact, the basilica, which will be examined at each site. Finally, I will consider evidence to substantiate the claim that early Christian communities on the island sought proximity to pre-Christian sites for the construction of their basilicas.

On Thasos, Christian communities re-used pagan religious sites in an effort not to eradicate their worship, but to align themselves with the prestige of pre-existing ancestor cult practices. Because hero worship was so important on the island, and so centrally linked to civic virtue, the Christians on Thasos re-appropriated sites (particularly at Evraiocastro) or forms (such as the double sanctuaries at Alikí) which linked them to the glorious, mythic past of the region. Such syncretistic appropriation was not unique on the island, nor was it unusual

in the history of Christianity. Indeed, on Thasos, as in other places, ancient, pagan hero worship contributed to later, Christian practices of martyr veneration.

Physical Description of Thasos

Thasos is an island situated at the northern edge of the Aegean Sea. Smaller than Rhodes or Mytilene, but larger than Samothrace, it is 398 square kilometers in circumference. Mount Hypsarion, located near its center, is its highest point at 1203 meters. The island was dotted with settlements in antiquity and into the present, including the main city, also called Thasos,¹ which was located on the northern face of the island, opposite the mainland and enclosed by a wall of approximately 4 km, and smaller communities, like Aliko, which was founded on the southern peninsula of the island, adjacent to the main marble quarries. As a port, Thasos was strategically located near Thrace and Macedonia, on important trade routes linking Asia Minor and the islands of the Eastern Aegean. Besides rich stands of timber and vegetation, the island boasted marble quarries and gold mines. As the quarries provided building materials for temples and monuments, so the timber provided lumber for home- and ship-building. Gold, silver, iron, lead, copper and chromite deposits were also exploited from antiquity as were the semiprecious stones amethyst and opal. Thasian olive oil and wine were also important sources of revenue during antiquity.

Historical Overview

Archeological evidence suggests that Thasos has been inhabited since the Neolithic period (4500-300 BCE). After the earliest settlers arrived, probably from Thrace, subsequent waves of immigrants and explorers arrived from Paros (an island from the Cyclades group) and Phoenicia from the end of the 8th century BCE onward.² According to tradition, the island takes its name from Thasos, the leader of a group of Phoenician traders who were exploiting the gold mines of the island in the Early Iron Age when the island was inhabited by a Thracian tribe. Around 680 BCE, Ionian Greeks from Paros successfully col-

¹ This city is today known as Limenas.

² <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Thasos&object=Site&redirect=true>.

onized Thasos. The island reached its greatest prosperity during the Archaic and early Classical period, as attested by many of the important buildings and sanctuaries dating from that time, and particularly by the city wall enclosing the main settlement on the island, also called Thasos, in antiquity. The wall was constructed at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BCE.

Thasos island enjoyed abundant natural beauty, a strategic location 8 km off of the coast of Thrace and near important trade routes, and a wealth of material resources. At the height of its political power, the city-state controlled regions of the adjacent Thracian coast. In about 525 BCE, silver coins minted on the island first began to be circulated; coinage continued until the time of the Emperor Geta.³ Revenues from mints permitted the construction of a large naval and merchant fleet, the city wall, a harbor, and several significant shrines and public buildings. However, as the Archaic period ended, the region's prosperity was diminished by the Persian Wars; in 491 and 481 BCE Thasos submitted to Persian rule (under Darius I and Xerxes I, respectively). Early in the classical period, Thasos enjoyed another period of prosperity which ended in 465 BCE. In 477, it joined the Athenian-controlled Delian League, although it made unsuccessful attempts to elude Athenian dominance in 464 and 411 BCE. In 377 it joined the Second Athenian league.⁴

By the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Thasos had little political power but continued to experience periods of prosperity and regional importance. Hoddinott indicates that although Thasos had (by the late Roman and early Byzantine periods) lost control over profitable colonial possessions on Thrace and Macedonia, "it was still wealthy."⁵ Of the Byzantine period, however, it is not known positively whether Thasos was sacked by the Vandals along with much of the Greek mainland in 467-468 CE. Nevertheless, the island suffered under successive waves of invasion and piracy which reached their peak during the 7th through the 9th centuries. Subsequently, Thasos was successively ruled by the Ottoman Empire (1455-1813), Egypt (1813-1902) and the Turks (1902-

³ D. LAZARIDIS, *Thasos and Its Peraia* (Athens: Athens Center of Ekistics, 1971), p. 42. Geta ruled from 209 to 212 CE.

⁴ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Thasos&object=Site&redirect=true>.

⁵ Ralph F. HODDINOTT, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia; A Study of the Origins and the Initial Development of East Christian Art* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 183.

1912). Today, the island is a part of the nation of Greece.

The city-state of Thasos had everything. Its wealth attracted trade, visitation and political interest. According to Hippocrates, the father of Greek medicine, who spent three years on the island, working on his book, *Epidemics*, the island boasted a climate that was usually mild. “Winter was like spring,” he wrote of his first year there.⁶ Attestations to the island’s importance and prosperity dot the ancient sources. For example, the 2nd century CE Greek traveler and geographer, Pausanias, wrote of the use of Thasian marble in Athenian building.⁷ Thucydides wrote his history there while exiled from Athens during the 5th century BCE. Brutus and Cassius made Thasos their base of operations for the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. In addition to its material wealth, high culture, natural and architectural beauty, Thasos imagined for itself a mythic past. According to local legend, it was the hero Herakles⁸ who provoked the Parian, Telesikles, father of the poet Archilochos, to annex the island. The Herakleion, the largest sanctuary on the island, indicated the significance of the cult associated with the hero/god Herakles, who was in turn associated with the island’s mythic past. We will return later to the question of the role of hero-worship, and its significance to later Christian practice on the island, later in this paper.

Both the basilica of Evraiocastro, located outside of the ancient city walls of Thasos (Limenas) on the northern edge of the island, as well as the twin basilicas at Aliko to the south, point to the practice of retaining and reusing sacred sites. In this essay, we will first discuss the nature and development of the basilica as an architectural artifact of early Christianity, examine the archeological findings relative to Evraiocastro and Aliko, and then consider the possibility of religious syncretism in the reuse of pagan sites on Thasos during the early Christian period.

⁶ Hippocrates, *Epidemics I*, Loeb Edition, p. 147.

⁷ Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, 1.18.6.

⁸ This name is often anglicized as Hercules.

⁹ Richard KRAUTHEIMER, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 41.

The Basilica as Architectural Artifact

“Since the second and first centuries [BCE], basilicas had been built all through the Roman world.”⁹ Derived from the Greek *basilike*, for “king’s hall,”¹⁰ its earliest meaning was a large meeting hall which might serve any number of civic purposes. Later adaptations added a narthex, or vestibule, to this aisled hall, or nave, which often ended in a semi-circular apse. The earliest house churches, such as that found at Dura-Europa,¹¹ were succeeded, from the 4th century of the common era onward, by the basilica. Later innovations produced a cruciform church where the nave was bisected by the transept. Larger and more elaborate than the house church, the basilica demonstrated the emergence of Christians into the social milieu after the religion received official Roman recognition Emperor Galerius’ Edict of Toleration in 311 CE and the subsequent Edict of Milan under Constantine in 313 CE.

Why did the basilica become the template of choice for these early church buildings? According to L. Michael White, although influenced by contemporaneous, 4th century CE development of the layout of the synagogue, the distinctive basilica design confirmed that Christianity had developed a separate identity from Judaism.¹² Robert Milburn believes that the choice of the basilica for early church buildings also represented a rejection of other architectural forms more closely identified with pagan worship,¹³ although J. G. Davies points out that at least one classical temple was converted into a church, as in the case of the transition of the temple of Athena at Syracuse into the cathedral of Syracuse.¹⁴

Why then the basilica? Ward-Perkins notes that although the basilica as

¹⁰ Robert MILBURN, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 86; John B. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Architecture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1977), p. 20.

¹¹ L. Michael WHITE, *Building God’s House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 7. This house-church, identified in 1931, can be securely dated to 256 CE, making it the earliest pre-Constantinian church building yet discovered.

¹² WHITE, p. 8.

¹³ MILBURN, p. 86.

¹⁴ J. G. DAVIES, *Temples, Churches and Mosques: A Guide to the Appreciation of Religious Architecture* (Bath, England: Pitman Press, 1982), pp. 90-91.

an architectural type had been used for many years, it was nearly obsolete in the Roman world. Moreover, “the basilica was untainted by any prior religious associations” being a “familiar, all-purpose building type for housing any large assembly of persons.” Moreover, its “ceremonial connotations” were well-suited to the public rituals of the newly-public Christians. Finally, it was relatively easy to build and decorate with materials readily available almost anywhere.¹⁵

According to Richard Krautheimer, the association of the basilica as a king’s hall made the building type all the more attractive to Christians’ emerging theology of Christ as King.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the popularity of the choice of the basilica for church-building may have resulted from Constantinian policy in the years following the Edict of Milan.

It was based on standard forms of monumental public architecture at Rome. Derived from civil halls, imperial palaces or classical hypostyle architecture, it was self-consciously adapted to the new social position of the Christian church under imperial patronage.¹⁷

Patronage by the emperor Constantine and his mother Helena Augusta accounted for a number of these buildings throughout Rome and the Holy Land.¹⁸ Although it underwent some variation and elaboration, the basilica remained the norm for church construction in western Europe for over 1,000 years.¹⁹

Church buildings fell into distinct groups: one type was adapted for common liturgical uses including Eucharist and Mass, while others were designed for the special functions of housing tombs, martyria,²⁰ or baptisteries, which might incorporate, for example, a dome, octagon, hexagon or other polygon.²¹

¹⁵ WARD-PERKINS, p. 325.

¹⁶ KRAUTHEIMER, p. 41.

¹⁷ WHITE, p. 18.

¹⁸ WHITE, p. 4.

¹⁹ DAVIES, p. 101.

²⁰ Martyria are specialized churches specifically built to hold the relics of one believed to have died in the defense or service of Christianity. Frequently, such relics were interred below the altar.

²¹ DAVIES, p. 101-102. Octagons and hexagons were favored for baptisteries and martyria due to their associations with the eight or sixth day of the week, corresponding to Sunday (when Christ rose from the dead) or Friday (when he was crucified), both days considered significant to baptism or martyrdom. A dome was thought to represent an image of heaven.

Ultimately, the construction of the martyrium came to influence that of the baptistery.²² The presence of a baptistery indicated that the church was the seat of a bishop.

Occasionally, the placement of two churches side-by-side demonstrated the differing functions attributed to them. While one church might function in straightforward congregational worship (and might include a baptistery), the other beside it might be set aside for services commemorating the dead, and particularly martyrs.²³ Milburn notes that this Christian practice, influenced by pagan feasts for the dead, might include both Eucharist and community supper.²⁴ As such, both churches were equipped for Masses (each having an altar),²⁵ as one church would celebrate Eucharist for the sake of the living, and the other, on behalf of the dead.

The Basilica at Evraiocastro

Outside of the city walls, towards the cape of Thasos is a terrace bearing a paleo-Christian church. Inside a central nave of this ancient basilica is the recently-constructed Chapel of the Holy Apostles. The ancient basilica, dating

²² A. KHATCHATRIAN, *Origine et Typologie des Baptistères Paleo-chrétiens* (Mulhouse: Centre de Culture Chrétienne, 1982), p. 13. “La parenté de forme entre mausolée, martyrium et baptistère est frappante.” “The relationship of form between mausoleum, martyrium and baptistery is striking” [my translation]. Khatchatrian concludes that the mausoleum and the martyrium influenced the formation of the baptistery because of a perceived confluence of theological meaning: each was regarded as celebrating a particular kind of victory over sin and death. See also “Baptême,” in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Christianisme Ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 332-338, which describes the similarities in iconography regarding baptism and burial in the early church.

²³ Churches set aside solely for commemoration of rites for the dead are sometimes called cemetery churches, to distinguish them from martyria, which, although they venerate a martyr, usually also celebrated liturgies for the living. The practice of setting aside some, usually small churches, as cemetery churches to be used solely for funerary rites, continues to this day in some parts of the world, including Greece.

²⁴ MILBURN, p. 88-89.

²⁵ Karen Ilene Peterson HENRICKS, *The Early Christian Double-Basilica*. A doctoral dissertation for the University of Missouri-Columbia, 1989 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1989), p. 16.

from the 5th or perhaps the 6th century CE, includes a narthex and a nave divided into three sections. In the early 1950s, heavy rains revealed the outline of the ruined basilica walls. However, as archeologist Georges Daux angrily reports, complete excavation of the basilica was hindered by “the most offensive”²⁶ construction of the Chapel of the Holy Apostles in 1959 on the site. The construction was without the authorization of the Service Des Antiquités, but, as Daux reports, was financed by Madame Niarchos, presumably a wealthy, private sponsor. This chapel was constructed just before excavations of the underlying basilica could take place, and itself prevents complete excavation of the site. The Chapel of the Holy Apostles occupies all of the choir of the ancient basilica, and used bits of the basilica in the construction of its walls.²⁷

The basilica was built in the 5th century CE, partially restored in the second half of the 6th century and then abandoned, but the date at which it was finally destroyed is not known. The late 6th century repair is dated by a coin of Justinian, found in the repair, touching the foundation of the baptistery. By the 12th century CE, the basilica is known to have already been ruined. Ducat believes that the destruction of the building may have been the result of Slavic invasions, but no specific dates or evidence are offered to buttress this supposition.

The basilica is in nearly complete ruins except at the west angle where a wall remains. It sits on a platform oriented east to west, with a west-side access. The platform measures 23.15 meters east to west and 14 meters north to south. At the northeast end of the nave, a row of benches was partially preserved. To the west, part of one of the stylobates which divided the nave into three parts is visible. To the east, the semicircular apse is also visible. A structure identified in several sources as a circular baptistery can be accessed only through the narthex. However, this structure is unlikely to have been a baptistery, and was more likely

²⁶ Georges DAUX, “Chronique des Fouilles et Découvertes Archéologiques en Grèce en 1963,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens: École Française d’Athènes, 1964,) p. 866. He describes the new building as “la plus offensante.”

²⁷ The chapel highlights a persistent difficulty in archeology: that of competing claims for land. The chapel is just the latest building on the site. However, preserving the chapel means preventing the excavation of the basilica, just as preserving the basilica means preventing the full excavation of the terrace and sanctuary beneath it. Archeologists and others must decide what to excavate and what to preserve amidst competing interests, priorities and even funding sources.

a watchtower.²⁸

All around the building, a cemetery from the 5th or 6th century occupies every available space. About 40 of these graves have been excavated.²⁹ Graves first began to be dug at the site at the same time that the church was built. Then, centuries later, perhaps the 12th century CE, two carefully constructed, but juxtaposed tombs were added to the north end of the narthex at about the same time that another tomb was placed in the watchtower. These tombs have been dated by glass fragments found inside of them.

In general, the basilica appears to have been constructed with little care. The foundation was composed of a gray and crumbly mortar. The walls are covered with gray stucco and decorations are poor and few. (Mosaics, which were common in basilicas of this period, are apparently absent here.)

This early Christian church was built on the site of an earlier, pre-Christian sanctuary which was itself built upon a rocky platform extending to an artificial terrace wall, which resembles that of other buildings near the Acropolis inside the city walls. This earlier sanctuary, and the terrace upon which it is built, are believed to date from the end of the 6th century BCE. About fifty years after

²⁸ See for example, Fernande DUCAT, "La Basilique d'Evraiocastro A Thasos," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1965), p. 145, for an identification of this structure as a baptistery. Nevertheless, Charalambos Bakirtzis, Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace for the Greek government, believes that the structure is actually the remnant of the foundation of a guard tower. The point of Evraiocastro, geographically, is an excellent location for the placement of a watch tower. (In addition, several such towers dot the city walls.) Moreover, the extramural placement of the basilica, the poor quality of the construction, the absence of mosaics or other ornamentation, and the preponderance of graves everywhere, which date from the building of the basilica onward, make the presence of baptistery highly unlikely here. Upon examination of the site, I concur with Bakirtzis in his appraisal of the structure as a tower placement rather than a baptistery.

²⁹ *Guide de Thasos* (Paris: École Française d'Athènes, 1967), p. 49. This figure conflicts with DUCAT, p. 153. However, the later publication date of the *Guide de Thasos* and the likelihood that there were many graves at the site make the higher figure quoted here seem reliable. See also Fernande DUCAT, "La Basilique d'Evraiocastro A Thasos," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 1965), p. 153.

this initial construction, the terrace was enlarged. An extant retaining wall 27 meters in length and 2 meters thick supports the terrace. In that area, terra cotta figurines and inscriptions attest to cults of Zeus, Athena, Artemis, and the Nymphs. Additional inscriptions attest worship of the *patroi*, or ancestor cults to which all Thasian citizens traced their lineage. A small cache of bronze coins dating from the Hellenistic period helps date the site. Also found was an antefix representing two lions facing one another. Another archaic antefix bears a Chimera identical to one found on an antefix at the Herakleion located inside the city walls. In general, however, George Daux judges the ceramics from the site to be of mediocre quality.³⁰

The lack of fragments datable to the 1st century BCE through the 3rd century CE strongly suggest that the pre-Christian sanctuary fell into disuse during that period. In the first half of the 3rd century CE, the sanctuary was extended to the south with the installation of a portico with a colonnade façade which opened toward the sea. A roof with big antéfixes (with palmettes and wreathes framing a helmeted head of Athena) found on the site are believed to belong to this portico. The portico had tiles of gneiss and marble and a gneiss foundation which bore the stylobate.

Examination of the site reveals human remains almost everywhere, including in the area of the watchtower. While the terra cotta of the tower suggests a 5th century CE date, the glass fragments found with the two tombs in the narthex provide a 12th century CE date for them as well as the tomb in the tower. The profusion of graves, which began to be dug at the same time the church was built, and the extra-mural location of the basilica itself, would seem to suggest that Evraiocastro was a cemetery church. Moreover, that the tombs *within* the basilica proper date to a period centuries after the initial construction mitigates against identifying the church as a martyrion, since the martyr's relics would have been expected to have been centrally-located in the basilica at about the time of its construction. That many of the graves appear to be contemporaneous with the building of the church, seems to support the contention that the church was built for the purpose of commemorating and burying the dead. A baptistery would be highly unlikely in either a cemetery church or martyrion, which tends to confirm the re-identification of the structure originally called a baptistery as a watchtower. In general, the basilica appears to have been hastily constructed and then abandoned at an unknown, later date for unknown rea-

³⁰ DAUX, p. 868.

sons. Evidence suggests that the pre-Christian sanctuary upon which the basilica is built fell into disuse between the 1st century BCE and the 3rd century CE.³¹

This cemetery church, built for the purpose of hallowing Christian dead, was intentionally built upon a site previously used for the veneration of several gods as well as ancestors, or *patroi*. Because Thasos continued to be a wealthy community, it is unlikely that the site was reused for economic reasons. Instead, the Christians of Thasos selected this location, particularly because of its association with the veneration of the dead *patroi*.

The Twin Basilicas at Aliko

Elsewhere on Thasos on the southern peninsula of the island at Aliko,³² double basilicas (built around 500 CE) replaced earlier archaic sanctuaries (built around 500 BCE). Although it is not clear what remained of the earlier sanctuaries at Aliko during the period of the construction of the double basilicas, the replication on the site of double buildings suggests that the practice of replacing sanctuaries with basilicas (as had also occurred at Evraiocastro) was not unusual on the island. First of all, double buildings are unusual in Thrace; therefore, the construction of double basilicas on a site previously occupied by double sanctuaries is, if you will, *doubly* significant. Second, even if the earlier sanctuaries at Aliko and Evraiocastro were in disuse or even ruins at the time of the later Christian construction, evidence such as terra cotta figurines would have marked the location of the sanctuaries.

Aliko was the location of several very profitable marble quarries; it was a center of commerce and shipping. Archeological excavations of caves at Aliko reveal terra cotta figurines dating to the 7th century BCE, indicating the worship of several deities.³³ These finds confirm that the region was regarded as a sacred site for many centuries. Two pre-Christian sanctuaries near the quarries were believed by Bent (on the basis of inscriptional evidence) to have served the worship of Apollo, Athena and Dionysus.³⁴ However, later excavators con-

³¹ Why then did the inhabitants of Thasos return to the site to construct a portico centuries after the sanctuary had apparently been abandoned?

³² Aliko means "salt." At the marble quarries surrounding the settlement, inhabitants gathered salt that precipitated from the ocean onto the stones of the quarry.

³³ "Grotte," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique* 86:2 (1962), pp. 949-959.

³⁴ J. Th. BENT, "The Temple of Apollo at Aliko," *American Journal of Archeology* 3 (1887), pp. 450-452.

cluded that these buildings were actually sanctuaries to Poseidon.³⁵ Today, the actual deity, or deities worshipped at the site is a point of speculation: some have suggested that the two sanctuaries served complementary divines, as was the case in Dodoni, where both Zeus and his wife, Dione, were worshipped in twin sanctuaries. Others have posited Poseidon, Dionysus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis or Athena as those among the pantheon who were worshipped there.

The two sanctuaries, labeled “North” and “South” for purposes of easy identification by Servais, each form almost perfect squares, and are in many ways, classical examples of archaic architecture. For example, both buildings featured shallow porticos (similar to the *oikoi* complex of the Thasian Herakeion) rather than the developed stoas of later architectural vogue. Both buildings are composed of two rooms of unequal size. The North building, which is the older of the two, is believed to have been built around 525 BCE and partially remodeled about 450 BCE, perhaps to unify it architecturally with the South building. The South building dates to about 500 BCE and is thought to have been built to complement the North building, although it is smaller and simpler in comparison. The buildings are believed to have been in use until the late Roman period. The South sanctuary was found to contain pottery fragments datable to the 1st and 2nd century CE.³⁶ Little remains of the two archaic sanctuaries today. Of the Ionic portico, only a couple of column bases remain in situ. (In a typical reuse of spoils, a nearby house incorporated an identical column base, presumably from the site, in the building of one of its walls.)

Nearby but not contiguous to the ruins of the ancient, pre-Christian sanctuaries, Aliko bears twin basilicas. Of these two buildings, the northernmost was built upon the remains of an earlier, pre-Christian cultic site datable to the 1st century CE,³⁷ and a very simple Christian chapel which antedated the pre-Christian building. However, opinion is divided as to which of the basilicas, North or South, was built first.

As noted earlier, double basilicas were not uncommon throughout the Mediterranean basin, although they were quite unusual in the immediate vicinity of Thrace. Frequently, the two buildings served different liturgical functions.

³⁵ J. SERVAIS, *Aliko I: Les Deux Sanctuaires; Études Thasiennes IX*. (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, L'École Française d'Athènes, 1980), p. 9.

³⁶ SERVAIS, p. 71.

³⁷ J.-P. SODINI, *Aliko II: La Basilique Double. Études Thasiennes (L'École Française d'Athènes, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1984)*, p. 9.

This was also the case at Alikí: the southernmost of double basilicas at Alikí was also believed to possess a baptistery, while the northernmost basilica probably served as a cemetery church or perhaps martyrion.

Lacking any evidence of an altar, the northern basilica is filled with burial remains. However, unlike other double basilicas elsewhere, the geography of the site at Alikí dictates that the two churches are built very close together, in a somewhat awkward manner.

The Significance of Hero Worship on Thasos

Hero worship was particularly strong and enduring on Thasos, as evidenced by the centrality of the Herakleion and monuments to Glaukos and Theagenes. As early as the late bronze age, “the concept of the hero or tribal ancestor developed and was linked with beliefs in an afterlife.”³⁸ As we noted earlier, the basilica at Evraiocastro was built upon an earlier sanctuary dedicated (by inscription evidence) to several Olympian gods and to the *patroi*, or ancestor cults to which the citizens of the island traced their lineage.

The Herakleion on Thasos was, in fact, the largest Herakleion in the ancient world. Both Kobayashi and Kurtz note that the cult of Herakles on Thasos incorporated elements of worship traditionally attributed not only to a hero, but to an Olympian god. While Kurtz resists concluding that this atypical herocult resulted from syncretism between Greek and Phoenician deities, Kobayashi, reading the same sources, is not so sure.³⁹ Kobayashi details the conflation of Herakles with the Phoenician deity, Melqart, as evidence of syncretism. However, for the purposes of our study, we need only note the centrality of Herak-

³⁸ HODDINOTT, Ralph, “The Hero in Thracian Religion,” in *The Thracians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), pp. 169-175. See also Cynthia STEGER’s unpublished Archeology seminar paper, “Heroes and Martyrs: Christianity in the Agora at Thasos,” Harvard Divinity School, April 1993.

³⁹ Mark KURTZ, “HΠΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ: Preliminary Remarks on the Cult of Herakles on Thasos,” unpublished Archeology seminar paper, Harvard Divinity School, May 1997, and Leslie KOBAYASHI, “The Herakleion at Thasos,” unpublished Archeology seminar paper, Harvard Divinity School, April 27, 1987. Both authors draw upon ancient sources by Pausanias and Herodotus for contemporaneous references to ancient practices in the Thasian Herakleion. However, Kurtz’s conclusion that the Herakles cult on Thasos was Greek in practice, and lacked significant foreign influence, seems unconvincing to me.

lean worship on Thasos, and the attribution of some characteristics of worship of the divine with the worship of Herakles.

For the Thasians, Herakles represented a connection between their glorious past – because of his association with their myth of origin⁴⁰ – and with the Olympian gods, through his association with Zeus, his father. In a way, Herakles worship functioned like the *patroi*, or ancestor cults to which all Thasian citizens traced their lineage, by linking each individual worshipper both to the heroic past and to the prosperous and hopeful present that Thasos enjoyed. The monuments to the local heroes, Glaukos and Theagenes, may have served a similar function.

Milburn argues that Christian veneration of martyrs was strongly influenced by the pagan cult of hero-worship.⁴¹ Certainly, on Thasos, where hero-worship was so central that it was associated with the island's myths of origin, and where the largest sanctuary was dedicated to a hero/god, Herakles, this was certainly the case. On Thasos, the veneration of martyrs, and respect for the Christian dead, generally, was certainly influenced by hero cult, as the location of the basilica on Evraiocastro demonstrates.

Moreover, elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world, evidence of Christian appropriations of earlier hero sites abound. At Philippi, beneath the floor of the Octagonal⁴² church, is an inscription from an older building which includes the words “the basilica of Paul,” and the name of one “Bishop Porphyrius,” whose tenure is datable to 342-344 CE, just after the Edict of Milan. Beneath all this was an ancient heroon, consisting of an underground crypt, temple, and sacred grove, which were located in the center of Philippi. Porphyrius secured permission to build a Christian church directly over the hero's crypt in the 4th century CE. This building was later replaced by the more elaborate Octagonal church, but the earlier inscriptions to Paul and Porphyrius were uncovered by careful excavation.⁴³

⁴⁰ As we noted earlier, local legend linked Herakles with the founding father, Telesikles, in the colonization of Thasos.

⁴¹ MILBURN, p. 94.

⁴² As we have noted earlier, this shape is often associated with martyria and baptisteries. In this case, the church appears to commemorate some hero – perhaps the civic hero interred below it – or perhaps the Apostle Paul, spoken about by an early inscription preserved in the floor.

⁴³ Charalambos BAKIRTZIS and Helmut KOESTER, *Philippi at the Time of Paul and*

According to Cynthia Steger, Thasos was very tolerant of religious diversity. Although the cult of Dionysus functioned there well into the Christian era, “there is no mention of any anti-Christian persecution on Thasos... Because of its long history of occupation by many different cultures, as well as its location on a main trade route from Asia Minor to Macedonia, it welcomed many diverse religions.”⁴⁴ As in Philippi, Christians in Thasos were willing – even eager – to re-use earlier pagan sites, given their tolerance towards religious difference.

Is it possible that there any relationship between the earliest designation of the basilica of Evraiocastro as a place of worship and veneration of the *patroi* and its later use as a place of Christian burial? I believe that, just as Porphyrius sought out the earlier heroon as a church location (probably in an attempt to appropriate the prestige and civic virtue associated with it) so the Christians of Thasos sought the ancient site of *patroi* worship for burial of their esteemed dead: Evraiocastro. As such, the building of the basilica at Evraiocastro represents not a type of hostile takeover, but a type of invention of tradition,⁴⁵ link-

After His Death (Wipf & Stock, 2009). I once had occasion to visit this site, guided by Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester. I climbed down into the crypt, and was able to see the ground-level inscriptions mentioning both Paul and Porphyrius. In the volume edited by Bakirtzis and Koester, the significance of traditions linking Paul and Philippi are more thoroughly explored. However, at the site, Helmut Koester did outline parts of his, and others’ theories which link the site of the Octagonal church to early traditions (as hinted at in the Epistle to the Philippians) suggesting that Paul was martyred in that city rather than in Rome, as other traditions affirm. However, for our purposes, it is enough to note that the site of the Octagonal church represents a major Christian re-appropriation of a preexisting site of civic hero-worship, which was subsequently associated with Christian worship, and perhaps even with the pre-eminent figure of early Christianity, the Apostle Paul.

⁴⁴ STEGER, p. 1; R. J. L. Wynne-Thomas, *Legacy of Thasos* (London: Springwood Books, 1978), p. 83; Christiane Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur L’Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos II (de 196 av J.-C. a la fin de Antiquite) Études Thasiennes V. L’École Français d’Athènes* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1957), p. 183.⁴⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of the “Invention of Tradition” school, see for example, Eric HOBSEAWM, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” *The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.

⁴⁵ For a more in-depth discussion of the “Invention of Tradition” school, see for example, Eric HOBSEAWM, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” *The Inven-*

ing the Christian era with the revered (and mythic) past of heroes and ancestors on the island,⁴⁶ in effect creating a new genre of heroes of the Christian dead.

Reuse of Sacred Sites as Evidence of Religious Syncretism

As Stewart and Shaw note, “syncretism is a feature of all religions.” However, syncretism is also “a contentious term” – a weapon wielded polemically, to suggest that a religion has become inauthentic or “contaminated” by contact with others – and, thus, in many minds, a thing to be avoided.⁴⁷ As the example of the evolution of the basilica as an architectural form suggests, early Christianity was receiving, repudiating and denying influences from all over: from Judaism, from the Roman empire, and from its own internal resources and theologies. Questions of sources and resources become very complicated in the sort of polyvalent culture which the Greco-Roman world represented. Often, the question is complicated by the competing groups’ competing claims for authority on the basis of invented or implied continuity with an imagined past. As the Invention of Tradition School would suggest, the stakes are very high for those groups seeking validation on the basis of their continuity with the past. Moreover, for those invested in the paradigm which equates syncretism with decay and contamination, much energy is often expended in denying the influence of one religion over another.

tion of Tradition. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.

⁴⁶ Unlike at Aliko, where a significant period of time elapsed between the last use of the double sanctuaries, and the first use of the double basilicas, worship at Evraio-castro appears to have been nearly continuous. The last construction on the pre-existing pagan sanctuary at the site was the 3rd century CE. The basilica was built in the 5th century, CE. Although it is impossible to close the archeological time gap by more than these two centuries, the basilica at Evraio-castro is built directly upon the pre-existing sanctuary. Its existence must have been known to the surrounding community. Consequently, it is much more plausible to posit a re-use of this sacred site than that of Aliko, which was clearly unoccupied for a very long time.

⁴⁷ Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, “Introduction” in *Syncretism/ Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1, 5.

The perplexing construction of double basilicas just south of double sanctuaries at Aliko suggests that the Christians of Thasos were doing more than conserving money by building near to ancient foundations where they could reuse marble or other spoils. If the point were cost-cutting, building one basilica at Aliko would have sufficed. It is quite possible to view the building of the double basilicas at Aliko, near the remains of double pagan sanctuaries, as a Christian appropriation of pre-Christian historical traditions. As such, the site may evidence a Christian community which did not regard contact with the pagan past as an unmitigated evil.

Archeological evidence from the period between the 2nd century CE, when the pagan sanctuaries fell into disuse, and the 5th century CE, when the Christian basilicas were built, is scant at best. What evidence of the previous double sanctuaries survived into the period of the double basilicas? What traditions about the site were being circulated among the populace? These are questions archeology has yet to answer. Clearly, the double sanctuaries were unoccupied, and perhaps in ruins for a very long time. As a result, it is difficult to do more than speculate, based upon the circumstantial evidence of the double construction, that the basilicas at Aliko were influenced by the double sanctuaries built there centuries earlier. However, the double basilicas at Aliko are located a short distance from the double sanctuaries. It is, therefore, possible that the later double construction is unrelated to the earlier one. On the other hand, the basilica at Evraio Castro is built directly upon the foundations and terrace of the earlier sanctuaries which it postdates, which suggests that the earlier sanctuary must have been known by the basilica-builders.

The concepts of the nature of worship differed dramatically between pagans and Christians. In the pre-Christian period, the emphasis was upon *duty* in the performance of worship, while early Christian thought began to emphasize *belief* as a central element of worship. Continuous use of sacred sites does not begin to suggest that the worship at those sites remains identical. Indeed, as Herskovits notes in his description of the concept of *syncretism*, cultural contact between groups may produce results along a “continuum that stretched from situations where items from two or more cultures in contact had been fully merged to those situations where there was the unchanged retentions of pre-existing ones.”⁴⁸ Consequently, continued worship at a site might represent *re-*

⁴⁸ Melville J. HERSKOVITS, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon, 1990 [1941]), p. xxxvi.

tention and/or reinterpretation of that which had occurred there previously.

For Herskovits, cultural contact between competing groups can produce new cultural artifacts which must be understood in the context of the contact which produced them. “Under contact, a new form can be accorded a value that has a functioning role into which it can be readily fitted; or an old form can be assimilated into a new one.”⁴⁹ At Evraiocastro, the reuse of the earlier sacred site associated with the *patroi*, among others, may have represented the retention and reinterpretation of civic virtue and ancestor cult by Christians as a means of achieving respectability, or even a connection with the legendary past of the community, as a similar practice at Philippi suggested. At Aliko, the long period between the last use of the site as a pagan sanctuary, and its first use as a Christian basilica, mitigate against a similar interpretation. However, at Aliko, the circumstantial evidence of twin basilicas near twin sanctuaries remains. Why did the builders need two buildings? It is tempting to suggest that a similar, although perhaps more tenuous, appropriation of local tradition is taking place.

Dodds notes that it was the interaction with paganism that resulted in certain Christian emphases upon doctrine and orthodoxy. Similarly, he credits contact with Christianity with “the transformation of Neoplatonism into a religion with its own saints and miracle-workers.”⁵⁰ However, Dodds paints a startlingly antagonistic picture, and one which certainly prevailed in some parts of the empire, of competing ideologies locked in a battle in which each fears for its very existence. According to Mara Schiffren, Krautheimer notes a chronological distance between the reuse of pagan sites for Christian buildings in various parts of the Greco-Roman world. In the East, Christian churches were built upon pagan sites as early as the 4th century CE; in the West, due to the strong Christian polemic against pagan religions, such buildings did not appear until the 6th century CE.⁵¹ Thasos island, towards the eastern end of the Roman empire, was part of a region where pagan-Christian tensions were less-intense than elsewhere in the empire.

Thasos island presents an alternative possibility—the possibility of a region which, by virtue of its wide-ranging trading interests, had been exposed to many different religious practices, and in which divergent religious practices

⁴⁹ HERSKOVITS, p. xxxvii.

⁵⁰ E. R. DODDS, “The Dialogue of Paganism with Christianity,” in *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 109.

⁵¹ SCHIFFREN, p. 2; KRAUTHEIMER, p. 19.

were tolerated. Perhaps on Thasos, Christian communities re-appropriated and reinterpreted pagan sites, not in an effort either to conquer them, or to resist being conquered by their adherents, but rather in an effort to identify with the heroic traditions they represented.

Both Comaroff and Meyer note that pre-existing religious beliefs or practices can be preserved after conversion, despite the best efforts of evangelists. According to Meyer, the process of “appropriation” results in “the process of making Christianity one’s own – a process which can even result in the subversion of missionary ideas.”⁵² Meyer’s conclusion, that evangelized peoples bring along with them into their new religion remnants of the old beliefs, is substantiated in Comaroff’s book, a case study of the Barolong boo Ratshidi people of the South Africa-Botswana borderland. Comaroff documents how Protestant evangelists sought to undermine the traditions of the Tshidi, as they are called, and the ways that the Tshidi lifeways have re-asserted themselves, for example, in the Tshidi’s own variation of Christianity, the Zion Christian church.⁵³

Comaroff’s findings suggest that the Tshidi exercised agency in what they retained of their culture. Meyer’s work indicates that, despite the evangelists’ best efforts, something of older beliefs is always carried into any new religious life. For the residents of Thasos, the question of their intent in building the basilicas at Evraiocastro and Aliko must remain for subsequent investigators. Too little is known about the particular practices of that region in that period. Nevertheless, it is impossible to dismiss the conclusion that the re-use of these pagan sites was intentional. Moreover, I am convinced that it was unlikely to have been antagonistic. Instead, the Christians of Thasos sought to appropriate, and perhaps celebrate, the significance of these sites to the island’s past and its myths of origin.

⁵² Birgit MEYER, “Beyond Syncretism: Translation and diabolization in the appropriation of Protestantism in Africa,” in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. Charles STEWART and Rosalind SHAW, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 45.

⁵³ Jean COMAROFF, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Conclusion

The Christians of Thasos appealed to their mythic, and incidentally, pagan, past, for authority, in a syncretism apparently less problematic for them than it was for other Christians elsewhere in the waning Roman empire. Today, the questions raised by the issues of religious syncretism have not disappeared. Rather, they resurface in subtly altered guises. In Greece, today, the government (which oversees archeological activity, holding ancient sites in civic trust) is in conflict with the Greek Orthodox church, which seeks to re-inhabit basilicas and rotundas which were once sacred property. As in the case of the construction of the Chapel of the Holy Apostles on the archeological site of the basilica of Evraiocastro, competing interests are locked in conflict. It is not only the use of the site that is at stake; cultural values are being contested here. In the current battle between the Greek government and the Greek church, it is the relative value of on-going worship, versus the relative value of historical preservation, in the national economy and conscience, that forms the contested ground. The winner of this contest will receive not only the huge pot of tourist Euros at stake here, but also the moral high ground of appeal to the mythic past of Greece. As I hope we have proven elsewhere throughout this paper, for some communities, the appeal of a mythic past is an almost irresistible inducement.

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Some Observations about the Form and Settings of the Basilica of Bargala

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Some years ago, in a survey about the barriers between nave and aisles, Urs Peschlow quoted the Basilica of Bargala as an example of a Church with side aisles screened from the nave (fig. 1). This article was, as stated by the author, the “first attempt to assemble the material evidence and to raise questions about the purpose of constructing barriers between the nave and aisles”¹. In fact, as the author himself observes, despite the large number of basilicas keeping traces of these devices, such arrangements have never caught the attention of scholars, and these churches had never been analysed as a group².

With respect to the first assertion, I would point out as in recent years, my researches about the form and settings of some Early Christian churches of Asia Minor led me to me to investigate similar arrangements of a wider area that has his barycentre in the Aegean sea; all these basilicas are included in a database³. So, afar from the examples advanced by Peschlow, the catalogue of basilicas provided with barriers can be greatly increased: of 469 churches recorded in database 71 had certainly such dividers.

¹ Urs PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space in Early Byzantine Churches: The Barriers between the Nave and Aisles”, in *Thresholds of the Sacred*, ed. Sharon E. J. Gerstel, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006), 54.

² PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 54.

³ The database was created with the intention to define – as much as possible and collecting data on distributive aspects, furnishings, materials and decorations – the perception of the Aegean Early Christian basilicas in the various actors of the liturgy. This work is still under preparation by a group coordinated by the present writer.

The *transennae* dividing the interior of basilicas were assembled in two different ways: using insertion slots cut into the bases (fig. 2) or leaving an unfinished strip on the moulding⁴, and modelling thus the low angles of slabs. Occasionally, some chiselled strips are visible on the stylobate where the slabs are placed.

As underlined by Peschlow, the division of churches, by means of closure slabs, is the main evidence that the faithful within the church was set apart from one another⁵. But which kind of laypeople? Historical sources referred of many faithful categories kept separated, because of gender, initiation stage, ages and even more⁶. Other sources reported some troubles to orchestrate the move-

⁴ These two systems are both attested in the Beyazit basilica at Constantinople. PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 54.

⁵ PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 54.

⁶ *Constitutiones apostolorum*. II, 57, 3 ff: The lector shall stand in the middle, on an eminence, and read the books of Moses and Joshua, son of Nun, of the Judges and the Kings. [...] 10. The janitors shall stand guard at the entrances [reserved] for men, and the deacons at those [reserved] for women, in the guise of ship's stewards: indeed, the same order was observed at the Tabernacle of Witness. [...] 12. The church is likened not only to a ship, but also to a sheepfold (*mandra*). [...] Richard Hugh Connolly, trans., *Didascalia apostolorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 119-20, quoted on: Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 24-25. *Testamentum Domini* I, 19: Let the church have a house for the catechumens, which shall also be a house of exorcists, but let it not be separated from the church, so that when they enter and are in it they may hear the readings and spiritual doxologies and psalms. Then let there be the throne towards the east; to the right and to left places of the presbyters, so that on the right those who are more exalted and more honoured may be seated, and those who toil in the word, but those of moderate stature on the left side. And let this place of the throne be raised three steps up, for the altar also ought to be there. Now let this house have two porticoes to right and to left, for men and for women. [...] And as for the Commemoration let a place be built so that a priest may sit, and the archdeacon with readers, and write the names of those who are offering-oblations, or of those on whose behalf they offer, so that when the holy things are being offered by the bishop, a reader or the archdeacon may name them in this commemoration which priests and people offer with supplication on their behalf. For this type is also in the heavens. And let the place of the priests be within a veil near the place of commemoration. Let the House

ments of so many groups⁷; and, in addition to that, we should remember that Church fathers firmly insisted on the careful development of the rites, against over-enthusiastic faithful attitudes⁸.

The diffusion of these screens appears extremely wide: only limited to the mentioned east Mediterranean areas, we can find evidence of intercolumnar screens in continental Greece⁹ and in the Islands¹⁰, Asia Minor¹¹, Cyprus¹²,

of Oblation (chorbanas) and treasury all be near the diakonikon. And let the place of reading be a little outside the altar. And let the house of the bishop be near the place that is called the forecourt. Also that of those widows who are called first in standing. That of the priests and deacons also behind the baptistry. And let the deaconesses remain by the door of the Lord's house. Quoted on: MANGO, "Art of Byzantine Empire," 25.

⁷ Paul Silentiarius in his description of the ambo S. Sofia (563 AD) offers an evocative parallel between the solea, against which presses the crowd trying to touch the book, and an isthmus, hit by the waves on every side. Paulus Silentiarius, "Descriptio ecclesiae sanctae Sophiae et ambonis", in Leontii Byzantini, Opera omnia. Accedit Evagrii Scholastici Historia ecclesiastica, vol. 86.2 of Patrologia Graeca, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: 1863), 250.

⁸ Iohannes Chrysostomus, "In Matthaem homilia", in Iohannis Chrysostomi opera, vol. 58 of Patrologia Graeca, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: 1862), 744-46; Iohannes Chrysostomus, "In epistolam I ad Corinthios homilia XXVIII", in Iohannis Chrysostomi opera, vol. 61 of Patrologia Graeca, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris: 1859), 231.

⁹ We find these arrangements in Attica at Athens (basilicas built in the Parthenon, Erechtheum, Olympeion, Asclepieion), Alimos, Brauron, Glichada, Eleusis (Ay. Zacharias); in Corinthia in some basilicas of Corinth (St. Codratos, Lechaion) and neighbouring centres as Sycione; in Argolid at Argo (Aspis basilica), Nemea (basilica of sanctuary), Epidauros, Hermione; in Thessaly at Demetrias (basilica A) and Nea Anchialos (basilicas A and G). In addition to these we must remember: in Laconia the basilica of Tigani; in Elis, at Olympia, the Basilica in the Pheidias' workshop.

¹⁰ In Spetses at Vrousti. At Delos in the basilica of St. Kyriakos. In Crete at Kolokythia, Oulous-Spinalonga (Island basilica), Eleutherna. In Lesvos in the basilicas of Mesa, Skala Eressos (Ay. Andreas, Aphentelli), Ypselometopes. In Kos in the Gabriel basilica, and in the churches of Zipari, "of Stephanos" (basilica north) and Mastichari. At Paros in the basilicas of Ekatonrapyliani and Tris Ekklesies.

¹¹ In Constantinople in St. John of Studios, Beyazit (basilica A). In Ionia in the basilica of St. John in Ephesus and in Priene. In Phrygia in Laodicea (basilica behind the Temple A), and in the Bishop's church of Phrigian Hierapolis. In Lycia at

Balkans¹³; then adding – of course – some Macedonian examples that we will analyse in the following lines as well. Despite the lack of basilicas reliably dated, the number of attestations made some scholars believe that this practice was born in Greece¹⁴.

According to Peschlow, the bases intended for receiving the slabs were prefabricated; this clearly demonstrates that the division had been previously planned¹⁵. I would even say that in building then adapted as basilicas, we can find the same arrangements¹⁶.

Peschlow draws out that as these devices could make a distinction in the use of the interior space of a basilica, a very common plan indeed¹⁷; further-

Andriake (basilica B), Xanthos (basilica behind the agora), Alakilise. In Pamphylia at Perge. In Caria at Aphrodisia (cathedral), Iasos (agora basilica), Bargylia (basilica A and B), Knidos (basilica on the Dionysos temple, basilica A), Kaunos (domed basilica), Labraunda (west basilica). The last two had intercolumnar screens made with raw blocks. Jasper BLID, Olivier HENRY, Lars KARLSSON, “Labraunda 2010, preliminary report,” *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*, 4 (2011): 39.

¹² At Kourion (Cathedral) and in Marathovouno.

¹³ In Dardania at Caricin Grad (Transept basilica) and a Bregovina. On these: Tamara OGNJEVIĆ, “Ikonografija i simbolizam podnog mozaika glavnog broda južne bazilike u Caričinom gradu,” *Leskovački zbornik*, 47 (2007): 49-72; Miroslav JEREMIĆ, “La sculpture architecturale de l’église de Bregovina (Vie s. ap. J.C.) en Serbie du Sud,” *Starinar* 53-54 (2004): 111-137.

¹⁴ Thomas MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 125; Peschlow, “Dividing Interior Space,” 56.

¹⁵ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 54. Later the same author gives an example with different mean with the basilica extra muros in Philippi. Here, the church of mid-fifth century allowed passages between nave and aisles, but during a reconstruction in early Justinianic times a stylobate (height 0.65 m) was built in the intercolumns. Something similar happen in museum basilica of the same city and in the Cathedral of Stobi. See: Peschlow, “Dividing Interior Space,” 68 and note 35; below note 56 and the corresponding text. Demetrios PALLAS, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1973* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1977), 110.

¹⁶ For example the Athenian basilicas of Parthenon, Erechthieum, Olympeion, Asclepieion, and in Olympia in the basilica built in the Pheidias’ workshop.

¹⁷ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 54.

more, these barriers seem – along with others divisors – intended for characterizing some churches' interior spaces where floors, revetments, choices of materials, are very different¹⁸. Nevertheless, we should take into account that barriers, chancels and curtains, prevented people from clearly seeing, so their perception of the building could be quite different, as if there were different churches within the same basilica.

The use of barriers not only characterizes traditional basilicas but also those one provided with transept¹⁹, some central churches²⁰ or baptisteries²¹.

These divisors are not visible in the smaller Byzantine basilicas where the lack of space should limit the use of inner separations. In these devices, people could move from nave to aisles by an entrance placed in the stylobate; this latter had a greatly varied height but mainly form 0.2 and 0.3 meters²². These passages

¹⁸ The partial publication of excavations data and the poor state of conservation for many of these examples are the main obstacles to understanding these features. Nevertheless naves with large presence of marbles elements and aisles decorated with painted plaster are recognizable in Argolid at Hermione, at Kos (Mastichari), in Ionia at Priene, in Caria in the domed basilica of Kaunos, in the Agora basilica of Iasos, in the terrace basilica of Knidos, in Phrygia in the Cathedral of Hierapolis.

¹⁹ In addition to side barriers amidst nave and aisles, here we find these separation also between the main sector and the sides of transept: see for examples the basilicas of St. John at Ephesus, A in Perge and A in Philippi.

²⁰ Maybe in the so-called "Rotunda" of Konjuh (Macedonia). On this: Reallexikon zur Byzantinische Kunst, s.v. "Makedonien", 1069-1071; Carolin S. SNIVELY, "Archaeological Investigation at Konjuh, Republic of Macedonia, in 2000", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56, (2003): 297-306, especially 302-305; Ljubinka DŽIDROVA, "Art, Form and Liturgy in the Rotunda at Konjuh", in *Niš and Byzantium* 5, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš: 2007), 149-178. The last two contributors doesn't mention these separations.

²¹ As in the church – former baptistery – of St. George in Kos. On this: Hermes BALDUCCI, *Basiliche protocristiane e bizantine a Coe (Egeo)*, (Pavia: 1936), 47-51 and fig. 40. Here these separations seems hinder the access to some of the radial niches. Two transennae were also provided in front of the pool in the Episcopal basilica of Kourion. On this: Arthur Stanley MEGAW, *Kourion. Excavation in the Episcopal Precinct*, (Washington D.C.: *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 2007), 110.

²² Anastasios ORLANDOS, *E xylostegos palaiochristianike. Basilike tes mesogliakes lekanes: melete peri tes geneleos, tes katagoges, tes architektonikes morphes*

were usually limited in the west and east extreme of colonnade. These latter spaces seem to be connected to Communion administration. In fact, in the biggest churches, where the *bema* frequently assumes the “IT” shape detaching from stylobates, these passages correspond to the chancel placed on the presbytery’s sides; as we can see in many basilicas in different areas: Greece²³, Asia Minor²⁴, Cyprus²⁵, but also in Macedonia. In the following passages we will analyse these last examples.

These devices were also sometimes supported by different pavement levels giving a sort of naves’ hierarchy. By comparing the side aisles, Peschlow noted that—in terms of both floor height and decorative treatment—it was often given great attention to the north aisle²⁶; this despite the common believe that the this latter was only for women and, thus, less important: among these examples we can find the Basilica of Bargala that we see better later²⁷. What I’d rather want to point out is that north aisle was not only intended for women; in the Phrygian Hierapolis bishop church – where I’ve been working since 2002 up to 2008 – there was an asymmetric disposition with barriers placed only between nave and south aisle (fig. 3-4). So everybody could move from the nave to the north aisle. This had some consequence on the dispositions of the *bema*, presenting the “IT” shape, quite common among medium-large dimension basilicas indeed: while the south side had a chancel allowing the administration of Communion, the north side keeps a round hollow that seems to be related to a table foot.

kai tes diakosmeseos ton christianikon oikon latreias apo ton apostolikon chronon mechris Iustinianon (Athen: Archaialogikes Etaireias, 1952-1956) 264. Orlandos remarks how the height of these varied from as low as 0.06 m in the Acheiropoietos in Thessaloniki to 0.60 m in the church in the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia. This last for others authors measures 0.85 m height. C. J. A. C. PEETERS, *De liturgische dispositie van het vroegchristelijk kerkgebouw* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), 131.

²³ In the basilicas A, C and probably “of Martyrs” in Nea Anchialos, and in the Aphentelle basilica of Skala Eressos in Lesbos.

²⁴ In Constantinople in St. John of Studios and in S. Euphemia. At Bishop’s church of Phrygian Hierapolis. In Lycia in the cathedrals of Lymira and Xanthos.

²⁵ At Salamina in the Campanopetra basilica. On this: Georges ROUX, *La basilique de la Campanopetra* (Paris: De Boccard, 1998).

²⁶ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 66.

²⁷ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 66.

According to Pallas²⁸ the presence of secondary altars seems related to the existence of entrances in the east wall of the church: from there, before the mass, the male faithful could have delivered the Eucharistic offerings to presbyters²⁹ (fig. 4). So, the north aisle and the nave seem to be intended for male faithful. Anyway, this is a very particular, the only one I noticed, where the separation between nave and aisles is asymmetrical, at least in its first phase³⁰.

Yet, in the Bargala basilica Aleksova and Mango tried to interpret the presence of an ambo on the south side of the nave with the following explanation: "The position of the ambo indicates that the lections and sermons were addressed more to the men than to the women."³¹ We should also highlight that, as if usual, they are equally attested ambos placed on the north side³². Consequently, it seems that the disposition for male and female faithful was quite variable and related to local tradition.

We can observe the most impressive use of different pavement levels in the St. Demetrios church at Thessalonike, where the north aisle lies 0.47 m under the nave, but settlements like this are widely attested³³. In St. Demetrios apparently lack barriers between columns but, as asserted by Peschlow the column's

²⁸ Dimitrios PALLAS, "L'édifice cultuel chrétien et la liturgie dans l'Illyricum oriental", in *Actes du Xe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Città del Vaticano: 1984), 141. See also: Euthychia Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, Euterpi Marki, "Des innovations liturgiques et architecturales dans la basilique du Musée de Philippes," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband* 20 (1995-97), 954.

²⁹ We find similar arrangements, always as circular cavities, on both sides of the Nikopolis basilica B and that of Léchainon at Korinth; as bases in Epidaurus.

³⁰ See note 56 and related text.

³¹ Blaga ALEKSOVA and Cyril MANGO, "Bargala: A Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971): 268. The same authors points out how particular was also the disposition to west of stairs. Sodini compares this disposition to another Macedonian example, those of the Rotunda of Thessalonica. Jean Pierre SODINI, "L'ambon de la rotonde Saint Georges remarques sur la typologie et le décor," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 100 (1976): 497.

³² In Attica in Alimos and Lavreotic Olimpus; in Elis in Olympia and Philiatra; in Crete in Halmyrida and Eleutherna; in Korinthia at Sicyone; in Argolid at Hermione; in Delos (Hagios Kyriakos) and in Caria in the basilica A of Bargylia.

³³ We find the same phenomenon in the Lechainon church near Corinth, at Brauron in Attica, in Asia Minor at the Cathedral of Hierapolis and others.

pedestal “were parts of a low, stone-built wall that gave the impression of a stylobate at a height of ca. 0.80 m when seen from the perspective of the aisle³⁴”. This, along with different floor’s height gave an apparent height of 1.30 m for the stylobate observed by the north aisle³⁵.

Even without similar variations, the displacement of different floors levels between the naves is a quite common feature, obviously emphasizing the appearance of these barriers³⁶.

Nevertheless, St. Demetrios Basilica is not the only church where lofty stylobates built up with stone blocks seem replacing the sides’ barriers. These devices are also attested in Elis, in the church built in the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia (0.85 m); in some Cretan or Lesbian basilicas as Knossos Sanatorio (0.93 m³⁷), Aphantelli (0.70 m), Skala Eressos (0.65 m), Halidanos (0.60 m), Argala (0.60 m), Ypselometopes (0.51 m), Vyzari (0.55 m); in Agios Kyrikos at Delos (0.98 m³⁸); in Kos at Mastichari (0.62 m); in Caria at the basilica D of Knidos (0.50 m). Other attestations can be also found in Greek area, in Thessaly within the basilicas C and D of Nea Anchialos (each 0.50 m); in Attica in the Erechtheum basilica in Athens (0.50 m); in Laconia in Ayos Petros at Kainepolis-Kyparissos (0.56 m); in Kodratos basilica at Corinth (0.50 m). In Asia Minor in the cathedral of Carian Aphrodisia (0.50 m).

These devices, at least the loftiest, had to replace the traditional separations with closure slabs.

Anyway, besides the height reached by lofty stylobate, we have also to take into account the presence of second separation level preventing communication between nave and aisles; these devices were made up wooden lattice works or closure slabs which left grooves on columns. This kind of arrangement

³⁴ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 60.

³⁵ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 60.

³⁶ See for example the Cathedral of Phrygian Hierapolis where from an height of ca 0.80 m of slabs, was added to these the quote of stylobate, reaching the elevation of 1.08 m. This quote became quite impressive from the nave, 0.12-0.15 m lower than the south aisle. This arrangement should hinders the view of faithfuls in the aisle from the nave.

³⁷ Rebecca J. SWEETMAN, “Late Antique Knossos. Understanding the City: Evidence of Mosaics and Religious Architecture,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 99 (2004), 345.

³⁸ Anastasios ORLANDOS, “Delos Chrétienne,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 60 (1936): 73-74.

can be found in Asia Minor in the cathedral of Aphrodisia in Caria³⁹, in the great church in Priene⁴⁰, probably also in the St. John of Ephesus⁴¹ and in the Virgin Kyriotissa church in Constantinople (now Kalendarhane Camii)⁴²; surely in Crete in the Eleutherna basilica⁴³. While in the first two examples, the whole system reaches a height of almost 1.60-1.80 m⁴⁴, in the last one, as highlighted by Themelis⁴⁵, the *transennae* arrangement reaching capital's height. According to Peschlow this type of barriers prevents both physical and visual contact between people staying in the nave and aisles⁴⁶.

Consequently some of the basilicas which adopted these devices appear divided quite strongly. To this we must add the different choice of materials as said above: Phrygian Hierapolis cathedral had the nave clad with marble pavements and wall as well, while in the aisle there were brick tiles for the floor and fresco panels on the walls. Something similar can be found within the Agora basilica of Carian Iasos where I worked in the 2010, even though the material used there was less lavish; anyway these examples are quite common⁴⁷.

³⁹ Laura HEBERT, "The Temple-Church at Aphrodisias" (PhD diss., New York University 2000), 165-172; quoted in PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 61.

⁴⁰ Stephan WESTPHALEN, "Die Basilika von Priene. Architektur und liturgische Ausstattung," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 48 (1998): 313; Peschlow, "Dividing Interior Space," 62.

⁴¹ PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 62. It is not clear if the plug holes today visible on the columns, above those referable to *transennae*, belonged to fixed arrangements or to curtains.

⁴² PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 62.

⁴³ Petros THEMELIS, "Eleutherna. The Protobyzantine City", in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*, (Paris: Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2005), 347.

⁴⁴ PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 61 and further references. WESTPHALEN, "Die Basilika von Priene," 313.

⁴⁵ THEMELIS, "Eleutherna," 347.

⁴⁶ Again, these uses resembles some devices used to conceal to men looks the women in the gallery. This use is attested in an episode of life of John Chrysostom: Symeon Metaphrastes, "Vita et conversio S. Ioannis Chrysostomi", in *Symeonis Logothetae Metaphrasteae opera omnia*, vol. 114 of *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Jacques Paul MIGNE (Paris: 1864), 1113.

⁴⁷ The database ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ (see note 3) shows how, from the 71 basilicas where are attested sides barriers, 15 had surely differentiations in the floors of the naves.

Peschlow wonders about what kind of liturgy held within specific churches could necessitate of barriers between the naves⁴⁸; besides the basilicas where it was necessary to divide the religious procession from laypeople, the given example - the memorial churches- appears quite persuasive.

Also within bigger churches, faithful community and pilgrims can move from aisle reaching the relics under the altar or elsewhere⁴⁹ and then walking out without disturbing worship at all. Some examples of this type of structure can be the St. John at Ephesus and the St. Demetrius at Thessalonike.

Apart from the fact that some memorial churches haven't any traces of barriers⁵⁰, the articulated paths created within them were not, however, applicable in the smaller basilicas. So, we must agree with Peschlow when stating that "neither the type of community that used the church nor the rank of the celebrant necessarily influenced the division of the building's internal space⁵¹".

The use of dividers in Macedonian basilicas

Side barriers were common features in Macedonian basilicas; we can find such arrangements in Macedonia Prima at Thessalonica (Acheiropoietos), Philippi (basilicas A and C), Edessa (Longos basilica) and in Thassos island (in the church of city agora⁵² and in the north and south Aliko basilicas⁵³) and again in Macedonia Secunda in the Episcopal basilica at Stobi (fig. 5), in the church of

Obviously these data must deal with the lost of pavements or of part of these. In addition to the quoted examples had these differentiations the following basilicas: in Argolid Epidaurus and Hermione; in Attica Brauron; in Caria the churches of Kaunos (domed basilica) and Knidos (basilica A); in Crete Eleutherna; in Elis Olympia; in Lesvos Skala Eressos (Ay. Andreas); in Macedonia Prima the basilica A of Amphipolis and in Phrygia at Laodicea (basilica behind the Temple A). To these we must add the second phase of the Bargala basilica.

⁴⁸ PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 69.

⁴⁹ In the St. Demetrius at Thessalonike the ciborium, the focal point of the cult was in the mid of nave, toward the north aisle. Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of St. Demetrius" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 176.

⁵⁰ See the examples quoted by Peschlow: PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 69.

⁵¹ PESCHLOW, "Dividing Interior Space," 69.

⁵² *Reallexikon zur Byzantinische Kunst*, s.v. "Makedonien", 1036.

⁵³ On these: Jean Pierre SODINI and Kostas KOLOKOTSAS, *Aliko II. La basilique double* (Paris: 1984).

Bargala and maybe in Kamenica and Konjuh⁵⁴.

Comparing the two areas we can realise there's a reduced use of these elements in the Macedonia Secunda; but, except for Stobi, probably due to decreased dimension dimensions of local basilicas compared to those of Thessalonike or Philippi.

Peschlow recognizes in these examples, as a common feature, to prevent the view from the aisle into the nave⁵⁵; he refers mainly to Macedonia Prima, particularly to Thessalonike and Philippi. We can find a similar arrangement in the second phase of Museum Basilica of Philippi, where – on the north side – it was built a second stylobate carrying a tempon-like barrier; this latter was probably kept closed with curtains. This particular arrangement, according to Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou and Marki was temporary and was used – in place of the narthex – to host catechumens or penitents⁵⁶. However, both stylobates and slabs reach 1.50 meters height, so preventing the vision through the aisles. Also the Episcopal basilica of Stobi had similar adjunct barriers⁵⁷, but the pre-existence of high type stylobate (0.77 meters height), of the type that replaced the same *transennae*, leaves some doubts about the purpose of this device⁵⁸.

⁵⁴ On Kamenica: Ivan MIKULČIĆ, “Frühchristlicher Kirchenbaum in der S. R. Makedonien,” in *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (Ravenna: 1986), abb. 9. On Konjuh see note 20.

⁵⁵ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 61.

⁵⁶ KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAÏDOU, Marki, “Des innovations liturgiques,” 954-957; PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 65. Also the basilica A had an analogous second stylobate carrying however low type barriers; this unusual feature was explained by Lemerle with the need of places to sit. Paul LEMERLE, *Philippes et la Macédoine Orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Paris: De Broccard, 1945), 351-352. Here, however, the north stylobate is the only kept in satisfactory manner.

⁵⁷ Carolyn SNIVELY, “Transepts in the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Eastern Illyricum and the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi,” in *Niš and Byzantium* 6, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš: 2008), 70; Carolyn SNIVELY, “Dacia mediterranea and Macedonia Secunda in the Sixth Century: A Question of Influence on Church Architecture,” in *Niš and Byzantium* 3, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš: 2005), 219; Carolyn SNIVELY, “Articulation of Space in the Episcopal Basilica: the Colonnades,” in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi* 3, ed. Blaga Aleksova and James Wiseman, (Titov Veles: 1981) 163-170.

⁵⁸ PESCHLOW, “Dividing Interior Space,” 65.

The basilica of Bargala and its liturgical feature

Built at the turn of 5th and 6th century⁵⁹, the basilica of Bargala has two main phases of construction. The partition inside it was made up using *transennae* placed between the two rows of seven columns each one dividing nave from aisles. Every pair of slabs was connected by a square post embedded on a massive stone support substituting the stylobate. It is not clear if these devices were intended to allow the passage of clergy or faithful during celebrations, there are also some visible interruptions corresponding quite always to lacunas in the floor.

As we have seen, these intercolumnar screens had usually two passages frequently placed at both east and west end of each stylobate, in order to permit some movements and participation of the faithful to the Eucharist. The presence of passages in the east end of basilicas is related to particular kind of *bema*, that was not coterminous with colonnade, assuming the Π shape; this can be considered a feature of basilicas with medium or great dimension. Here the two doors are situated on the sides of *bema* chancel, each one corresponding to the openings in the intercolumnar barriers: local examples can be found in Macedonia Prima in the basilica A in Amphipolis⁶⁰, in the double basilica of Aliko⁶¹ and the cross-church in Thasos⁶², but a similar example is also inside the Macedonia Secunda at Stobi⁶³.

Anyway, the basilica of Bargala had no great dimensions. As reported the *bema* shows two building stages: the first one was less extended to west than

⁵⁹ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 273, Florin CURTA, *The making of the slavs: history and archaeology of the Lower Danube Region* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 135.

⁶⁰ Alessandro TADDEI, "I monumenti protobizantini dell'acropoli di Amphipolis," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana ad Atene*, 8 (2008): 273

⁶¹ Openings in the north and south sides of the *bema* are attested each in the two basilicas, at least in their last phases. *Reallexikon zur Byzantinische Kunst*, s.v. "Makedonien", abb. 15-16; on the phases of these enclosures: SODINI and KOLOKOTSAS, *Aliko II*, 26-34, 151-156.

⁶² ORLANDOS, *Basilike*, 527-528.

⁶³ At least in the second phase of presbyterium. See: James WISEMAN and Djordje MANO-ZISSI, "Excavations at Stobi, 1973-1974," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 3-3, (1976), 291-293.

the second one and detached from the colonnades⁶⁴, which, only in a second time, became the presbytery barriers⁶⁵. A small passage retrieved in the last side of south colonnade can be related to first phase: from there faithful situated in the south aisle can get Eucharist; nothing similar is visible on the opposite side, which characterizes an access asymmetry between the two places. In the following passages I'll try to debate about this uncommon feature.

In the second phase, in the basilica of Bargala the side barriers of *bema* correspond to intercolumnar ones; at that moment the lateral openings could be not useful: as in other medium sized basilicas the communion could be still directly administered through the side devices indeed. The remodelling of *synthronon* was connected to this variation. As reported by excavators, the first stage of this furniture was a flight of stairs leading to a platform, where stayed the bishop; the west wall of this structure was plastered and frescoed imitating the veined marble⁶⁶. The platform was flanked on both its north and south side by two seats. These were removed together with the podium.

It seems quite probable that this second arrangement of *synthronon* was higher than the first one. The excavators noted how the entrance to *bema* had a westward projection, and they supposed that was completed by two columns supporting an arch⁶⁷. This structure, surely made in order to monumentalize the Entrance of clerics in the *bema*, would have hidden the bishop place, unless the *synthronon* would have been raised up too. These trends can be found also in Greek and Constantinopolitan areas⁶⁸.

How were these barriers made up? The researchers have found some

⁶⁴ On these changes: ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 269-270. See also: Blaga ALEKSOVA, "The Presbyterium of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi and Episcopal Basilica of Bargala," in *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi III*, Blaga ALEKSOVA and James WISEMAN, eds., (Titov Veles: 1981) 29-46. We found the same trend in the Episcopal basilica of Stobi. Blaga ALEKSOVA, "The early Christian basilicas at Stobi," in *Corsi di cultura sul-Parte ravennate e bizantina* 33 (Ravenna: 1986), 14.

⁶⁵ Aleksova and Mango tried to explain these change suggesting that the original shape of the bema was not conforming to the changing liturgical requirements and was thus modified. Blaga ALEKSOVA and Cyril MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 270.

⁶⁶ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 270.

⁶⁷ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 269.

⁶⁸ ORLANDOS, *Basilike*, 526 ff.

parapet slabs and some stone grilles⁶⁹; this establishes the problem of the mutual arrangement of these kinds of separations. Looking at a wider context, we can observe how the open works *transennae*, in the hierarchy typical of these buildings, were placed in the *bema* enclosure⁷⁰.

If the choice to use barriers between the aisles is quite common, it appears even more particular to set some different floor types among the corridors. If the south aisle had the same slabs flooring of the nave, the north one was paved with a mosaic made up of large *tesserae* representing some crosses and different geometric shapes.

It seems that the division created by side barriers could have some consequence on the decoration: in fact Aleksova and Mango remember how the lower parts of the walls were decorated with frescos simulating marble panelling⁷¹; while the nave seems characterized by the “accumulation” of marble elements as *synthronon*⁷², slabs, ambo and pavements of the *bema*.

Aleksova and Mango stated that the north aisle was reserved to women⁷³, but probably in the last phase⁷⁴ it was intended – sometimes – for some particular office, maybe baptism. This hypothesis can be strengthened observing the position of nave (fig. 1), directly connected to the baptistery and the inner narthex. Through the latter, the aisle was then connected to the first of the two rooms that preceded from the west the sacred pool. This room, accessible from

⁶⁹ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 268.

⁷⁰ Attested in Daphnousia, Olympia, Eleutherna. On these: ORLANDOS, *Basilike*, 526, fig. 490; Friedrich ALDER and Ernst CURTIUS, *Olympia II*, (Berlin: A. Asher & co., 1892): 93-105; THEMELIS, *Eleutherna*, 351. The excavators had a different opinion and put here a figurative parapet slab consisted of three panels on basis of more elaborate character respect to those between nave and aisles. ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 271.

⁷¹ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 272.

⁷² ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 270, note 34.

⁷³ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 268.

⁷⁴ According to excavators the Baptistery was constructed shortly after the basilica. ALEKSOVA and MANGO, “Bargala preliminary report,” 271. At Bargala the second phase of the baptistery may be one of the latest features of the Episcopal complex. Located at the northeast corner of the basilica, it replaced an earlier and smaller baptistery with a font located further to the west. On this see also: Blaga ALEKSOVA, “Novi istraživanja na baptisteriumot vo Bargala”, in *Zbornik posveten na Boško Babić*, (Prilep: 1986), 29-38.

the outside towards the north facade, seems to have had a distributive role: it was linked to the narthex on south, to the vestibule of the baptistery on the east side and to a room for the offerings of congregation to the west wall⁷⁵. So, the catechumens can enter there from outside, leaving their clothes in the vestibule, receiving the exorcisms and then the baptism, so dressing the new garment, and finally entering the church by the north aisle. To a closer look another detail can support this hypothesis: apparently the ambo was taken out of the axis of the church but, if we make abstraction of the north aisle, the pulpit results perfectly in axis.

Out of the baptism liturgy the north aisle was probably for women, as suggested by Aleksova and Mango⁷⁶, or for other groups of faithful like the catechumens; they were asked to leave at the end of the Liturgy of the Word with no disturbance: they can move away right from that way, without mingling with other groups. The same can be done from the galleries, whose existence is attested by the discovery of column shafts of two different sizes⁷⁷. So, the question were was the place of catechumens is open.

Concerning other liturgical features we could observe how the basilica shares with other Macedonian examples the out-of-axis placement of the ambo⁷⁸; according to Sodini, this characteristic is probably intended right to facilitate the procession entry into *bema*⁷⁹. But that's not the only reason: the mentioned passage of Aleksova and Mango, for lections and sermons addressed more to men than women⁸⁰, finds in this area a lot of references: here the ambos

⁷⁵ On the room and his furniture: ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 271; Eugenia CHALKIA, *Le mense paleocristiane. Tipologia e funzioni delle mense secondarie nel culto paleocristiano* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana 1991), 85; Jean-Pierre SODINI, Jean SERVAIS, "Les carrières de marbre", in *Études Thasiennes IX, Aliki I: les deux sanctuaires*, (Paris: 1980), 144.

⁷⁶ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 268.

⁷⁷ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 268.

⁷⁸ Of 16 Macedonian examples found in the database ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ 11 had their position determined; of these 9 are out of axis.

⁷⁹ Jean-Pierre SODINI, *Les dispositifs liturgiques des basiliques paleochretiennes en Grece et dans les Balkans*, in *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 31 (Ravenna: 1984), 453

⁸⁰ ALEKSOVA and MANGO, "Bargala preliminary report," 268.

out-of-axis are always on the right side⁸¹. The pulpit of Bargala is the only accessible from west side, a feature that has no other references in Macedonia, where, anyway, ambos with a single flight of steps are quite unusual⁸².

The presence of an inner and an outer narthex is a quite uncommon feature⁸³ that can be explained with the necessity to conceal the sacred mysteries from outside; that's the same also for the misalignment of the entrances from outer to inner narthex.

Some provisional conclusions

As highlighted in this paper, the use of side barriers is widespread in a large area around the Aegean and his leading Episcopal sees, Thessalonica and Corinth moreover, which occupies a great role in the definition of some liturgical features⁸⁴. On the other hand, in Constantinople these separations are scarcely attested. As concerning the influences of these and others centres, we should underline the various distribution of this kind of churches in the different areas. While, the coexistence of coeval large basilicas adopting or not these devices in the same city, signifies that this choice was connected to community needs.

These barriers seem to define functional areas where many activities took place. Their main functions are the separation of clerics and laypeople, and between the different kinds of faithful; all these divisions were related to the orderly development of the rite. Except for this, it is not clear the role of side barriers in some examples, especially where these latter were doubled in time. The

⁸¹ Examples in Filippi (basilicas A, Octagon), Amphipolis (basilicas A and D, Exagon), Thasos (cross shaped basilica and Aliko south), Stobi (Cathedral).

⁸² The arrangement closer to this one is that of Eleutherna (Crete) where a single stair ambo, accessible from west, lie near the stylobate, even though the north one. See THEMELIS, "Eleutherna," 351. Ambo with a single stair ladder are attested in Thessalonica at the basilicas of Acheiropoietos, St. Sophia, St. Mena. Orlandos, *Basilike*, 545-548.

⁸³ Of the quoted 469 churches inserted in database, 40 had exonarthex; of these 24 are without any atrium. These data suggests that for the littler, or lesser monumental basilicas, the exonarthex was considered alternative to atrium.

⁸⁴ Jean-Pierre SODINI, "Note sur deux variantes régionales dans la basilique Grèce et des Balkans. Le tribèlon et l'emplacement de l'ambon," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 99 (1975): 581-588, especially 587.

structure of the basilica of Bargala, and the similar of the Museum basilica of Philippi, seem to introduce a time factor in the use of some separations. In the first one the same barrier could divide different kind of faithful in ordinary and special rite (i.e. Baptism), while in the second new enclosures were probably built for temporary necessity and then removed.

For a great amount of the example mentioned above, it seems quite worthy to note how the barriers prevented the faithful – or part of them – to clearly look at celebration rites and the building that hosted them. So, particular surfaces treatment, i.e. the use of marble and others lavish materials on the nave and their imitation with painted plaster on the aisles were specifically related to the presence of some categories. At the moment we can say nothing more about, except this last aspect seems crucial in order to understand the perception of the basilicas by various actors moving inside it. This, beyond the typological classifications we made extensive use here, can be a development and a purpose for these researches.

Illustrations:

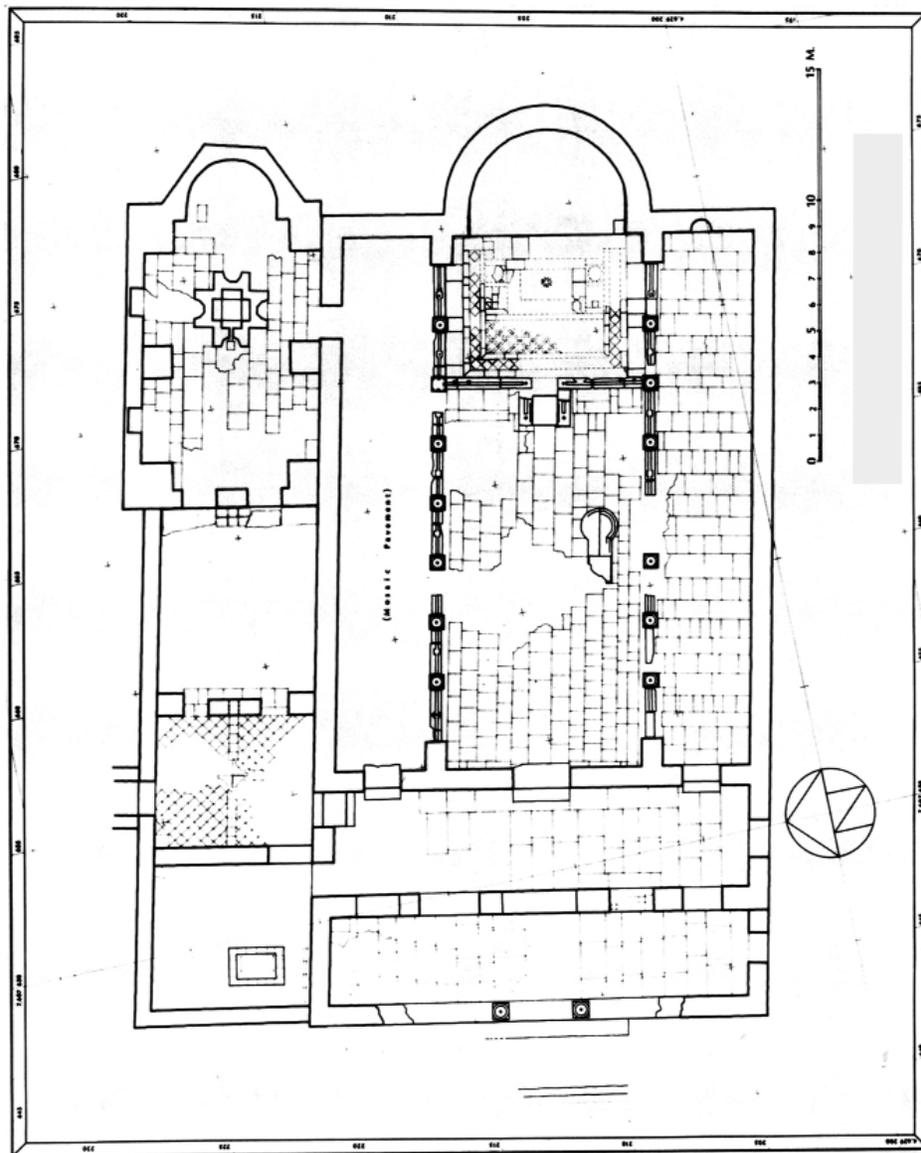


Fig. 1: Basilica of Bargala (after B. Aleksova, C. Mango)



Fig. 2: Agora basilica of Carian Iasos, base and column of north colonnade (photo by author)

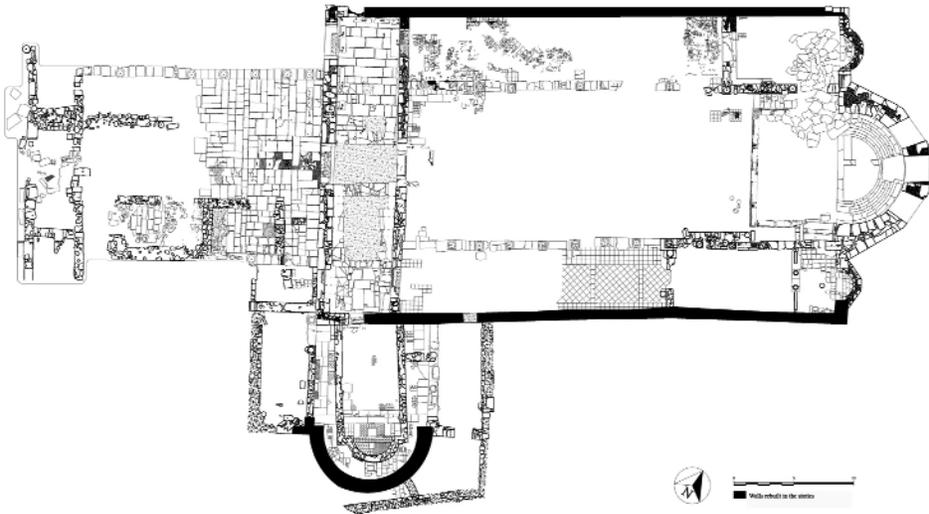


Fig. 3: Hierapolis, Bishop's Church (drawing by E. Garberoglio, D. Peirano)

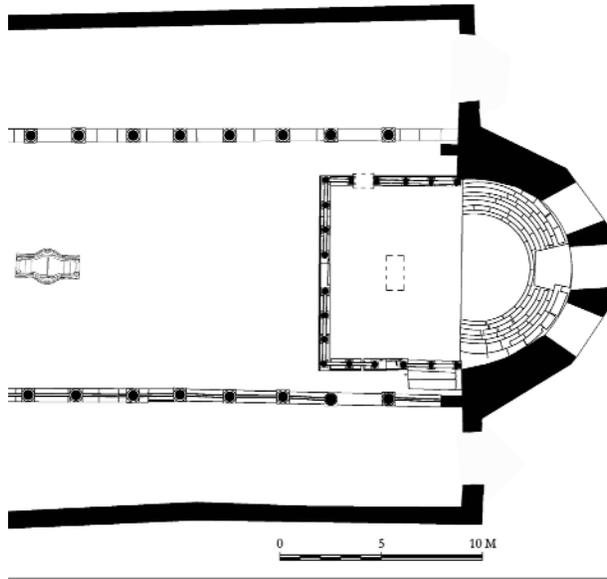


Fig. 4: Hierapolis, Bishop's Church, reconstruction of the first phase of the bema (drawing by D. Peirano)

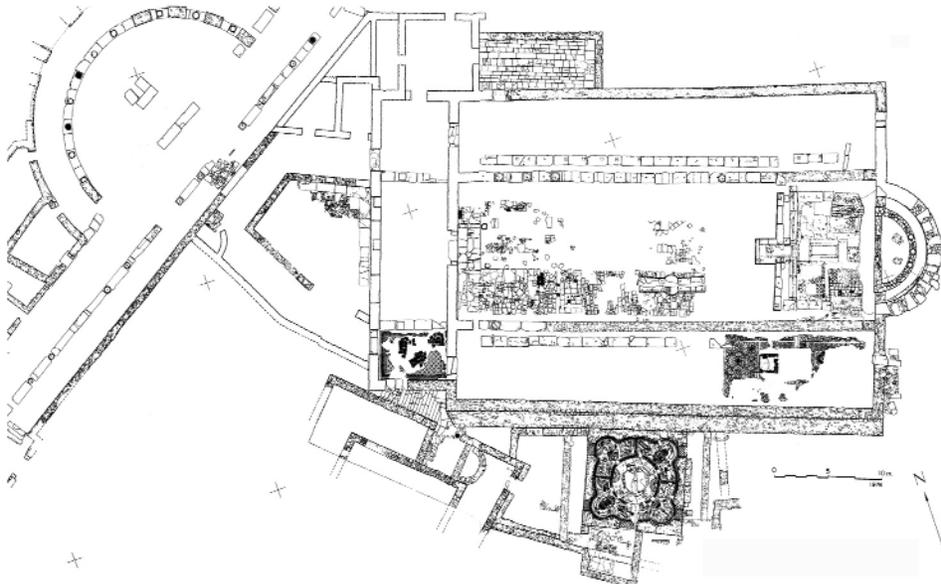


Fig. 5: Stobi, Episcopal basilica (after J. R. Wiseman, D. Mano-Zissi).arberoglio, D. Peirano)

La conquête ottomane dans les Balkans, reflétée dans quelques chroniques courtes

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Le tombé du Balkans sous autorité ottomane est un période très important dans l'histoire des peuples balkaniques. Pour cette raison ce n'est pas insolite que les évènements, liés avec lui, ont trouvés de lieu dans beaucoup des sources écrites. Le texte présent est un essai de l'information, qui se contient dans quelques chroniques courtes, écrits dans différents rayons de la péninsule Balkanique. Dans ces textes ont trouvés son place tous les moments importants de la conquête ottomane. Les écrivains sont décrits, dans une consécution chronologique, les combats plus importants, sans importance qui est le maître lutté.

Objet de l'article présent sont les textes suivants :

1. Les annales de Beliacovo. Son genre littéraire c'est la chronique courte. Elle se trouve dans un recueil apocryphe, trouvé dans le village Beliacovo, près de Tarnovo, Bulgarie. Le manuscrit est daté au XVI s. Il se conserve dans la Bibliothèque nationale « St. Cyrille et Méthode » sous numéro inventaire 309. Les annales occupant les pages 93b-95b et 165a-168b (Ангелов, 1983: 65-74). Les annales de Beliacovo continent deux parts. La première part commence avec l'histoire biblique, après qu'on regarde la romaine et la byzantine. Le texte finit avec une information pour la Septième réunion ecclésiastique chez la direction de l'empereur byzantin Michael III et sa mère Irène. La seconde part commences avec un avis pour la mort de le roi Serbe Stephan Douchan. Dans le texte on décrit surtout des moments de l'histoire Serbe. Pour ca on peut supposer que les annales de Beliacovo sont écrits par un écrivain Serbe et elles sont pénétrés dans la terre bulgare par un manuscrit serbe. Les notes chronologiques enserrent le période de l'année 1366 à l'année 1696. Connu à science est une copie de recueil apocryphe de Beliacovo, dont contient le texte des annales (Милтенова, 1989:

68-69).

2. Les annales de Gabarevo. Son genre littéraire est aussi la chronique courte. Ils se trouvent dans un recueil avec contenu mélange, qui date au XVI s. Le manuscrit est gardé dans la Bibliothèque nationale des sciences à Odessa, Ukraine, sous numéro inventaire 415. Le texte chronologique occupe les pages 97-105. Le recueil est dans une rédaction serbe, mais il est écrit dans les terres bulgares (АНГЕЛОВ, 1983: 75-85). La première note chronologique se comporte de la création de l'alphabet slave, date vers l'année 852. La dernière note datée est pour 1578, après elle il y a encore quelques notes sans date.

3. Les annales de Zahariev. C'est aussi une chronique courte. Pour ca existence il y a seulement un renseignement. Il est donné par Stoian Zahariev, qui en 1866 a publié les annales dans la revue „Cornemuse” (Зahariев, 1866: 203-206). Pour son nome les annales sont nommées «de Zahariev». Ils confirment 15 notes chronologiques, dont une part ne peut pas d'être interprété. La première est pour la conquête de Gallipoli. La dernière note, qui est correctement daté, est pour l'année 1513. On peut proposer que le manuscrit, utilise par Zahariev, a contenu une plus vaste chronique, mais il a publié seulement une partie.

4. Les annales courtes de XVI s. C'est une note chronologique. Elle se trouve dans un manuscrit par XIV s., qui se garde dans la Bibliothèque nationale à Sofia sous numéro 180 (313). La chronique compte cinq notes, écrites par une main. Elles se trouvent sur la dernière page, collée sur la cote intérieure de la couverture arrière (БОЖИЛОВ, 1984: 60-65). Dans les annales on donne information pour des événements de 1448 à 1526.

5. Les annales de Sarandapor. C'est aussi une chronique courte. Elle se trouve dans un manuscrit, apparenté du monastère « St. Joakim d'Osogovo (de Sarandapor) » à Macédoine. Aujourd'hui elle est dans le Musée à Sarajevo, Bosnie et Herzégovine. La chronique est connue de la science bulgare par la publication d'Jordan Ivanov (Иванов, 1970: 149-150). Les annales de Sarandapor confirment seulement quatre notes, qui regardent les événements de 1463 à 1492.

6. La chronique courte, qui se trouve dans la Bibliothèque nationale de Serbie à Belgrade sous numéro inventaire 48 (Стојановић, 1926: 82-83). Elle confirme quatre notes. La première par elles donne information pour le combat chez Kosovo pole de 1371. La dernière est pour la captivité de sultan Bayazid en 1402.

Le but de ce texte n'est pas de comparer l'information contenue dans les

textes énumérés. C'est clair préliminaire que cette information est différente. Les chroniques sont écrites dans une temps différente, elles embrassent des périodes chronologiques avec une étendue différente. Leur genre littéraire est différent. Les annales courtes de XVI s. sont une note chronologique, les autres sont des chroniques courtes. Le but de ce texte est de confronter le schème, sur laquelle les écrivains ont représenté la conquête ottomane. C'est à dire non pas la structure de l'œuvre littéraire, mais les moments spécifiques dans l'exposition, donc relevant le général en l'attitude des écrivains vers les événements, racontés par eux.

Dans les annales énumérées on raconte tous les essais pour la résistance anti-ottomane. Le combat le plus tôt décrit entre chrétiens et ottomans est celle chez Tchernomen en 1371. Le roi Valcachin et son frère, le despot Jean Ouglecha, essayèrent d'opposer à l'expansion ottomane. Son essai finit avec débâcle. Les deux souverains réunirent une grande armée, mais ils furent soudain attaqués dans son camp chez le village Tchernomen près du fleuve Maritsa. Presque toutes les soldates périrent (Ангелов, 1992: 46).

Dans une des notes des annales de Zahariev on remarque la mort de Momtchil et conquête des forteresses Ksanti et Peritore. Momtchil apparait sur la scène historique à la fin de 1343 ou au début de 1344. Il contracta une union avec Jean Cantacuzène, qui lui fit maître de les Rhodopes d'ouest et centrales. C'est la région, nommé Mepora. Probablement elle enserra les terres autour de la ville contemporaine de Smolian (Коледаров, 1988: 98). En même temps, Momtchil accepta lutter sous l'ordonnance d'Humour, le pacha de Smyrna (Izmir). Anna de Savoie, l'impératrice byzantine, lui proposa titre de despote, et Cantacuzène le fit sebastocrator. Utilisant les combats pour le trône byzantin, Momtchil fut un souverain indépendant dans une part des Rhodopes et Tracée. Après la victoire de Jean V Paléologues le bulgare fut son allié. Il parvint déposa déroutés sérieux sur le pacha ottoman et sur Jean Cantacuzène. En 1344 il gagna Ksanti. Au printemps de 1345 Cantacuzène et Humour lui attaquèrent avec une force commune. Dans le combat chez Tchernomen Momtchil périt. La guerre, dont il mena contre les ottomans, le fit un héros national (Божилев, Гюзелев, 1999: 595-597). Dans les annales de Zahariev sa mort est datée faut vers 1361.

Dans les annales de Zahariev il y a quelques noms, qui ne peuvent pas être identifiés. Dans la note No. 8 le copiste nomma le souverain du royaume de Vidin Jean Sracimir « George Strachimirov ». Peut-être il confondit le roi bulgare avec Djouradje (George) II Strachimirovitch Balchitch, maître de la région Zeta et d'une part de les terres albaines.

Très intéressant est l'information que Bayazid tua « ban Michael Chichmanovitch » et il posa une armée ottoman à Sofia. On montre l'année 7001, mais peut-être c'est une faute d'imprime. L'événement marqué est au période de direction de sultan Bayazid, c'est-à-dire entre 1389 et 1402. L'absence d'une date fidèle ne permet pas de proposer qui se cache derrière le nom « Michael Chichmanovitch ».

“Valco”, dont on mentionne dans les annales, est Vouc Brancovitch, qui écarta de participer dans le marche contre Valachie en 1395, bien qu'il fut vassal ottoman.

“Gagrou”, c'est peut-être Gargour Brancovitch, le fils de Djouradje Brancovitch et plus grand frère du dernier souverain serbe Lazare Brancovitch. Pendant les 40-esse années de XV s. Gargour et son frère Stephan furent attrapes par les ottomans et ils furent aveugles. En 1457 les combats de pouvoir entre son fils Vouc et son frère Lazare obligèrent Gargour Brancovitch de chercher un abri chez leurs ennemis à l'empire Ottoman (МАРАНОВ, 2002: 527-528).

Dans presque tous les textes on trouve le nom de Lazare Hrebelianovitch. Après la mort de roi Uroch V il conquiert la plus grande partie de la terre serbe. Dans les annales de Zahariev il est nommé « Lazare Pribaitchev ». C'est curieux que selon l'écrivain anonyme Lazare est « né comme macédonien ». Le “joupan Nicolas”, que Lazare cassa, est le grand joupan Nicolas Altomanovitch, maître de la région Houm. En 1373 Lazare en union avec le ban de Bosnie Tvartko I pénétra dans le domaine d'Altomanovitch et il assiégea sa ville principale Oujitse. Le joupan fut contraint de se rendre. Ses terres furent divisées entre Lazare, Tvartko, Vouc Brancovitch et la famille Balchitchi.

Le prochain par chronologie événement c'est le combat chez Kosovo pole en 1389. Dans les annales de Beliacovo et dans la chronique court de Serbie on note incorrect que kniaz Lazare tua le sultan Murat. En réalité le sultan fut tué par Miloch Obilitch, connu comme « le martyr de Kosovo (МАРАНОВ, 2002: 419-424, 441-445). Dans les annales de Gabarevo on accentue la mort du souverain serbe. Après le combat encore mineur, à peine 12-annuel Stephan Lazarevitch, le fils de Lazare Hrebelianovitch, prit le pouvoir dans le domaine de son père avec sa mère Militsa. Il se confessa pour vassal ottoman et il envoya sa sœur Olivera au harem de sultan Bayezid (МАРАНОВ, 2002: 446-447).

Dans toutes les chroniques courtes, en exception des annales de Sarandapor, on évoque le combat chez Rovine en 1395. Dans ce cas l'armée de sultan Bayezid supporta une grande défaite par le voïvode valaque Mirtcho le Vieux. Dans ce combat périrent deux vassaux de sultan Bayezid – le roi Macr, fils de roi

Valcachin, et le despot de Velbajd (Kustendil) Constantin Dragach (Маташов, 2002: 453). C'est intéressant que dans les annales de Zahariev on parle pour „Constantin et Dragach Comnène”. Probablement le copiste ne connut pas son nom et pour cette raison il l'accepta comme deux hommes divers. Ce n'est pas clair d'où apparaît le nom Comnène. À ce moment l'inspection de la généalogie de la famille Dragach ne montre pas des liens avec la famille byzantine des Comnènes. (Маташов, 1984: 34-38; Маташов, 1985; Маташов, 1986: 115-128). Le lieu du combat est montré seulement dans les annales de Zahariev. Seulement en lui on dit que le sultan lutta contre le voïvode valaque Mirtcho le Vieux. Dans les annales de Gabarevo on dit que en combat tua le sultan. Ce renseignement n'est pas correct. Le souverain ottoman dirigea l'empire jusqu'à 1402, quand il fut capté par Timour en combat chez Ankara. Bayezid mourut deux ans plus tard. Cette information est donnée plus loin dans le texte, mais on nomme Timour „Demir”. Dans les annales de Beliacovo on parle pour „la bataille de Demir”, mais elle est datée incorrectement vers 1403. Dans la chronique courte de Serbie le renseignement est plus détaillé: „En l'année 1402 Bayezid fut tué chez Ankara par Demir”.

Dans les annales de Beliacovo et de Gabarevo et dans la chronique courte de Serbie il y a des notes chronologiques, qui se comportent de l'attaque ottomane infructueuse en Bosnie en 1397.

Dans les chroniques courtes nous trouvons des enseignements pour les croisades du roi Sigismound en 1396 et de roi Vladislav III Yagelo et Janoch Houniadi, nommé „Jancoul”, en 1444. (Creasy, 1961: 52-55; Георгиева, Генчев, 1999: 230-240). Dans les annales de Beliacovo et de Gabarevo, en deux notes consécutives, sont décrites les deux marches de Vladislav III. Dans les annales de Beliacovo et de Gabarevo en deux notes consécutifs on décrit les deux croisades de Vladislav III Yagelo. Entre les deux textes il y a des contradictions. Selon la première chronique Janoch Houniadi participa seulement à la croisade en 1445, et selon la seconde – à la croisade en 1444. Dans les deux chroniques on parle pour la participation de despote Gurg Brancovitch, le fils de Vouc Brancovitch. Dans les annales de Gabarevo il est nommé « Despote », sans marquer son nom. On peut trouver information pour la plus tardive résistance anti ottomane de Janoch Houniadi, nommé „Jancoul”. Dans la première note de la chronique courte de XVI s. on parle pour « Jean ». Probablement c'est aussi le souverain de Transilvania Janoch Houniadi. L'année mentionnée dirige vers la bataille chez Kosovo pole en 1419, quand Houniadi perdra.

Dans les annales de Gabarevo on mentionne la mort de Gjouradj (ou

Gurg) Balchitch, mais elle est incorrect datée vers 1371, et non pas vers 1378 (Маташов, 2002: 424). On note aussi la mort de Vouc Brancovitch et de Militsa, épouse de Lazare et mère de Stephan Lazarevich. Avec beaucoup de détails on annonce la mort de despote Stephan Lazarevitch : « À l'année 6935 [=1427] se présenta le grand maître des serbes et de toutes les terres de Danube despote Stephan Lazarevitch juin 19, le soir de vendredi contre samedi. » On parle en bref pour la mort du roi hongrois Sigizmund et de son gendre Herzog d'Autriche Albert V Habsbourg en 1439, ainsi que la mort de Lazare Brancovitch en 1458. L'apparition du nom d'Albert dans les annales est très intéressante. On sait qu'il mourût par coup cardiaque après une marche militaire contre les ottomans. C'est clair que c'est le raison de mentionner son nom dans ces des antagonistes des ottomans. Albert V eut un fils, nommé Ladislav Après-la-mort. Il naquit après la mort de son père et pour cette raison il n'eut pas droits sur le trône. Pour ça héritier d'Albert fut le roi de Pologne Vladislav III Yagelo (Їовевска, 1999: 51). Dans une note on marque que Vladislav prit le pouvoir, mais est incorrectement nommé "le fils du roi Albert". Dans le texte est notée la mort de Marra, probablement la sœur de Lazare Brancovitch et veuve de sultan Murat II, en 1425.

Dans les textes est notée aussi la conquête de Salonique en 1430. Dans les annales de Gabarevo on dit que la ville fut gagnée par « Amourat » à 29 mars. Dans les annales de Zahariev le nom du sultan a marqué, mais l'année est 1433. Ne sont pas manqués les conquêtes de Morea et Smederevo, la capitale de Djouradje Brancovitch. Lazare Brancovitch n'eut pas des fils et après sa mort il manqua des héritiers. Dans les textes on note qu'après sa mort en 1458 le pouvoir prit Michael Angelovitch. Michael fut enfant de la section thesalique de la famille byzantine Angel. Avec son frère il habita à Novo Bardo. Après la première attaque ottomane sur la ville en 1427 Michel chercha un arbi chez Djouradje Brancovitch. Son frère fut captif. Il accepta l'Islam et plus tard il devint beilerbeg de Roumélie sous le nom Mahmud pacha. Après la mort de Lazare Brancovitch le pouvoir prirent son frère Stephan, sa veuve Helene Paléologues et Michael Angelovitch. Comme on marque dans les annales de Gabarevo, Mahmut pacha entra dans les terres serbes, en conduisant un nouveau prétendant du trône – le furent plus tôt à l'Empire Ottoman Gargour Brancovitch. Pour garder le pays, la veuve de Lazare proposa une alliance de Stephan Tomach, le roi de Bosnie. En 1459 son fils Stephan Tomachevitch se maria à la princesse serbe Helene, qui après le mariage accepta le nom « Marie ». Le jeun Stephan fut proclamé pour roi de Serbie. Seulement deux moins plus tard à Smederevo Michael Angel donna les clefs de la ville à son frère Mahmut pacha (Маташов, 2002: 528-530).

Dans les annales de Zahariev il manque information pour la conquête de Constantinople. Dans les annales de Gabarevo la conquête de la capitale byzantine est correctement datée vers le 19 mai 1453, tandis que dans les annales de Beliacovo est notée l'année 1452. Peut-être cette contradiction est le résultat d'une faute du copiste. Les annales de Sarandapor se comportent pour des événements plus tard et la conquête de Constantinople n'est pas marquée.

Dans une des notes on dit que en l'année 6968 [=1460] le sultan Mohamed II a gagné Amorea et le roi Démétrius lui donna sa fille pour son épouse. Dans cette note on parle pour la marche de Mohamed II à Péloponnèse, la région byzantine Morea. Là des maîtres furent les despotes Thomas et Démétrius, frères du dernier empereur byzantin Constantin XI (1449-1453). En résultat toute la région tomba sous le pouvoir ottoman. Thomas se sauva en Italie. Plus tard sa fille Sophie devint épouse de le kniaz russe Jean III. Démétrius alla dans la cour sultane (Маташов, 2002: 524-525; Острогорски, 1998: 715). C'est intéressant que l'écrivain anonyme nommé Démétrius Paléologue « roi », non pas « despote » tel fut son titre réel. Peut-être la raison est à ce que le copiste le considéra d'héritier de Constantin XI, c'est-à-dire de souverain byzantin.

Dans les annales de Sarandapor on note la tombée de Bosnie sous le pouvoir ottoman en 1463. L'information pour ça se trouve aussi dans les annales de Gabarevo.

Une place importante dans les chroniques courtes et dans les notes chronologiques occupe la personne de George Castrioti-Scanderbeg. La plupart des notes dans les annales courtes de XVI s. sont attachées avec le souverain albanais. Dans la deuxième note on parle pour la conquête de La Ville Sacrée, une des forteresses de George Castrioti. L'auteur supposa une faute, en montrant l'année 1457 à la place de l'année 1448. La troisième note se comporte de la marche insuccès de sultan Mohamed III vers Krouia, le capital de Castrioti, en 1466. Dans la note suivante on donne l'information pour les actions militaires de Mohamed III contre George Castrioti au période de la mort de Scanderbeg au début de 1468. La lutte de Scanderbeg contre les conquérants ottomans a trouvé sa place dans une série des ouvrages dans la littérature slave de XV-XVI s. Excepté les notes dans manuscrits et l'évocation de Castrioti dans les chroniques courtes, il y a un conte pour sa vie et son activité (Дуйчев, 1970: 91-94). D'après Jean Dujchev les avis pour l'aristocrate albain représentent une chronique, qui suivent sa lutte contre les envahisseurs ottomans. Pour ça on peut accepter que pour les écrivains Castrioti fut un héros balkanique.

Comme on peut voir par les exemples, tous les copistes décrivent la

conquête ottomane avec un manier similaire. Parmi les textes il y a des différences, mais le schème d'exposer les événements est identique. Dans les courtes notes chronologiques on donne information pour les actions militaires entre les souverains locaux et les conquérants. Les écrivains racontent pour l'invasion ottomane pendant toutes les pays balkaniques et pour le destin des aristocrates locaux. La représentation de l'histoire est décasé par l'opposition « sien-étranger ». L'étranger n'est pas seulement différent, il est essentiel différent par le sien (Кръстева, 1996: 11). À l'occasion l'opposition est « balkaniques-ottomans ». Elle se recouvert avec « orthodoxe-musulmane ». Après la conquête ottomane dans la conscience nationale arrivèrent des changements. À l'Empire Ottoman les citoyens furent partagés par des principes religieuse, non pas de principe ethnique. Le Christianisme orthodoxe fut le facteur qui consolida la conscience des non-musulmanes. Cette détermination apparut encore en procès de la conquête. Elle est le facteur qui transforma l'histoire nationale en histoire balkanique.

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Archaeology, Ethnology, or History?

Vodoča Necropolis, Graves 427a and 427, the First Half of the 19th c.

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From the grave units uncovered thus far within the Vodoča necropolis, the graves marked as 427a and 427 represent a rarity of their kind as well as the richest family burial of this locality because of the specificity of the burial manner and grave form, the number and uniqueness of the finds, as well as the time to which they belong.

From the time when Jovan Ananiev uncovered the graves in 1993, certain ideas about them have been developed from the authentic descriptions in the Book of Excavations, the Inventory book, and the architectural sketches made by their discoverer.

At 0.99 m below the surface level, at the south-eastern corner of Quad. C₁₆, the western part of the slabs covering the cist-type grave construction appeared in a W-E layout orientation. This formation, by way of successive numeration, was originally marked as Grave 427.

The sides of the grave cist were constructed "by vertically placed stone slabs, stones, and broken tiles." The grave covering was composed of smaller, crude, irregularly broken slabs (Fig. 1a).

From the East, the cist penetrates into Quad. D₁₆.

"A pile of human bones and numerous finds" were discovered by fine clearing of the western parts of the grave. The bones and finds had been enclosed with a vertically placed slab on the eastern side, in this way creating a grave chamber with an almost quadrangular form measuring about 0.40x0.40 m. The remains of older burials on this site were separately buried in the chamber. For these reasons, this separate section was named Grave 427a (Fig. 1b).

East of this walled-off chamber, a skeleton in situ of another individual

had been discovered; this skeleton had certainly been buried later. This is Grave 427 (Fig. 1b). In this grave, a skeleton had been placed in the extended position “with hands placed on the pelvis” – according to the description in the Book of Excavations.

The anthropological and anthropometrical analysis of the osteological material show that the chamber of Grave 427a contained bones from two skeletons of children aged 5-6 (?), while in Grave 427, a female person about 50 years old with a graceful body frame had been buried.¹

Apart from the bone fragments in Grave 427, numerous finds were discovered “partly collected in an earthen vessel” (Fig. 2). The most common finds are pendants; four crosses; two small angels – putti, one with an inlaid decorative “small gem”; and one amulet – a horse with a human head on the horse’s back (Fig. 3-10). Two bracelets (Fig. 13-14) and a part of a necklace (Fig. 11) were also found. The two round perforated tin parts seem to be appliquéés on the garment (Fig. 12). As part of the garment, there are also eight buttons, (Fig. 15) a clutch device in the shape of a hook (Fig. 15), and a fragmented belt buckle (Fig. 17), while the six miniature nails are the remains of shoes (Fig. 18).

Of the six coins, five are Turkish and illegible, (Fig. 19-23), while one, although partially weathered and worn as a pendant, has been identified as a coin from the Kingdom of Greece of 1833² (Fig. 24).

The perforated pendant attached to a small chain is also considered as part of the garment (Fig. 25).

The little porcelain coffee cup, with a broken handle, seems to have been used as an oil candle (Fig. 26).

A part of these finds has already been published³; however, here, all finds of Grave 427 are analyzed as an integral part.

The bronze cross (field no.772) (Fig. 3), cast in a two-sided mould, (dimensions: 30x21x1-2mm) portrays the Crucifixion of Christ with a skull at the base of the front, while the reverse is not precisely shaped, with a central barely visible rosette.⁴

A tin mould, dated to the middle of the 18th century from an unknown

¹ For this accomplished analysis, I owe gratitude to anthropologist Fanica Veljanovska.

² I owe gratitude to Katerina Hristovska from the numismatic cabinet of the National Bank of the Republic of Macedonia for assistance in identifying this coin.

³ Манева 2007, cat. no. 32-36.

⁴ Ibid, cat. no. 32.

workshop in Kosovo, is similar to this cross.⁵

The other *bronze cross-shaped pendant* (field no. 773) (Fig. 4) is also familiar to the scholarly world.⁶ It had been cast in a monolithic mould (dimensions: 32x23x1-1.5mm) with one side leveled and one decorated with a bas-relief containing a rosette in the central part. Beside the penetration casting and the baroque playfulness of the outer edge, decorated with coiled shoots placed between the points of the cross, its formation is of lower quality. An analogous form and presentation are also found in a tin mould, dated from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, which is from an unknown workshop in Kosovo.⁷

The two *cross-shaped pendants* (field no. 778 and 99) (Fig. 5 and 6) are made of a white-green glass material, cast in a monolithic mould. Their reverse sides are flat, while bas-reliefs decorate only the front, visible surfaces. *On the first cross* (Fig. 5) (dimensions: 45x29x5mm), olive branches are presented on the cross-bar, with stylized plant motifs on the vertical bar. *On the second cross* (Fig. 6) (dimensions: 35x24x4mm), the decorations consist of repetitions of the bas-relief in the cascading profile of the outer edge with emphasized, criss-crossed leaves placed in the middle.

In the decorative schema of both glass crosses, a relief emphasis of an isosceles cross is noticeable in the central part with another repetition of the decorative motif in the lower part of the vertical bar.

Due to the increased presence of glass jewelry in the first half of the 19th century, witnessed in Graves 427a and 427,⁸ it can be inferred that the mentioned glass crosses are, as a matter of fact, a cheap and effective substitution for the metal specimens.

The two *little baroque putti angels* made of bronze have almost an identical appearance (dimensions: 30x27x2mm)⁹ (Fig. 7, 8).

Both of them are cast in a monolithic mould, which has a rough back surface, while on the front side, a naively stylized head is seen (with a round face and emphasized features) placed between two wing-feathers. There is a similar

⁵ Муливановић 1993, 73, cat. no. 101.

⁶ Манева 2007, cat. no. 33

⁷ Миловановић 1993, 77, cat. no. 112

⁸ Манева 2007, cat. no. 38-3938-391-5; Ανωνύμου 2006, 434.

⁹ One specimen has been published. Maneva 2007, cat. no. 34

example from the 18th century from Prilep.¹⁰ Similarly crafted appliqués for church paraphernalia from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century have been discovered at Vraca in Bulgaria.¹¹

The bronze *pendant* with a decorative little “gem” (field no.771) (Fig. 9) is cast from church glass paste in a monolithic mould (dimensions: D-28, cross section: 3-6mm).¹²

Similar specimens, dated between the 17th and the beginning of the 19th century, have been discovered in the territory of neighboring Serbia and Bulgaria.¹³

However, among the most provocative finds—not only in the grave unit marked as 427a, but also in general at the Vodoča Necropolis—is the bronze *amulet of a horse with a stylized head on the horse's back* (field no.772, dimensions: h-26, length: 32, cross section: 1-2mm) (Fig. 10).

The importance and characteristics of this pendant have already been written about.¹⁴ This object was also cast in a monolithic mould with an undecorated back and a small piece of fine silk preserved on it.

The horse is represented in a characteristic galloping pose, with a pointed mouth, emphasized halter, and belts on the neck, with sheaves of transversal lines on the body – like fur or as an association of a dappled or “spotty” horse. On his back, an anthropomorphic presentation is placed – a man's head with emphasized eyes, nose, and moustache, as well as a long beard which changes to a saddle, while the tall cap is also a loop used for attachment. All in all, it represents an iconographic picture of “a deity on the roads riding a dapple horse”.

These amulets are connected to Shamanistic beliefs. Some theories assign the amulets to Proto-Bulgarians and date them to the Christianization of this people group in the ninth century, at the latest.¹⁵

The amulets are explained as an emanation of mediating deities that connect the worlds—the underworld, the earth, and the skies—to establish a rela-

¹⁰ Иванић 1995, cat. no. 381.

¹¹ Георгиева, Бучински 1959, Т. LXXIV, 2-4, LXXV, 1.

¹² Манева 2007, cat. no. 35

¹³ Георгиева, Бучински 1959, Т. LX-LXII; Ivanic 1995, 115-117, cat. no. 353-364; Stojishic 2005, 107, 112, Т. II, 8, 9.

¹⁴ Маневаа 2007, cat. no. 36. Ead., 2007/3, 169-183.

¹⁵ Мавродинов 1959; Овчаров 1984, 136-139.

tionship between deities (or God) and people passing on their pleas.¹⁶

The dilemma surrounding the possibility of such an amulet being found in Grave 427a at Vodoča in the 19th century could be answered indirectly by the presence of recent finds of such amulets in neighboring countries.

In the Braničevo region of Serbia, such an amulet has been found in a “contemporary” grave,¹⁷ while a second one was comes from the vicinity of Vranje, as part of a scattered deposit of jewelry from the “Turkish period.”¹⁸ An identical gilded bronze amulet is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. It had been crafted at Vlaca, Bulgaria at the workshop of goldsmith Dim. Berberski (1858-1924).¹⁹

From what has been said above, it seems that this type of amulet had been copied even a millennium after its authentic use. The Vodoča specimen is excellently preserved; it had not been used for a long period, and probably, it had been crafted in the first half of the 19th century as an imitation of the ancient amulets in some of the active workshops of the time (perhaps even in Vraca?).

The question of what sort of a symbolic significance this presentation had been assigned in the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century remains enigmatic.

The two *glass bracelets* from Grave 427a (field no. 762 and 763) (Fig. 13, 14) are similar to the five found intact in Grave 472²⁰ and are thus dated to the first half of the 19th century.

They are crafted by spinning clusters of hot bars made of white glass. In one specimen, an inserted *blue pastel* swatch of textile can be seen in the middle of the coil (dimensions: D = 5mm) (Fig. 13) while on the other, more fragile one (Fig. 14) (dimensions: D = 4mm) the same swatch cannot be seen.

The inner diameter is similar in these two bracelets (D = 36mm), but different from the bracelets from Grave 427 (D = 42 to 46mm) (Fig. 27-31) mimicking the difference in the age of the deceased.

Eight beads are also a part of the glass jewelry found in the graves: seven tiny whitish cylindrical ones and a larger barrel-shaped one made of blue glass

¹⁶ Similar amulets existed were made by the Varyazis until the 19th century and by the Altay people until the 20th century. Цидрова 1989, 247-257, n. 23, 33.

¹⁷ Иванишевић 1991, 97-104.

¹⁸ Стојичић 2001, 103-114, Т. II, fig. 14.

¹⁹ Георгиева, Бучински 1959, Т. XXX, 13.

²⁰ Манева 2007, cat. no. 391-5.

paste (field no. 710-797) (Fig. 11). Due to the fragility of the material, they are, probably, the preserved part of a larger necklace, from the stock of glass craftsmanship from the first half of the 19th century.

The two miniature, round *metal appliqués perforated in the middle* (D = 8-8mm; cross section = 0,5mm) had been originally treated as elements of a necklace (field no. 789-799) (Fig. 12). In accordance with folk costumes and the embroidery and embellishments of the local garb of Macedonia, similar applications were noticed sewn on the garment and fastened with a tiny bead in the middle.²¹ In the local dialects, they are known as “*puleyki*”, and their main aesthetic value consisted of the effects produced by the shimmering of the smooth metal surface.

The eight *mushroom-shaped buttons* with fully cast heads and a grafted metal loop on one side (field no. 780-787) Fig. 15/₁₋₈ were most likely the more expensive parts of the garment. One of them has a white porcelain head, while the other five are made of glass, two in blue and five in a dark brown almost black color (Dimensions: D = 10mm; h = 11-12mm).

The quality and unified craftsmanship leads to the conclusion that these were “industrially made.”

The presence of a *clutch-loop*, made of iron wire, partly corroded (field no.788) (Fig. 16), indicates the penetration of “industrial production” predicting changes in dressing.

This type of *clutch-loop* resembling the “omega” loop for buttoning can still be found on older garments from the region.

Finally, the fragmented *iron waist belt buckle* (field no.789) could also be of similar industrial make (Fig. 17).

The six small *pyramidal nails* (filed no.801-806) were certainly used to make finer shoes, which have not been preserved (Dimensions: length: 1015mm, head 5-6mm. (Fig. 18/₁₋₆). Of the six discovered *coins*, five are Turkish: three silver aspras and two copper mangirs (field no.766-770) (Fig. 19-23).

All the coins are extremely worn out and had been used for a long time; their edges are chipped and hardly anything can be discerned on both their front and back.

The three fragile silver coins (Fig. 19-21) are perforated near the outer edge and without a doubt were secondarily strung as pendants. The copper mangirs, which are more massive, probably served as a grave gift, i.e. “Charon’s obol”

²¹ Манева 2007, fig. 15.

(Fig. 22-23).

The silver coin with a value of a quarter drachma from the newly formed Kingdom of Greece (field no.765) (Fig. 24) represents a self-evident surprise and an important *terminus post quem*.

It is also perforated and had been strung as a decorative (and valuable) detail.

On the front, the right side profile of a man's head can be seen, while the text is worn smooth.

Within a wreath of olive branches on the reverse, a crown can be seen with the coat of arms under it and the year of minting at the base; despite the perforation of the third digit, the year 1833 can still be determined.²²

Despite the great age of some of the objects due to their "long tradition" with more generations in one family,²³ the discovery of this secondarily used coin shifts the date of graves 427a and 427 to the middle of the 19th century.

A pendant with a little chain made of round-cut tin (D = 15mm x 0,5mm) with seven indents is arranged in the form of rosette. One of the sides of the little chain (h = 30mm) was attached to the garment. The chain is thickly knitted with a thin wire (field no.775)²⁴ (Fig. 25).

Most of the abovementioned objects from Grave 427a were gathered in a reconstructed *ceramic vessel* with all fragments preserved (field no.761) (Fig. 2). Its bottom is leveled (D = 10cm) with the receptacle obliquely widened toward the opening (D = 14,6cm, h = 4,5cm). The mouthpiece is ribbon-like with a serrated outer edge. The vessel has a pale reddish finish, while the inside, as customary with these Ottoman forms, is glazed. The glaze is green. These features are characteristic of Turkish ceramics from the 19th century.

The small porcelain coffee cup with a missing handle (field no.764) (Fig. 26) has no designation of the place where it was discovered. Due to the well-preserved receptacle, it seems to have been used as an oil candle. This phenomenon is still present in Macedonian cemeteries. The possibility has not been excluded that the cup might have been brought to the grave later as part of a grave site ritual by the family of the deceased in graves 427a and 427. This is supported by the recent-looking appearance of this "industrial" product.

²² The coin had been minted in Munich during the reign of the Greek King Otto (1832-1862); cf. n. 2.

²³ Cf. n. 3-7, 7, 9, 10.

²⁴ Кличкова, Петрушева 1963; Т. XVIII, XXI etc.

Grave 427 continues east of the grave chamber with the older remains marked as *Grave 427a* (Fig. 1a, 1b).

The following finds were discovered in this grave *in situ*:

- three bracelets on the right hand;
- three bracelets on the left hand;
- amber beads and glass under the neck and on the chest; and
- a belt buckle on the waist.

The following finds are without a designation of origin:

- an iron nail;
- a worn smooth coin;
- a pendant of round tin; and
- a round button.

The five glass bracelets found on the forearm (field no.820-824) (Fig. 27-31) are of the same type as those from *Grave 427a* (Fig. 13, 14) with details about them already published.²⁵

Their inner diameter, which is from 42, 43, 44 to 46 mm, testifies that they suit the older deceased woman from *Grave 427*.

These bracelets are also crafted from interwoven glass wires. In the center of the coil, a thread of pastel colors (yellow, dark blue, orange, and turquoise) had been inserted.

The crafting of these bracelets is dated to the first half of the 19th century, further confirmed by the findings in *Grave 427a*²⁶ (Fig. 13-14).

Due to their fragility, it is not thought that they might have been used for a longer period.²⁷

Under the chin of the deceased woman from *Grave 427*, 27 round beads of yellow amber were found (field no. 825)²⁸ (Fig. 32).

Cylindrical and tube-shaped glass beads (field no. 826), the majority of which are black (465) alongside about a hundred white, are presented in the documentation as a necklace²⁹ (Fig. 33). However, the possibility has not been excluded that they might have been sewn onto the garment. Among the beads, there is a round-cut *puleyka* of perforated tin (Fig. 33), identical to the two ex-

²⁵ Манева 2007, cat. no. 391-5.

²⁶ Cf. No. 8.

²⁷ Бабик 1986, 283; Αντωνάρας 2006, 434.

²⁸ Манева 2007, cat. no. 37.

²⁹ Ibid, cat. no. 38.

amples from Grave 427a (Fig. 12).

The iron belt buckle, (field no.827) (Fig. 34) despite its fragmented state and corrosion, (dimensions: 54 x 52 x 4-7mm) shows certain resemblance in the frame with the example from Grave 427a (Fig. 17). “Industrial” production needed for the garment can also be confirmed in this case.

The coin from Grave 427 (field no.824) is completely worn out, slightly chipped, and illegible (Fig. 35). It probably played the role of a “Charon’s obol.”

The round-cut tin pendant perforated in four places with deep holes, loops, and a preserved strand of the little chain used for attaching (field no.830, dimensions: D = 16mm, cross section: 0,5mm) is similar to decorative folk details,³⁰ like the one from Grave 427a (Fig. 25).

The button with a concave profile, round form, and two holes used for sewing it on (field no.831, Dimensions: D = 14mm, cross section: 1,5mm) (Fig. 37), by its “modern design” and the fact it is made out of glass, further confirms the idea about the penetration of industrial products in the region of Vodoča around the middle of the 19th century.

The massive broken (?) iron *nail* (field no.828, dimensions: 75 x 1116mm) indicates the existence of a wooden coffin (Fig. 38).

* * *

Graves 427a and 472 represent an unusual family burial. The bones and the finds from the older internments of the two young children were collected from a separately walled-off small quadrangular chamber (Grave 427a) in the western part of the stone cist. Grave 427, belonging to an adult female, was uncovered in the continuation of the cist, placed *in situ*.

Beside the damages and the later secondary use as a pendant, the coin of the Kingdom of Greece dating from 1833 plays an important role in dating this burial place. The coin represents an important *terminus post quem*, foremost for Grave 427a, as well as for the more recent Grave 427 as because of it, both graves can be dated around the middle of the 19th century.

Having in mind the *la longue durée* phenomenon, the long-term use of certain objects (the bronze crosses, the pendants in the shape of small putti angels, parts of the coins, etc.) can be at times measured in decades, even in hundreds

³⁰ Cf. n. 24.

of years from their production till the time of their presence in the grave (Fig. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 19-24).

A part of the grave inventory talks about the changes in the jewelry, typical for the first half and the middle of the 19th century (glass crosses, bracelets, beads, *puleyki*, amber beads, etc.) (Fig. 5, 6, 11-14).

The buttons with porcelain or glass heads, and especially the flat glass button with a “modern” shape, the iron belt buckles, the clutch-hook, as well as the little iron shoe nails witness the intrusion of industrial products and elicit the impression that traditional garb changed through the addition of certain “urban” details (Fig. 15/₁₋₈ – 18₍₁₋₆₎).

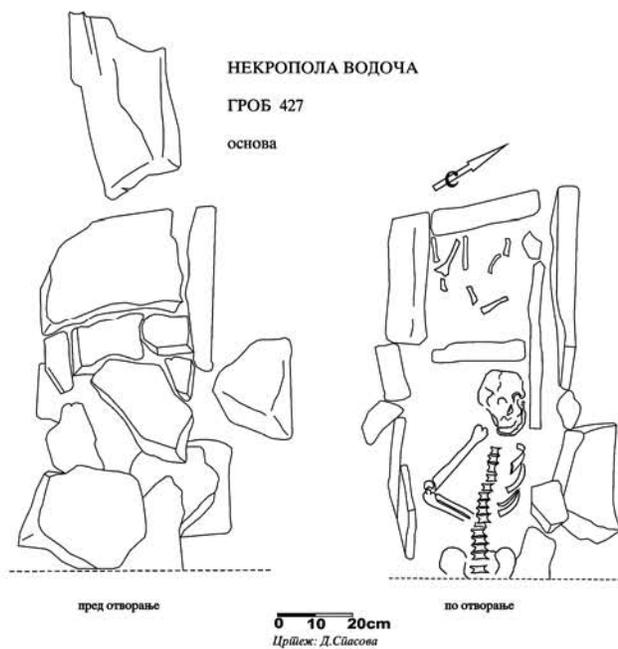
Additionally, there are replicas of old objects (Fig. 10)!

The discovery of graves with rich and varied inventory, as found in grave units 427a and 427, bears witness to social changes within the Christian population from the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century. These artifacts confirm the existence of a wealthier, urban stratum that had emerged from the *raya*.

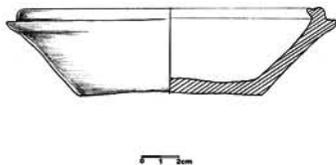
The study of this relatively recent burial site from the Vodoča necropolis shows that funeral archaeology in Macedonia has enough to discover from the material domain of culture embedded in the necropolises of the National Revival period from the end of the 18th to the first half of the 19th centuries, which has so far been studied through the scholarly methods of history, art history, and ethnology.

List of illustrations:

- fig. 1a, b Graves 427a and 427 before and after the uncovering – bases
fig. 2 Grave 427a – Ceramic vessel
fig. 3 Grave 427a – Bronze cross with crucifixion
fig. 4 Grave 427a – Bronze cross with baroque form
fig. 5 Grave 427a – Glass cross with massive branches
fig. 6 Grave 427a – Glass cross
fig. 7 Grave 427a – Pendant – little angel
fig. 8 Grave 427a – Pendant – little angel
fig. 9 Grave 427a – Pendant with a glass “gem”
fig. 10 Grave 427a – Amulet – horse with a man’s head on the horse’s back
fig. 11 Grave 427a – Glass beads
fig. 12 Grave 427a – Metal appliqué
fig. 13 Grave 427a – Glass bracelet with a blue strand
fig. 14 Grave 427a – Glass bracelet
fig. 15⁽¹⁻⁸⁾ Grave 427a – One porcelain and seven glass buttons
fig. 16 Grave 427a – Fragmented belt buckle
fig. 17 Grave 427a – Clutch-hook
fig. 18⁽¹⁻⁶⁾ Grave 427a – Small shoe nails
fig. 19 Grave 427a – Perforated Turkish akcha
fig. 20 Grave 427a – Perforated Turkish akcha
fig. 21 Grave 427a – Perforated Turkish akcha
fig. 22 Grave 427a – Copper mangir
fig. 23 Grave 427a – Copper mangir
fig. 24 Grave 427a – Perforated quarter drachma from 1833
fig. 25 Grave 427a – Pendant with a little chain
fig. 26 Grave 427a – Coffee cup
fig. 27 Grave 427 – Glass bracelet with a yellow strand
fig. 28 Grave 427 – Glass bracelet with a yellow strand
fig. 29 Grave 427 – Glass bracelet with a dark yellow strand
fig. 30 Grave 427 – Glass bracelet with an orange strand
fig. 31 Grave 427 – Glass bracelet with a turquoise strand
fig. 32 Grave 427 – Amber beads
fig. 33 Grave 427 – Glass beads
fig. 34 Grave 427 – Iron belt buckle
fig. 35 Grave 427 – Worn smooth coin
fig. 36 Grave 427 – Circular pendant
fig. 37 Grave 427 – Glass button
fig. 38 Grave 427 – Broken iron nail



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА
ГРОБ 427 а
инв. бр. 761



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА
ГРОБ 427 а
инв. бр. 773

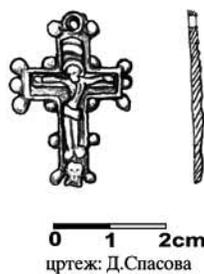


fig. 1 – 3

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 774



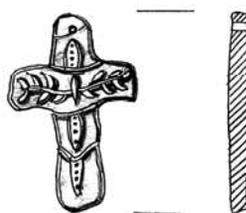
0 1 2cm

цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 778



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 779



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 776



0 1 2cm

цртеж: Д.Спасова

fig. 4 – 7

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 777



0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 771



0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 772

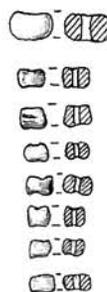


0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 790-797



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 798-799



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 762

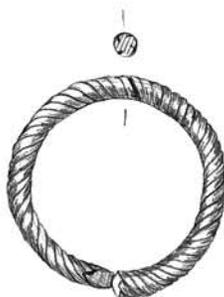


цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 763



цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 780-787



fig. 12 – 15

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 788



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 789

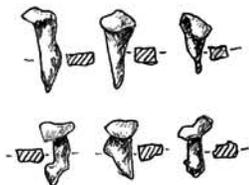


0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 801- 806



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 766

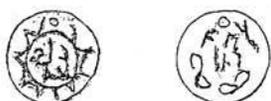


0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 767



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 768

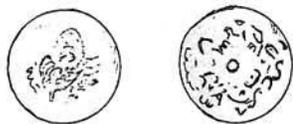


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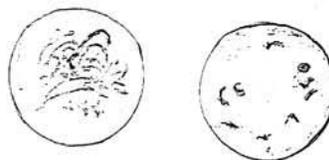


0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 770



0 1 2cm

fig. 20 – 23

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 765



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

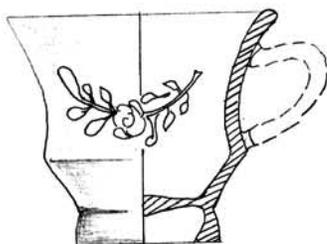
инв. бр. 775

0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427 а

инв. бр. 764



0 1 2cm

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 820

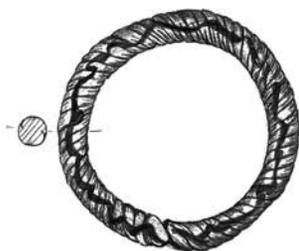
0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

fig. 24 – 27

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 821



0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 822



0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 823



0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 824



0 1 2cm

fig. 28 – 31

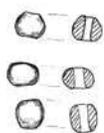
НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 825



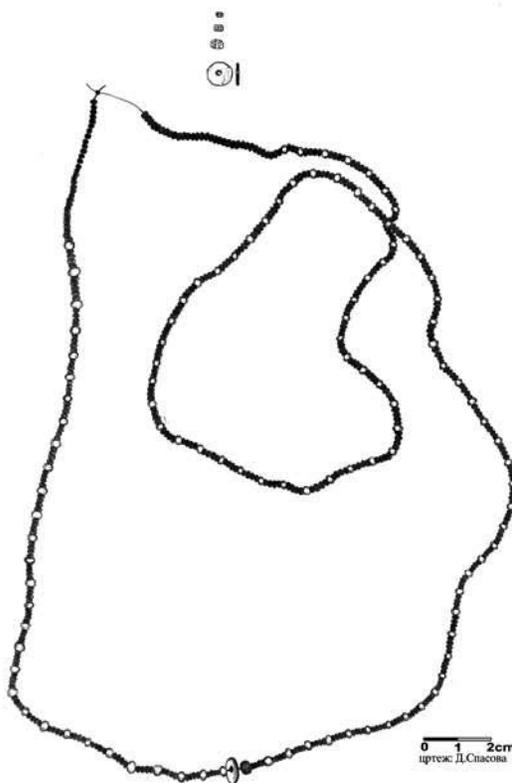
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цртеж: Д.Спасова



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 826

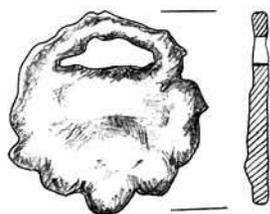


0 1 2cm
цртеж: Д.Спасова

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 827



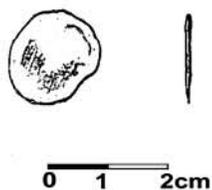
0 1 2cm

fig. 32 – 34

НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

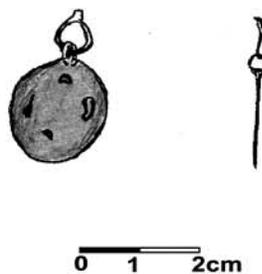
инв. бр. 829



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

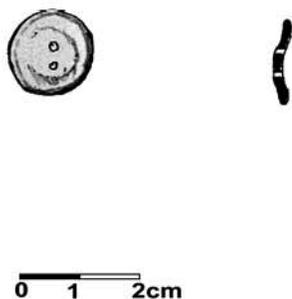
инв. бр. 830



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 831



НЕКРОПОЛА ВОДОЧА

ГРОБ 427

инв. бр. 828

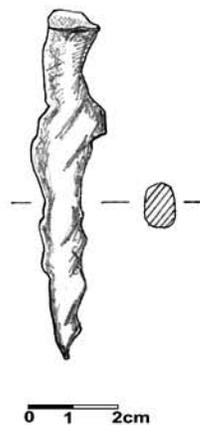


fig. 35 – 38

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Greek-Macedonian Struggle: The Reasons for its Occurrence

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The idea for an organised armed action - coordinated and supported by the Greek Kingdom and aimed against the Macedonian revolutionary organisation emerged few years before the Ilinden Uprising.¹ During this period the Greek nationalistic circles in Greece and Ottoman Macedonia, primarily the official representatives of the Greek state and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, becoming aware about the threat against *Hellenism* repeatedly demanded changes in the policy concerning the Macedonian question, including for the Kingdom to send some armed groups.² On the other hand, after the defeat by the Ottoman Empire in 1897 and until the Ilinden Uprising, the officials in Athens led utterly cautious policy with a constant tendency of building good-neighbourly relations with the Ottoman Porte. The Greek governments during this period acted with no clear national policy and without defined foreign and domestic programme, while the whole activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was primarily oriented towards the problem of Crete.³ The Greek official policy strived for and hoped that the Ottoman civil and military authorities were going to protect their interests in Macedonia, a practice which was giving results to a certain extent.

¹ Христо Сиљанов, Ослободителните борби на Македонија II, Скопје, 2004, стр. 151.

² In his first report to the Greek government at the beginning of 1901, the Metropolitan from Kastoria Karavengelis, after looking into the situation in his Eparchy he paid special attention to the need of sending Greek chetas to Macedonia. Германос Каравангелис, Македонската борба, Скопје, 2000, стр. 15.

³ Ο Μακεδονικός αγών και τα εις Θρακίην γεγονότα, Γενικόν επιτελείον στρατού; Διευθυνσις ιστορίας στρατού, Αθηναι, 1979, σ. 123.

In any case, regardless of the negative attitude of the official Greek policy towards the idea of organising “armed defence of *Hellenism*” in Macedonia, certain nationalistic circles started the process on their own initiative.⁴ The Metropolitan from Kastoria, Germanos Karavangelis, was resolute to realise the plan for initiating organised armed struggle against MRO (later known as IMRO). According to his concept, the armed forces coming from Greece would have not been intended for the liberation of “the Greeks” from the Ottoman rule, and even less would have acted on the territory populated with Greeks. On the other hand MRO’s goal was not to induce terror and killing against the Greek population, but later on they did apply certain reciprocity. In spite of yet officially not approved plan by the Greek government or still not thinking in that direction the resoluteness of Karavangelis was due to the gained rights of the Greek propaganda in the Ottoman Empire, and above all due to the cooperation and assistance rendered by the local Ottoman authorities. In addition to recruiting of the local population - former bandits and renegades from MRO by means of financial compensation, just before the Ilinden Uprising an armed group of about 10 Cretans had arrived to south-western Macedonia.⁵ The prime objective of these groups was to oppose the chetas of the Macedonian Revolu-

⁴ The rapid development of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation at the beginning of 20th century caused fear among the Greek national factors about the future of their plans in Macedonia. The joining of a great number of Macedonians – patriarchists, to the Organisation and the fact that they started to lose control over that portion of the Macedonian population caused uneasiness and panic among the Greek academic-propaganda circles. The process of unification of the Macedonian population in the Kastoria district and the disappearance of the “clash between the Exarchists and Patriarchists” due to the MRO’s programme for fighting the Ottoman regime caused feelings of concern. The violation of the projected borders of “historical Greece” for the Greek propaganda factors meant a reason for initiating merciless war against the Macedonian revolutionary movement, with the metropolitan Germanos Karavangelis as one of the leading protagonists.

⁵ More on the activity of the ten Cretans see in: Димитар Љоровски Вамваковски, “Дејноста на десетмината критјани во југозападна Македонија”, Историја, бр. 1-2, Скопје, 2007, стр. 17 - 32; Весела Трајкова, “Наченки на андарското дело в Македонија – Каравангелис, Јон Драгумис и десетината Критјани”, Македонски научен институт; Преглед, Софија, г. XXIV, 2001, бр. 1, стр. 45-60.

tionary Organisation and to show that in the “contested” parts of Macedonia, *Hellenism* “did subsist”, but also to incite reaction in the Greek capital in order to motivate the government to become actively involved in the struggle that they had already started.

A radical turn in the policy of the Greek state regarding the Macedonian question happened after the Ilinden Uprising was crushed. The Greek government⁶ was no longer able to act indifferently towards the demands of the Greek propaganda representatives in Macedonia, since the Uprising clearly confirmed their constant warnings and urges that urgent action against MRO structures were necessary. Essentially, during the Ilinden Uprising Greece came to a conclusion that *Hellenism's* foundations in Macedonia were no longer sound and that the Greek state with the propaganda activities, at that time based primarily on peaceful actions, was not able to realise the programme of the *Megali idea*.⁷ What the Ottoman authorities and even less the Balkans authorities were unable to accept, was the fact that the Internal Organisation basically presented itself as a legitimate representative of the majority of the Macedonian Orthodox Christian population. In parallel to this tendency the leading national ideologists in the Greek kingdom, along with the propaganda of the other pretenders for Macedonia, rightfully started identifying MRO as one of the main obstacles in achieving their national programmes. The slogan “Autonomy for Macedonia”, which was confirmed also in the most important Organisation program document - the Constitution⁸ from 1897, clearly defined the political form of the future state. Furthermore, especially important was the organisation of most of the territory of Macedonia in revolutionary districts which “resulted from the specific needs that imposed themselves in the course of the practical function-

⁶ At that time there were frequent changes at the prime minister's position in the Greek government. Thus, between December 1902 and June 1903 Prime Minister was Teodoros Delianis; he was followed by Georgios Theotokis (June - July 1903); then came Dimitrios Ralis (July - December 1903); and then again the Greek government was headed by Theotokis (December 1903 - December 1904).

⁷ Крсте Битовски, Грчката “Македонска борба“, Скопје, 2001, стр. 90.

⁸ Article 1 of the 1897 Constitution, which defined the goal of Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation read: “to unify as a whole all dissatisfied elements from Macedonia and Edirne, regardless of their nationality, in order to achieve full political autonomy for these two regions by means of revolution”. Историја на македонскиот народ, том 3, Институт за национална историја, Скопје, 2003, стр. 187.

ing of TMORO on the ground”.⁹ In such a way the presented territorial sovereignty of the Macedonian revolutionary movement overlapped with some of the territorial plans of the *Megali idea*. The direct confrontation happened in the so called middle or “contested area” of Macedonia, according to the Greek views, where the intensity of the Ilinden Uprising was most strongly felt and where later on most of the Andart chetas would operate.

The massive participation of the Macedonian Orthodox Christian population from western Macedonia, being exarchial and patriarchate, in the Ilinden Uprising caused a surprise and anxiety in Greece and among the Greek representatives in the Ottoman Empire. The Secretary of the Greek Consulate in Bitola at the time, Ion Dragumis in a letter addressed to his father Stephanos dated 25 July 1903¹⁰ concluded: “we have a Slavic uprising in Macedonia... All the Slavophones listen to the Committee (MRO, author’s note) both Orthodox Christians and Schismatics (Exarchists, author’s note) and most of them voluntarily”.¹¹ What concerned them was the fact that the majority of that population “that did not have the necessary national consciousness and patriotism” to follow the policy of Greek propaganda, had shown surprising consciousness and patriotism in accepting and following the policy and the programme propagandised by a secret organisation which offered liberty and constitution of its own Macedonian state.¹² Another alarming moment, as one could notice, was the participation of a great percent of the Macedonian patriarchate population in the Uprising, which by the Greek policy was declared to be of Greek ethnic origin in the Ottoman Empire. In such a way the Greek state (with the exception of the small enclaves of Vlach and Albanian Orthodox Christian population that were also considered to be “Greek”), which before the Uprising based on the church affiliation of the population, presented and recognised domination of the Greek ethnic population in parts of the Macedonian territory, de facto during the Uprising was left without most its self-proclaimed ethnic element in Macedonia. This situation soon afterwards forced the Greek political

⁹ Марија Пандевска, Струмички револуционерен округ (1893-1903), книга I, Скопје, 2002, стр. 25.

¹⁰ The dates in the text from here onwards will be written in an old style (Julian calendar).

¹¹ Ιωανς Δραγουμης, Τα Τετραδια του Ιλιντεν, Γιωργος Πετσιβας, Αθηνα, 2000, σ. 195.

¹² Крсте Битоски, “Некои аспекти на илинденските националноослободителни борби“, Историја, год. XXXIX, број 1-2, Скопје, 2003, стр. 17.

leadership to adopt strategic and political solutions regarding the Macedonian question, which, with small exceptions, had ignored the Macedonian reality on the ground.¹³ Such a move was the equalisation of the Macedonian revolutionary movement with the Bulgarian propaganda institutions, which in essence made it easier for the Greek state in confronting the structures of MRO. This tendency was supported by the policy and propaganda of the Bulgarian government, which was trying to present the Macedonian revolutionary movement as a work of the “Macedonian Bulgarians”. The identification was aimed at justifying the Greek armed intervention, which allegedly was provoked by the “Bulgarian movement, which was against the Greek nation and the Ecumenical Patriarchate”.¹⁴ On the other hand the Greek propaganda by presenting the Organisation as an armed phase of Bulgarian propaganda demanded an appropriate reaction by the Greek side. In that sense the Greek Consul in Thessaloniki, N. Evgeniadis, at the beginning of 1904 advised the General Administrator Hilmi Pasha that “Bulgarian chetas could be destroyed by creating Greek ones, which would also establish order”. The Consul also requested from Hilmi Pasha a guarantee that their chetas “would not be persecuted by the Ottoman authorities”.¹⁵ This proposal was decisively refused by the General Administrator. Still, the ideologists of that policy, despite the official position of the Greek propaganda, were familiar with the goals and the programme of MRO and its autochthonous Macedonian character, which on the other hand cannot be claimed for the majority of the Greek public and political elite. In February 1903, the abovementioned Ion Dragmuis concluded: “So the majority of the Macedonian people will foment an uprising... What do they care about Hellenism? We shall remain a minority in being stripped ... I pity them, they want neither Bulgaria nor Greece, but they want their own freedom, the freedom that attracted them and made them fanatics”.¹⁶ Furthermore, in a letter to Pavlos Mellas dated 27 February 1903 Dragmuis wrote: “the chetas and the committees are infiltrated

¹³ Димитрис Литоксоу, *Грчката антимакедонска борба I; Од Илинден до Загоричани (1903-1905)*, Скопје, 2004, стр. 39.

¹⁴ *Εταιρία Μακεδονικόν σπουδών, Ίδρυμα μελετών χερσονήσου του αιμου, Περιλλεους Αλεξ. Αργυροπουλου, Ο μακεδονικός αγών (απομνημονευματα)*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1957, σ. 4.

¹⁵ Report by the Royal Greek Consulate in Thessaloniki, No. 3, 4 January 1904. The author has a copy of the original.

¹⁶ I. Δραγουμης, *Τα Τετραδια...*, σ. 21.

everywhere and have no intention to give in to the demands of the Russians and the Great Powers, who had been advising for peace. On the contrary, they had worked even more aggressively than before... they claim... that they are not fighting to make Macedonia Bulgarian, but to create an autonomous state (Macedonia to the Macedonians)".¹⁷ The contemporary of the Ilinden Uprising period and a later on Greek historian, Gregorios Modis (born in Bitola with Vlach origin), with a kind of respect and admiration wrote about MRO, which "assumed the liberation monopoly" and "with great supra-Christian soul gave an opportunity to all Christians, righteous and unrighteous to participate".¹⁸ Elaborating on the objectives of the "Internal Organisation", Modis noted: "it declared itself and fought for the entire Macedonian population, regardless of the national and religious feelings of the different elements. The Organisation was counting on every individual who did not give in to the Ottoman tyranny and wanted to dedicate all its energy to general liberation deeds... Their slogan was 'Macedonia to the Macedonians' and they tirelessly waved the flag".¹⁹

The role of the Great Powers and their interests during the Ottoman domination always had crucial significance for the situation in the Balkan Peninsula. In the last quarter of the 19th century the relations between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers were under the influence of the new protagonists, the newly-formed Balkan states and their efforts to realise their national programmes that were primarily oriented towards the Ottoman territories, but also in mutual competition for attracting the Christian population and conquering the territory of Ottoman Macedonia. The Great Powers tried to take advantage of the newly created Balkan nationalism imposing themselves on Turkey and one of the Balkan states in order to protect their own interest in the region. The Great Powers in their attempt to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire frequently intervened with the excuse of reforms in favour of the Christian population in Macedonia, but with prime objective was to maintain the situation status-quo.²⁰ In this direction were the Mürzsteg reforms²¹ of

¹⁷ Ναταλία Μελα, Παυλος Μελας, Αθηνα, 1926, σ. 172.

¹⁸ Γ. Χ. Μοδη, Μακεδονικός αγών και μακεδονικές αρχηγίες, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1950, σ. 32, 33.

¹⁹ Γ. Χ. Μοδη, Μακεδονικός αγών και..., σ. 32.

²⁰ Μιρναντα Παξιμαδοπούλου - Σταυρίνου, Η διπλωματία των Δυναμειών και οι μεταρρυθμίσεις στη Μακεδονία (1903-1908), Αθηνα, 2009, σ. 405.

²¹ The Mürzsteg reforms were named according to the place Mürzsteg, where the Russ-

2 October 1903, directly caused by the Ilinden Uprising and the violent intervention by the Ottoman armed forces in putting it down. One should also mention one of the factors that incited the armed intervention of the Greek state in Macedonia, and that is Article 3 of the reform programme from Müritz. It prescribed “After the pacification of the country, the imperial government should be requested to make certain changes in the territorial division of the administrative units in order to properly group the different nationalities”.²² This formulation of the article by the Balkan pretenders was interpreted as a possibility to present and win over the majority of the Christian population, in order to group them artificially and more compactly i.e. to divide the “nationalities” based on the new territorial division. The first one who realised the “threat for the *Hellenism*” was Ion Dragumis, at the time an official at the Greek consulate in Serres, who in his report to the Greek Foreign Ministry dated 4 December 1903 warned that “those threats refer to the spheres of influence on the Macedonian territory by the Balkan nationalists for characterising the population in Macedonia as Greeks, Vlachs, Serbs, Albanians, Turks or Bulgarians, depending on the districts”.²³ Dragumis also noted that for the Greek interests “in the Greek territories with purely Greek population”, referring to the southern Hellenophone area of Macedonia, “there were no threat, but such a danger did exist on the territories with mixed population, especially those with Bulgarophones, Schismatics or Orthodox Christians”.²⁴ The battle continued with even greater intensity, primarily between the Greek and Bulgarian propagandas, but the Serbian and the Romanian ones did not fall behind when it came to attracting individuals or entire settlements to their own church organisations, thus presenting their church affiliation as a part of their ethnic group in Ottoman Macedonia. The attracting of believers soon turned into a violent i.e. armed and fierce conflict, to which MRO was drawn into. On the other hand, the requirement that was incorporated in the above mentioned article of the reforms, “after the pacification of the country”, was totally in favour of the Ottoman authorities, which

ian Tsar Nikolai II and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Joseph I met. The programme was later approved by other powers that participated in the Berlin Congress. The reforms had 9 articles that envisaged reforms in the administration, the economy, the police and justice.

²² X. Силјанов, *Ослободителните борби...*, стр. 54.

²³ I. Δραγουμης, *Τα Τετραδία...*, σ. 622 - 634.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 622 - 634.

not only had not undertaken proper measures for preventing the armed conflict, but on the contrary, in many cases they incited it or acted indifferently towards certain developments.

Transfers of individuals or entire villages from one to another church organisation (Patriarchate or Exarchate) started much before the Ilinden Uprising. The beginnings of that process dated from the time when the Exarchate was founded in 1870, especially with Article 10 of the Ottoman firman, which prescribed two thirds plebiscitary support by the Christian population in order to join a certain church organisation.²⁵ MRO's policy on this issue during this period was clear. Its agitation was oriented towards the entire Macedonian population. In the course of it they explained the objectives of the Organisation regardless whether the Macedonian population was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate or the Exarchate and no pressure was exerted on the population to transfer from one church to another. However, at the end of 1902 one could notice enhanced agitation by MRO in the region of Kastoria aimed at convincing the Macedonian population to leave the Patriarchate and to go over to the Exarchate. The frequent practicing of this was characteristic for the entire following year. The decision of the Kastoria committee was reached as a result of the negative influence that the Kastoria Metropolitan Germanos Karavangelis spread among the Macedonian patriarchate population, his enhanced agitation and activity against the Macedonian revolutionary movement.²⁶ Such moves by the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement leaders in Kastoria, according to the Greek publicist Georgios Pecivas was due to the 1902 decision according to which, "the Patriarchate ordered for the patriarchists to stop cooperating on the preparation of the Uprising".²⁷ In any case, the situation started to change in final phase of the Ilinden Uprising when the Greek Patriarchate metropolitans as allies to the Ottoman authorities, profiting on the utterly difficult and hope-

²⁵ Историја на македонскиот..., стр. 40.

²⁶ In his diary, one of the heads of Kastoria committee, Vasil Cakalarov noted that at the "General Assembly" in the village of Вapcor, held on 29 August 1902, beside the other organisational issues they also discussed "the behaviour of the bishop and the Greeks who did things out of malice and imprisoned our people" and the people "admitted that the Greeks were our devils and agreed to renounce the bishop". Дневникот на војводата Васил Чакаларов, Скопје, 2007, стр. 153.

²⁷ Ιωαννου Καραβιτη, Ομακεδονικος Αγων, Απομνημονευματα, Τομος Α', Εισαγωγή, Επιμέλεια, Σχολια Γιωργος Πετσιβας, Αθηνα, 1994, σ. 17.

less situation of the population, forced the Macedonian Exarchate population to go over to the Patriarchate. On the other hand, the population the only way out and the protection from the retribution of the Ottoman authorities could see in their return under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Such was the case in the Kastoria district where about 5,000 peasants were forced by the Kastoria metropolitan to return to the patriarchate's side i.e. according to the beliefs at the time to become "Greeks".²⁸ But, very soon, immediately after the end of the Uprising, and especially in the first half of 1904 as a reaction to the negative attitude of the Greek propaganda institutions towards the Uprising, especially their cooperation with the local Ottoman authorities against the population, one could notice massive transfers of many families, and later on entire villages to the Exarchate church.²⁹ On the other hand, undoubted impact on this course of events also had the activity of the Bulgarian (Exarchate) propaganda institutions and the initiative of the Bitola district committee "for the patriarchate villages to be turned over into exarchate ones".³⁰ In his memoirs, Gjorce Petrov confirmed the district committee's decision, which goal was "to resist the manifested tendencies of the Greek bishops and consuls to benefit from the disaster in favour of the Greek propaganda".³¹ However, the reaction by some in the Organisation to the spontaneous leaving of the Patriarchate by the peasants in the entire area of the insurrection was not expected to be different i.e. to take an opposite stand, "since it suffered significantly from the con-

²⁸ Димитар Љоровски Вамваковски, "Германос Каравангелис и...", стр. 30.

²⁹ There are many documents confirming the passing of the Macedonian population from the Patriarchate over to the Exarchate. For instance, the Greek Consul in Bitola D. Kalergis informed the Greek Minister of the Foreign Affairs, A. Romanos in his report dated 26 February 1904 that 65 villages passed over to the Exarchate. *Μουσείομακεδονικουαγωνα, Οιαπαρχεστου Μακεδονικουαγωνα (1903-1904); 100 εγγραφα απο το Αρχαιο του Υπουργειου των Εξωτερικων της Ελλαδος, Θεσσαλονικη, 1996, σ. 136 - 139*; In a report under the ref. No. 333, from the Bulgarian trade agency in Bitola addressed to the Prime Minister Racho Petrov on 3 May 1904 it was reported that 15 villages from the Kastoria district passed from the Patriarchate over to the Exarchate. Величко Георгиев, Стайко Трифонов, Гръцката и сръбската пропаганди в Македония; краят на XIX - началото на XX век, София, 1995, стр. 35 - 36.

³⁰ Ванчо Ѓорѓиев, Подземната република; Дамјан Груев и македонското револуционерно движење, Скопје, 2010, стр. 353.

³¹ Спомени на Ѓорче Петров, Скопје, 1950, стр. 154.

duct by Greek clergy during the Uprising”. But, besides that, “the Greek bishops, open allies of the Ottoman authorities, with even greater eagerness than before encouraged their priests and teachers... to betrayal and spying”.³² On the other hand, as to the regions in the south-western Macedonia, particularly the region of Kastoria, from the memoirs of Georgi Pop Hristov who came to that region in mid 1904, we learned about almost complete passiveness on the part of the Organisation in this region as well as about complete disconnection from the District Committee in Bitola.³³ Hence, we can conclude that the possibility for MRO’s structures in Kastoria to act in that direction was meagre, especially since after the arrival of Pop Hristov there was full reorganisation of the district, and the leadership for the first time was introduced to the rule book and the draft Constitution of the District Committee of the Bitola Revolutionary District.

However, this situation was used and presented another strong argument among the representatives of the Greek propaganda institutions to influence the Greek government to change its position in order to start considering military intervention in some parts of Macedonia. Firstly, those were the consular officers of the Greek state as well as the clergy of the Constantinople Patriarchate who were constantly reporting of the “catastrophic state of *Hellenism*” and the need of armed intervention, but not against the Ottoman regime, but against the forces of MRO. The Greek Consul in Bitola, D. Kalergis, in that sense tendentiously in his report to the Greek Foreign Ministry presented the “unbearable” situation of the Macedonian peasants who “were coming to the Consulate from everywhere to let us know that the committee (MRO, author’s note) members at night surround their villages and threaten the village elders to sign statements saying that the entire village is willing to belong to the Bulgarian Exarchate”.³⁴ Kalergis’ goal, regardless of the actual situation on the ground was to blame MRO and for the Greek authorities to confront it with arms. In the same report the Consul openly confirmed their cooperation with the local Ottoman authorities, “which after receiving the order from Constantinople”, as

³² X Силјанов, Ослободителните борби..., стр. 134.

³³ Георги Попхристов, Револуционата борба во битолскиот округ, Софија, 1933, стр. 54.

³⁴ Report by D. Kalergis to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Romanos, Bitola, 6 February 1904. Μουσείο μακεδονικού αγώνα, Οιαπαρχές του Μακεδονικού αγώνα (1903-1904); 100 εγγράφα..., σ. 134.

well as after the advice by the Greek Metropolitan, “decided to send an army to protect villages that were threatened by the Bulgarians”.³⁵ Such, in favour of the Greek propaganda, was also the decision of the General Administrator of Macedonia, Hilmi Pasha, who in January 1904, gave an order for status-quo, according to which, the villages should stay under the same church rule as before the Uprising i.e. he deprived the people of the right to transfer from one church organisation to another.³⁶ This order, pursuant to the decision of the Mürzsteg reforms was completely in favour of the Greek propaganda, which at this time massively, something that was not typical for the period before the Ilinden Uprising, started to lose its self-proclaimed Greek ethnic population in Macedonia.

In the abovementioned report of Ion Dragumis dated 4 December 1903 two measures were suggested to keep the Macedonian patriarchate population within the Constantinople Patriarchate. First of all peaceful propaganda “preaching... for the Bulgarophones to stick to tradition, but also... violence is necessary”, which essentially was the second measure proposed by him. According to Dragumis, the Macedonian patriarchists, “if it wasn’t for the committee, would have been for ever peaceful, subordinated and devoted to the faith they inherited from their forefathers and most probably they wouldn’t have needed the preaching”, but because, according to him, the Organisation acted violently in order “for our preaching and encouragement to bring results”, it was necessary “either to destroy the committee or to oppose the violence with violence”. He actually imagined “a Greek state outside the borders of the Greek state, organised inside the Turkish state by means of coordination of the Greek municipalities”.³⁷ Dragumis as someone who was well familiar with the situation in Ottoman Macedonia, proposed establishing a Greek “Internal Organisation” similar to the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, which unlike the MRO that had autochthonous character, this one should have been a product of the Greek propaganda institutions in Macedonia. The reaction of the Kastoria Metropolitan Karavangelis was similar. On 11 May 1904 he wrote: “The situation is already disappointing, there is no protection of our interests and the panic that has spread throughout villages with everyday killings and compulsion have destroyed the eparchy, which suffers from these murderers, who had

³⁵ Ibid., σ. 135.

³⁶ X. Силјанов, Ослободителните борби..., стр. 135.

³⁷ I. Δραγουμεης, Τα Τετραδια..., σ. 622 - 634.

changed their faith”.³⁸ Karavangelis disappointed by the attitude of the official Greek policy even submitted his resignation from the position as Kastoria Metropolitan, which of course was rejected.³⁹

It can be clearly seen not only from Dragumis or Karavangelis’ contemplations, but also from the rest of the Greek propaganda representatives that the greatest “enemy of *Hellenism*” in Macedonia was MRO’s activity, which as an entity completely disturbed the Greek positions they used to have and for which it was necessary to undertake suitable measures. Furthermore, unfounded were the attacks of the Greek propaganda representatives aimed at getting a reaction from Athens, to the alleged violent behaviour and pressure against the Macedonian population to go over to the Exarchate. In the activity of MRO at the time no such action was noticed i.e. compulsion by means of terror even though we have come to a conclusion that there were some recommendations and decisions in that sense, but always as a result of the negative consequences from the Greek actions. On the other hand, after the end of the Ilinden Uprising, the Organisation became passive to a great extent, especially in the regions which suffered the most from the Ottoman reaction. For instance in the Kastoria and Florina regions the only remaining were Mitre Vlaseto and few other local voivodes who were forced to think more about finding shelter for themselves and “they were not able, even if they wanted, to organise – especially by means of terror – a massive counter patriarchy activity.”⁴⁰

“The right” to proclaim the Orthodox Christian population as part of its own ethnic group in the Ottoman Empire, the official Greek policy founded on the *millet* system, which essentially meant a *religious group*. The equalisation of the terms *millet* and *nation* happened under the west-European influence, where the word *millet* was literary linked to the word *nation* i.e. equality in the concept of the French model of nation. The consideration of these two terms as equal

³⁸ Αναστασιος Ιορδανογλου, “Η κατάσταση στη Μακεδονία με βάση τα ειδηδομένα πατριαρχικά έγγραφα, 1903 - 1908“, Ο μακεδονικός αγώνας; Συμπόσιο, Θεσσαλονίκη - Φλώρινα - Καστοριά - Έδεσσα, 28 οκτωβρίου - 2 νοεμβρίου 1984, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1987, σ. 131.

³⁹ Μητροπολίτης Αυστρίας κ. Μιχαήλ Στάϊκος, “Η συμβολή του μητροπολίτη Καστοριάς Γερμανού Καραβαγγέλη στον Μακεδονικό Αγώνα“, Εταιρεία μακεδονικών σπουδών, Επιστημονικό συνέδριο, Μακεδονικός αγών 100 χρόνια από τον θάνατο του Παύλου Μελά, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12 - 13 νοεμβρίου 2004, σ. 44.

⁴⁰ X.Силјанов, Ослободителните борби..., стр. 133, 134.

was in favour of the small Balkan states and it strongly encouraged nationalism in recognising their own “holy” right to seek, to find, to count, to recount or to convert their “national compatriots” in Ottoman Macedonia. In the late Ottoman pre-national millet system in which there were no conditions for a modern nation and national awareness to develop, the Balkan nations-states saw a possibility to create their own “national tissue” using the church, the schools and later on the armed violence. In that sense, the starting point of this policy was tendentious identification of church affiliation with the recognition of “one’s own nation” in the Ottoman Empire or, as the Greek historian Dimitris Livianos concludes the “identity” seems could not be a matter of choice; it “existed” independently from what the individual had thought.⁴¹

In any case, this situation was rather opposite to the factual reality which has been confirmed by numerous testimonies that were also known to the official representatives of the Greek state in the Empire. For instance, Ion Dragumis noted that “for most of the Slavophones the word Orthodoxy has no meaning”, referring to the non-identification of the church affiliation with the Greek nation, “because the schismatic priests (exarchists, author’s note) apart from the use of the Slavic language, are no different in any other aspect from the Orthodox ones”.⁴² Furthermore, about the conversion from one church organisation to another or according to the national understandings at the time – becoming a “Greek” or a “Bulgarian” over night or even vice versa, Dragumis wrote: “It seems that the peasants have never understood that they had become schismatics (Bulgarians, author’s note) nor that they continued to be schismatics, nor that they returned to Orthodoxy (*Hellenism*, author’s note)... Let alone the [existence of Greek] national consciousness”.⁴³ Namely, according to the historian Andrew Rossos, their proto-national consciousness was in great extent a response to factors such as: language, folklore, customs, traditions and local interests – symbols that they identified with Macedonia and which made them different from their neighbours.⁴⁴ In 1908 the English politician and lawyer Alan Upward described a Macedonian peasant as follows: “Antoni Stankoff (from the village)

⁴¹ Dimitris Livianos, “Conquering the Souls: Nationalism and Greek Guerilla Warfare in Ottoman Macedonia, 1904-1908”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 23, 1999, p. 199.

⁴² I. Δραγουμης, *Τα Τετραδια...*, σ. 622 - 634.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 622 - 634.

⁴⁴ Ендърју Росос, *Македонија и Македонците; историја*, Скопје, 2010, стр. 109.

Frangotchi (meaning the village of Ranci – the region of Kajlari district). Speaks no Greek. Is a Patriarchist. Does not know the difference between the Patriarchists and Exarchists. Suffers from the Turkish terror. Does not want any band in his village. Has no preference between Greek and Bulgarian, so long as the Turk goes. Would prefer even Austrian rule to Turkish”.⁴⁵ During his humanistic activities after the Ilinden Uprising in western Macedonia, the English journalist Henry Noel Brailsford in a discussion with several Macedonians in front of the remains of the fortress of Tsar Samoil in Ohrid, came to some interesting conclusions: “Who built this place?”, I asked them. Their reply was significant: - ‘The free people’. ‘And who were they?’ ‘Our ancestors’. ‘Ok, but were they Serbs or Bulgarians or Greeks or even Turks?’ ‘They were not Turks, but Christians.’”⁴⁶ Actually, those boys were asked to respond to questions that they could not understand. Brailsford asked them questions that belonged to the times of the nations, something they were not familiar with, and they simply still lived in the multicultural and religious Ottoman society.

However, at beginning of 1904 the Greek government headed by the Prime Minister Theotokis, pressured by the public opinion, started taking some more radical steps in regard to the Macedonian question.⁴⁷ This decision was due to the common view of the Greek state that was created as a result of constant panicky urging of the official Greek propaganda representatives in the Ottoman Empire and the nationalistic circles in the Greek state concerning the threats and the unbearable state of *Hellenism* in Macedonia.⁴⁸ The indecisiveness

⁴⁵ Allen Upward, *The East End of Europe*, London, 1908, p. 181 - 182.

⁴⁶ Хенри Ноел Брејлсфорд, *Македонија; нејзините народи и нејзината иднина*, Скопје, 2003, стр. 160.

⁴⁷ *Иστορια του ελληνικου εθνους, νεωτεροελληνισμος απο 1881 ως 1913*, Τομος ΙΔ, Αθηνα, 1977, σ. 238.

⁴⁸ The Macedonian problem became an every day topic in the life of the Greek population; nationalism was stirred up by the Athens newspapers and various syllogoses that were constantly talking or writing about the terror and killings of their “compatriots” in the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the national feelings and solidarity to what had been happening in the north of the Greek state were stimulated with the alleged 700 killed “Greeks” in the period from 1897 until the beginning of 1904. Αποστολου Ε. Βακαλοπουλου, *Ο μακεδονικος αγωνας (1904-1908) ως κορυφαια φαση των αγωνων των Ελληνων για τη Μακεδονια*, Θεσσαλονικη, 1985, σ. 29. Professor Neoklis Kazazis, in the January issue of the magazine “Elinismos” described the indifference of the Greek authorities

and hesitation of the Greek Prime Minister Theotokis to start an armed intervention against MRO structures was due to the fear of involving Greece in an open conflict with the Ottoman Empire, similar to the one from 1897. At the beginning, the Greek government decided to carry out a broad survey of the situation in Macedonia in order to see whether there were favourable conditions for “an armed defence of Macedonian *Hellenism*”.⁴⁹

in the following way: “Greece, the free homeland, is forgetting its duties, continuing with its policy of indifference. The bells are alarming the approaching threat. Nobody is listening. The church bell will mark a disaster. Only then we shall rise. But, at the same time, the cry of the historical revenge will also be heard. It’s too late. I hope that this new year that has already started will waken us all up from the winter slumber, the young, the old, the official, the unofficial, I wish for nothing more...“. Σταθης Πελαγιδης, “Λιγο μετα το Ιλιντεν (20 ιουλιου 1903) στις περιοχες Καστοριας και Φλωρινας“, Ο μακεδονικος αγωνας; Συμποσιο, Θεσσαλονικη - Φλωρινα - Καστορια - Εδεσσα, 28 οκτωμβριου - 2 νοεμβριου 1984, Θεσσαλονικη, 1987, σ. 366, 367.

⁴⁹ Ο Μακεδονικος αγων και τα εις Θρακην...,σ. 131.

National Ideology and Its Transfer: Late Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Relations

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The Bases of Balkan Nationalism

Arousing of the nation and promoting the national ideology would come up as the key role in redefining the Balkan identities. The new era of modernity actually offers brand new standards in order to define the Otherness as a requirement to construct the borders of groups. While in the imperial era, the communities were the ones building the world's vision through religious systems and subjectness as universal criteria, new-fangled conditions of the market economy and citizenship offered the new national country as a sole alternative along with nationalism as a necessary ideology.

However, in order to homogenize the upcoming national entities, there is a necessity to create mutual criteria for ethnicity that would regardless of the territorial bases or the linguistic-cultural distinctions have to create a unique ethnic conscience or expulsion that would be merely based on the so-called mutual collective memory. Therefore, even during the 19th century the proto-national intelligence would accelerate to establish the ethnical boundaries pursuant to the myth of the origin and the durability of the discrepancies. All of this would become an eternal task of social engineering that would hugely become a task to the creators shaped into the framework of the Balkan historiographies.

The national project needed necessarily to begin from the religious settlement in the late Ottoman Empire, and to generate nowadays a Balkan national discourse, which during the clash of the models for building a national ideology were heading from Western Europe. Since the original national ideology under the veil of liberalism, humanism and the Enlightenment would establish itself

within the Christian communities, therefore the ethnicity in regard to the Orthodox Church would become a basic criterion for building the national originality. In the early 19th century Pan-Orthodoxy would start its evolution towards the promotion of Pan-Slavism. The opposition to the executing of the service of “the Holy Greek Language” becomes the basic motif for the beginning of the search of the medieval empire roots of the Slavic communities.

This phase continues along with the subsequent transformation, while in the middle of the 19th century the Slavic groups begin to construct their own “ethnic boundaries” based on the speech dialect. In addition to that, while the Serbian nation creates an institutional frame at first, the Bulgarian proto-nationalism maintains the Pan-Slavic aspect for separation from the Orthodox Greek linguistic ecumenism. Hence, the Macedonian example would be equally headed towards the language distinction regarding the Greek at the end of the 19th century while constructing the boundaries of the Otherness, but seemingly in terms of the political distinction in regard to the Bulgarian and Serbian factor.

Proto-national elites generated by citizenships would firstly strive to construct separate churches that would further on establish the basic paradigms of the presence of the nation, while representing the secular modern system within the mass education. Hence, at least one generation would be needed to go through the educational institutions in order to conduct the project for creating a homogeneous nation. The myth of the national unity in the forthcoming phase could be harmonized in terms of the primary societal institutions of socialization, as it is the example of the Family. Nevertheless, in practice the inconstancy of the character of these institutions such as the variable nature, equally regarding the physical and ethnical boundaries, will prolong the complete national homogenization up until the first decades on the 20th century.

The nation’s genesis becomes a fundamental element in its strengthening. Even if there is a fictive past, still it must be real. This is the reason why the culture continuity is contingent and inessential (Gellner, 1999: 34). Hence, the historical continuity needs to be invented, by creating an ancient past that would overcome the effective historical continuity either through semi-fiction or falsification (Smith, 2000: 53).¹ National thinkers attempt to provide answers to

¹ According to Rousseau: “the first role that we need to follow is the one for the national character. Every population has or should have one, character; if it is lacking we need to start stimulating it. The politics for Renan is not enough. The coun-

the following questions: what is the nation's origin; what are the nation's diacritical features; who belongs and who does not; and what is the future of the nation (Brunnbauer, 2004: 165).

“Critical markers” such as religion, language and mutual territory do not denote one and same identity. Therefore there must be a so-called “invention of the tradition”, there must be a creation of “imaginative communities” and there must be “a basic invented myth”. The group needs to own a mutual famous past, divine ancestors, and hard times in the past, etc. Smith does not argue on the significance of the relativistic position of the historical truth and even not about it being irrelevant for the national phenomenon. Clearly, the ability of the national historians to document fables and exploding unsatisfactory fictions is an important element within the sustainable relations amongst past, present and future, on which the national community is based (Smith, 2000: 55). As for Gellner, the high cultures strive to become the basis of the new nationality when right before the emergence of the nationalism, the religion was tightly defining each underprivileged as an opposite of the privileged ones, especially and even in times when the underprivileged haven't got other mutual positive feature (such as the mutual history) (Gellner, 2008: 107).²

Geertz locates the most obvious changes that appear along the process of national constituting within the second and the third phase, but the largest part of the far-reaching changes – the ones that change the general direction of the societal evolution-are happening less spectacularly in the first and the fourth phase (Geertz, 2007: 329).³

try as such cannot function solely as a socially cemented one nor can the relation among their citizens. It could be provided solely through the “history” or even more through the historical comprehension and “the cult of the ancestors” (Smith, 2000: 8, 11).

² Each high culture needs a country, its own one, if possible. Not every wild culture can become a high culture and those without a serious perspective in order to become a high culture have a tendency to obey without a fight; they do not give birth to nationalism (Gellner, 2008: 75).

³ Geertz differentiates four phases within the development of nationalism:

First phase - the one in which the nations are being formed and crystallized

Second phase - when nations triumph

Third phase - when they are organized into states

Fourth phase - when after being organized into states become obliged to confirm and stabilize their relations as all the other states regarding the unregulated

I – Nationalism firstly appears as an expression of resistance to the foreign (foreign culture, language, religion, etc.). This resistance within the industrial society along with the sense for collective destiny with others creates the collective awareness and contributes to the generating of groups of intellectuals – the ones that consecutively are the first bearers of nationalism. They strive towards creating a political unit and further on towards creating a nation created by the country.

II – The euphoria lasts for a certain period after creating the state, but after the establishing of the institutional system the question arises again: “Why are we doing it?”

III – Creating the artificial “we” while the language is defined as an issue during the defining of the nation itself (Ibidem, 330-333)

Within the context of the Balkan nationalism and the building of the collective national awareness, the key role goes to the educational institutions, which through their own curricula reconstruct the vision of the common past. In addition to that, the primordial aspect for the organic origin of the nation predominates almost universally, which is primarily based on ethno-linguistic traits of the group. Speaking of the Macedonian historiography, as for Brunbauer, the national discourse is determined by the primordial and essential approach that refers to the national and ethnical identity as something inherited and not a subject of change (Brunbauer, 2004: 188).⁴

Late Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires and Ideology Transfer

The imperial age defines the relations between communities in pre-national era. The Balkan was roughly divided by the two Empires – the Austro-Hungarian (before the 1867 Habsburg Empire) and the Ottoman Empires. There are three dimensions toward re-conceptualization of the role of nationalism in the Empires:

societies where they originate from (Geertz, 2007: 329-333).

⁴ “Facts” are organized and the sources interpreted in a manner that would serve as an evidence of the existing of the Macedonian nation. The question about nation and nationalism in the Macedonian Historiography lacks theoretical basis (Brunbauer, 2004: 189).

1. The capacity of an Empire to maintain the law and order within its borders, to protect those borders from external incursions, and to compete with other actors in the international system;

2. The second dimension concerns the degree to which an empire had or came to create institutions open to participation; and

3. The final dimension along which the empires differed from each other is the degree to which they were capable of fostering and controlling the modernization process (Commiso, 2006: 141, 142).

In the perception of the Balkan past, there are differences of those three dimensions in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian context. This creates visions of pre-national past “legitimateness”, mainly constructed by modern national discourses. It is interesting that this negative perception to the imperial past is much lower in relation of the Austro-Hungarian heritage. Today in the Slovenian and Croatian contexts there is even a certain degree of nostalgia. This can be motivated by economic superiority, or self-governing autonomy of Croatia in the Empire, but the main reason is probably the same confessional origin of the subjects, non-regarding the ethnic, linguistic or cultural affiliations. In the latter sense, the Serbian perception is different and it is mainly a product of a different Orthodox Christianity. On the other hand the case of perception of the Ottoman past is opposite.

One of the most essential segments when reading the modern histories derives from the relation of the nation-states with their Ottoman past and their general interpretation of history. There are two approaches towards the Ottoman heritage of the Balkans: firstly, it is illegitimate (the myth about the Turkish slavery) and represents a black hole in the history of this region and secondly, the Ottoman heritage is experienced as a legitimate continuation of the Byzantine tradition (Mazower, 2000: 19, 20).

The first interpretation is the fundament on which every official historical fact of the Balkan nation-states was built, in which the Ottoman period is only the dark side of their history and this period appears only as an obstacle for the continuity of their medieval and ancient kingdoms and modern nation-states. The Orthodox Christian tradition of culture and religion of the Balkan peoples is incorporated in the function of their perception of the Ottoman past framed by religion providing a survival of those cultures. The latter is the base for building the national myths as well as the one that is named as “famous history of the ancestors” (Karakasidou, 1997:16). Speaking of which at the same time the fact that there is a perception of the West is used as follows “*The Balkans*

and the Adriatic as a final line of control and defence from the Muslim East? (Noris, 1999: 18).⁵

The second interpretation is to comprehend the Ottoman heritage as a complex symbiosis of the Turkish, the Islam and the Byzantine - actually the Balkan tradition. It is based on the logical assumption that the mutual life since few centuries ago needed to result with a mutual heritage (Todorova, 1997: 241). The Balkan is primarily very important as a western hypostasis of the Ottoman historical heritage, and its significance increases or decreases into one complex and indirect linkage with the refusing or accepting of the Ottoman past. This is the case of nowadays, especially when almost in all of the Turkish ideological and political spectra a profound re-examination of the Atatürk republican heritage is done (Ibidem, 74). Mazower claims that within the desire to become Europeans, the citizens of the Balkan national states ought to deny the legitimacy of the Ottoman past (Mazower, 2000:21). Thus, for example the discrepancies that were imposed to the Christian citizens in Macedonia in the national competition at the beginning of the 20th century radically violated the dynamics of trade, intercourse and coexistence that were present during the late Ottoman Era (Karakasidou, 1997: 84).

National - as opposed to religious, clan, or village-solidarities were considerably less prominent as a basis for collective action in the Balkans. Balkan revolts were typically defensive reactions to misgovernment, and when the outcomes were autonomy or sovereignty, it was usually because external powers found it convenient to force such concessions on Istanbul. The group activity in correlation with imperial politics can identify five possibilities:⁶

⁵ This viewpoint is followed with the perception that, with the exception of Albania, is built by the nation-states in terms of the process of Islamizing as illegitimate, regardless whether this process was done in a violent or peaceful way. Especially in the 20th century all of the above was used by the Bulgarian state to conduct a coercive re-Christianization of its citizens, while the rest of the nationalisms, the attitude towards the Muslim monolinguals remained as discursive attitude towards the Otherness, equally produced from the Christians non-accepting of the group but also from the refusing of the Muslim communities to be integrated into the frame of the national whole.

⁶ There are three major techniques of maintaining domination:

1. Imperial states maintain authority over their population through the legitimisation of a supranational ideology that includes a religious claim to be the protectors of Christendom or Islam, and an elaborate ideology of descent

1. Insurrectionaries / nationalists: Real “nationalists” like “Croatia’s Right” Starcevic, but also “Yugoslav” Supilo and Trumbic, or for example Theodor Herzl for the Jewish population;

2. Pragmatists / accommodationalists: Accommodation is related to various areas like local autonomy, language use, participation in civil service, subsidies for local cultural institutions, etc. The Austro-Hungarian empire is a typical example of this approach;

3. Collaboration / assimilation: Many individuals or elites as well as those with non-elite status were entirely willing to be absorbed into the ruling class of the empire even if it meant abandoning their “national” allegiance for this purpose. This strategy was often motivated by an opportunity for upward mobility. For example in the early 19th century many of non-Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire became “Greek” motivated by or as a result of social mobility and urban status.

4. Parochialism: For the large agrarian population, the parochialism presumably was the dominant attitude of the mass population, which was simply not politicized and thought in terms of lord and village rather than nation and state. The modernisation is the key factor of “national awakening”;

5. Anationals: The final possibility is a set of choices, whereby an individual’s political activity was defined by interests and solidarities that were not national at all. That is, in many cases occupation, class, or confession were a far more important determinant of an individual’s political behaviour than nationality. In this sense we should mention the influence of the socialist parties and

and lineage;

2. Imperial states maintain rule over a multireligious and multiethnic diversity through a variety of policies from “toleration” of diversity and its incorporation to forced conversion and assimilation. Religious, utilitarian, and strategic reasons drive imperial state elites to incorporate order diversity. Empires are different along this continuum, but within the same empire different moments in history have given rise to different policies as well.

3. Imperial states maintain control over a diversity of elites for political and economic reasons. Politically states maintain control through divide and conquer strategies, keeping elites separate, distinct and dependent on the central state. Such control also entails vertical integration into the state, but accompanied by fragmentation at the horizontal level of social arrangements. Economically the structure of elite arrangements also determines how a state will provide for its financial and military needs (Barkey, 2006: 174, 175).

ideologies in the period of *finne du sciecle* (Commiso, 143-153).

After series of defeats (in wars against Piedmont, Sardinia, France in 1859, and Prussia in 1866) the Habsburg Empire redefined its internal relations. In 1867, the Habsburg ruler's title was modified to reflect the distinction between his status as Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The political and administrative division of the state was reinforced by establishment of separate Austrian and Hungarian parliaments in what had become a constitutional Dual Monarchy (Roshwald, 2001: 10, 11). In the Habsburg empire (and later and in Austria-Hungary), state action led to initial industrialization and the development of microenterprises in the western lands, but strong politization and elite opposition in Hungary. The key state-society link via the nobility started to shift toward resistance. In the Ottoman Empire, state action led to the rise of powerful new local notable class, whose relationship to the state was defined by tax farming, and alternative mode of state financing. It is in those new modalities that elites engaged the state, built new institutional frames, and restructured social and political relations in opposition to the state, or strategized to protect themselves and their resources (Barkey, 181).

Barkey argues that between 1867-1914, the glue that held the Austro-Hungarian Empire together - the central legitimating ideology, the management of diversity, and control of resources through state-elite relations - no longer favoured the Empire. The central legitimating ideology - a dynastic ideal, did not adapt to the political structure in the realm. At no time after 1848 did the monarchy attempt to develop a greater national understanding of itself and the institutions that emerged after the Compromise of 1867 did not promote unity between constituent parts. They rather promoted division. Additionally when the ideals of national self-determination had become part of the world system of ideals, managing diversity was much harder. While the Austrian part of the Empire was more flexible toward different cultural and linguistic groups, the Hungarian elites were quite willing to take the historic mission of creating a Hungarian nation. These elite had envisaged building a nation in the French model, though they had a much harder task at hand, in that the differences between themselves and the Slavic groups were vast (Ibidem, 184-188).

After the Unification of Germany, Austria-Hungary focused its interests on the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans. In its movement towards the southeast, the monarchy had certain positive assets. The first one was the dominance as a military power. Secondly, Austro-Hungary could hold out to the Slavic peoples of the free states and the Ottoman territories the attractions of

western civilization, although Vienna was faced with the competition from Paris. Thirdly, the monarchy could offer great economic advantages. Yet the main internal opposition was coming from the Hungarian entity which strongly opposed any pro-Slav politics, and the external factor seen in the expansion of Tsarist Russian influence, based on the Slavdom and Orthodoxy (Jelavich, 1958: 2, 3). In 1870s the Austro-Hungarian Minister Andrassy spent good deal of secret service money in combating Russian, and promoting Austro-Hungarian influence in Bosnia by building Catholic churches and schools and encouraging the propaganda activities of the Croatian bishop Strossmayer (Bridge, 1972: 68-70). The finalization came with the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1878, and its annexation in 1908. At the same time after 1885, Austro-Hungary intensified its relations with Bulgaria, and the key year in its relations with Serbia was 1903. The Macedonian question also attracted the attention of the Great Powers, and in the eve of the Balkan Wars, the idea of an Albanian state.

The variegated and fluid structure of Ottoman rule was neither founded upon a generally accepted understanding of Ottoman identity, nor was this system conducive to the cultivation of a uniform sense of belonging among the subjects of the Empire. The population was broadly classified on the bases of religion as Muslim, Christian and Jewish. The approach towards the population was more opportunistic and pragmatic than systematic. The Ottoman state was neither seeking to meld together the separate communities nor consciously planting the seeds of further divisions. In addition of their religion, the subjects of the Ottoman Empire would also identify themselves on the bases of their household, tribe, or clan. Those multiple frames of reference and identification cut across, overlapped, or sometimes coincided with each other (Kasaba, 2006: 204-207).⁷

Quite different from the Habsburg pattern, the Ottoman Empire from the first half of the 19th century becomes unable to keep its fiscal house in order. The Ottomans had early on recognized the British and the French by giving

⁷ In the Ottoman Empire among an overwhelmingly rural population, loyalties tended to be centred on family, village, and locality, and identities were more religious than secular and national. Cultural revivals were spearheaded by individuals living outside the empire (e.g. the first dictionary of modern Greek was published in Vienna, the Serbian cultural revival took place in Hungary, etc.) and were a product of those exposed to the “modern” economy taking shape in the more developed European areas (Commiso, 2006: 156).

them capitulations. Also Russia was managing to keep the pressure by military interventions. As a result the transformation of the Empire initiated by the Tanzimat reforms was only partial⁸. The concept of Ottomanism, exposed by intellectuals and state leaders in the Young Ottoman movement was an attempt to create an alternative vision, partly based on the ideas of constitutionalism that would unite the disparate segments of elites, though it did not attract the non-Muslim groups who were increasingly drawn to the West (Barkey, 2006: 189-191).

The attitude of the Austro-Hungarian Empire versus the Ottoman Empire was not as simple as diplomatic relations level of cooperation and conflict. The core of modernization and systems transformation in the second half of the 19th century was motivated and inspired by new ideological expectations of the masses, predominantly in the sense of a desire to create a national state and redefinition of collective identities toward the nation. The ideology was a product of the West, so Austria-Hungary was the space of production and exportation of models of nationalism in the Balkans. This refers to the models for national constituting and building of the nation alone. Namely, within the context of the Balkans up until now for the current scientific thought dominates the assumption that the nations are based on an ethno-linguistic model of existence of the organic settled nations. The basic substantial national element is language and culture and the territory according to those aspects bears the second denotation. However, as long as some deepened substantial theoretical analyses are done, the conclusion is different. Starting from the assumption of Brubaker according to which the French comprehension of nationalism is state-centred and assimilation-oriented and the German one is Volk-centred and differentiating-oriented; therefore, the first one is based on building universal cultural values and the second one is based on organic cultural, linguistic or racial communities. Hence, the second comprehension of nation is ethnocentrically considered and not as a political fact (Brubaker, 1999: 1).⁹ Such interpretation of Brubaker

⁸ During the Tanzimat reform period crucial transformation of Ottoman understanding of diversity occurred, where Ottomans were forced into a new world order of citizenship and equality. None of the 19th century forms of accommodation would be successful at reconstructing a tolerant society (Barkey, 2006: 177).

⁹ Most nations live by mixed territorial models. One territorial political unit could become homogenous only in cases after smothering, expelling or assimilating every non-member of the nation. Their unwillingness to accept the destiny as

could be implemented in the framework of the Balkan historical-national context, while there would be two phases differentiated within the national construction:

1. The first phase includes the French model, using the assimilative power positioned on a political basis;

2. While in the second phase, the sense of ethnicity of the organ nations or the ethnos is built, which after the ascertaining will get a tendency to recycle with the next generations.¹⁰

The two stages are related to the influence of Paris and Vienna in transfer of patterns of collective redefinition. In the first half of the 19th century, the French territorial model was widely accepted.¹¹ Therefore, the new Balkan states as Serbia and Greece understood nationalism in the sense of territorial distribution and needed to create their nations on the base of firstly established statehood. The development of ideas of ethno nationalism started around 1848, and the promotion of “the Great Idea” in Greece and “Nachrtanie”¹² in Serbia. In this period, even Ottomans had strictly territorial attribution, and the Bulgarian identity was nothing more than a form of Panslavism. The decline of law was the reason for disturbances in the Ottoman Empire. In Serbia there were literally acts of self-defence against the violent elements of the Empire. The Janisaries massacred local and loyal village chiefs. In Greece it was the peasant revolt

such could burden the quiet implementation of the national principle (Gellner, 2008: 7).

¹⁰ The national unity is being less maintained on the basis of referring to blood connections and ethnicity in the country and more on the obligation and loyalty towards the civil state, while more or less it is replenished with the usage of the mechanisms for coercion and ideological stimuli (Geertz, 2007: 11).

¹¹ By Mishkova “the intellectual connection to France and Germany often entailed rival political models and institutional arrangements - e.g. republicanism vs. monarchism, social revolution vs. organic evolution, liberalism vs. socialism” (Mishkova, 2009: 24). But also territorial, civic model of nationalism vs. ethno-nationalism. We must note that Austro-Hungary is at the same time at the border line of unification nationalism of Germany and Italy and the separatist nationalism, present in Hungary and predominant in the Balkans (Smith, 2001: 39-41).

¹² The “Nachrtanie” was created by Ilija Garashanin, but under the influence of Charitoriski, and his representative in Serbia, Frantisek A. Zach (Petrovich, 1976: 231).

in Peloponnesus, and in Bulgaria it was not even much of a peasant revolt. The distinction of those revolts in comparison to Ali Pasha of Janina, according to Commiso is not a “national” impulse, but rather the Great Power intervention (Commiso, 2006: 157).

The stage of promotion of ethno nationalism was product of ideas by German thinkers and universities. These ideas could be practically utilized in the East only after the unification of Germany and Italy. The main mediator was the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its intellectuals and institutions.¹³ The transfer of ideology came mainly from two directions: from the Western representatives in the Ottoman Empire, and by education of the first local protonational elites.

Many of the fathers of the future nations that emerged from post Ottoman realm were under direct or indirect influence of the new ideas of the West. The Greek thinker Adamantios Korais was born and lived most of his life in Paris; Rigas Velestinlis also spent some time in Paris, as well as many of the future Young Ottomans (Kasaba, 2006: 212). On other hand in the mid 19th century an attempt to build cultural bridges between South Slavs was made by Joseph Strossmayer, who founded the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb. As opposite to this view, Ante Starcevic, the founder of the Croatian Party of Rights, articulated Croatian nationalism. Finally, the Serb nationalism emerged in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina with its culmination with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 (Roshwald, 2001: 13, 14). In the same context the founder of Croatia’s Peasant Party, Stjepan Radic was under direct influence from Tomas Masaryk and his ideas about the Czech and Slovak progressive movement, but now in Croatian interpretation and its national revival. In the same context there was certain influence by Masaryk and among Croatia’s Serbs in favour of pro-

¹³ The traditional pattern of the scenario in the Balkans is roughly the following:

1. “Cultural revival” among elements living abroad;
2. Local disturbances growing out of general decline of law and order;
3. Reprisals by the Ottoman army in an attempt to restore order;
4. Diplomatic or military intervention by the Great Powers, either following an actual or preceding a threat of Russian intervention;
5. Creation of a self-governing unit that either is or becomes a recognized “state”; and
6. The restoration of law and order by the unit, typically involving putting down the revolt, which is then described as “national” (Commiso, 2006: 157).

motion of their cultural identity (Ibidem, 46, 47).¹⁴ In 1830, Ljudevit Gaj met Jan Kollar, a Slavic poet who was already beginning to think of the means to promote literary cooperation among the various Slav peoples. Kollar was influenced by Herder accepting his concept of a poet as the “creator of nationality”. He believed there was a Slav nationality, which existed in the language, literature and customs of the Slavs as elaborated in his: “Ideen zur Philosophie des Geschichte der Menschheit” (Wolton, 2004: 6,7). In Montenegro, the tutor of Njegos, Sima Milovanovic-Sarajlija, was under direct influence from Herder, Jacob Grim and Goethe. In addition, there was influence between Kopitar and Karadzic, Gaj and Presern etc. (Ibidem, 7).

Aleksov noted that “the celebration of the autochthonous features of a nation and the originality of its folk poetry was established in Western Europe in the 18th century by Rousseau, Macpherson, Percy and Herder in particular, and spread through Vienna and German universities. Moreover, the early Slavists were influenced by the theory identifying people based on the language, which was formulated by the German philologist Schlozer (Aleksov, 2009: 279). Some of the most influential people among the Southern Slavs were the Czech Slavists, Shafarik¹⁵ and Hanka. Furthermore, in Vienna in 1848 the first Department of Slavistics was founded by Fr. Mikloshic, and in 1850s there was an agreement for a mutual Serbo-Croatian language (Ristovski, 1999: 25).

The Macedonian Question – Reframed

In the 19th century Macedonia represents a geographic unity that includes most of the lands of the three administrative units - the vilayets of Kosovo (Skopje), Monastir (Bitola) and Salonica (Adanir, 1998: 241; Brown,

¹⁴ Desplatovic describes the phenomenon, summarizing in general terms the transformation of ideology in South-Eastern Europe: “Croatia’s neighbours, the Slovenes, the Hungarians, the Germans, the Italians and the Serbs of Vojvodina, had already begun their period of natural renaissance. Croatian students attending the universities of Vienna, Pest, Graz, came in contact with those movements...” (Wilton, 2004: 10).

¹⁵ Shafarik attempts to develop autonomous philological disciplines of the small Slav peoples. “The presentation of the autonomous, united and contingent development of Slav languages and literature is presented by Pavel Shafarik in his “Geschichte der slavischen Sprashe und Literatur nach allen Mundorten”, published in 1825” (Kiossev, 2002: 177).

2003: 37). The real issue of the Macedonian question originates from the clash of the Ottoman traditionalism represented through its administrative organization and the imported idea of nationalism. The last one produces the idea of the nature and character of the Macedonia's population, and its boundaries, no matter if they are geographically functional, ethnic or historical product. The definition of the Christian population of Macedonia is a subject of nationalistic contestation by the young Balkan nation-states, and the very idea of definition generates the Macedonian question (or questions).

In Ottoman Macedonia there is a lack of a unified idea for ethnicity definition, often presented as *Sallade Macedoine*. The Slavs from Macedonia did not have clearly developed feeling of national identity and there models of self-identification were shaped from the neighbouring churches (The Patriarchy of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Exarchate). In other cases the ethnic categories were hidden behind the social status, like for example the general notion that the "Greeks" are the urban population, the "Bulgarians" are the peasants, and the "Vlachs" are nomadic shepherds" (Marinov, 2009: 108).

The theses of racial nationalism present in most of the memoirs of the European travellers often did not correspond to the Ottoman social context, not presenting the real self-identification character of the population. Most of the Christians with Slav origin, peasants from the villages near Salonika probably did not define themselves either as Greeks or as Bulgarians. Even some of them who did have strong feelings of loyalty toward Greece or Bulgaria, when asked who they were, often insisted that they always had been "Christians" (Mazover, 2004: 219).

This religious identification at the beginning of the 19th century was characteristic for all future Balkan nations. The national myths of the Serbs, Bulgarians or Greeks were constructed along with the nation building processes projected by the state institutions. For example, in 1830 Jacob Fallmeraiier attacked the national stance that the modern Hellenic people were the descendants of the Classical Period and claimed that they were mainly Slavs and Albanians. As a response to that Papanigopoulou claimed that the Hellenic identity was linguistic and cultural, but not racial. He strengthened the position of Byzantinism as a positive part of that certain continuity, which civil code was adopted by Kapodistria in 1928 and King Otto in 1835 (Karas, 2004: 318). This aspect of the Greek historiography fundamentalists justified the assimilation that was transforming from the significance of the "Holly" language in church service to a more contemporary interpretation of the power of "the high culture" that

in the case of the Greek nation was represented through language and culture.¹⁶

Macedonian late identity can be simply explained by lack of institutions, or presence of other national institutional agencies. The different identity of part of the Slav population in Macedonia starts its development in the mid 19th century, through:

- Increased manifestation of local feelings;
- The popularity of the Uniate Churches;
- The publications of schoolbooks on local dialects; and
- Later, the separatism is generated after the establishment of the Exarchate, the codification of the eastern dialects as an official Bulgarian language, and the formation of Bulgarian state in 1878 (Brooks, 2005: 130, 131).

In December 1884, William Gladstone presented the slogan “Macedonia to the Macedonians”. In addition, Edith Durham noted: “I met people who believed that they were a separate race, which they called “Macedonian”...” (Ibidem, 160-169). In 1871 the Bulgarian Petko Raco Slaveikov wrote that one decade back the Macedonians declared themselves as a separate nation (Minovski, 2008: 78). In 1890 K. Hron in “Das Volksthum der slaven Makedoniens, Ein Beitrag zur klärung der Orientfrage” published in Vienna noted: “...in any case it may be proven, in their history and in their language that the Macedonians are not Serbs, nor Bulgarians, but a separate people...” (Ristevski, 1999: 45, 46). Moreover, at the beginning of the 20th century, Beresford noted “the Slavs in European Turkey yet don’t have highly developed national conscience, and the one they own is recent. They do not have passion for their nationality, but for their land. They are peoples rooted to the land, in their ancient villages, with imitated feelings religiously orientated to their mountains, rivers and ancient churches. The nation of those conservative peasants in short time will be developed in a real local patriotism”. And this happened - “their ballads for rebellion, in which they talk about “Macedonia” are in every lyric proving that they already have their own fatherland” (Brailsford, 1906: 184).

¹⁶ Thus, Paschalis Kitromilides refers to the cultural continuity through which “the forms of cultural expression, related to the Christian kingdoms and Orthodox service are inherited”. The other argument that is used is the opposition of the Palaeologists forwarded equally towards both the western Catholicism and the Ottoman-Turks, which is interpreted as an issue for expressing the Greek nationalism. But the question arises: Is this Byzantine (Romaic) sentiment only a confessional loyalty or is it ethno-religious nationalism? (Smith, 2000: 43).

The last notion shows the importance of the idea of fatherland in the Macedonian proto-national intelligencia. This was the moving force of IMRO's autonomy program of in the late 19th century. The necessity for statehood was more important than the promotion of the ethno-linguistic character of the Macedonians. The intelligencia was aware that there is a need of territorial model as the first stage, and the ethnical model could be developed afterwards. The transfer of national ideology at the beginning of the 20th century did not come from Paris or Vienna. The Macedonian revolutionaries were simply following the patterns of national constitution of their neighbours - primarily the Serbs and the Bulgarians and their histories.

The Macedonian proto-nationalism, even its late state constitution, develops itself together with the other Balkan nations. The first stage includes the Enlightenment related to the church institutions and without explicit national character. In the mid 19th century, the Otherness is built through political mobilization related to the Church Educational Communities in Macedonia and the initiatives for resurrection of the Ohrid Archbishopric. Until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in IMRO's image a proto-institutional and proto-national framework is created. At this time, the national Macedonian identity is yet a privilege of the intellectuals and national romanticists. However, the Macedonian proto-nation develops with a potential of growing into a fully defined nation. This process develops in parallel with the strong external influences by the neighbouring states, their pretension to the Macedonian territory, the monopoly in the creations of historical visions, and national affiliation of their population. In this sense, we have to mention that because of the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire and the Christian character of the Balkan nation-states, the Muslims initially were excluded from national pretensions.

The second national stage in the building of Macedonian nation incorporates the period of the second half of the 20th century. There are three sub-stages: the first one starting from the foundation of the state and "ASNOM" until the 1970s. The second substage is from the 1970s until the 1990s, when the national sovereignty is formally transferred from the previous centralized Yugoslavia to the federal republics, and in sense that in the national model in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia the ethnic character of the nation is openly promoted. And the third substage includes the independence and the post 2001 conflict period, when Macedonia's Constitution is shifted toward clear civil model, but in practice the reality shows bi-national (Macedonian-Albanian) statehood.

Finally, I would like to go back to the beginning, comparing the processes of creation of national identities in the Balkans with the actual “name issue” dispute between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia. The basic models of nation-building include both civil and ethnic aspects. The main reason for Greece is to limit any national building myth on today’s territory of Republic Macedonia, and in this way to gain monopoly not only on the Ancient Macedonian heritage of Alexander the Great, but also on the Slav Macedonian originated values such as Cyril and Methodius origin from Salonika. The problem of Republic of Macedonia is that the most prominent fathers of the nation such as Goce Delcev or Krste Misirkov come from today’s “Greek Macedonia”. At the same time the Greek nation building process creates the vision of the so-called “Slavophone” population (people who speak a Slavic language, but are Greeks by nationality), which essentially is rather racist one, based on the power of assimilation of the 19th century “Greek High Culture”, which in recent history has created situations of practicing methods of genocide against Macedonian minority, including the last case in the Greek Civil War when more than 25 thousand Macedonian children had to leave their homes. Ultimately, the Greek argument of monopolization of the name by Macedonian side is not a product of desire by the Macedonian state or institutions, but the international status of the Republic of Macedonia.

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*The War of Numbers and its First Victim:
The Aromanians in Macedonia
(End of 19th – Beginning of 20th century)*

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*Our long-time responsibility
has been to count ourselves,
to know how many of us there are.*

N. Batzaria

Nowhere did the doctrine of nationalities, which played a great part in the history of the 19th century, have a greater role than in the Balkan Peninsula and in no part of the Peninsula were the nationalities so mixed and jumbled together as they were in Macedonia. Romania was mainly peopled by Romanians; Bulgaria contained a vast preponderance of Bulgarians over the other nationalities; Serbia was overwhelmingly Serbian, while Greece, with the exception of Thessaly and the Greek part of Epirus, possessed comparatively few but Greek subjects. However, in Macedonia all the nationalities were hopelessly intermixed. Unfortunately, too, almost every nationality of the Balkan Peninsula has at some distant period held more or less brief sway over some part of Macedonia and these historical reminiscences were considered vital in the Balkan states. That way the rival claims of the various competitors overlapped each other and the aspirations of the Balkan states could only be satisfied by ignoring those of the others.¹

At present, we know that the latest battles for conquering Ottoman

¹ MILLER, 1897: 50-52.

Macedonia were led with heavy artillery and that weapon power had the final say in the allocation of the Ottoman heritage in Europe. However, the last battle for Macedonia was preceded by a large number of lesser battles in which the churches and schools were on the battlefields, while the weapons used were the cross and school books. These attempts for spiritual and intellectual conquering of the Christian peoples in Macedonia on the part of their Balkan neighbours were regularly followed by statistical records of the newly found Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Romanians. Ever since the new followers had been registered and, more often than not, after the number of these duly registered followers would have been doubled at least, the “objective” statistical results would have been presented in public and the statistician “successfully” proved that the largest number of Macedonian citizens had the same nationality as his.

The first victim of this war of numbers for the conquering of Macedonia was one of the small Christian peoples in the country – the Aromanians (Vlachs). Insufficiently numerous or compact to be a serious candidate in the battle for the Ottoman heritage, but sufficiently numerous and prevalent throughout Macedonia to enable an excellent negotiating position to those who manage to achieve patronage over them, the Aromanians, as Henry Noel Brailsford penetratingly noted, became the pivot of Macedonian question.² Greek statesmen were aware that north of Kostur (*Kastoria*) it was only the Aromanians who gave Hellenism a foothold. It was for that reason, and with the aim to justify its territorial aspirations toward parts of Macedonia, that Greece had no other choice but to represent the Aromanians as Greeks. Hence, the number of Aromanians in Greek statistical data is always lower than the numbers which can be found in all other statistics. In Bulgaria, they were acquainted with the significance of the Aromanians for Hellenism in Macedonia. Thus, they emphasized the existence and the respectable number of the Aromanian, non-Greek, population in Macedonia. However, that was solely the case as regards territories of Greek interest. In parts of Macedonia toward which the Greek kingdom had no aspirations, Bulgarian statisticians practically do not register Aromanians and most frequently represent them as Bulgarians. The position of Bucharest was yet more complex. Due to its geographical location, Romania had no opportunity for territorial expansion onto Macedonian territory. Nevertheless, Romania’s southern neighbor, Bulgaria, had that opportunity and in Bucharest they knew that the existence of a Romanian constituent in Macedonia, which Ro-

² BRAILSFORD, 1906: 187.

mania took care of and patronized, would be an excellent tactical method to exert pressure on Bulgaria to make territorial concessions in Dobrogea. The Aromanians were given the role to be Romanians. This is the reason why the number of Aromanians in Macedonia has always been the greatest in Romanian statistical data, although the Aromanians have regularly been presented as Romanians.

Henceforth we will focus on the issue of pinning down the number of the Aromanian population and its pervasiveness in Macedonia in the last decades of the Ottoman rule. Even today, this issue arises as a serious object in political speculations and unless entirely comprehended, it would be difficult to understand the conditions in which the Balkan states developed their propaganda against the Aromanians, its chances of success and the justification of their territorial aspirations.

* * *

Never have so many contradictory arguments been made for the number of any of the Balkan peoples as there have been for the Aromanians.³ Situated in almost all corners of Macedonia, the Aromanians fail to form a compact majority in any larger territorial unit. Scattered as they were in isolated mountain villages or in town communities, they commonly acted as makeweight in politics, as opposed to a well defined political force with clearly defined goals and territorial aspirations. Owing to that, their number in Macedonia became the subject of manipulation which was welcomed by the Balkan statisticians who could prove to the world public the domination of “their” population in Macedonia. These circumstances manifoldly complicate any attempts of historians today to reach an approximate figure representing the number of the Macedonian Aromanians in the respective period. Among the numerous diligently and thoroughly made statistics, numerical estimates for which it remains unknown how the wrongdoer obtained them and pseudo statistics in which the foreign element is decreased or omitted intentionally, it is essential to take into account the provenience of the statistician, the aims of the statistics and the manner in which the statistician reached the concluding number.

We do not claim to provide an accurate figure of the Aromanian population in Macedonia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

³ BRAGA, 2004: 8.

In fact, we maintain that it would be impossible even for the contemporaries who conducted thorough field research. Our goal is to review several statistical data from the given period and using comparative analysis of some to reach a number which, in our opinion, approximates the genuine number of the Aromanian population in Macedonia in the period we are interested in.

The first problem we encountered was the definition of the term Macedonia. Throughout history, this term has had different meanings and usages. As Duncan Perry properly notes, attempts to delimit the boundaries of Macedonia, in any but the most general terms, are fruitless since ethnic claims, coupled with historical, political and diplomatic considerations, render an exact delineation impossible.⁴ Thus, while for Greek statisticians Macedonia regularly included only the Salonica and Bitola (Monastir) Vilayets i.e the territories where Greek and hellenicised population lived, for the Bulgarian statistician Macedonia was where one could find Slavic population, so the territories south of Bistritsa (*Haliacmon*) and around Pindus mountains were generously left to anyone interested in them. To make the confusion worse, the Romanians sometimes used the broad term Macedonia even for parts of Albania. At other times, for the more precise grouping of the Aromanian population in the Ottoman Empire, Macedonia was shrunk to the borders of the Salonica Vilayet and part of the Kosovo Vilayet, while the biggest part of the Bitola Vilayet was sacrificed for the benefit of Albania and Epirus.

This paper uses the geographical term Macedonia for those territories which Vasil Kanchov processed in his statistics,⁵ the only difference being that we add to Macedonia the *kaza* (administrative division) of Katerini, which belonged to the Salonica Vilayet.

A much more serious problem than the arbitrariness of the statisticians when defining Macedonia, are the difficulties which the researcher had in the field itself. First, it was the summer-winter migration of the Aromanian stock breeders and the risk of counting the same people twice, once in their summer

⁴ PERRY, 1988: 12.

⁵ The territory which bordered the basin of the Bistritsa river and the Aegean Sea to the south ; Mount Pindus to the south-west ; approximately the existing Macedonian-Albanian border, Macedonian-Serbian border and Macedonian-Kosovar border to the west and north ; Mounts Osogovo, Rila and Rhodope to the east and north-east and the river Mesta (*Nestos*) to the southeast. See: КЪНЧОВ, 1996.

homes and another time in their winter homes. This was wisely used on the part of the Romanian statisticians. Another option was not to count them at all provided the statistics was about the Macedonian Vilayets and was conducted during the winter season when most of these stock breeders spent their winters in their Thessalian plains.⁶ Some Aromanian nomads, such as the Farsherots, were constantly on the move in summer and winter, and escaped even the most skillful statistics. A similar problem was the second category of Aromanian travellers i.e small scale traders or craftsmen who were prevalent in almost all Balkan centres. Due to their jobs, they remained at the same place for only several years, which was enough not to have them listed neither in their birthplace nor in the place of their current whereabouts.⁷

In addition, it is necessary to be acquainted with the method used to generate the statistical data. Three statistics made according to the origin, language and political views provided three different results. Those who wished to overstate the number of the Aromanians in Macedonia used to their advantage the Aromanian origin of that category of people whose ancestors had long ago been Hellenicised or Slavicised,⁸ and those who wished to decrease the number of the Aromanians regularly used their ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the Patriarchy, whereby the Aromanians were considered Greeks.

⁶ In addition, the vast unpopulated areas in the mountains surrounding the Aromanian villages contributed to the possibility of drawing maps on which the Aromanians occupied vast areas. All this had the aim to present the number of Aromanians as higher than the actual one. Most of these mapmakers were Romanian. However, there are instances when mapmakers from the other Balkan countries gave priority to the bilingualism of the Aromanians by which they gave them a small or no space on the maps (WINNIFRITH, 1987: 8).

⁷ In some instances these traders and craftsmen were recorded as Greek simply because they declared themselves as such. This was common in places which the Aromanians had long ago inhabited and only the elderly kept the mother tongue (WEIGAND, 1895: 280).

⁸ There also were such authors who although interested to present the Aromanian population as larger, honestly admitted that a large number of the population with Aromanian origins could no longer be considered Aromanian. Thus, Aromanian Vasile Diamandi wrote: "... *In the last several centuries, we lost many settlements in Macedonia, such as Siatista, Kozani, Liapchishta and the surroundings of Grevena. All of these places had once been Romanian according to the words of travellers who visited them...*" (DIAMANDI, 1906: 9).

The political views should not even be taken into consideration. “*While for a valuable consideration people in the more civilized countries are ready to vote Liberal or Conservative, in Macedonia they change their nationality for hard cash*” - noted William Miller in 1897.⁹ During several generations, some families changed two, three or even four national ideas, and for certain individuals, nationality presented a profession which enabled them a comfortable lifestyle and substantial material gain. Despite opportunism, fear of being deported was often the reason why the Aromanians declared themselves as Greeks, Bulgarians or other nationalities.¹⁰ The feature which distinguishes the Aromanians from the neighbouring ethnic groups is neither their religion, nor their political orientation, but their language. On account of that, we give priority to the language principle. However, due to the multilingualism of the majority of the Aromanians, there is risk of some of them being inappropriately considered something they actually were not.¹¹

The origin of the statistics is no less important. Depending on the goals of the statistician and what he wanted to indicate, a great part of those statistics were politically conditioned and biased in certain areas. What primarily needs to be taken into account is the Romanian statistics whose aim was to increase the number of “the Romanian population in Macedonia” and the Greek statistics which go to the other extreme and drastically decrease the number of Aromanians, representing them as Greeks. On the other hand, in the theocratic Ottoman Empire ethnic identity was suppressed at the expense of religious identity. Furthermore, the Ottoman authorities listed only the male population, not according to nationality but according to their religion. Such Turkish statistics, based on unreliable data from the Ottoman *Nüfus Defteri* (one kind of register), presented in the official *sālnāme* (official yearbooks of the Ottoman government, the provincial authorities and some civilian and military institutions), cannot be seriously accepted while counting the Aromanian population.¹² They registered

⁹ MILLER, 1897: 57.

¹⁰ BRAGA, 2004: 9.

¹¹ In this context, Dušan Popović made an interesting conclusion: „*He (the Aromanian, N.M) is Illyrian or Thracian, quite rarely Slavic by origin, with regard to language is Roman, concerning religion is Orthodox and with respect to culture, at least in the towns, is Greek. The rest, such as his name, last name, nationality and position in the country is utterly vague. Everything can change. The main feature of the Tsintsar (Aromanian, N.M) is vagueness*” (ПОПОВИЋ, 1937: 27).

¹² MICHĂILEANU, 1888: 29.

the Muslims because of military service and the others because of tax. In order to avoid tax, it was often the practice to reduce the number of children. It occurred mainly in such areas which were remote, as most of the Aromanian villages, in fact, were, and in some instances Christians even bribed the officials to intentionally note a smaller population number.¹³

As regards the numerous western European travelogue writers, scientists, diplomats and statisticians, political conditioning of their statistics cannot be ruled out completely. The Great Powers had their political interests in Macedonia and depending on those interests it was desirable that the number of Aromanians be presented as bigger or smaller than the actual one. Many times, owing to the unfamiliarity with the situation in the field, foreign diplomats simply transferred the data served by their informers, who most often were Aromanians or Greeks hired at the consulates and whose interest was that the number of Aromanians be increased or decreased. The difficulty in obtaining credible statistical data was often as a result of the geographical position of the Aromanian villages which the European visitors, out of fear or ignorance, did not even visit. This, along with the multilingualism of the Aromanians, led to many European travelogue writers not even mentioning the Aromanians in Macedonia in their travel notes, but, precisely due to the multilingualism, many of them casted doubts on the Greek or Slavic origin of some of the inhabitants of Macedonia, thus started seeing Aromanians in them. This was beautifully depicted by British diplomat Sir Charles Eliot:

*“They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one’s eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme, and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise.”*¹⁴

Localisation

The majority of Macedonian Aromanians settled in Macedonia during the Ottoman rule. The old medieval Vlachs had been Slavicised or Hellenicised

¹³ WEIGAND, 1895: 279.

¹⁴ ODYSSEUS, 1900: 409-410.

to a great extent.¹⁵ The main migrations from Epirus, Southwestern Macedonia and Albania toward various parts of Macedonia occurred in the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, after the developed Aromanian settlements of Moscopole, Nicea, Niculitsa, Gramostea, Linotopea, Shipska etc., had been destroyed.¹⁶ The wealthier class of this population moved to the larger centres of the Habsburg Monarchy and the rest populated Macedonia.¹⁷ After inhabiting Macedonia, part of them settled in the towns and another part populated the high mountainous areas.¹⁸ Due to various reasons,¹⁹ the Aromanians did not remain static, but were constantly on the move. In this process, new settlements and villages were formed as well as new Aromanian colonies in towns where there had not been any Aromanians previously. On the other hand, there was a decrease in the population of the Aromanians in their initial settlements in Macedonia or their abandonment altogether.²⁰ These cir-

¹⁵ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 100-101. According to Kanchov, the Meglen Vlachs and the Aromanian stock breeders from Eastern Macedonia were preserved from the medieval Macedonian Vlachs. In addition to them, there were the recently Hellenicised Aromanians from the former Episcopal seat Sisanion. This was accepted by Aromanian writer and politician Nicolae Batzaria, according to whom Gopesh and Malovishte were Aromanian settlements from before Turkish rule while in the other places in Macedonia, the Aromanians came from Epirus, South Albania and Greece (N.B., 1901: 65).

¹⁶ ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΙΣ, 2000: 340-357, 402-408.

¹⁷ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 101.

¹⁸ There is an Aromanian saying "*Mountains are our home. When God distributed riches, the Greeks got the sea, the Albanians got the coast, the Bulgarians got the fields and the Aromanians got the mountains*" (БАРБОЛОВ, 2000: 7).

¹⁹ Among these reasons, we will mention: the relative overpopulation of some of these places, the stockbreeding migrations, banditry, vigorous political events at the end of the 1870s, the marking of the new borders which made the traditional migration of Aromanian stock breeders from their summer dwellings in Macedonia to their winter Thessalian settlements difficult, the building of railroads etc.

²⁰ There are many examples of this but we will provide only a few which are more specific:

- In northernmost areas of Macedonia, the Aromanians did not settle at all until 1874, after the construction of the railroad line Skopje-Vranje. The Aromanian traders from Krushevo, Bitola, Prilep, Seres, Kavala and Salonica settled in Skopje after 1874 and by the Balkan Wars almost all of the economy in the town

cumstances were the reason why a certain number of Aromanian villages had not been listed in the early statistics at all, and in some towns the Aromanians

was in the hands of the 150 families from Krushevo, among which most prominent were Dicea, Papatheodosi, Crangu, Sapungi, Shcodreanu, Comati, Lazu, Catzavolu and Shcaperda. These Aromanians in Skopje inhabited Vlashko Maalo. The settlement of Aromanian tailors, goldsmiths, bankers and hotel owners from Krushevo, Nevesca, Veles and Malovishte in Kumanovo occurred at the same time as the settlement of the Aromanians in Skopje (HÂCIU, 2003: 210-212; ТРПКОСКИ-ТРПКУ, 1986: 91).

- The search for new pastures led to the formation of summer hut settlements which grew constantly and turned into larger villages where the Aromanians remained even in the course of the winter season. Such were the cases with Selia din Ghios (also known as Kato Vermio, Călivili Badralexi, Noua Bela, Dolno Shel and Selia Mare) on Mount Vermio which was formed in 1822 by several families from Avdella and Perivoli, and subsequently grew to become a village with 3000 inhabitants (IOTA, 2002: 18; TANAȘOCA, 1992: 216-217), the village Xirolivadi, abandoned by the native Greek population and reinhabited by Aromanians (HÂCIU, 2003: 100), the village Papadia in Mariovo (kaza Lerin) formed toward the end of the 19th century by about 50 Farsherot families (CORDESCU, 1906: 135), as well as the villages Candrova, Paticina, Gramaticova and Fetitsa in the Voden and Kajlari region, formed by Aromanian leaders Mita Zdru, Hristu Papanicola, Gushu Celea and Tea Cusha (HÂCIU, 2003: 221-222).
- Banditry and rebellion resulted in the wealthier families moving away from some Aromanian small towns and villages. The town of Vlaho-Clisura had about 1000 houses in 1878. But, after the attack of the rebels who were active in western Macedonia during that period, the wealthiest inhabitants were taken hostage and following their release, most of them left the town for good (GHICA, 1904: 117). When H.N. Brailsford visited Vlaho-Clisura after the Ilinden Uprising he was witness to a decayed town, half of whose houses were vacant. In its glory days however, it was the home of families with pianos and German governesses (BRAILSFORD, 1906: 177).
- The village of Trstenik near Krushevo had counted 2000 inhabitants in its good days but at the beginning of the 20th century was abandoned altogether (HÂCIU, 2003: 182, footnote 8).
- In 1880 Samarina, situated on Mount Pindus, was a large summer village with 15000 inhabitants who spent the winter months in the warmer Thessalian plains. With the demarcation of the new border between Turkey and Greece in 1881, crossing the border twice a year was not worthwhile, thus a large number of Sama-

were not recorded as they had not lived there at the time the statistical data had been prepared.

In the period covered in this paper, the Aromanians lived almost in all parts of Macedonia. Nevertheless, they were most numerous in the Bitola and Salonica Vilayets, whereas in the Macedonian part of the Kosovo Vilayet, they mostly inhabited the larger towns working as traders and craftsmen.²¹ According to the population number, the Bitola Vilayet had the biggest Aromanian population.²² They were most compact in the Grevena kaza, more precisely in the Pindus villages of Avdella,²³ Perivoli,²⁴ Samarina,²⁵ Smixi,²⁶ Turia (*Kraneia*),²⁷ Baltino (*Kallithea*)²⁸ with its satellite settlements of Bozovo (*Prionia*) and Yeoryitsa, Labanitsa (*Mikrolivado*)²⁹ and the town of Grevena. Avdella, Samarina, Smixi and Perivoli were transhumant settlements. Their inhabitants were predominantly stock breeders who went to lower areas in Macedonia and Thessaly during the winters. Turia and Baltino were inhabited all year long, Grevena had solely

rina inhabitants stopped returning to the village and stayed in Greece for good. This led to the number of villagers decrease twofold and even threefold (HÂCIU, 2003: 89-90; CORDESCU, 1906: 148). Prior to 1881, the Pindus village of Perivoli had 800 houses, but when Thessaly was annexed to Greece $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Perivoli population stayed in their winter homes and never returned to their home village on Mount Pindus (HÂCIU, 2003: 98).

²¹ Ever since 1867, when the Salonica Vilayet was formed, and until 1903, plenty of re-organisation occurred within these vilayets. In this paper, we use the administrative division from the end of the 19th century. See: ГОРГИЕВ, 2003: 51-54; ДИМЕСКИ, 1982: 65-70.

²² According to Kančov's statistics, in this vilayet, Aromanians were most numerous in kaza Grevena, comprising 32% of the total population, followed by the Bitola kaza with 15%, the Kostur and Lerin kazas each with 6%, the Kajlari kaza with 4%, kaza Ohrid with 3%, etc. (КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 293).

²³ ΜΠΙΡΚΑΣ, 1978; KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 229-231.

²⁴ SCRIMA, 1975; ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ, 1977; VOLOAGĂ, 1907: 85-89; KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 228-229.

²⁵ DIAMANDI-SAMARINA, 1902: 120-123, 125-126, 128-135; ZUCA, 1936: 15-22; KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 226-228.

²⁶ ΝΑΣΙΚΑΣ, 1971.

²⁷ ŞADIMA, 1903: 52-61; CICMA, 1907: 21-23.

²⁸ ΧΑΝΙΩΤΗΣ, 1978.

²⁹ For the various theories related to the origins of the villagers from Labanitsa, see: KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 196, 209.

20 Aromanian houses in summer, but in winter that number increased to 200. Consequently, the Greeks were the majority in town in summer whereas in winter, the majority was Aromanian.³⁰

In kaza Kajlari, on the slopes of Mount Siniak (*Askeio*), the Aromanians were the majority in Blatsa (*Vlasti*)³¹ and Sisanion. In this kaza the Farsherot Aromanians settled in a hut settlement near Upper Gramaticova (*Ano Grammatiko*).³²

Aromanian villages Fetitsa (*Polla Nera*), Candrova (*Agios Dimitrios*) and Paticina (*Patima*) were situated on the southern slopes of Mount Nidze (*Vorras*) and on the northern slopes of Karakamen (*Vermio*), in Voden kaza.³³

In the Anaselitsa kaza, there were Aromanians in the small town of Siatista³⁴ and in the Aromanian village of Pipilishta (*Namata*) on mount Siniak.³⁵ Aromanians also lived in the villages of Tsotili and Seltze (*Eratyra*)³⁶ together with the Greeks.

There also was a large Aromanian colony in the town of Kozani, in kaza Kozani, which had been Hellenicised for the most part. While visiting the town of Kozani in 1880, British diplomat and historian Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol, noted that “*In the 900 houses of this city there are scarcely twenty where around the family fireside any other language is spoken than the old Latin-sounding Wallach. (Still) the pros-*

³⁰ WEIGAND, 1895: 130.

³¹ Blatsa was inhabited by Aromanians from Moscopole and Pindus, as well as by Aromanians from the former Episcopal seat Sisanion (ΠΟΠΟΒΙΤΉ, 1937: 42). Hellenicised Aromanians from Sisanion transferred the Hellenic influence to Blatsa, which led to the Hellenisation of more than half the Blatsa population in 1875 (PICOT, 1875: 37). Similar to nearby Siatista, where in 1889-1890 Weigand noted that children did not speak Aromanian (WEIGAND, 1895: 129), Blatsa probably encountered the same when the Aromanian population ceased using the Aromanian language. In 1900, Kanchov recorded 2500 inhabitants in Blatsa, of which he considered 1300 to have been Aromanian and 1200 Greek (ΚΪΗΧΟΒ, 1996: 269). For more details see: ΤΣΙΡΟΣ, 1964.

³² Regarding Upper Gramaticova see: ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΗΣ - 4-, 2001: 347-362.

³³ Idem: 363-369.

³⁴ According to Spiridon Gopcevic, in 1888 Siatista had 10,000 inhabitants. Around 7,500 of them spoke Greek, while the other 2,500 were speaking Aromanian. However, Gopcevic notes that majority of the Greek speaking population in Siatista was composed of hellenicised Aromanians (ΓΟΠΤΣΕΒΙΤΉ, 1890: 146).

³⁵ ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΗΣ, 2000: 181.

³⁶ Idem: 346.

perous townsfolk would be deeply hurt if any doubt were hinted as to the genuineness of their Hellenism".³⁷ The Aromanian primacy in Kozani was also noted by Spiridon Gopcevic, who counted 4,000 inhabitants in 1888. Around 3,000 of them were Aromanian, 100 were Serbian, while the others were of Greek origin.³⁸

The Aromanians were scattered everywhere in kaza Kostur (*Kastoria*). This kaza bordered the old Aromanian settlements on Mount Gramos. Actually, some of the former Aromanian villages on Gramos, such as Linotopea and Gramostea, geographically belonged to Macedonia. The Aromanian population in kaza Kostur was most numerous in the Aromanian town of Vlaho-Klisura (*Kleisoura*).³⁹ Great number of the Christian population in the town of Kostur was of Aromanian origin. When Victor Bérard visited Kostur toward the end of the 19th century, Aromanian was spoken or at least understood in every Christian house, which, beyond doubt, indicates the strong Aromanian presence in this town.⁴⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, one of the Greek propaganda leaders in Kostur, the teacher Anastassios Piheon, reports that the town's Greek upper class was mainly made up of Aromanian families who had eventually settled in Kostur after leaving Moscopole, Niculitsa, Vithkuq, and elsewhere.⁴¹ The Aromanians lived in Hrupishta (*Argos Orestiko*) and the village of Gramostea, and in the Macedonian settlements there almost was no village without at least 4-5 Aromanian families.⁴² In 1905 the secretary of the Bulgarian Exarchate, Dimitar Mishev (alias D. M. Brancoff), recorded the presence of small groups of Aromanian families among the inhabitants of villages near Kostur, such as Zagorichani (*Vassiliada*), Zhelegozhe (*Pendavryssos*), Gorentsi (*Korissos*) and Dobrolishta (*Kalobori*).⁴³ After the collapse of Linotopea, some poor Linotopean families settled in nearby Nestram (*Nestorio*), where they were assimilated by the more numerous Macedonian villagers. The Aromanians from the other Macedonian villages in kaza Kostur faced a similar destiny. The Aro-

³⁷ CHIROL, 1881: 59.

³⁸ ГОПЧЕВИЋ, 1890: 146

³⁹ ΒΑΚΟΥΦΑΡΗΣ, 2005; ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΗΛ, 1972; RUVA, 1936: 15-21; GHICA, 1904: 116-118.

⁴⁰ BÉRARD, 1897: 318.

⁴¹ KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 343.

⁴² BRAILSFORD, 1906: 176; Although almost all contemporaries confirm the Aromanian presence in Macedonian villages in Kostur region, Kanchov did not register any Aromanians in them.

⁴³ BRANCOFF, 1905: 182.

manian language was soon forgotten, but the Macedonians in Kostur area continued to refer to their fellow villagers who traced their origins to Gramos as Vlachs.⁴⁴

In kaza Lerin were the Aromanian town of Nevesca (*Nymfaió*)⁴⁵ and the Aromanian villages Pisoderi and Bazdravitsa.⁴⁶ Hut settlements called Călivili Papadia (*Kalivia Papadias*), Călivili Murihova and Cicura were formed on the slopes of Mount Nidze in the north-eastern parts of the kaza.⁴⁷ Mixed with the orthodox Albanians, the Aromanians also inhabited the villages Negovan (*Flambouro*),⁴⁸ Belkamen (*Drosopigi*)⁴⁹ and Lehovo.⁵⁰ The small Aromanian colonies in Lerin (*Florina*)⁵¹ and in the villages Prekopana (*Perikopi*) and Breznitsa (*Vatohori*)⁵² were nearly Slavicised.⁵³

⁴⁴ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 383.

⁴⁵ ΛΟΥΣΤΑΣ, 1994; NERO, *Orășelul*, 1904: 22-25; UN NIVIȘTEAN, 1899: 6-7.

⁴⁶ ΤΣΑΜΗ, 1992; NERO, 1906: 319-321; NERO, *Aromânii*, 1904: 173-175; GRIVA, 1901: 110.

⁴⁷ ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΗΣ - 4-, 2001: 321-334; NERO, *Aromânii*, 1904: 173-175; GRIVA, 1901: 110.

⁴⁸ According to Koukoudis, who cites an anonymous author, the village of Negovan was established in 1861 by a larger number of Albanians, and a smaller number of Farsherot Aromanians from the region of Konitsa. Later, a new wave of Albanians and Aromanians from Dangelli and Kolonje sought refuge in Negovan (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 300); See also: ΑΟ ΙΗΝΙ, *Ποδάμοιου*; ΒΟΓΑΣ, 1993.

⁴⁹ Again according to Koukoudis, Belkamen was also inhabited by orthodox Albanians and Aromanians from Konitsa, Dangelli, Kolonje and Gramos, and it was established in 1841 (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 300).

⁵⁰ Most authors are unanimous as regards Negovan, Belkamen and Lehovo being predominantly Albanian. However, there are such authors according to whom Aromanians constituted $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population of these villages (See: HÂCIU, 2003: 174; NERRO, 1903: 94). For the Farsherot Aromanians in Lehovo, see: ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ, 1976: 7-11.

⁵¹ The first small Aromanian community in Lerin was established at the end of the 19 century by merchants and craftsmen from the surrounding villages, most notably Pisoderi (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 463).

⁵² BRANCOFF, 1905: 177, 182.

⁵³ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 103; That the Aromanians in Lerin, originally from Pisoderi and Bitola were Slavicised was confirmed by Aromanian Theodor Nero; See: NERO, *Aromânii*, 1904: 174.

In the northern and central parts of the Bitola Vilayet, the Aromanians were most numerous in kaza Bitola. Here, apart from the “New Moscopole” – Bitola,⁵⁴ which had the largest urban Aromanian population in the Balkans throughout the 19 century,⁵⁵ was Bitola’s rival for the role of the “New Moscopole”⁵⁶ – Krushevo,⁵⁷ as well as the Aromanians villages of Malovishte,⁵⁸

⁵⁴ The first Aromanian settlers in Bitola arrived in the second half of the 18 century, after the collapse of Moscopole. The original Aromanian nucleus in the town had consisted of Moscopolitans, followed by unspecified numbers of refugees from Nikulitsa, Linotopea, Gramostea, Fusha, Veternik, Nicea, Grabova etc. (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 353).

⁵⁵ The data as regards the number and majority of the Aromanian population in Bitola is contradictory and changes depending on the time when they were written and the provenience of the author. In the respective period, there were around 40-50000 inhabitants in the town of which nearly half were Muslim or Jewish. Romanian lyceum in Bitola Director, Vasilie Glodariu, noted that in 1880 Bitola had 30000 inhabitants of which 10000 were “Bulgarian” and another 10000 “Romanian”, about 7000 were Turkish and Albanian and about 3000 Jewish (BANCIU, 1932: 408). According to Bulgarian Exarch Joseph I, 18000 Aromanians and “Aromanised Bulgarians” lived in Bitola in 1882 (ГЕОРГИЕВ-ТРИФОНОВ, 1994: 40). Lazarite mission in Bitola leader, Jean-Claude Faveyrial, maintained that at the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century, there were 15500 Aromanians in Bitola (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 262). According to Cordescu, 15000 Aromanians lived in Bitola (CORDESCU, 1906: 46). Weigand’s number is 13000 Aromanians (WEIGAND, 1895: 4). At the end of the 19 century, according to a report by the Greek consular authorities in Bitola, there were about 13000 Aromanians, 8-9000 Bulgarians, 4000 Jews and cca 25000 Muslims living in Bitola (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 353). In 1901, Italian consul in Bitola, Bernardi stated that “*Undoubtedly, Koutzo-Vlach population in Bitola is most significant in this town in terms of number of inhabitants, social status and importance in trade*” (GALLON, 2004: 373). Ioan Puppa calculated that in 1903, the town of Bitola had about 36000 inhabitants, of which 15500 were Aromanian (PUPPA, 1903: 34). In line with the census conducted by Serbian authorities in March 1913, in Bitola there were 50000 inhabitants, of which 26000 were Muslim and Jewish, 10000 were Bulgarian, 12000 were Vlach, and the remaining 2000 were Serbian and Koutzo-Vlach (sic!) (Српски извођу, 1979: 223). According to Kanchov, the Aromanians were the second most numerous Christian population in Bitola with 7000 inhabitants following the 10000 Bulgarians (КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 236).

⁵⁶ Krushevo may have lost the battle with Bitola for the role of the “New Moscopole”,

Gopesh,⁵⁹ Nizhepole, Trnovo and Magarevo.⁶⁰ Following Macedonians, the Aromanians were the second most numerous population in the town of Resen⁶¹

but it gradually developed from small village into one of the wealthiest settlements in Macedonia. The first group of Aromanians to settle in Krushevo permanently apparently came from Nikulitsa (ΜΠΑΛΛΑΣ, 1962: 18-19). It was they who turned Krushevo into a town of enterprising merchants and craftsmen. The settlers from Nikulitsa were joined by people from Linotopea and Gramostea. The latter arrived in at least two waves, and some of them continued their transhumant way of life for quite some time before settling there permanently, occupying the higher parts of the settlement at first. The waves of refugees included groups of families from Moscopole, Nicea and Denisku. In many cases the refugees arrived in organised groups of families with a leader, usually a priest (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 354-355).

⁵⁷ According to Krushevo teacher Ivan Shumkov, in 1862, the Aromanians contributed most to the entire economic and social life in the town. The presence of Macedonian population was almost not felt, thus the impression was that the entire population was Aromanian. Greek was used in schools and at church, but in all other public life domains Aromanian was predominant. According to the same author, in 1870, in Krushevo lived 2500 families, of which 1900 were Aromanian, Albanian and few Aromanised Macedonians (*Историја на Крџево*, 1978: 57, 77-78). Apostol Mărgărit emphasized in 1874 that 2/3 of the inhabitants of Krushevo were Aromanian whereas the rest were Bulgarian or Albanian (MĂRGĂRIT, 1874: 357). In 1885, Alexandru Pencovici calculated 12000 Aromanians and 4000 Bulgarians in Krushevo (PENCOVICI, 1885: 10-11). According to Serbian sources, in 1888 Krushevo had 10000 inhabitants, of which 7000 were Aromanian, while the rest were Serbian (ГОПЧЕВИЋ, 1890: 106; ТРИФУНОСКИ, 1955-1957: 194). Two years later, Theodor Burada claimed that of the 2300 families in Krushevo, around 2000 were Aromanian while the remaining 300 were Albanian and Bulgarian (BURADA, 1890: 179). For the same period, 1889-1890, the German Gustav Weigand who spent a week in Krushevo and had a better view on the factual situation in the town, claims that Krushevo had 11800 inhabitants, 7000 of which were Aromanian (WEIGAND, 1895: 287). According to Nenițescu, of the 15800 inhabitants of Krushevo, as many as 14500 were Aromanians (NENIȚESCU, 1895:95). In 1900, Aromanian Steriu Ciona-Cionescu who was a teacher in Krushevo with years of experience, calculated 11000 inhabitants in the mountainous town, of which about 7000 were Aromanian (CIONESCU, 1900: 92). Nicolae Batzaria also wrote about the dominance of the Aromanian population in Krushevo (BAȚARIA, 1904: 147-150). Toward the end of the 19th century and the

and the nearby village of Iankovets.⁶² The summer settlement of Călivili Istoc, founded by nomad Aromanians from Perivoli, was situated on the Petrina mountain between Resen and Ohrid.⁶³

In kaza Ohrid, there were Aromanians in the towns of Ohrid and Struga, and in the villages Dolna Belitsa (*Beala di Gbhos*) and Gorna Belitsa (*Beala di Supra*). The Aromanians in Ohrid came from Epirus and the Aromanian settlements in southern Albania and Frasher. It is here that they formed Upper and Lower Village which merged with the town of Ohrid when it expanded in the middle of the 19th century. They became Ohrid neighbourhoods by the names of Gorno Vlashko Maalo and Dolno Vlashko Maalo. Around 1800, approximately 400 Aromanian families lived in Ohrid. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 20th century, the Aromanian population in the town was so diminished that Dolno Vlashko Maalo was almost cleared of Aromanians.⁶⁴ The exoduses from Nicea and Langa led to the establishment of two new Aromanian villages on Jablanica. First Gorna Belitsa was established, high on the slopes of Jablan-

beginning of the 20th century part of the Aromanian population emigrated from Kŕushevo while Macedonian families from the surrounding villages settled in the town. This made the number of Aromanian and Macedonian population almost equal.

⁵⁸ POPNICOLA, 2008; BELIMACE, 1900: 149-152.

⁵⁹ ТРИФУНОСКИ, 1957: 259-271; ZUCA, 1905: 196-200.

⁶⁰ POPNICOLA, 2009; ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ, 1954; NICOLESCU, 1904: 183-186.

⁶¹ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 240. Several Vlach families from the Islamicised Megleno-Vlach village of Nonte settled in Resen. During the Islamicisation of the village, part of the villagers who refused to be Islamicised fled to the nearby Megleno-Vlach villages, and others fled to Resen. Among the more prominent Resen families with origins from Nonte were Ljapchev and Dorev families (МЛАДЕНОВЪ, 1936: 12).

⁶² According to one of the versions for the establishing of Iankovets, the village was established in 1730, when a small group of refugees from Nikulitsa settled there. The first settler was apparently one Ianko Ikonou from Nikulitsa and he probably gave the village its name. The small Aromanian settlement which later developed at Iankovets drew Aromanian merchants and craftsmen from various places (ZOGRAFU-MIHCI, 1904: 222).

⁶³ WACE-THOMPSON, 1914: 176; BAṬARIA, 1907: 214.

⁶⁴ ТРАЈАНОВСКИ, 1999: 27-29; ШАПКАРЕВЪ, 1901: 37; HÂCIU, 2003: 107; KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 350-351.

ica, and shortly afterwards Dolna Belitsa, down in the foothills.⁶⁵ The Aromanians in Struga were principally traders and craftsmen from Gorna Belitsa and Dolna Belitsa who stayed in town from Sunday to Friday but spent Saturdays in their villages.⁶⁶ Some smaller Aromanian groups settled in the Drimkol area near Struga, in the villages of Drenok and Modrich, while some Farsherot groups from Gorna and Dolna Belitsa later settled in the villages of Vevchani, Vishni, Podgortsi and Labunishta.⁶⁷

In the Prilep kaza, there were Aromanians in the town of Prilep and the Mariovo villages Gradeshnitsa, Beshishta and Budimertsi.⁶⁸ Aromanian traders, of which most with origin from Krushevo, inhabited the town of Kichevo as well.⁶⁹

In the Salonica Vilayet, the Aromanians, or more precisely the Meglen Vlachs, were most numerous in the Gevgeli kaza, in the area Vlacho-Meglen and its villages Nonte (*Notia*), Birislav (*Perikleia*), Luguntsi (*Langadia*), Oshin (*Arhangelos*), Liumnitsa (*Skera*), Tsrna Reka (*Karpi*), Huma, Cupa, Konsko and Sermenin.⁷⁰ Nonte was completely Islamicised whereas Konsko, Tsrna Reka and Sermenin were in the process of Slavicisation.⁷¹ In the region of Meglen was the large Aromanian village of Livadi (*Megala Livadia*), founded by Aromanians from Gramostea who spent their summers in Livadi and their winters in Salonica surroundings and Kassandra. By 1899 the village had been ownership of Turkish bays from Yenice-Vardar (*Giannitsa*). Afterwards it was repurchased by the Aromanians from Livadi.⁷² There was also a small Aromanian colony in Gevgelija comprised of Aromanians from Krushevo, Prilep and Vlacho-Meglen.⁷³

In the neighbouring Yenice-Vardar kaza, several Aromanian families settled in the town of Yenice-Vardar. The Meglen village of Barovitsa (*Kastaneri*),

⁶⁵ ΤΟΠΑΛΗΣ, 1972: 25, 27-30; See also: CIOLACHE, 1908: 25-28; PAPAIZISI, 1906: 265-267.

⁶⁶ HÂCIU, 2003: 113, footnote 7.

⁶⁷ ТРАЈАНОВСКИ, 1979: 13-30.

⁶⁸ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 244, 247.

⁶⁹ САЈКОСКИ, 2005: 84-85.

⁷⁰ WEIGAND, 1892: 26-27; PAPAĦAGI, 1902: 17-24, 44; CAPIDAN, 1925: 19-30; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΗΣ -3-, 2001: 211-310.

⁷¹ КОМАН, 2008: 5; МЛАДЕНОВЪ, 1936: 12; WEIGAND, 1892: 14-15, 26-27.

⁷² ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΗΣ -3-, 2001: 311-342; CANACHEU, 1906: 179.

⁷³ HÂCIU, 2003: 241.

whose inhabitants were Slavicised to a great extent, belongs to this kaza. In 1909, when Theodor Capidan visited the village, only the adults spoke the Megleno-Vlach language.⁷⁴

In the Salonica kaza, there were many Aromanian stock breeders, but their winter dwellings were impermanent and they were therefore registered in their summer lodgings. In this kaza there was a large group of Aromanians only in the town of Salonica.⁷⁵

Aromanians were numerous in the kaza of Ber as well where they were the most numerous ethnic group following the Greeks. They had an absolute majority in the mountainous regions west of the town of Ber, on mount Karakamen, where the villages of Selia di Ghios and Selia di Sus (*Kato Vermio* and *Ano Vermio*),⁷⁶ Marusha (*Marousia*), Tserkoviani (*Mikra Santa*), Volada (*Vromopigado*), Doliani (*Koumaria*), Xirolivadi and Castania were situated.⁷⁷ Large Aromanian

⁷⁴ CAPIDAN, 1942: 17.

⁷⁵ Greek sources claim that toward the end of the 19th century half the Greek population of Salonica comprised of Aromanians (KOYKOYΔΗΣ -1-, 2000: 87-90, 118-120). According to Weigand, the Greek element in Salonica was composed of Hellenicised Aromanians and Bulgarians. The majority of them had forgotten their mother tongue. Despite that, Aromanian was spoken in the neighbourhoods of St. Nicholas, St. Athanasius and St. Theodore (WEIGAND, 1895: 222). According to Delacamara, about 10000 Aromanians lived in Salonica (DELACAMARA, 1904: 49), and the same figure was given by Cordescu as well. He regrettably concluded that the vast majority of them had already been Hellenicised (CORDESCU, 1906: 147). Nenițescu, on the other hand, claimed that 12500 Aromanians lived in Salonica. Their children filled the streets in the three Aromanian neighbourhoods, sung and told riddles exclusively in Aromanian (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 553, 571). Wace and Thompson agreed that a significant number of Salonica Greeks were, in fact, Aromanians from Mount Olympus (WACE-THOMPSON, 1914: 210). Apart from the Aromanian villages on Mount Olympus, Aromanians came to Salonica from Vlaho-Clisura, Nevesca, Krushevo, Ber, Korcha, Nizhepole, Berat and the Aromanian settlements in Thessaly (ZUCA, 1903: 257; NENIȚESCU, 1895: 572).

⁷⁶ KOYKOYΔΗΣ -4-, 2001: 107-118; PAPA IANUȘI, 1903; PETCU, 1936: 28-33; CIUMETTI, 1901: 126-127.

⁷⁷ The village of Doliani used to be an estate but was redeemed in 1898 by supporters of the Romanian propaganda from the villages Xirolivadi and Selia di Ghios. People of other nationalities, even Aromanian supporters of the Greek cause,

colonies could be found in the towns of Ber (*Veria*) and Negush (*Naousa*).⁷⁸

In the kaza of Katerini, the Aromanians were fairly numerous during the winter season when the Aromanians from Olympus, Mariovo, Selia di Sus, Ber, Voden, Flamburari and the Grevena area moved down toward Katerini and the coast.⁷⁹ By the end of the 19th century some Aromanians from Samarina established the hut settlements of Kolindros and Kalyvia tou Zissi.⁸⁰

In the Strumica kaza, the Aromanians and their herds went up the Ograzhden mountain but in winter they went down to the fields of Salonica and in the vicinity of Langadas, east of Salonica.⁸¹

In the second half of the 18th century, about 250 Aromanian families inhabited Veles. The decrease of the number of Aromanians in the town ensued the decline of trade in Veles in the second half of the 19th century. In 1900 Kanchov recorded only 500 Aromanians in Veles.⁸² Some Aromanians settled in Bogomila, between Veles and Prilep, near the Babuna pass. In 1879 there were 20 Aromanian families in Bogomila. Until the First World War, their number rose to 30 families. Most of them were eventually assimilated by the Macedonian villagers.⁸³

The first Aromanians settled in Seres and the whole of the subsequent Seres sanjak in the first half of the 17th century. These settlers may have acted as a kind of advance guard for the Aromanian settlements that sprang up in Eastern Macedonia later on.⁸⁴

The most significant Aromanian colony within the whole sanjak settled

were not allowed to settle there (PERDICHI, 1936: 25-29; WACE-THOMPSON, 1914: 211; DE GAVANA, 1902: 147-150; Revista Pindul, I/2, 1898: 8).

⁷⁸ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 194.

⁷⁹ According to Vasile Papa Ianuși, Katerini was a town with 7000 inhabitants, of which half were Aromanian (PAPA IANUȘ, 1904: 41). According to Weigand, Katerini was home to 1500 Aromanians who originated from the Aromanian villages on Mount Olympus (WEIGAND, 1888: 13). Nenițescu provided a figure of about 2800 Aromanian inhabitants of Katerini (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 557). Also see: KOYKOYΔΗΣ -3-, 2001: 181-196; HÂCIU, 2003: 218.

⁸⁰ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 265.

⁸¹ ФИЛИПОВИЋ, 1938: 65.

⁸² КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 156; In 1895, Nenițescu stated that 2270 Aromanians lived in Veles but the figure was exaggerated (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 49).

⁸³ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 444.

⁸⁴ Idem: 108.

in Seres and was gradually Hellenicised,⁸⁵ and also in Dolna Dzhumaya (*Irakleia*) where the Aromanian language was preserved.⁸⁶ The Aromanians in Seres mostly came from Moscopole, Aspropotamos, Malakashi, Zagori, Konitsa, Olympus and the Grevena area.⁸⁷ Those in Dolna Dzhumaya were mostly from Baiasa (*Vovoussa*), but also from Moscopole, Mount Olympus (Vlaho-Livadi and Kokkinoplo), Aspropotamos (Gardiki and Ayia Paraskevi), Grevena area (Avdella) and Nevesca.⁸⁸ In kaza Seres, a group of Gramoustian Aromanians established the hut settlement Călivili din cheare (*Lailias*).⁸⁹ They were later joined by settlers from Avdella.⁹⁰ The Aromanians in this kaza also settled among the Macedonian population in the smaller villages of Karlikoy (*Hionobori*), Riahovo (*Marmaras*) and Dutliya (*Elaionas*).⁹¹

In kaza Zihna, the Aromanians settled among the Macedonians, Turks and Greeks in Alistrati, Karlukovo (*Mikropoli*), Egri Dere (*Kallithea*), Mandilevo (*Mandil*), Oravishte (*Agios Hristoforos*), Rodoliovo (*Rodolivos*) and Kormishta (*Kormitsa*).⁹²

The Aromanians, with over 1000 inhabitants, were also numerous in

⁸⁵ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΗΒ, 1961: 16-17; According to Weigand, in 1890, 2000-3000 persons from Seres inhabitants were with Aromanian origins, among which the wealthiest families: Tegochik, Duro, Kontos and Karamichu. They came from Pindus and Olympus (WEIGAND, 1895: 228). According to Picot, Aromanians were the majority in Seres (PICOT, 1875: 23). Nenițescu pinpointed a figure of over 4000 Aromanians in Seres, who were the wealthiest and most powerful in the town and pulled all the strings (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 560). Ioan Piaha estimated the number of the Aromanians in Seres at the beginning of the 20th century to be 6000 (PIAHA, 1904: 140). According to Adina Berciu Drăghicescu, Seres had 40000 inhabitants, of which 5000 were Aromanian split into 600 Romanian supporters and 4400 Greek supporters (DRĂGHICESCU, 1996: 135).

⁸⁶ At the time when Kanchov visited the town, the 1250 Aromanians in Dolna Dzhumaya were the wealthiest of all inhabitants (КЪНЧОВ, 1970: 100; Also see : HĂCIU, 2003: 226)

⁸⁷ KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 134, 177, 343.

⁸⁸ Idem: 177-178.

⁸⁹ Idem: 404; ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ-ΝΤΙΝΑΣ, 2008: 88.

⁹⁰ KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 194; ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ-ΝΤΙΝΑΣ, 2008: 88.

⁹¹ KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 178, 194; ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ-ΝΤΙΝΑΣ, 2008: 84-85; КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 177.

⁹² HĂCIU, 2003: 226; KOUKOUDIS, 2000: 129, 134, 348, 440; КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 181-182.

Gorni Poroy (*Ano Poroia*) in kaza Valovishta (Demir Hisar), where Aromanians from Avdella, Smixi, Baiasa and Nevesca settled.⁹³ They were the only inhabitants in the village of Ramna (*Omalon*) which was established by Aromanians from Nevesca.⁹⁴ In this kaza, Aromanians from Aspropotamos, Malakashi, Zagori, Gramos and Avdella settled in the town of Valovishta (*Sidirokastro*), as well as in the village of Liposh (*Filyra*) and in some hut settlements.

Several Aromanian families from Dolna Dzhumaya settled in Nevrokop in 1844.⁹⁵ On Pirin, Bozdag, Sengel, Alibotush, Sharliya, Stargach and Karadag Mountains there were nomad huts by the villages Petrovo, Dzhigurovo, Gorno Spanchevo, Bozhdovo, Shatrovo, Lopovo, Pirin, Gorna Sushitsa, Papas Cair, Orehovets (*Marmaras*), Belotintsi (*Leukogeia*), Vezmen (*Eksobi*), Starchishta (*Peritori*), Tarlis (*Vathytopos*), Tsrvishta (*Kapnofito*), Krushovo (*Achladochori*) and Sengelovo (*Ankistro*), and most probably in Vlahi as well.⁹⁶ In Pirin Macedonia in the Melnik, Petrich, Gorna Dzhumaya and Razlog kazas, a larger or smaller number of Aromanians lived in the towns of Melnik, Petrich, Gorna Dzhumaya⁹⁷ and Mehomia, in addition to Mount Rila villages of Rsovo, Bistritsa, Strumski Chiflik (now Strumsko, part of Blagoevgrad), Arzach, Belitsa, Bachevo, Sofan and Kara Mandra.⁹⁸

In easternmost parts of Macedonia, in kazas Drama, Pravishta, Kavala

⁹³ ΠΕΝΝΑΣ, 1989: 10-19; ΠΟΠΑΖΙΣΙ, 1906: 128-129; ΠΙΑΗΑ, 1904: 140; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΔΙΣ, 2000: 178, 194, 255, 257, 343, 345, 348; ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ-ΝΤΙΝΑΣ, 2008: 72-77.

⁹⁴ ΝΕΡΟ, *Orășelul*, 1904: 24.

⁹⁵ КЪНЧОВ, 1970: 235-236.

⁹⁶ According to Kanchov, Vlahi was a purely Bulgarian village with 1850 inhabitants (КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 189). Other sources reach the same conclusion as well. The British consul in Sofia wrote in 1878 that in Vlahi there were 350 houses with 1600 inhabitants, all of which were Bulgarian (*Британски дипломатически документи*, 1993: 92). However, according to Ioan Piaha, 120 Aromanian families lived in Vlahi in 1904 (ΠΙΑΗΑ, 1904: 141-142). But, according to Nenițescu, there were “150 Aromanians combined with Bulgarians” in the village around 1895 (NENIȚESCU, 1895: 563).

⁹⁷ The Aromanians in Gorna Dzhumaya settled there after the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878 (КАТАРЦИЕВ, 1961: 166). Toward the end of the 19th century, the town had 60 permanently settled Gramostean Aromanian families and 35 families of Aromanians from Krushevo. In winter, they were joined by another 40 Aromanian nomad families (CIARĂ, 1933: 33).

⁹⁸ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 186, 189, 191-193; ΚΑΤΣΑΝΗΣ-ΝΤΙΝΑΣ, 2008: 85-86.

and Sari Shaban, Aromanians could be found in the larger towns and villages: Drama,⁹⁹ Kavala,¹⁰⁰ Pravishta (*Eleftheroupoli*),¹⁰¹ Prosochen (*Prosotsani*),¹⁰² Nigrita,¹⁰³ Doxato,¹⁰⁴ Boren (*Agios Athanasios*),¹⁰⁵ K'rlar (*Kyrya*) and Sari Shaban (*Chrysoupoli*).¹⁰⁶ In many cases they were the first Christians to settle as merchants and craftsmen in villages that had been exclusively Turkish until then.¹⁰⁷

In the kazas from the Salonica Vilayet where a large presence of Aromanians had not been noted, they worked as traders and lived in the bigger towns such as Voden, Negotino and Kavadarci. Kanchov calculated that 250 Aromanians lived on Mount Athos.¹⁰⁸

In Macedonia, the smallest number of Aromanians lived in the Kosovo Vilayet. Here, some of them, mostly traders from Krushevo, settled in the bigger towns (Skopje, Kumanovo, Gostivar, Kochani) and others with their herds occupied the pastures on Mounts Osogovo and Plachkovitsa where they formed the summer hut settlements of Kalin Kamen, Kosharitsa, Samari, Lopen, Ponikva, Chatal, Lisets, Kitka, Jamishte, Ozhdenitsa, Durachka Reka, Stantsi, Chupino, Kartal, Kolarnitsa, Kukla, Kara Tepe, Asanliya etc.¹⁰⁹ These Aromanians spent their winters in the town of Kochani, Kriva Palanka and in the villages Spanchevo, Sokolartsi, Vrbitsa, Lepopeltsi, Ulartsi, Banja, Nivichani, Pan-teley and Bunish.¹¹⁰ Kanchov recorded Aromanian stock breeders in the Polog

⁹⁹ The Aromanians in Drama came from Aspropotamos, Malakashi, Zagori, Pindus, Moscopole, Krushevo, Siatista, Blatsa and Nevesca. There they settled in the new Christian district of 12 Apostoli, next to the old Christian, Greek speaking district of Ayia Sofia (HÂCIU, 2003: 262-263; KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 186).

¹⁰⁰ HÂCIU, 2003: 263.

¹⁰¹ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 135, 257.

¹⁰² ΒΟΥΛΤΣΙΑΔΗΣ, 1995: passim.

¹⁰³ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 134, 178, 343, 348, 387, 440.

¹⁰⁴ HÂCIU, 2003: 263.

¹⁰⁵ KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 186.

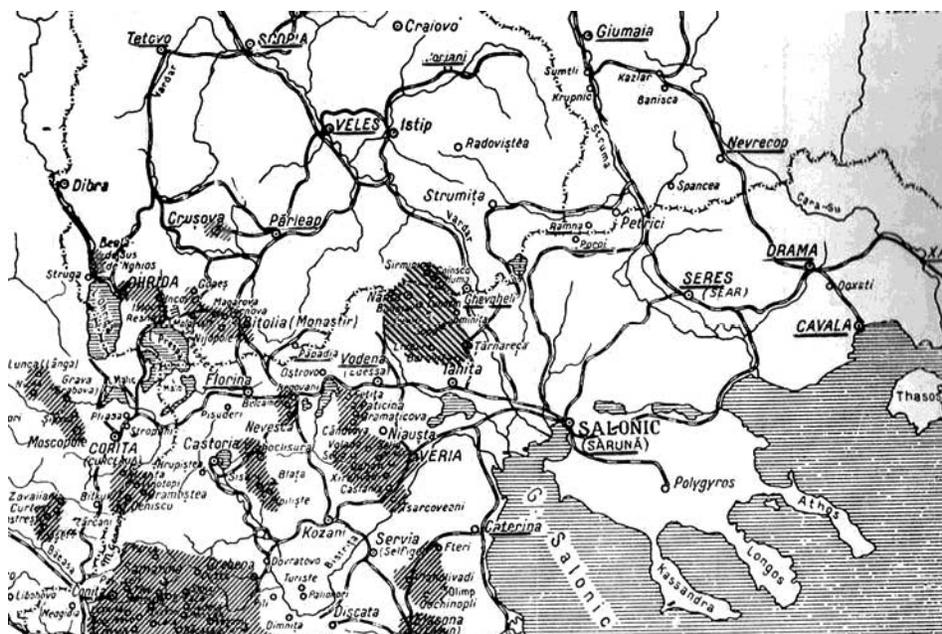
¹⁰⁶ HÂCIU, 2003: 265-266.

¹⁰⁷ As was the case with Sari Shaban, where the Aromanians were the first Christian nucleus in the developing commercial and administrative centre of a kaza which had only one Christian, Greek speaking village, all the others being Turkish. In 1884, they built the first church in Sari Shaban (KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 186).

¹⁰⁸ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 175.

¹⁰⁹ Idem: 205, 213, 215, 223-225, 227; KOUKLOUDIS, 2000: 406.

¹¹⁰ In 1901, teacher Demetru Papa-Sterescu noted that exactly 334 Aromanian-



Distribution of Aromanian population in Macedonia in the last decades of the Ottoman rule

region in North-Western Macedonia as well.¹¹¹

The list would be excessively lengthy if we were to denote all the places in which there were Aromanians. In some villages, such as the Macedonian villages in Koreshtata region, there were 5-10 Aromanian homes which is also the case in many other villages in Macedonia. It will be satisfactory to conclude that the Aromanians lived in almost all parts of Macedonia. Nonetheless, they did not form a significant majority in any of them. Where they were more numerous, they always lived in immediate vicinity of other Christian groups in Macedonia or together with them.

Gramostean families inhabited the above mentioned settlements. Despite those, Papa-Sterescu noted a further 210 Aromanian families in Kriva Palanka and Kratovo regions (PAPA-STERESCU, 1901: 55-56).

¹¹¹ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 213.

Statistics

There are plenty of statistics about the number of the Aromanians in Macedonia, mainly within the population statistics of European Turkey. As regards most of them, we do not know by what means the author reached the figure presented to us and all we can do is accept it or reject it without being able to address it critically. Various numbers are given depending on the period when the statistics was made, the origin of its author and its definition of “Macedonia”. However, even in cases when the region is clearly defined, when the time span is merely several years and even when the authors are of the same nationality, the figures they present regarding the population number of the Aromanians frequently differ considerably. Within that context, we enclose 5 statistics about the population number of the Aromanians in the Macedonian part of the Bitola Vilayet, made in the period from 1896 to 1902 by Italian consuls in Bitola, Arturo Scaniglia and Gaetani D’Aragona di Castelmola, by Russian Bitola consul Alexandr Rostkovskiy, by French vice consul in Bitola Max Choublier and by auditor of Romanian schools in the region of Bitola, Aromanian, geographer, Ioan Ciulli.

Macedonian part of Bitola Vilayet

<i>Author</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
A. Scaniglia	Italian	1896	125,000 ¹¹²
A. Rostkovskiy	Russian	1897	44,185 ¹¹³
I. Ciulli	Aromanian	1898	78,870 ¹¹⁴
M. Choublier	French	1902	45,000 ¹¹⁵
G. D’Aragona	Italian	1902	101,700 ¹¹⁶

¹¹² ДИМЕСКИ, 1982: 247.

¹¹³ State Archive of the Republic of Macedonia (ДАРМ), fond: Problema 15 – Școli și biserici, м- 2351: Doc. 3, Pachet XIX, nepaginat.

¹¹⁴ Idem: Bitolia, 9/21.02.1898, nepaginat (According to Ciulli, 103330 is the total number of Aromanians in the Bitola Vilayet).

¹¹⁵ БИТОСКИ, 1970: 113 (According to Choublier, the total number of Aromanian population in the Bitola Vilayet, including territories outside Macedonia, was 53227. In line with our calculation, about 45000 of them were in Macedonia).

¹¹⁶ *Turchia*, 1902: 5 (The total number of Aromanians in the Bitola Vilayet according to the Italian consul was 142000, of which, consistent with our calculations, 101700 were in the Macedonian part of the vilayet).

Evidently, the difference in the figures offered is vast. However, if we re-view the statistics in detail in order to see who was behind them and what their goal was, we will comprehend the rationale for the considerable difference among the five statistics.

In the period when Scaniglia and D'Aragona were the Italian consuls in Bitola, the royal interpreter was Mihail Pinetta who was the son-in-law of inspector general of Romanian schools and churches in Turkey, Apostol Mărgărit and lecturer at the Romanian lyceum in Bitola. Due to the frequent absence of the Italian consuls, Pinetta carried out the duties of the consul and only representative of Italy in the town on many occasions.¹¹⁷ Within the context of general Italian policy in the region, it was to Scaniglia and D'Aragona's benefit that the number of the Aromanians and Albanians be presented higher than the actual one. Provided we add the undeniable participation of Pinetta in the making of both statistics, we will understand the reason for the larger number they offered. In Rostkovskiy's statistics, and within the context of Russian policy in the Balkans, a contrary inclination can be noticed i.e. an increase in the number of Slavic population to the disadvantage of the other population. Rostkovskiy's statistics is thorough but as regards the number of the Aromanians is utterly unrealistic. According to him, the Aromanian village of Nizhepole had 470 inhabitants, and the town of Bitola had 3500 Aromanians. In comparison with all other statistics, regardless of their origin, these numbers had been reduced significantly and did not correspond to reality.¹¹⁸ The same inclination, or ignorance, can be noticed in Choublier's work. Geographer Ioan Ciulli's statistics remained unpublished and was prepared for his personal use. As a scholar, and subsequently a school auditor, Ciulli visited the Aromanian settlements in the Bitola Vilayet several times a year and was familiar with the situation in the field. However, he too expressed doubt about some of the figures he prepared himself, and for some villages added smaller figures in brackets which made the final

¹¹⁷ GALLON, 2004: 120.

¹¹⁸ Kančov provided a figure of 2030 for the inhabitants of Nizhepole, of which 1690 were Aromanians (КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 239). Weigand calculated 2000 Aromanians in the village (WEIGAND, 1895: 286). According to Cordescu, Nizhepole had 1700 inhabitants, of which 1500 were Aromanians (CORDESCU, 1906: 128). Jovan Trifunoski maintains that in the second half of the 19th century, Nizhepole was inhabited by 225 households (ТРИФУНОСКИ: 1998, 68).

figure for the Aromanian population in the Macedonian part of the Bitola Vilayet draw near 65000 inhabitants.

The bigger the territory to which the statistics refer, the bigger the differences among them. In the enclosed five tables we present the numerical estimates of Balkan and Western-European provenience for the number of the Aromanian population in Macedonia. All data refers to Macedonia, with the exception of part of the Greek statistics which do not include the Kosovo Vilayet.

Western—European statistics - Macedonia

<i>Author</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
Lord Fitzmorris	Great Britain	1880	50,132 ¹¹⁹
A. Couvreur	Belgium	1890	100,600 ¹²⁰
Gustav Weigand	Germany	1895	62,405 ¹²¹
Ludovic Drapeyron	France	1897	95,000 ¹²²
Gaston Routier	France	1903	183,000 ¹²³
Vico Mantegazza	Italy	1903	300,000 ¹²⁴
Gersin	Austria-Hungary	1903	80,767 ¹²⁵
G. Bourgorel	France	1903	96,000 ¹²⁶
Oestreich	Germany	1905	100,080 ¹²⁷
Military Study	Austria-Hungary	1905	104,850 ¹²⁸
L. Fischer	France	1905	200,000 ¹²⁹
Henry N. Brailsford	Great Britain	1906	200,000 ¹³⁰
B. Pellegrini	Italy	1907	+ 300,000 ¹³¹

¹¹⁹ Британски документи, 2003: 460.

¹²⁰ COUVREUR, 1890: 525.

¹²¹ WEIGAND, 1895: 294.

¹²² DRAPEYRON, 1897: 2.

¹²³ VIRGILJ, 1908: 223.

¹²⁴ MANTEGAZZA, 1903: 254.

¹²⁵ ПОПОВ, 2004: 25.

¹²⁶ DIAMANDI, 1906: 11.

¹²⁷ VIRGILJ, 1908: 221.

¹²⁸ ТОМОСКИ, 1969: 162.

¹²⁹ FISCHER, 1905: 36.

¹³⁰ BRAILSFORD, 1906: 86.

¹³¹ PELLEGRINI, 1907: 533.

The differences become even more drastic when Balkan statistics are compared, especially when Greek statistics are compared with Romanian ones. Great differences can be seen within the Greek statistics in which in 1856, future Greek Foreign Minister Alexandros Rizos Rangavis stated that 600000 Aromanians lived in European Turkey whereas in 1904, Greek sources estimated that there were 9653 Aromanians in Macedonia.¹³²

Greek and Romanian statistics - Macedonia

<i>Author</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
Greek-Maced. Society	Greece	1878	70,000 ¹³³
N. Schinás	Greece	1886	12,500 ¹³⁴
C. Nicolaïdès	Greece	1899	18,585 ¹³⁵
Tache Ionescu	Romania	1903	500,000 ¹³⁶
Bulletin d'Orient	Greece	1904	9,653 ¹³⁷
Grigore Ghica	Romania	1905	800,000 ¹³⁸

Aromanian statistics – Macedonia

<i>Author</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
Apostol Mărgărit	1902	161,500 ¹³⁹
Ecoul Macedoniei	1903	500,000 ¹⁴⁰
Almanah Macedo-Român	1903	212,090 ¹⁴¹
Nicola Papahagi	1905	223,500 ¹⁴²
Lazar Duma	1906	104,590 ¹⁴³
Vasile Diamandi	1906	349,530 ¹⁴⁴
Leonida Boga	1913	248,760 ¹⁴⁵

¹³² PAPAHAĞI, 1905: 16-17.

¹³³ VIRGILJ, 1908: 223.

¹³⁴ ΣΧΙΝΑ, 1886: ι'.

¹³⁵ NICOLAÏDÈS, 1899: 26-27.

¹³⁶ ПОПОВ, 2004: 24.

¹³⁷ VIRGILJ, 1908: 254 (Of the total number of 12053 Aromanians in the Salonica and Bitola Vilayets).

¹³⁸ ЧАКАРЈАНЕВСКИ-АВРАМОВСКИ, 2005: 80.

¹³⁹ ПОПОВ, 2004: 28.

¹⁴⁰ *Ecoul Macedoniei*, I/9, 12.10.1903: 3

¹⁴¹ *Statistica*, 1903: 13-15 (Our calculations).

Serbian and Bulgarian statistics - Macedonia

<i>Author</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
/	Bulgaria	1873	20,923 ¹⁴⁶
Stefan Verković	Serbia	1889	74,375 ¹⁴⁷
Spiridon Gopčević	Serbia	1899	74,465 ¹⁴⁸
Vasil Kanchov	Bulgaria	1900	80,767 ¹⁴⁹
Ivan Povoljni	Serbia	1903	71,000 ¹⁵⁰
D. Mishev	Bulgaria	1905	63,895 ¹⁵¹

Turkish and Albanian statistics - Macedonia

<i>Author</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Aromanians</i>
„Hilmi Pasha's Census”	Turkey	1904	99,000 ¹⁵²
Albano-Romanian Society “Drita”	Albania/ Romania	1905	520,000 ¹⁵³

Any comment is superfluous. The above given figures present the distorted demographic representation and are just about useless. In the war of figures led for Macedonia by prime ministers, ministers, university professors, scholars and journalists, battles were won by adding or subtracting one zero. Scientific research was in the background giving way to political interests.

¹⁴² PAPANAGI, 1905: 145-152 (Our calculations).

¹⁴³ ПОПОВ, 2004: 28.

¹⁴⁴ DIAMANDI, 1906: 23-29 (Our calculations).

¹⁴⁵ BOGA, 1913: 12-13.

¹⁴⁶ *Македонија*, 1995: 107, 112, 199 (However in line with our calculations there were 16810 Aromanians).

¹⁴⁷ BRAGA, 2004: 10, footnote 20.

¹⁴⁸ VIRGILJ, 1908: 221.

¹⁴⁹ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 289.

¹⁵⁰ ТРАЈАН, 2005: 206-207.

¹⁵¹ BRAGA, 2004: 11, footnote 20.

¹⁵² БИТОВСКИ, 2001: 240.

¹⁵³ VIRGILJ, 1908: 227.

Vasil Kanchov's and Gustav Weigand's statistics

Bulgarian Vasil Kanchov's and German Gustav Weigand's statistics are characterised by a more serious and critical approach. They have been accepted as such and widely used, primarily in Macedonian and Bulgarian historiography.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, with certain notable exceptions,¹⁵⁵ Macedonian and Bulgarian historians present the data from these statistics as they had been offered by the authors, without having them critically processed. Owing to the scientific value of these statistics and their popularity and acceptance, we will focus on them and will point out their faults so as to complement them and thus get closer to the number of the Aromanian population in Macedonia during the respective period.

a) Vasil Kanchov's statistics

In the 1890s, as inspector general of the Bulgarian schools in European Turkey, Kanchov regularly travelled in Macedonia and collected valuable historical, geographical, statistical and ethnographic materials. *Macedonia, Ethnography and Statistics* published in 1900 was the synthesis of his research of many years.

According to him, 80767 Aromanians lived in Macedonia in 1900, of which 77267 were Christians and 3500 were Muslims.¹⁵⁶ There is an initial fault when calculating this figure. The analysis of Kanchov's final calculations reveals that the number of Christian Aromanians was 74324 but not 77267 as he had calculated.¹⁵⁷ Another fault in Kanchov's calculations¹⁵⁸ has been detected in the Gevgeli kaza data where he calculated that there were 12930 Meglen Vlachs instead of 13030. Consistent with that, the final number of Aromanians in Macedonia according to Kanchov was not 80767 but 77924, of which 74424 were Christians and the remaining 3500 were Muslims.

The fact that the Bulgarian ethnographer never even visited most of the Aromanian villages, primarily those villages in the kazas where there were no

¹⁵⁴ ДАСКАЛОВ, 2005: 98; ЃОРЃИЕВ, 2003: 62-65; БАРБОЛОВ, 2000: 93; ДИМЕСКИ, 1982: 89; КИРЈАЗОВСКИ, 1969: 80; and others.

¹⁵⁵ ЃОРЃИЕВ, 2003: 64-65.

¹⁵⁶ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 289.

¹⁵⁷ The mistake was made during the calculation for the Salonica Vilayet. Instead of 26066 Christian Aromanians, Kanchov calculated 28949 (Idem: 281-283).

¹⁵⁸ Idem: 151-153.

Bulgarian schools is a second issue. While preparing the statistics for the Grevena, Kozani and Anaselitsa kazas, he depended on second-hand information he collected on the way. Concerning the kaza of Anaselitsa, he obtained the information from two millers from the Kostenarija region and from two Aromanian horse traders.¹⁵⁹ The third irregularity is the arbitrary calculation of the population which was not made by its number but by the number of houses in the town or village. In order to obtain the number of inhabitants of a town or village, Kanchov did not conduct a thorough census, which in reality was not always possible. Instead, he multiplied the number of houses with a number he thought suitable. In the 1900 statistics he did not state the number he used to multiply the number of Aromanian houses, but we can infer that from his earlier research which is the main basis for the 1900 statistics. Therefore, regarding the Aromanians who lived in the towns and the wealthier villages in the Seres, Zihna, Demir Hisar and Nevrokop kazas he calculated 5 or 5.5 inhabitants per house and regarding summer hut settlements in Melnik, Gorna Dzhumaya and Razlog regions, 6 inhabitants per house, although he admitted that the Aromanian nomads “were difficult to deal with”.¹⁶⁰ In our opinion, such estimates are not realistic. English archaeologists Alan Wace and Maurice Thompson, who spent several months living among Aromanian nomads in several Aromanian villages in Pindus and its surroundings, maintained that the number of 5 inhabitants per house was too small and that the real number was much higher.¹⁶¹ In the village of Livadi (Meglen area), male children stayed in their parents’ house until the parents died even despite getting married or having children. Theodor Capidan stayed in a house in Livadi in which the parents lived with their five sons, five daughters-in-law and 18 grandchildren.¹⁶² The same situation was the case with the other Gramostean Aromanians. In 1901, in the village of Selia din Ghios there were 380 houses, 569 families and 3400 inhabitants or on average, 9 inhabitants per house.¹⁶³ Weigand wrote that one two-storey house in Trikala was a home to exactly 50 people, all of which were Aromanian.¹⁶⁴ Kanchov’s estimate that generally five people lived in the Aromanian houses in the towns can

¹⁵⁹ *Idem*: 275, footnote 4.

¹⁶⁰ КЪНЧОВ, 1970: 70, 80, 88, 111, 149, 169, 275, 334.

¹⁶¹ WACE-THOMPSON, 1914: 10.

¹⁶² CAPIDAN, 1924: 28.

¹⁶³ CIUMETTI, 1901: 126.

¹⁶⁴ WEIGAND, 1895: 173.

be accepted, but the average of 6 persons per house for the numerous Aromanian nomads is completely unacceptable.

What is also unacceptable is the manner in which Kanchov Bulgarianised and Hellenicised certain Aromanian settlements. He stated that in Salonica there was a large Aromanian colony where the adults still spoke Aromanian which was also used by the newly settled Aromanians from Mount Olympus. However, when making the final calculations, he stated that there were no Aromanians in Salonica at all.¹⁶⁵ He did the same concerning the town of Seres and the villages Siatista and Nigrita. He admitted that in Seres there were around 400 Aromanian houses where the adults still spoke Aromanian but at the end, he recorded them under the column Greek.¹⁶⁶ He considered the Meglen Vlachs from the villages Tsrna Reka and Barovitsa Bulgarians due to the rapid process of Slavisation which was in progress.¹⁶⁷ Finally, this statistics lacks the kaza of Katerini which Kanchov did not consider part of Macedonia because there was not a Slavic element in it.

According to Weigand's statistics, 6000 Aromanians lived in kaza Katerini. In Seres, Salonica and Nigrita there were 5500. Kanchov calculated 5630 inhabitants in Siatista, Tsrna Reka and Barovitsa but improperly regarded them as Greek and Bulgarian. Provided we add these 17130 Aromanians to the above calculated 77924, we will reach a figure of 95054 Aromanians. Nevertheless, if in addition, we calculate a higher average than 6 inhabitants per house for the Aromanian summer villages, the final figure will arrive at between 110000 and 120000 Aromanians of the total of 2 million inhabitants in Macedonia.

b) Gustav Weigand's statistics

German linguist Gustav Weigand's statistics encompassed exclusively the Aromanian population and was made based on his personal research in Macedonia, Epirus, Albania and Greece in the period between 30th April 1889 and 24th May 1890.¹⁶⁸ The principle used by Weigand differs from Kanchov's principle in the fact that the German scholar counted only the houses which were inhabited and formed the final figure for a village after having reviewed the census records and having talked to the influential people from the village, the

¹⁶⁵ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 105, 140.

¹⁶⁶ Idem: 176; КЪНЧОВ, 1970: 79.

¹⁶⁷ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 147, 154.

¹⁶⁸ WEIGAND, 1895: VIII.

leaders and several villagers. Concerning the houses where one family resided, Weigand increased the number of houses fivefold in order to obtain a figure for the total number of inhabitants, at the same time being well familiar with the fact that many houses were homes to more than one family and taking that in consideration while preparing the statistics.¹⁶⁹

According to Weigand, 62405 Aromanians lived in Macedonia.¹⁷⁰ At first sight, this figure is small and rather unacceptable but understandable if we see which territories Weigand included in Macedonia, which Aromanian settlements he visited and what the principle of calculation of the number of the Aromanian population living in the places he had not visited was. This figure did not include the Vlachs from Meglen, which he thought to be a different nationality. Neither did Weigand include the villages Gorna Belitsa and Dolna Belitsa which he assigned to Albania, the Pindus villages Avdella, Perivoli, Smixi, Turia and Samarina which he assigned to Epirus and the Katerini kaza which he eventually assigned to Thessaly. He completely disregarded the Aromanians from the Kosovo Vilayet, the Aromanians in the Gorna Dzhumaya, Razlog, Nevrokop, Petrich, Drama, Sari Shaban, Yenice-Vardar, Tikvesh and Mount Athos kazas as well as some villages in the Melnik and Prilep kazas. Weigand visited 33 of the 56 settlements in Macedonia where he had thought Aromanians lived. However, he did not visit 23 settlements, of which 15 were purely Aromanian. Concerning the settlements he had not visited, he stated the official figures from the census records, previously admitting that they were notably lower than those in reality.¹⁷¹

If we add to the figure 62405, or more precisely 63331 (see note 170) the Meglen Vlachs and the Macedonian Aromanians which Weigand assigned to Albania, Epirus and Thessaly, whose number was 30000 according to him, and the Aromanians from the Kosovo Vilayet and the above mentioned kazas which Weigand did not calculate, but according to Kančov were 8509, then the final figure would be 100914 i.e. 101840 Aromanians in Macedonia. Whereas regarding many settlements Weigand used the official Ottoman statistics which

¹⁶⁹ Weigand wrote: "*Aromanian houses have two and even three storeys, porches...and...often several families gather in one house*" (Idem: 268-270).

¹⁷⁰ Weigand also makes a miscalculation. Instead of 63331, he calculated 62405 Aromanians in Macedonia (Idem: 286-288, 294).

¹⁷¹ Vasil Kančov also noted that Aromanian nomads managed to hide many of the men in the Turkish census (КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 145).

did not depict reality, we can rightfully conclude that the number of Aromanians was higher and reached 110000-120000 inhabitants which in our view comes closest to the number of the Aromanian element in Macedonia toward the end of the 19th century. The number would have been significantly higher if we counted all the people with Aromanian origins, who were gradually assimilated through mixed marriages and the cultural influence of the neighbouring nations.

As you would expect, the number of Aromanian inhabitants in Macedonia was not a fixed category. The birthrate factor led to an increase in the population but the political changes, primarily the changes of the border between Greece and Turkey, work related emigration and mixed marriages which proved the Aromanians easiest to assimilate,¹⁷² resulted in a continual decrease of the number of Macedonian Aromanians.

The Aromanians even now feel the consequences of the war of numbers which took its toll on thousands of “victims” in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. But could it perhaps be that the war is still in progress? According to the latest official censuses, solely 9695 Aromanians live on the above mentioned territories and all are on Republic of Macedonia’s territory. In the Greek and Bulgarian parts of Macedonia, the official number of the Aromanian population equals zero.

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¹⁷² In the cases when a male or female Aromanian married a person from another ethnicity, the language of the spouse was almost always dominant in the family. Most susceptible to loss of their nationality were the Aromanians who lived in the towns. “*If they were to marry a Greek lady, they became strangers to their nation*” (ТРАЙЧЕВ, 1930: 1).

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*Королевство Сербов, Хорватов и Словенцев
глазами русского эмигранта:
традиции и политика*

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MIKHALCHENKO S.I.: The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes through the eyes of Russian emigre: tradition and politics. – The article tells about the perception of reality of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, of the 1920s through the eyes of a Russian émigré, social scientist, E.V. Spektorsky. The article is based on the use of his unpublished memoirs.

Keywords: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, "Macedonian question"? Russian emigration in the 1920s, Spektorsky E.V.

Выдающийся отечественный ученый и деятель образования Евгений Васильевич Спекторский (1875-1951) известен как автор многочисленных трудов по философии, теории и истории права, культурологии, социологии, истории и литературоведению. [3; 5; 11; 12] Деятельность Спекторского протекала, в основном, в рамках системы высшего образования – в дореволюционный период он прошел весь путь вузовского преподавателя от магистранта до ординарного профессора.

Став в 1920 г. эмигрантом, Спекторский не оставил академической работы – он преподавал в Белградском университете [6] и был среди основателей Русского научного института в Белграде, некоторое время руководил Русским юридическим факультетом в Праге [7; 9], долгие годы преподавал в Люблянском университете [1; 9], а в последние годы жизни в Свято-Владимирской Духовной академии в США. Судьба распорядилась

так, что большую часть времени, отведенного на творческую жизнь, Спекторский провел за рубежом (31 год). Тем больший интерес вызывают новые источники, позволяющие подробней осветить этот период. Одним из таких источников являются «Воспоминания» Спекторского. «Воспоминания» долгое время считались утраченными при бегстве Спекторского из Любляны в Триест в конце апреля 1945 г.

Однако, по счастливому стечению обстоятельств, это оказалось не так. Текст «Воспоминаний», наряду с другими сочинениями, был сохранен учеником Спекторского В.Боначем и куплен архивом Института Восточной Европы Университета Бремена (Германия) (Forschungsstelle Ost-europa an der Universität Bremen. Historisches Archiv) [8].

Сейчас они находятся в фонде 01-30.230 (Bonač, Vladimir), е.х. II «Воспоминания». Это хранящиеся в пяти коробках листы (пагинация лл. 42-929) тетрадного формата, причем заполнена рукописным текстом только левая половина каждого листа, правая сторона иногда содержит дополнения и исправления, оборот листа пустой. Текст хронологически обнимает собой всю жизнь Спекторского до начала 1930-х годов, причем изложение обрывается на полуслове. Текст содержит множество подробностей как частной жизни Спекторского, так и событий эпохи, свидетелем которых он был.

Мемуары, судя по замечаниям в тексте, создавались автором в годы Второй мировой войны, когда он проживал в Любляне. До 1943 г. Спекторский был действующим профессором университета, но в 1943 г. университет был закрыт оккупационными властями и, вероятно, у Спекторского появилось время обобщить ведшийся им много лет дневник. Именно существование дневника («Летописи»), в настоящее время большей частью утраченного (в том же архиве сохранились только две тетради с записями за 1930-1932 гг.), позволяет объяснить высокую степень подробности, характерную для воспоминаний. К настоящему времени опубликованы отрывки из мемуаров, относящиеся к варшавскому и киевскому периодам жизни Спекторского [2; 3].

Настоящая статья представляет характеристику отражения некоторых реалий (политической и повседневной жизни) Королевства сербов, хорватов и словенцев [КСХС, с 1929 г. - Югославия] 1920-х годов в остающейся неопубликованной части мемуаров Спекторского. Русские эмигранты, прибывшие в январе 1920 г. из Одессы и затем переправленные через Грецию в КСХС, оказались в молодой, только образованной стране.

К тому же сильно пострадавшей во время Первой мировой войны. Тем не менее, как вспоминал Спекторский, эмигрантов ждал теплый прием. «Добравшись до пограничной станции Джевджели, мы увидели, что попали в братскую страну. Нас встретил сербский священник с крестом на камилавке. Детям дали молоко, взрослым – джеванчичи, т.е. колбаски из разных сортов мяса, и вино. Оттуда мы двигались очень медленно, потому что железнодорожная линия еще не была исправлена после разрушений, произведенных отступавшей армией Маккензена. Мосты были взорваны, вместо станций были землянки, стрелки были разбиты. Так мы добрались до Вранье, простояв ночь в Скопье». [10, л.432].

Столица Югославии и Сербии Белград представлял удручающее зрелище: «Белград тогда еще не оправился от бомбардировок, – вспоминал Спекторский. В старом здании университета с надписью «Миша Анастасиевић свом отечеству» вместо правой лестницы зияла огромная дыра, левая же лестница была без перил. Там, где впоследствии по плану русского архитектора выстроили новое здание, на куче развалин цвела акация. Целые кварталы (Топчидер, Чукарица, берег Дуная) были полуразрушены. Дворец был необитаем. Умиравший старый король Петр помещался в какой-то топчидерской даче, наскоро приведенной в жилой вид. А его сын регент Александр жил в одноэтажном доме вдовы Крсманич на площади Теразии. Из этого дома была пробита дверь в соседний магазин. Через него по вечерам регент в штатском платье, нахлобучив шляпу на голову, выходил инкогнито гулять пешком и, как Гарун-аль-Рашид, прислушивался к разговорам прохожих. А ночью у окна с револьвером и ручными гранатами ложился спать один из его телохранителей. Торговая жизнь только начинала налаживаться в Белграде. Каждый магазин торговал чем попало.» [10, л. 441]

С 1924 по 1927 г. Спекторский работал в Праге. Вернувшись в Белград после трехлетнего отсутствия, он обнаружил много изменений. Город стал «менее сербским и более югославянским городом.

Много появилось в нем того космополитического «смесительного упрощения», отсутствие которого на Балканах когда-то так пленяло К. Н. Леонтьева. Изменились нравы. На улицах почти совсем нельзя было увидеть женщин в «либадетах» (атласных кофтах) и фесках под закрученной на голове косой. В «отменном» обществе сербы стали «любить», т.е. целовать руки дамам и приветствовать друг друга «кланам се», т.е. кланяюсь чего не одобряли местные стародумы, ибо «серб никогда никому не кланяется».

[10, л. 728-729]

Спекторскому, как юристу-государствоведу, было интересно устройство нового государства. «Мы приехали в еще неофициальное новое государство, – вспоминал он. – Его учредительное собрание открыло свою деятельность только в конце декабря 1920 года. Демократично было то, что в Белграде, в отличие от Варшавы и Праги, было созвано особое учредительное собрание. Но менее демократично было то, что формально оно не было суверенно согласно классической теории и бельгийскому образцу. Рядом с ним уже существовала династия, чем предрешался монархический образ правления в учредительном государстве. И члены собрания принесли присягу на верность королю.

Тем не менее, в стране существовала республиканская партия. И в собрании обсуждался и даже голосовался проект социалистов о наименовании нового государства «югославянской республикой». Государство получило компилятивное название «королевства сербов, хорватов и словенцев», сокращенно СХС. <...> Это название как бы предполагало федерализм. В действительности же федералисты предлагали унитарное название «Югославия». Но против этого выступили сербские радикалы и демократы, считавшие Югославию австрийским детищем и придававшие большое значение тому, чтобы сербское имя не исчезло из названия нового государства, хотя бы ценой неуклюжего словосочетания».

Ученый отмечал, что «новое государство оказалось пестрым в вероисповедном, племенном и юридическом отношении. Можно было провозгласить великую Сербию с подчинением ей новых областей. Можно было провозгласить федерацию. В действительности же было создано нечто промежуточное, мало кого удовлетворившее. Было провозглашено единство «троименного народа» и «сербско-хорватско-словенского» языка, хотя такого языка нет, как нет и «чехословацкого» языка». Особую симпатию у Спекторского вызывал регент (затем король) Александр. «Это был статный и элегантный молодой человек, уже успевший пережить много тяжелого. Большой сербский патриот и верный друг России. Трудно перечислить все то добро, не только материальное, но и моральное, которое он сделал всем нам. ... Мы все считали его нашим королем. Иные даже мечтали о том, чтобы после ниспровержения большевиков он стал русским царем. И, когда его убили, мы его оплакивали как близкого нам и дорогого человека». [10, л. 502]

В отличие от отношения к Александру, его отношение к югослав-

скому правительству было более скептическим «Приехав в Белград мы застали правительство Веснича. Его сменил кабинет Стояна Протича. Потом появился вернувшийся с версальской конференции Пашич. Быстрая смена кабинетов нам напомнила нашу «министерскую чехарду» перед революцией. Но вскоре мы увидели, что причины были иные. Министерское положение в изобилии давало то, что Колеб в одном секретном циркуляре префектам назвал *les faveurs publiques*¹ и, что остроумно изобразил сербский Гоголь Нушич в комедии «Госпођа министарка». После нескольких месяцев пребывания в должности министра получалось право на пенсию. И парламентарные партии ниспровергали друг друга, между прочим, и потому, что одни, мол, кормились достаточно, пора и честь знать и уступить место другим. Делопроизводство в министерствах оказалось довольно бестолковым. Бумаги часто терялись». [10, л.508]

В целом, Спекторский отмечал огромную волокиту, характерную для решения любого, даже мелкого, дела в югославских государственных учреждениях: «По одному несложному вопросу, касавшегося жалования русских профессоров, наша делегация (Билимович, Тарановский и я) имела свыше пятидесяти хождений по присутственным местам. Иногда требовалась резолюция самого министра по совершенно мелким делам. Так, например, как и другие чиновники, я получил однажды ордер на право покупки одного метра дров за собственноручной подписью министра лесов и рудников». Ужасала Спекторского и коррупция, процветавшая в сербском истеблишменте. Когда Степана Радича назначили министром просвещения, он «первым делом сделал громадный заказ в собственном книжном магазине из казенного ассигнования на приобретение учебников». [10, л. 509] Причиной развития этого явления Спекторский видел как наследие турецкого прошлого с его «бакшишем», так и «первоначальное накопление», когда государственная служба понималась как кормление.

Не лучше, чем в правительстве, обстояли дела в скупщине (парламенте). «Ее заседания постоянно осложнялись тем, что в протоколах французской палаты именовалось *mouvements divers*². Это дало стародамам основание называть парламент «пряментом», от слов «прляви» грязный. А глава демократической партии Люба Давидович жаловался на превращение скупщины в кабак: раньше депутаты говорили как в церкви с ам-

¹ общественные милости (фр.)

² различные движения (фр.)

вона, а теперь, когда дети ругают друг друга, они оправдываются тем, что играют в парламент». Особенно отличались хорватские депутаты, которые «перешли всякую меру. По-видимому, они решили спровоцировать сербов с тем, чтобы иметь повод покинуть с треском скупщину и начать в Загребе чисто сепаратистскую работу». Их деятельность закончилась перестрелкой и убийством нескольких человек в парламенте. [10, л. 758].

Наряду с наблюдением над политическими реалиями, русские эмигранты не могли не обратить внимания на бытовую сторону жизни сербского общества. Непривычны оказались обычаи, с которыми они столкнулись. Так, оказалось, что у сербов несколько иное, чем у русских, отношение к православию «В первое же воскресенье мы пошли в церковь, – вспоминал Спекторский. – Она оказалась пустой. Кроме священника и нас, русских, в ней не было никого. Мы еще не знали соответственного сербского «менталитета». Сербь очень дорожили православием, ибо оно было их духовной опорой в борьбе против турок <...>. Их понимание христианства героическое, а не аскетическое. Они чтят память священников, возглавлявших партизанские отряды. И толстовское понимание религии им совершенно чуждо. Продолжительное пребывание под турецким владычеством отучило их от хождения в церковь. Домашняя «слава» как бы заменяла им литургию. Кроме того, они распространили и на религию начало разделения труда. Солдат воюет, купец торгует, чиновник служит, земледелец пашет, а священник за них всех молится. В сербской литературе есть рассказ о том, как один селяк впал в благочестие и запустил свою ниву, за что его отчитал поп: мое дело молиться, а твое – пахать». [10, л. 435-436]

Вообще, праздник «славы» - это очень важный день для сербов. Спекторский свидетельствовал, что сербы празднуют не именины, а славу. «Это день принятия христианства предками данной семьи или же день ее покровителя. Посему сербы считаются родством по своим славам. И они говорят, что сербская земля простирается всюду, где празднуется слава. Под турецким владычеством слава получила характер домашнего богослужения, даже домашней литургии: преломляется хлеб, поливается вином и произносятся sacramентальные формулы:

«Христос среди нас» – «есть и будет». Мемуарист оставил чрезвычайно ценное описание этого праздника: «В деревнях и кое-где в провинции ежегодное празднование славы разными семьями нередко сопровождалось обильным, иногда даже разорительным угощением званых и не-

званных, продолжавшееся несколько дней. В Белграде, усвоившем греческую манеру потчевать гостей ягодой варенья и стаканом воды, слава праздновалась проще. Гость поздравлял хозяев со «счастливой славой» и садился. К нему подходила особа женского пола с «послужавником», т.е. подносом, на котором была кутья, ложечка и стакан с водой. По этикету полагалось съесть ложечку кутьи и опустить ее в стакан. Полагалось съесть всего одну ягоду. Затем приносилось вино, уже налитое в стаканы. К вину полагалось домашнее печенье, обыкновенно очень вкусное. Можно было только отхлебнуть немного вина, ибо случалось, например, в декабре, в день св.Никола, что одному лицу приходилось поздравить несколько десятков семейств. Тогда недопитый стакан уносился в другую комнату, доливался и отдавался другому гостю. Наконец, подавалось турецкое кофе. [Так в тексте. – С. М.] Это был сигнал, что гостю пора уходить. Если он этого не делал и, как один раз случилось со мной, принимал всерьез предложение не уходить еще, то вся церемония возобновлялась сначала, начиная с жита, т.е. кутьи. Русские на первых порах не знали, как себя вести на славах и делали оплошности: съедали больше варенья, чем полагалось, не оттуда брали или не туда клали ложечки, куда нужно. Кто праздновал славу в день архангела Михаила, тот обходился без кутьи, ибо его патрон не умер, как обыкновенные святые. [10, л.495]

Спекторский был в Македонии только проездом, однако не мог не затронуть в мемуарах «македонский» вопрос, который будоражил европейскую политику в межвоенный период. По его воспоминаниям, эта тема не раз вмешивалась в жизнь и деятельность русских эмигрантов. Впервые он упомянул об этом при описании планирования одного из визитов в Белград известного русского политического деятеля и историка П. Н. Милюкова: «Относительно Милюкова я разъяснил, что, если он действительно собирается приехать, то мы будем хлопотать о визе для него у министерства иностранных дел. Мы только не можем гарантировать ему, что со стороны сербов не будет никаких неприятностей за его болгарофильство и неблагоприятное для Югославии отношение к македонскому вопросу. Ведь, когда он последний раз был в Белграде, ему за это один серб нанес оскорбление действием» [10, лл. 764-765]. В итоге Милюков тогда не приехал.

«Македонский вопрос» вмешивался и в организацию работы нескольких съездов ученых, проведенных в эти годы.

В 1929 г. в Праге прошел съезд славянских филологов. Как подчер-

квивал Спекторский, «заседания секций съезда протекали не особенно гладко. Болгарин Младенов потребовал замены выражения «старославянский язык» новым термином: «македонский диалект болгарского языка». Его бурно поддержали специально для этого пришедшие болгарские студенты. Его предложение голосовалось: 11 членов секции высказалось за, 17 против, 60 воздержалось» [10, лл. 813 - 814]. Весной 1930 года в Белграде состоялся съезд славянских географов и этнографов. Как вспоминал Спекторский, «болгары на съезд не явились, ибо в его программу входило посещение «южной Сербии», т.е. Македонии. Представителем съезда был избран поляк Ромер. И вообще поляки господствовали на нем. В своих докладах польские географы все ссылались не на географическую, а на историческую Польшу со включением Киева. <...> В Скопье Ромер, а в Сараево Смоленский провозгласили единство «югославянского народа» и его право на «южную Сербию». При этом присутствовал польский посланник Бабянский. Словом, из географии и этнографии было сделано орудие политики» [10, л. 824].

В 1930 г. русские ученые в Болгарии во главе с И.Ф.Шапшалом решили устроить пятый академический съезд в Софии. «Это поставило их коллег в Югославии в трудное положение, потому что как раз в это время отношения между ней и Болгарией были очень натянуты и были основания опасаться, что болгары пожелают поднять на съезде македонский вопрос. На наши запросы в Софию, - замечал Спекторский, - ответы получались не особенно успокоительные». В итоге, когда съезд состоялся, он «сопровождался овациями по адресу России». Но опасения организаторов все-таки оправдались. «При открытии съезда Милетич произнес приветствие от македонского научного института. И было организовано шествие русских ученых к памятнику с. Климента Охридского с возложением венков» [10, л. 825].

Это – лишь некоторые свидетельства восприятия Спекторским реалий югославянской Европы 1920-х - начала 1930-х годов. Но, представляется, что и они дают представление о безусловной ценности его «Воспоминаний» как источника по истории этого периода.

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The Ethnic and Religious Structure of the Population in the Vardar part of Macedonia according to the Censuses of 1921 and 1931

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*The author humbly dedicates his article
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1. Upon the foundation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of SHS) on December 1, 1918, it was necessary to determine the exact number and structure of the population in the new state. To this end, a census was taken in the whole territory of the Kingdom of SHS on January 31, 1921.¹ The census of 1921 was the first all-encompassing census in the territory of present-day Republic of Macedonia, taken with the use of a modern statistical methodology. In the official publication released in 1932, which included statistics about the religion, native language, gender and age of the population, the Vardar part of Macedonia was officially part of the province of South Serbia.² The published statistics of the censuses are the fundamental statistical source for studying the changes to the size and structure of the population be-

¹ Censuses are a pragmatic need of a state, being a product of the growth of the state and its administration, and of the need to obtain a precise image of the structure of its society. The first censuses depended on two significant parameters: military requirements and taxes. The censuses, in the present-day sense of the word, taken with a modern methodology, are a new historical phenomenon.

² Дефинитивни резултати Пописа Становништва од 31 јануара 1921 године, Сарајево, државна штампарија 1932

tween the two World Wars.³

The statistics of the census of 1921 represent an important source for comparing the demography of the population before the Balkan Wars and World War I and the consequences that the wars had left on the size and structure of the population of the Vardar part of Macedonia. The ethnic structure of the population can be determined only indirectly, through the statistics about the native language and religion, and therefore those statistics can be only approximate. In keeping with the official state politics of the time, Macedonians by their native language were registered as Serbs or Croats. In fact, the censuses were also used for putting into practice the state and national politics of the time.⁴ To the question of what their religion was, people had the chance to choose one of the options listed on the census forms or add their own.⁵ According to the native language, the published statistics of the census of 1921 reveal fourteen ethno-lingual groups.⁶

In order to establish the exact, or nearly exact, number of Macedonians, we have to address the statistics critically, comparing those about the religion and the native language, so as to obtain a figure closest to the real one. According to certain estimates, some 550,000-600,000 Macedonians lived in the king-

³ The initial results of the census of 1921 were published in 1924, while the definite results were published in 1932. The definite results of the census of 1931 were published in four volumes that came out from 1937 to 1940: *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga I, Prisutno stanovništvo broj kuća i domaćinstva*, Beograd, 1937; *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga II, Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti*, Beograd, 1938; *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga III, Prisutno stanovništvo po pismenosti i starosti*; *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga IV, Prisutno stanovništvo po glavnom zanimanju*, Beograd, 1940

⁴ С. Радовановић, Етничка структура Краљевине Југославије у контексту националне политике југословенства, Демографија, књ. IV, 2007, 130-131

⁵ By their religion, the residents of the Kingdom of SHS were registered as: Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, Evangelists, Muslims, Israelis, atheists, and unknown.

⁶ Serbs or Croats, Slovenes, Czechoslovaks, Rusyns (Ruthenians, Malorussians), Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Germans, Arnauts, Turks, Romanians or Tsintsars (together), Italians, French, English, other and unknown.

dom in 1921.⁷ On the other hand, the remaining population – Albanians (officially registered as Arnauts by their native language), Turks and Vlachs (registered as Romanians-Tsintsars by their native language) – was listed as separate statistical units. Despite certain errors concerning these ethnic groups, there are almost no problems determining their exact figures. A problem occurs in regard to the Serbs considering they are in the group of Serbs or Croats by their native language and considering they are Orthodox by religion, it is virtually impossible to separate them from the Macedonians. It is during this period that the colonization of Macedonia with Serbian population went underway. Most of the administration and the military and police forces were also Serbian and so the presence of Serbs since 1918 had been rising. In 1921, the colonization of the Vardar part of Macedonia was at its very beginning. The biggest colonial settlements were established after the census and therefore the colonizing population in this period represented a very small portion of the total population. The region of Kosovo and Metohija remained a primary territory for colonization for the authorities throughout the period between the two World Wars.⁸

At the time of taking the census, Macedonia was divided into seven districts⁹ and twenty-nine counties and its population totaled 798,291.¹⁰ This number does not include the residents of the municipalities of Radovnica, Stajevce and Trgoviste in the county of Kriva Palanka, which were annexed to Serbia after 1945.¹¹ According to the official publications about the total number of resi-

⁷ Vladan Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija. Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS*, Beograd, 2002, 46

⁸ If comparing the statistics about the colonizing families, which is not a subject of this paper, it can be concluded that the authorities were particularly interested in “pacifying” the tumultuous areas in Kosovo dominantly populated with Albanians by settling Serbian and Montenegrin colonists. Most of those settled in what were known as Southern Areas were in fact settled in the areas of Kosovo and Metohija.

⁹ The districts of Bitola, Bregalnica, Kumanovo, Ohrid, Skopje, Tetovo and Tikves

¹⁰ Дефинитивни резултати Пописа Становништва од 31 јануара 1921 године, Сарајево, државна штампарија 1932, 88-123

¹¹ Lazar Sokolov, *Promena u strukturi stanovništva na teritoriju NR Makedonije 1921-1953 godine kao odraz ekonomskog razvoja*, Skopje 1962, 30. On the issue of the border line demarcation between Macedonia and Serbia upon their constitution as republics in Yugoslavia, see: Виолета Ачкоска, *Братството и Единството 1944-1974 помеѓу хармонија и дисхармонија*, Скопје 2003,

dents in 1921, the population totaled 808,724.¹² The History of Macedonians of 1969 cites the incorrect figure of 728,286,¹³ while the publication of 2000 states that in the Vardar part of Macedonia, after the end of World War I, the population totaled 771,678.¹⁴

If we compare the statistics of the census of 1921 with the statistics of the first Serbian census in this territory of 1913,¹⁵ as well as with other statistics pertaining to the total number of residents immediately before the Balkan Wars, we can infer the conclusion that the Vardar part of Macedonia lost approximately 100,000 residents in less than a decade.¹⁶ It was a result primarily of the emigration of a part of the Muslim population immediately after the Balkan Wars and also of the emigration of a portion of the other population (Macedonians, Vlachs) after the Balkan Wars and World War I, as well as of the loss of lives during the wars.¹⁷ From 1912 to 1918, some cities lost a substantial portion

208-218.

¹² Статистички годишник на Р. Македонија, завод за Статистика на Р. Македонија, Скопје 1998; Vladimir Simeunović, Stanovništvo Jugoslavije i socijalističkih republika 1921-1961, Beograd, 1964, 22

¹³ Историја на македонскиот народ, книга трета, Скопје, 1969; Михајло Апостолски Етничките промени во Македонија во XX век, Сп. Историја, XX/2, Скопје, 1984, 67-68. The Statistical Office of the People's Republic of Macedonia says in its monthly report No 9 of 1953, on page 43, that 797,346 people lived in the territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia in 1921. Lazar Sokolov also deducts 10,443 residents of Radovnica, Stajevce and Trgoviste from the total number of residents and obtains the result of 798,286 residents in Macedonia in 1921. (Lazar Sokolov, Op.cit, 30)

¹⁴ Историја на македонскиот народ том четврти, Македонија меѓу балканските и Втората светска војна, Скопје, 2000, 133

¹⁵ Речник места у ослобођеној области старе Србије по службеним податцима, израдио Мил. Ант. Вујовић, Београд, 1914

¹⁶ According to the official statistics, in 1913-1914, in the Vardar part of Macedonia, the region of Strumica excluded, the population totaled 890,000. (ibidem...,15-151)

¹⁷ Estimates are that by the end of March 1914, some 60,000 Muslims emigrated from the areas occupied by Serbia (Macedonia, Kosovo and Sandzak). (Vladan Jovanović, Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine između stihije i državne akcije, Zbornik Pisati istoriju Jugoslavije: Viđnje srpskog faktora, 81; Dimitrije Djodjevic, Migrations during the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars and World War One, Migrations in Balkan History, Belgrade, 1989, 115-118)

of their population. Only in Bitola, from 1914 to 1921, the population declined by 41 percent. The largest city in the Vardar part of Macedonia in 1921 was Skopje with 40,666 residents.¹⁸

Of the total number of residents in the territory of the Vardar part of Macedonia, 546,013 people, or 68.44 percent,¹⁹ were registered in the official statistics as Serbs or Croats by their native language. This fact being a product of the politics and stance of the state and the Serbian political leadership toward Macedonia and Macedonians can by no means provide a correct picture of the ethnic structure in 1921. In this period, the colonization had just begun and therefore only a small portion of the registered Serbs or Croats were truly Serbs and Croats by ethnicity. This group also included the administrative, military and police staff stationed in Macedonia after 1918 and therefore we can be sure that most of the registered Serbs or Croats were, in fact, Macedonians by their native language and that Macedonians totaled some 518,000, accounting for approximately 65 percent of the total population of Vardar Macedonia.²⁰ The second most numerous were Turks, who totaled 118,758 residents, or 14.83 percent of the population, followed by Albanians, amounting to 110,650 residents, or 13.87 percent of the total population.²¹ According to these statistics, in the Vardar part of Macedonia, there lived 9,087 Vlachs, constituting 1.12 percent of the population, as the other ethnic groups totaled 13,785 residents, or 1.73 percent of the total population.

Comparing the statistics of the census of 1921 with the statistics of the population of before the Balkan Wars, it becomes evident that notable ethnic changes occurred in certain areas. The Turkish population no longer constituted

¹⁸ Дефинитивни резултати Пописа Становништва од 31 јануара 1921 године...,112

¹⁹ The calculations are made based on the official statistics released in 1932.

²⁰ This estimated figure includes also the Macedonian Muslims registered as "Serbs or Croats" by their native language

²¹ One of the scholars studying this issue doubts the truthfulness of the official statistics, primarily concerning the number of Albanians, arguing that their number was lowered for political reasons. (Muhamed Pirraku, *Kulturno-prosvetni pokret Albanaca u Jugoslaviji 1919-1941*, *Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis*, 1-4, Beograd, 1978, 356-370; Hairedin Hoxha, *Proces nacionalne afirmacije albanske nacionalnosti u Jugoslaviji: izbrana poglavlja*, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, 51,52, Ljubljana, 1982, 237-239

a majority in the cities, except Gostivar,²² and their number decreased considerably in areas where they had been in the majority until the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, such as the regions of Stip and Radovis and parts of the southern Vardar valley. On the other hand, despite the suffered ethnic loss, especially in the region of Debar after the uprising of 1913 was quelled, the Albanian population managed to raise its number relative to the situation of before the wars, thus raising its political role as well. Apart from the Turkish population, the number of Vlachs, who constituted only onethird of the population before the Balkan wars, due to emigration or subtle assimilation, went considerably down as well.²³

As regards the religious structure, most of the population – 518,229 or 64.91 percent – were Orthodox. They included Macedonians, Serbs, Vlachs and other small ethnic groups. Muslims constituted 270,295 residents, or 33.94 percent. This religious group included Turks, Albanians, Macedonians professing Islam, who were officially registered as Serbs or Croats by their mother tongue, and most of the Roma population. Jews totaled 5,047, which was 0.63 percent of the population.²⁴ In the Vardar part of Macedonia, there were also 2,215 Catholics, or 0.27 percent, most of whom lived in the region of Strumica, where there also lived 765 Uniats, accounting for 0.10 percent, and the majority of

²² The official statistics reveal that in the city of Gostivar, Turks constituted as much as 77.5 percent of the population. From a total of 4,830 residents in the city, 792 were Orthodox, 89 were Catholic and 3,949, or 81.7 percent, were Muslim, while 846 were registered as native speakers of Serbian, 138 as native speakers of Albanian (Arnaut) and 3,743 as native speakers of Turkish. (Дефинитивни резултати Пописа Становништва од 31 јануара 1921 године..., 116-117). The Turkish influence was particularly strong in the urban areas, where the other Muslims, for example the Albanians in Gostivar, adopted fast the Turkish language and sentiment, and were no different from the Turks. This assimilation before the Balkan wars was taking place in a number of cities in Macedonia. Compare: Јован Ф. Трифуноски, Албанско становништво у СР. Македонији, Београд, 1988, 114

²³ According to the statistics of Vasil K'ncov, in the parts of Macedonia that were occupied by Serbia after the Balkan Wars, some 33,000 Vlachs lived in the late 19th century. (Васил Кънчов, Македония етнография и статистика второ фототипно издание, София, 1996, 281-283)

²⁴ Most of the Jewish population in Macedonia were Sephardic Jews settled in the 16th century.

1,103 Evangelists in Macedonia, constituting 0.14 percent of the population.²⁵

Residents by their native language in Vardar Macedonia as of January 31, 1921²⁶

<i>District</i>	<i>Serbs or Croats</i>	<i>Turks</i>	<i>Arnauts</i>	<i>Vlachs</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bitola	134,535	18,007	19,209	4,425	4,556	180,732
Bregalnica	72,764	29,011	71	1,197	1,304	104,347
Ohrid	48,460	7,506	11,448	1,597	200	69,211
Skopje	81,901	26,336	21,569	645	4,702	135,153
Tetovo	53,688	14,547	48,399	70	475	117,179
Tikves	73,210	17,338	34	882	971	92,435
Kumanovo	81,430	6,013	9,944	271	1,576	99,234
Total	545,988	118,758	110,674	9,087	13,784	798,291

Source: Дефинитивни резултати пописа становништва 1921 године, Сарајево 1932

Despite certain oversights and errors made during the taking of the census, the statistics obtained from it are precious, showing how the population moved in terms of both ethnicity and religion. They also reveal all socio-economic changes that occurred as a consequence of the demise of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the changes that occurred under the pressure of the new political reality.²⁷

²⁵ Дефинитивни резултати пописа становништва 1921 године, Сарајево 1932, 88-123

²⁶ The ethnic groups in the table are according to the official state statistics.

²⁷ Here we have to underline certain flawed information published as official statistics. It is said that in the municipality of Gorno Kolicani near Skopje, populated by Albanians and Macedonians professing Islam, there were 1,111 Turks and 1,414 Albanians. Evidently, Muslim Macedonians from the villages of Dolno Kolicani and Pagarusa were registered as Turks. It is interesting that the Muslim Macedonians in the other villages of the surroundings of Skopje were all registered as native speakers of Serbo-Croat, in adherence with the politics of the time. That was also the case with the Veles village of Melnica, populated solely by Macedonians professing Islam. Almost all of them were registered in the official statistics as native speakers of the Turkish language. Also, a certain portion of the Roma population was registered either as Turks or Albanians, depending on the region. There are such examples in Skopje, Veles, Strumica, Prilep, Bitola and other cities. At the same time, in the Struga village of Radolista, 531 people were listed as Turks although not even during the Ot-

Macedonians lived in the whole territory. In some areas, after the emigration of a portion of the Turkish population, they were an absolute majority, as frequently they accounted for over 90 percent of the population. The number of Macedonians increased considerably in cities, where, on the other hand, the number of Turks declined. Turks constituted half of the population in the Dojran county,²⁸ while in the region of Radovis they constituted 43 percent of the population.²⁹ In the other areas, mostly to the east of the Vardar, in the regions of Ovce Pole, Kocani and Stip, they accounted for one-third or one-fourth of the total population and their number tended to decline. In Western Macedonia, in addition to the cities, Turks lived primarily in the surroundings of Gostivar, where they made up 25.5 percent of the population, as well as in Gorna Zupa. A few Turkish ethnic oases remained in Pelagonija, too.

Albanians lived compactly as, in fact, before the Balkan Wars, mostly in the western and northwestern regions. In the county of Dolni Polog, Tetovo region, Albanians constituted 52.4 percent of the total population, while in Gorni Polog, Gostivar region, they were 42.3 percent of the population.³⁰ In the region of Skopje, Albanians made up 21.37 percent and in the region of Kumanovo 17.43 percent of the population. In compact groups, they also lived in the regions of Kicevo (32.60 percent), Debar (28.4 percent), Struga (25.6 percent) and Prespa (8 percent). These three ethnic groups represented the chief components of the ethnic map of the Vardar part of Macedonia in the early 1920s.

Apart from Krusevo, where they represented 44.1 percent of the town population, Vlachs also lived in Bitola and a few surrounding villages, as well as in the region of Ovce Pole. As traders, Vlachs lived in almost all major cities, yet represented only a small portion of the local population. Jews, with no exception, lived only in Skopje, where they totaled 1,868, or 4.6 percent, Bitola 2,640, or 9.3 percent, and Stip 491, or 4.4 percent. 2. The second census of the population in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was taken on 1-20 April 1931.³¹ In this census, apart from other information, data about the native language, religion and ethnicity were collected.³² The religion-related information was published in

to man period was there any Turkish population there.

²⁸ Дефинитивни резултати Пописа становништва,...119

²⁹ Ibidem...,95

³⁰ Ibidem...,116-117

³¹ As in the previous census, only the present population was recorded.

³² Светлана Радовановић, *Op. cit.*, 133-138

1938.³³ The information about the native language and ethnicity were not published until the beginning of World War II. The political criteria in agreement with the politics of the time, which promoted the nationality of Yugoslavs, represent a problem in studying the ethnic structure of the population in the whole country and not just Macedonia.³⁴ With respect to their ethnicity, all South Slav peoples were recorded as “Yugoslavs.”³⁵ Only if a person was not “Yugoslav,” their ethnicity was recorded. After the occupation of Belgrade in April of 1941, the German troops seized the records of the census of 1931, sorted them and published them in Vienna in 1943.³⁶ The statistics about religion in this publication are compared with the native language statistics and shown in tables by banovinas and districts. Based on these records, the ethnic structure of the population in the Vardar part of Macedonia can be at least approximated. The editor of the summarized data from the official census from 1931 also points out the imperfections of the information provided as “the Macedonians had never have their dialect recognized and have always been called Serbs”.³⁷ The statistics about the ethnicity of the population in the Kingdom were most probably destroyed during the German bombardment of Belgrade.³⁸ After the war, in 1945, some of the records of the census of 1931 pertaining to the native language and religion were published by the State Statistical Office.³⁹

According to these statistics, 938,628 people lived in the Vardar part of Macedonia in 1931. The total population in the Vardar part of Macedonia increased by 140,337 in a decade.⁴⁰ In other words, the number of people climbed

³³ Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva 31 marta 1931 godine, Beograd 1938

³⁴ Владан Јовановић, Вардарска бановина 1929-1941, Београд, 2011, 54

³⁵ Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 15 marta 1948 godine, Uvod, Beograd 1954, xi

³⁶ Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931, Wien, 1943

³⁷ “Den Mazedoniern wird nicht eininmal die Eigenheit eines Dialektes eingeräumt, sonder sie werden einfach als Serben angesehen”... Ibidem, 6

³⁸ Zoran Janjetović, Deca careva pastorčad kraljeva Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941, Beograd, 2005, 63;

³⁹ Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovesti maternjem jeziku po popisu od 31.III.1931 godine-pregled po srezovima, Državni statistički ured, Serija II,

⁴⁰ The number of residents of the municipalities of Trgoviste, Stajevce and Radovnica in the county of Kriva Palanka, which were annexed to the People’s Republic

up by some 14,000 annually, which was primarily a result of the high rate of natural increase. Between 1929 and 1931, the birth rate in the then Vardar Banovina stood at 38-42‰. The death rate was still high, which is why the rate of natural increase was 15-20‰.⁴¹ The percentage of the city population remained almost the same as in 1921, or 25 percent of the total population.⁴² Skopje was the largest city and an economic center with 8,958 households and 64,807 residents.⁴³ Together with its suburbs, it had 68,334 residents.⁴⁴

Most of the population was Orthodox and Muslim. Orthodox were 637,667 residents, or 67.9 percent, as Muslim were 282,813 residents, or 30.1 percent. In one decade, the Orthodox population increased by 119,438 residents, which was a result of both the aforementioned high rate of natural increase and the colonization that was massive in the 1920s. Apart from the Macedonians and Vlachs, the recorded Orthodox citizens included also colonizing Serbs and a small number of Montenegrins.⁴⁵ The colonizing population is estimated at 20,000-100,000.⁴⁶ However, we believe that the total number of

of Serbia after 1945, was deducted from the total population. A total of 11,333 people lived in these three municipalities in 1931. (Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga I...,101) sveska 3, Beograd, 1945

⁴¹ Statistički godišnjak, knjiga I, 1929, Beograd, 1932, 119; Статистички годишњак књига II, 1930, Београд, 1933, 70; Statistički godišnjak, knjiga III, 1931, Beograd, 1934, 67

⁴² Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga I, Prisutno stanovništvo broj kuća i domaćinstva...,98-107 ; Владан Јовановић, Вардарска бановина 1929-1941...,78

⁴³ Almanah Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Opšta državna uprava Banovine, srezovi, opštine i gradovi, Zagreb, 1932, 370

⁴⁴ By religion, 40,865 were Orthodox, 3,578 were Catholic, 21,011 were Muslim, 2,641 were Jewish and 248 professed other religions. (Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti...,105)

⁴⁵ The colonizing population originated from almost all parts of the Kingdom, primarily from the passive regions where there was agrarian overpopulation.

⁴⁶ Стојан Киселиновски, Етничкије промени во Македонија (1913-1995), Скопје, 2000, 55. By 1940, 4,167 households were settled in the Vardar part of Macedonia during the process of colonization. (Александар Апостолов, Колонизација на Македонија во стара Југославија, Скопје, 1990, 208). According to Јован Trifunovski's estimates, in 1940 colonists totaled 40,000. (Јован Ф. Трифуноски, Меѓуратна колонизација Срба у Македонији, Београд, 1991, 14). According to other statistics, 3,670 families, or 18,384 peo-

colonists, administrative, military and police staff, as well as other residents from other parts of the kingdom populated mostly in the major cities, did not exceed 60,000-65,000 in the early 1930s. In regard to the Muslim population, despite their high birth rate, because of the emigration in the 1920s, their total number went up by only 12,000, which resulted in a 3.9 percent decrease relative to 1921.

Residents by their native language in the Vardar part of Macedonia in 1921 and 1931

<i>Native Language</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1931</i>
Serbs or Croats	545,988	669,110
Turks	118,758	105,407
Albanians	110,674	129,645
Vlachs	9,087	10,981
Roma	/	9,837
Jews	/	6,835
Other	13,784	6,813
Total	798,921	938,628

Source: Дефинитивни резултати пописа становништва 1921 године, Сарајево 1932, 88123; Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931, Wien, 1943, 308-351

According to the published statistics, 669,110 residents, or 71.2 percent, were officially recorded as native speakers of Serbo-Croat, 129,645 residents, or 13.8 percent, as native speakers of Albanian (Arnaut in the official statistics),⁴⁷ 105,407 residents, or 11.2 percent, as native speakers of Turkish, 10,981 residents as native speakers of Vlach,⁴⁸ 9,837 residents as native speakers of Romani, as 6,835 residents declared themselves as Jews by their native language,

ple, 15,995 of whom were Orthodox and 3,389 were Catholic, were settled in Macedonia in 277 towns and villages by June of 1940. Colonists were not settled only in the counties of Gornj Polog, Kriva Palanka, Struga and Prespa. (Драгиша И. Кецојевић, Насељеници у Јужној Србији између два светска рата, Вардарски Зборник, Београд, 2011, 182). In the territory of Macedonia and Kosovo, 87,000 colonists were settled by 1940. By religion, 94 percent of them were Orthodox and 6 percent were Roman Catholic. (В. Јовановић, Вардарска бановина 1929-1941..., 101).

⁴⁷ Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovesti maternjem jeziku po popisu od 31.III.1931 godine..., 29-31

while 7,094 people said they professed Judaism.⁴⁹

According to these statistics, Macedonians in 1931 totaled approximately 605,000-610,000, or roughly 65 percent.⁵⁰

The analysis of the statistics of the census of 1921 and 1931 shows that the number of Turks stepped down from 118,758 in 1921 to 105,407 in 1931. It was due to the emigration of some of them in the third decade of the 20th century, too, a process that went underway during the Balkan wars. In most counties, their number either declined or stagnated. Both Turks that lived in cities and some of those that lived in villages, especially the wealthier ones, were emigrating in the 1920s. The number of Turks dropped in the regions of Stip, Veles,⁵¹ Kocani,⁵² Bitola and Prilep,⁵³ and Ovce Pole.⁵⁴ Many Turks and Muslims in general left the region of Tikvas as well. Many local Muslims were Islamized and did not speak Turkish despite being referred to as Turks by the Christians.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ As in 1921, the Vlach population in Macedonia is recorded by the official statistics as native speakers of the Romanian language. (Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession..., 308-351)

⁴⁹ Ibidem

⁵⁰ This figure includes the population recorded as native speakers of Serbo-Croat that were Orthodox or Muslim by religion, as well as the Catholics and Protestants in the region of Strumica.

⁵¹ In the 1920s, around 200 families emigrated from only a few villages north of Veles (Ivankovci, Mamutcevo, Sujaklari and Calosevo) (Миљенко С. Филиповић, Северна велешка села, Насеља и порекло становништва, књига, 17,532), as people were leaving also the villages of Gorno Orizari and Crkvino (Jovan F. Trifunovski, Oblast Babune i Topolke, Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena, knjiga 47, Zagreb, 1977, 177)

⁵² The emigration from the basin of Kocani was massive in the second half of the 1920s. All Turks moved out of the villages of Oblesevo and Banja. Some 90, mostly richer, families left Zrnovci from 1922 to 1928. In the same period, 120 households moved out of Teranci, 75 households moved out of Morodvis, as Turks were emigrating also from Vidobiste, Blatec, Pekljani and other villages in the region. (Јован Ф. Трифуноски, Кочанска котлина сеоска насеља и становништво, Скопје, 1970, 53-151)

⁵³ Apart from the cities, in the 1920s, i.e. the period between the two censuses, Turks and other Muslims (Albanians and Macedonians professing Islam) were emigrating from the basin of Pelagonija in great numbers, too. Only of the village of Kremenica (Kenali) about 100 households moved out between 1924 and 1930. (Јован Ф. Трифуноски, Битољско-прилепска котлина антропогео-

On the other hand, the number of Albanians in the period between the two censuses increased by nearly 20,000. It was a result of the high rate of natural increase, which was typical in this period for the entire population of Macedonia, and of the low rate of emigration compared to the other Muslim population. Albanians emigrated mostly from the areas where they did not constitute a compact majority, such as the regions of Prilep or Bitola, while in other areas this process was much more moderate.⁵⁶ The number of Albanians increased most in the counties of Skopje, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kumanovo, Kicevo and Struga. In the Tetovo county, Albanians constituted an absolute majority of 53 percent. In the Gostivar county, they represented a relative majority of 45 percent; in the Kicevo county 31 percent; in the Struga county 29 percent; in the Debar county 25 percent; in the Kumanovo county 20 percent; and in the Skopje county 19 percent.⁵⁷

графска проучавања, Београд, 1998, 99-416)

⁵⁴ In the basin of Ovce Pole, from 1923 to 1928, all Turkish residents of the villages of Pesirovo, Amzabegovo and Malo Crniliste emigrated. Many households left the other villages as well. Only in the period from 1924 to 1927, 70 households moved out of the village of Gorobinci. (Jovan F. Trifunovski, *Ovčepoljska kotlina*, Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena, knjiga 47, Zagreb, 1964, 666-762)

⁵⁵ See: Јован Хаџи Васиљевић, *Муслимани наше крви*, Београд, 1924, Војислав С. Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајаци*, *Насеља и порекло становништва*, књига 17, Београд, 1924, 198-278; Васил Кънчов, *Македонија етнографија и статистика* второ фототипно издание, Софија, 1996, 49-50

⁵⁶ In the 1920s, Albanians moved out of a few villages of the basin of Pelagonija, such as Brailovo, Vrboec, Porodin, Crneeci, etc. Compare: (Јован Ф. Трифуноски, *Битољско-прилепска котлина...*, 193, 261, 308, 384). The emigration of Albanians from other regions was smaller.

⁵⁷ *Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession...*, 308-351; *Stanovništvo predratne Jugoslavije po veroispovesti i maternjem jeziku*, sv. 3, pregled po srezovima, avgust 1945, 29-31

*The religious structure of the population of Macedonia by district,
according to the census of 1931*

<i>District</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Other Christians</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bitola	49,549	651	86	11,098	3,778	2	65,164
C. Selo	11,033	95	3	4,595	1		15,727
Dojran	6,388	91	25	5,208	1		11,713
D. Polog	23,236	193	7	47,543	4		70,983
Gevgelija	15,423	158	87	264	11		15,943
Galicnik	6,493	25	1	5,532			12,051
Debar	6,707	405	7	9,177			16,296
G. Polog	9,939	90	1	22,636			32,666
Kavadarci	22,138	88	45	1,648			23,919
Kicevo	16,096	142	11	15,853			32,101
Kocani	25,822	106	19	5,835	2		31,784
Kratovo	19,980	46	9	265			20,300
K. Palanka	28,656	83	15	441	4		29,199
Krusevo	22,114	21		1,435			23,570
Malesevo	14,345	154	2	892	1		15,394
Mariovo	12,984	59		2,848			15,894
Negotino	7,061	204	11	5,600			12,876
Ohrid	28,357	170	12	4,524	3		33,066
O. Pole	16,740	149	5	5,044			21,938
Porece	13,610	10	1	5,119			18,740
Prespa	16,823	62	9	4,737			21,631
Prilep	46,296	216	30	7,929	9		54,480
Radovis	11,467	57	122	7,814	1		19,461
Skopje	70,592	3,720	253	50,845	2,635	7	128,052
Struga	15,610	50	2	12,393			28,055
Strumica	30,429	290	1,690	6,582	5		38,996
Stip	12,572	488	25	6,181	626		19,892
Veles	29,884	308	40	11,998	6		42,236
Kumanovo	47,323	351	43	18,777	7		66,501
Total	637,667	8,482	2,563	282,813	7,094	9	938,628

Source: Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od marta 1931 godine, knjiga II, Prisutno stanovništvo po veroispovesti, Beograd, 1938, 98-107; Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession nach den unveröffentlichten Angaben der Zählung von 1931, Wien, 1943, 308-351

The emigration of the Macedonians professing Islam was fairly prominent in this period. It is hard to identify their exact number based on the census records. In 1931, in the Vardar part of Macedonia, there were 40,106 Muslims, whose native language was Serbo-Croat.⁵⁸ Most of them were Macedonians professing Islam. Their emigration was particularly strong after the Balkan Wars. Many on-site research and statistics reveal that they emigrated massively from all areas, even from those where they constituted compact groups. Only from the six Skopje villages down the valley of the river Markova Reka, some 115 families emigrated to Turkey between the two World Wars.⁵⁹ Also, they emigrated in great numbers from the region of Tikves.⁶⁰ There was emigration from the region of Veles, too.⁶¹

In 1931, 10,981 Vlachs lived in the Vardar part of Macedonia. In the official statistics of the census, they were recorded as native speakers of Romanian. They constituted 1.2 percent of the population and noted a slight increase relative to the census of 1921. They were most numerous in the counties of Bitola (2,722), Krusevo (1,532) and Struga (1,138). In the town of Krusevo, they constituted 42 percent of the population. As a result of their affiliation to the Patriarchy, until 1912, some of them declared themselves as native speakers of the Greek language. For example, in Bitola, 709 residents, most of whom were presumably Vlach, said their native language was Greek.⁶² In 1931, 9,837 residents, most of whom, or 4,204, lived in Skopje, were recorded as native speakers of the Romani language, as 6,835 were recorded as Jews, 3,751 of whom lived

⁵⁸ Die Gliederung der Bevölkerung des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Muttersprache und Konfession...,308-351 Most of this population lived in the region of Reka, Debarska Zupa, Tikves, the regions of Kicevo, Prilep, Skopje, Struga, Tetovo and Veles.

⁵⁹ Јован Ф. Трифуноски, Слив Маркове реке антропогеографска проматрања, Скопје, 1958, 158-182

⁶⁰ In 1921, some 9,000 Muslims lived in the counties of Kavadarci and Negotino, recorded as ‘Serbs or Croats’ by their native language (Дефинитивни резултати Пописа Становништва од 31 јануара 1921 године...,120-121), and their number fell to 4,110 by 1931 (Die Gliederung...,322,332)

⁶¹ From the villages of Dolno Vranovci and Melnica, approximately 120 households moved to Turkey from 1925 to 1938. (Jovan F. Trifunoski, Oblast Babune i Topolke...,172)

⁶² Die Gliederung...,308 In 1931, in the Vardar part of Macedonia, 1,794 residents were recorded as native speakers of Greek

in Bitola, 2,629 in Skopje and 618 in Stip.

The census projected for 1941 was not taken because of the occupation and disintegration of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The first post-war census of 1948 recorded all changes to the ethnic structure that occurred in the fourth decade of the 20th century and during World War II.

Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia in the years 1991-2000

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I

The independence of the Republic of Macedonia and its withdrawal from the Yugoslav Federation was decided with a referendum held on 8 September 1991. Over 2/3 of those entitled to vote took part in the referendum. A vast majority (95%) voted in favour of forming an independent republic. On 17 November 1991, President Kiro Gligorov announced the establishment of an independent country - the Republic of Macedonia and the parliament adopted a new constitution. In this way, Macedonia withdrew from the Yugoslav Federation. It became a very important task of the country to guarantee broad freedoms and liberties to national minorities, ethnic and religious groups. Albanian people did not take part in the referendum on establishing an independent country, i.e. approx. 22.9% of citizens who boycotted it. This boycott was political in nature as a convention of all Albanian parties from the former Yugoslavia, in Priština in October 1991, Albanians undertook the idea of uniting all land they considered Albanian with Albania, should Yugoslavia fall apart. The governing elites realized that a democratic country had to win the support of minorities and their loyalty. This fact was the basic condition for recognizing a new country on the international arena. At that time, at a European Council meeting criteria were established which were to guarantee recognition to ethnic minorities in the former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union countries. These requirements were met for Macedonia, which was confirmed by the United Nations and the E.U. Arbitration Commission on Yugoslavia, the so-called Badinter Arbitration Committee. In reality, Skopje's policy towards minorities was more lib-

eral and tolerant than in other multiethnic countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe and it diverged from the way in which the Macedonian minority was treated in the neighbouring Balkan countries where Macedonians were denied fundamental rights of equality and tolerance¹. The guarantees of equality and social justice were approved by other minorities living in the Republic: Turks, Vlachs, Romani people and by Serbs after 1995 and Dayton arrangements. Albanians were the only ethnic group which did not recognize the legal status of ethnic minorities in Macedonia. Differing in respect of the language, culture and religion, Albanians expressed their disapproval of the fundamental decisions, provisions of the constitution and they expressed their suspicion and political mistrust already in the first days of the Republic's independence.

The Macedonian constitution of 17 November 1991 spoke of the equality of all citizens of the Republic (Chapter I, Art. 4), but at the same time it formulated the principle that Macedonian was the official language and the Cyrillic script was the applicable alphabet (Chapter I, Art. 7). However, in areas predominated by other minorities, it is acceptable to use languages other than Macedonian and the Cyrillic script in offices, depending on the existing conditions². A provision was also introduced into the constitution stating that the Macedonian Orthodox church and other religious unions and denomination groups are free and have equal rights and they are separated from the state. It is stated in the preamble to the constitution: "Macedonia has been established as a national state of the Macedonian nation in which complete citizen equality and permanent co-existence of the Macedonian nation with Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Romani people and other nationalities who live in the Republic is guaranteed..."³. These provisions of the constitution did not satisfy Albanians. They wanted the Albanian language and the Latin alphabet to be recognized as official equally with Macedonian as their Muslim religion to be treated equally with the Orthodox religion. Apart from linguistic and religious guarantees, they wanted to have the possibility of hanging out the Albanian flag officially, as, as they stated, it is not only the national flag of Albania and its citizens but it also belongs to the Albanian nation living in the Republic of Macedonia. The statement that Albanians are a minority was the most controversial. They wanted to

¹ K. Todoroska, *Makedonsko-albanskite relaciji vo početokot i na krajot od dvaesettiot vek*, in: *Makedonija vo dvaesettiot vek*, ed. N. Veljanovski, Skopje 2003, p. 79, 80.

² *Ustav na Republika Makedonija*, Skopje 1991, p. 6, 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

be treated as Macedonians and defined as a nation with equal rights. However, the 1991 constitution in force preferred the citizen concept of the state, ensuring important rights for national minorities in the spirit of compromise. The constitution included a provision (Chapter I, Art. 2) stating that "The independence in the Republic of Macedonia comes from its citizens and belongs to its citizens"⁴. For Albanians the Macedonian state was not important as they felt greatly attached to the areas where they lived and had been born. A lot of them identified themselves with Albania, others with Kosovo or the idea of Albanian unity. Treating the Republic of Macedonia as part of the territory in which Albanians live without a special connection with Macedonians or their slavdom, the term Slav-Macedonians or Slavs was more and more frequently used for ethnic Macedonians in scientific studies. However, they did not submit any reservations to the authorities in Skopje about Macedonians' referral to ancient history, which was so annoying for the Greeks. They did suggest changing the name of the state to a more neutral one in ethnic terms, e.g. the Vardar Republic or the Central Balkan Republic, which would comply with Athens' policy towards Skopje⁵.

II

According to official data of 1994, the number of Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia was 442,914 people, i.e. approx. 22.9% of the general population. These data were challenged by Albanians living there, who claimed that they made up approx. 35 - 40 % of the population. These numbers were certainly exaggerated, but the fact that Albanians boycotted the national census needs to be taken into account. The census included only people who officially (legally) lived in Macedonia or stayed outside the country for business purposes⁶. It did not include people whose absence in the Republic lasted for over a year⁷.

⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵ J. Phillips, *Macedonia. Warlords and Rebels in the Balkans*, London 2004, p. 59.

⁶ Zavod za statistika. *Popis '94. Podatoci za segašnost i idninata*, Skopje 28 dekemvri 1994 (rabotna verzija), p. 5, provides data for the year 1994 - 442914, i.e. 22.9%. Cf subsequent studies; Zavod za statistika. *Vkupno naselenie, domak'instva, stanovi i zemjodelski stopanstva*, Skopje 1996, XIII, pp. 55-57.

⁷ Zavod za statistika, *Vkupno naselenie...* op. cit., p. 8. D. Draganov in the article: „Kosoviziranje” ili „kantoniziranje”. *Albancite smetat ce e vreme faktičeskata etničeska kantonizacija da byde uzakonena*, „NIE”, br. 3(9) 1998, p. 19, claimed that during this

This gave Albanians grounds to challenge the census results. Another census in 2002 showed that Albanians constituted 25.17% of the general Macedonian population (509,083 people). After the administrative reform implemented in 1996, the country was divided into 123 communes and Albanians were in the majority in 25 of them. Over 90% of Albanian people lived in the following communes: Negotino-Pološko (99.8%), Velešta (99.8%), Bogovinje (99.6%), Šipkovicica (99.6%), Želino (99.6%), Delogoždi (99.2%), Džepčište (98.7%), Osolomej (98.2%), Kondovo (97.8%), Čegrane (97.5%), Lipkovo (97.1%), Zajas (97.1%), Srbinovo (94.7%). In four communes the number of Albanians ranged from 90 to 75% and in eight it was 75 to 50%. Moreover, in the communes of Žitoše, Vrapčište and Mavrovi Anovi their numbers were nearly 50%⁸.

The most Albanians lived in Skopje (57,986 people, i.e. 13.0% of its population), but they were not in the majority in any of Skopje communes. They were also present in major urban areas, in the cities of Gostivar, Debar, Tetovo, Kumanovo. Compared to Kosovo, Albanians lived in homogenous clusters only in a small part of the territory. They were dispersed in the majority of areas. For strategic reasons, the Macedonian authorities were concerned about the complicated ethnic structure in the Vardar valley where the country's capital - Skopje is situated.

The distribution of Albanian people in tightly-knit areas mostly along the border with Kosovo and Albania, made the process of integration of this ethnic minority with Macedonians difficult. This integration did not progress, which was also a consequence of events which had taken place in the so-called socialist Yugoslavia, when Tito's policy was targeted at satisfying cultural and social needs and even political ambitions of various nationalities and ethnic groups included in the federation. Each nationality and ethnic minority had their own system of education, press and the possibility of using their own language on an everyday basis. In Macedonia, this resulted in the formation of a strong and numerous group of Albanian people (25.17% of the total population numbers) which strongly emphasized their national identity, had separate political goals and did not aim at integration with Macedonians. A quick increase in the number of Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia was caused by high birth rates and also by the influx of people from the neighbouring areas, i.e. from Kosovo and, to a small extent, from Albania, as well as from Muslims from

census approx. 130,000 Albanians who came from Kosovo were not included.

⁸ Zavod za statistika, *Vkupno naselenie...* op. cit., pp. 64-66.

Bosnia. In the years 1992-1996, the average birth rate in the Republic of Macedonia was 8.2%, however, it amounted to 15-20% in four communes inhabited mostly by Albanians⁹. This resulted in growing numbers of Albanian children, compared to their Macedonian peers. According to Fauzi Skenderi, an Albanian researcher, in the years 1992-1996, the birth rate among Albanians was as much as 5.8% times greater than amongst Macedonians in the same period¹⁰. There were many reasons for this situation. High birth rates among Albanians and their longevity, as opposed to Macedonians, were the first of these. This situation was affected by numerous factors. Tradition and religion played an important role here. Albanian women started families early and their main task involved taking care of and raising children. Most of them did not work and these were mostly people living in rural areas. The aforementioned Albanian demographer Skenderi claimed that the number of Albanians increased by 6,994 in 2000, while the number of Macedonians increased only by 1,323 persons and the birth rate among Macedonians fell dramatically, showing a downward trend every year¹¹. Demographic forecasts were quoted more and more often, from which it could be surmised that if the birth rate is maintained amongst Albanians, they will soon make up 50% of the population of the Republic of Macedonia¹².

When the civil war broke out in Yugoslavia, a large number of Albanians and Muslims of other nationalities looked for shelter in Macedonia. For fear of the influx of too large a number of refugees, the Skopje government introduced an act in October 1992 which made it more difficult to settle. "The citizenship act" provided for getting Macedonian citizenship in the following ways: *ius sanguinis* (right of blood), being born in the territory of the Republic, naturalization or international agreements¹³. The provision concerning the acquisition of citizenship by naturalization, i.e. only a person who had been living per-

⁹ F. Skenderi, *Veçoritë e lëvizjes natyrore të popullsisë së Maqedonisë dhe të popullsisë Shqiptare në te*, „Studime albanologjike”, v. 4, Shkup 2011, p. 218.

¹⁰ F. Skenderi, op. cit., p. 219.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 219, 220.

¹² On the rapid increase in the numbers of Albanian people in the Republic of Macedonia cf. S. Kiselinovski, *Etničkete promeni vo Makedonija* (1913-1995), Skopje 2000, s. 105, 106; *Etničkete promeni vo Makedonija od antikata do denes*, vo: „Glasnik INP”, Skopje 1995, god. 39, br. 1-2, p. 12.

¹³ *Ustav na Republika Makedonija*, 1991 godina, II, Art. 9, p. 7.

manently in the Republic of Macedonia for at least 15 years could become a citizen of this country. In this manner, the law made it difficult for refugees from other former Yugoslavian republics, primarily Muslims from Bosnia and Albanians from Kosovo, to settle in Macedonia. This was also uncomfortable for Albanians due to their mobility. They went to the West very often in search of work or to Kosovo, where they stayed on a temporary basis. According to the data quoted by Ljubomir Frčkovski, the Minister of Internal Affairs, 30-40 thousand people with no Macedonian citizenship stayed in Macedonia in 1995. Human Rights Watch estimated this number to be as high as 140 thousand people¹⁴.

III

An opinion which was quite common in Skopje was that the so-called Albanian problem became apparent when the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia fell apart and large numbers of Kosovar Albanians began to arrive in Macedonia. They settled for two reasons - to improve their living conditions and to take advantage of benefits offered by a democratic country. Albanians living in the Republic of Macedonia belonged to a richer group of the population than their countrymen in Kosovo or Albania. Those who dealt with farming grew tobacco, beans, maize and wheat - the most profitable plants. They built private motels and petrol stations in cities. They established private radio and TV stations, as well as printing houses. A large group dealt with trade, legally but also illegally. Despite the fact that the economic situation of Albanians in Macedonia was better than the situation of those living in Kosovo and Albania, they were not willing to accept their status. The economic situation of Macedonian citizens, including Albanians, considerably deteriorated in the second half of the 1990. This situation was affected by: an economic embargo imposed on Yugoslavia - the Macedonian trade turnover with this country amounted to 60% and, in particular, the economic isolation during the embargo imposed by Greece in 1993. Prof. Pandeli Çina, President of the Forum of Albanian Intellectuals, claimed that there should be two official languages in the Republic of Macedonia: Macedonian and Albanian, and that equal access to schools and jobs should be guaranteed and that guarantees for both nations - Macedonian and Albanian should be equal in the constitution. At the same time, he declared that Albanians wanted

¹⁴ Human Rights Watch, A threat to "Stability", www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Macedoni.htm, (accessed on 2 XII 2011).

to live together with Macedonians in a common state¹⁵. Despite such declarations, already on 11 and 12 January 1992, a group of Albanian nationalists undertook actions aimed at creating the Autonomous Republic of Illyria¹⁶ (from the ancient name of Illyria and Illyrian peoples inhabiting north-western part of the Balkan Peninsula. For this purpose, a referendum was held in western Macedonia (Tetovo, Gostivar, Kičevo and Debar) which was aimed at confirming the idea of future detachment of this territory from the Macedonian state. In the referendum, which was considered illegal by the Skopje authorities, 276,921 Albanians took part, i.e. 21% of those entitled to vote in the country, out of whom 74% were in favour of autonomy for Albanians. Such data was provided by Macedonian mass media, mostly TV news and the press. Other data which was presented by Albanians, claiming that 383,539 people took part in the referendum, out of whom only 57 people were against and 360,928 people voted for the autonomy, i.e. 99.9% of all voters. These numbers were meant to show that there lived many more Albanians in Macedonia than was officially recognized. Together with the referendum, Albanians held demonstrations in Skopje demanding civil rights equal with Macedonians. An Albanian demonstrator died in clashes with the police. During the illegal referendum, the Macedonian police attempted to interfere with voting and tried to confiscate documentation at 120 locations. The police also entered 260 facilities where the vote was being held¹⁷. After winning the referendum, the Autonomous Republic of Illyria would cover the following territories: Kumanovo with the surrounding area, a few communes of Skopje, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kičevo, Struga and their surrounding areas. Approx. 1/3 of inhabitants of the Republic of Macedonia would live in the new republic, mostly Albanian people. This data is quoted by Zeqirja Rexhepi in his study, referring to a document issued by the Assembly for Political and Territorial Autonomy of Albanians in Macedonia¹⁸. The participants of the assembly prepared a draft of a new Constitution for the Republic of Macedonia, which included Albanians' rights and liberties as well as autonomy for territories they inhabited¹⁹. Explaining in detail what changes are meant and which paragraphs

¹⁵ "Rzeczpospolita", No. 274, 27 December 1995, p. 8.

¹⁶ Z. Rexhepi in: *Zbvilimet polityko-sboqërore te Shqiptarët në Maqedoni 1990-2001*, Tetovë 2005, p. 57.

¹⁷ Z. Rexhepi... op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁹ This document was prepared in Gostivar in March 1992.

of the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia this applies to, the following statement was included at the end of the document "... If the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia does not accept the proposal of changing the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, does not define or guarantee the implementation of demands for political and territorial autonomy for Albanians in Macedonia, we will be forced to accelerate political actions in accordance with the Albanian nation's natural, ethnic and historical right to self-determination"²⁰.

The threat of detachment of the western part of the Republic of Macedonia was real at the beginning of November 1993. Albanian nationalists, members of a secret paramilitary Albanian organization, were preparing an armed overthrow in the country. The actions of Albanian politicians were called "an armed affair" in which, supposedly, also Albanians from the neighbouring Albania participated. The Vice-Minister of Defence and Vice Minister of Health, both of Albanian nationality, took part in those preparations. They were both arrested after the plot was discovered. The Albanians themselves claimed that the plot was provoked by the Serbs to undermine and destabilize the situation in the Republic to cause the Skopje authorities to undertake repressions against Albanians on a large scale. Albanians also claimed that it was provocation of the Macedonian authorities in which Nikola Kljusev, Prime Minister took part. As Rexhepi states in his study, the archives of the Albanian party Partia za demokratki prosperitet (PDP)²¹ contain a document of a high official from the Ministry of Defence in which the following opinion is expressed: "Kljusev's authorities knew about the idea of Albanians' self-defence. It was not a territorial threat for Macedonia..."²². Macedonians are not convinced by these statements. However, Frčkovski, Minister of Internal Affairs, stated officially that: "... facts about the participation in the plot [of high Albanian state officials - I. S-K.] were confirmed by friendly foreign services which I had access to. But this is not just my claim - you can verify these data yourselves: bank accounts, origin of arms with numbers, contacts, photographs, videotapes...! This resulted in a strong international pressure on Albania. I think it was deserved."²³.

In their monograph Miranda Vickers and James Pettifer²⁴ assume the Al-

²⁰ Z. Rxhepi, op. cit., p. 61.

²¹ PPD - Partia për Prosperitet Demokratik.

²² Z. Rxhepi, op. cit., p. 61.

²³ "Flaka e vëllazërimit", *Zbuluam zbulimin shqiptar*, Shkup, 14 qershor 1994, p. 6-7.

²⁴ M. Vickers, J. Pettifer, *Albania. From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity*, Washington, New York

banian thesis about the provocation on the part of the Macedonian government. It was supposed to lead to the removal of radical leaders from the PPD party, their arrest and the beginning of cooperation with moderate Albanians, such as Xheladin Murati. The authors claim that such provocation methods were successfully used by Serbs towards Albanian people in Kosovo. Today, it is difficult to present a full picture of these events. However, it is a fact that arms and munitions depots were discovered in Tetovo in March and in Gostivar in 1994. The leaders were sentenced to 5 to 8 years' imprisonment, while others were released quite soon.

There are no doubts, however, that Albanians wanted to create their own military structures in western Macedonia - their own army, as it was claimed during court trials, for self-defence, to counterbalance possible actions of the Macedonian army. The "White Book" published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia in 2001 as documentation of the armed conflict, provides information about arresting two important officials of Albanian nationality - Hisen Haskaj, Vice-Minister of Defence and Imer Imeri, Vice-Minister of Health, members of the Albanian PDP, as well as several Albanians from Tetovo and Gostivar on 10 November 1993, accusing them of illegal arms trade and involvement in a paramilitary organization. It was planned that this organization would have 20,000 members in the future and it would initiate an armed uprising in western regions of the country²⁵. Subsequent arrests in connection with the formation of troops serving paramilitary and separatist activities took place in January 1994. At that time, Mudxad Emmini and 9 other Albanians were arrested²⁶.

The situation in the neighbouring Kosovo strongly influenced Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia. The Kosovo Liberation Army (Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës - UÇK) had its military reserves in villages along the Albanian-Macedonian border in the area of Gostivar, Debar and Tetovo where numerous depots with arms, foods and medication were situated. When the UÇK became stronger in 1997, it conducted a few bombing attacks in Kosovo and one in the Republic of Macedonia. Owing to the efficient clan system whose

2000, p. 177.

²⁵ *The White Book on the Terrorist Attack of the so-called NLA*, Skopje 2001, p. 316. There is a counterpart of this English-language version in Macedonian: *Bela kniga. Terorizmot na t.n. Osloboditelna nacionalna armija*, Skopje 2001, p. 314.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

members were very well informed and removed traitors on a regular basis, UÇK announced that its activities would also include western Macedonia starting on 7 January 1998, simultaneously with those conducted in Kosovo. After the beginning of NATO air raids in Yugoslavia, the Macedonian border was crossed by hundreds of more or less armed fighters hiding in plain sight among crowds of refugees from Kosovo.

IV

Albanians conducted legal political activities in two parties in the Republic of Macedonia. The PDP was first established in 1990 led by Abdulrahman Aliti and won as many as 25 seats in the Republic's 120-person Parliament on 11 November 1990. They ruled the country in coalition with VMRO-DPMNE (Vnatrešna makedonska revolucionerna organizacija - Demokratska partija za nacionalno edinstvo; WMRO - Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) and the post-communist party, today SDSM (Socijaldemokratski sojuz na Makedonija; Social Democratic Union of Macedonia) until the elections in 1994. Albanians owed this great electoral success to an efficient electoral campaign conducted amongst Muslims of all national minorities and high electoral attendance supported by their compatriots from Kosovo. There was a split at the second early congress of this party held in Tetovo on 12 and 13 January 1994. Arbën Xhaferi became the leader of the radical wing. He returned to the programme of awarding to Albanians the status of a nation and propagated a model of consensus-based democracy based on the national criterion. Its democratic wing led by Murati, on the other hand, started cooperation with the coalition in power. In the elections held on 16 October 1994, the PDP won only 10 seats and it remained in the governing coalition. Four members of this party took ministerial positions in the new government. Those were: Minister of Development – Beqir Zhuta, Minister of Labour and Social Policy – Iliaz Sabriu, Minister of Culture – Eshref Aliu and Minister without portfolio Muhamed Halili²⁷. Changes in the PDP leadership in February 1994, when Albanians from

²⁷ M. Boden, *Osteuropa. Eine kleine politische Länderkunde*, München 1995, s. 212-223; H.-J. Hoppe, *Die politische Szene der Republik Makedonien*, "Berichte des Bundesinstituts für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien", Köln 1995, J. XLVII, p. 16-22; *Republika Makedonija. Prva dekada (1990-1999)*, ed. A. Tuntev, Skopje 2005, pp. 91-92. After the reconstruction of the authorities on 23 February 1996 Beqir Zhura became Vice Prime Minister and the Minister of Econ-

the moderate PDP wing became leaders of the party, gave reasons to believe that Albanians would become more closely integrated in the state power structures and conflicts would be solved by means of concessions of both parties and compromise. The growing number of recruits in the Macedonian Army was the first such indicator. In 1992, Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia constituted 7.5% of soldiers, while in 1993 their numbers grew to 26.5%²⁸. The situation was different as far as the number of Albanian officers was concerned. They made up only 3.7% of officers in 1994. The army was dominated by Macedonian officers²⁹.

The other Albanian party - founded under the name of *Narodna demokratska partia* – NDP (National Democratic Party) in 1990 was led by Iliaz Halil³⁰ and had four MPs after the elections in 1994. But also there were four Members of Parliament from the radical PDP wing with Arbën Xhaferi and Rufi Osmani who changed the name of their party to PDPA adding one element to the existing name. Until that time the name of their party was - Democratic Party for the Development of Albanians. It found growing recognition among Albanians. In the local government elections held in 1996, its representatives won the positions of mayors in Tetovo and Gostivar. To increase their forces, they admitted NDP into its structures at the Congress in Gostivar on 11 June 1997, thus creating a strong radical party DPA *Demokratska partija na Albancite* (*Partia Demokratike Shqiptare* - Democratic Party of Albanians) with Xhaferi as their leader. Initially, the newly-established ultra-nationalistic party was not registered by Macedonian authorities. It did not only postulate federalization of Macedonia, granting the nation status to the Albanian minority and recognizing the Albanian language as an official language, but also formulated demands presenting a dangerous *casus belli* not only for Macedonia but also for the Balkans.

omy, Abdylmenaf Bexheti became Minister of Development, Naser Zyberi became Minister of Labour and Social Policy and Asllan Selmani became Minister of Science.

²⁸ D. Perry, *Makedonien*, in: W. Weidenfeld (Hrsg.), *Demokratie und Marktwirtschaft in Osteuropa. Strategien für Europa*, Bonn 1995, p. 288. T. Gocevski, *Krizite vo nezavisna Republika Makedonija*, Skopje 2010, p. 246, 5.6% of Albanians were employed in public administration before the outbreak of the conflict in 2001, approx. 3.1% of Albanians served in the Army, out of whom only 1.2% were officers.

²⁹ M. Vickers, J. Pettifer, *Albania...* op. cit., p. 172.

³⁰ Za założyciela tej partii uznaje się Jusufa Rexhepiego. PDP - Partia për Demokratike Popullore.

In the parliamentary elections in 1998, Albanians won 25 seats, out of whom 14 MPs were from the PDP and 11 from the DPA. The latter were included in the government formed by WMRO-DPMNE and Democratic Alternative (Demokratska Alternativa – DA). Prime Minister Ljubčo Georgievski, WMRO-PDMNE leader at the time, also regarded as a radical Macedonian politician, formed this coalition probably under the influence of international factors. Moderate Albanian leaders were replaced by radicals, not only in the power structures, but also in the state administration. Xhaferi succeeded in placing his compatriots at the top of the police structures as well as in local authorities in areas inhabited by Albanians, gaining much greater actual power in these regions. Albanians used to hold lower-ranking positions in the power structures. However, this situation changed in 1998, when WMRODPMNE held 14 ministerial positions, DA - 8 ministerial positions and the Albanian party DPA had 5 ministerial positions: taking over the Ministry of Justice, Labour and Social Policy, Information, Local Government and 1 minister without portfolio³¹. A vote in favour of the establishment of a private university in Tetovo in July 2000 was Xhaferi's greatest success. His policy became more moderate due to the international factor. Such was the line-up of political forces at the beginning of 2001 when an open armed Albanian-Macedonian conflict occurred.

V

The political balance between Macedonians and Albanians in Macedonia largely depended on the condition of Albanian culture, access to mass media, radio and television, but primarily on the development of education in the Albanian language. The Republic of Macedonia established in 1991 had a lot to do in the area. Its most important task involved overcoming the problems left over from the previous political system when Macedonia was part of Yugoslavia. It was an issue of introducing new curricula, new handbooks, especially history and geography handbooks. However, it needs to be stated that all citizens of the Republic, regardless of their nationality and religion, had equal access to education and the same learning opportunities. At the primary and secondary levels of education, national minorities had the right to learn at their own schools in their mother tongue. The problem of education of Albanians at the higher

³¹ These ministries were taken over by Albanians after the reconstruction of the power on 27 December 1999, cf. *Republika Makedonija...* op. cit. p. 95, 96.

level became urgent, as this was both educational and political issue.

Fighting illiteracy was still relevant and this problem still occurred amongst national minorities, including Albanians. Due to the boycott of the census in 1994, no data is available concerning the actual numbers of such people. This phenomenon still frequent, especially in large families, was the willingness to create a habit of taking care of themselves in children and earning money since the earliest years by begging, selling newspapers in the streets, washing cars, cleaning houses (which mostly applied to Romani people) and, unfortunately, also by making money illegally. Not sending girls and women to school was still a problem in Muslim families. To fight illiteracy, a reading and writing course for adults and primary (8-year) schools were opened for adults. These schools are still open to them today. In the school year 1997/98 there were 17 such schools with classes in the Macedonian language and 4 schools with classes in the Albanian language. Moreover, there were 12 parallel classes taught in the Albanian language. In general, 246 adults completed education at such schools and parallel classes in the school year 1997/98³².

Members of national minorities had the right to participate in the learning process equally with Macedonians in all types of schools at all educational levels, including university education. In primary and secondary schools students could learn in Albanian. The number of schools with classes in Albanian was constantly on the rise. This was accompanied by high birth rates among Albanians. It was characteristic that the number of students was higher when Albanian nationalism could be freely manifested.

This refers in particular to the period at the end of 1990s, which was significantly affected by the political situation in neighbouring Kosovo.

To prevent the negative results of such tendencies, the Skopje authorities complied with the Primary and Secondary Education Act of 1985 which introduced the principle that parallel teaching in national minority languages can be conducted only at schools where there are 15 students willing to take on such education where a qualified teaching personnel is available (for secondary schools this limit was 30 students). This act resulted in a temporary decrease in the number of students at secondary schools with the Albanian language. This problem arose again in May 2000 when eight Albanian students from the Josif Broz Tito Middle School in Bitola requested the formation of a parallel class taught in Albanian. The school authorities responded firmly and refused the re-

³² *Statistički pregled*, br. 327, Skopje April 1999 godina, p. 33.

quest referring to the applicable regulations. This aggravated the situation between the Albanian and Macedonian communities which was already tense and Albanians used it to put forward similar requests for middle schools in Kruševo, Resen, Prilep and DemirHisar and to emphasize the existence of unfavourable legislation, in their opinion³³. According to the data of the Ministry of Education and Sports, 69,950 thousand students were educated in the Albanian language, which constituted 26.79% of this group of children in the Republic of Macedonia, while in the school year 1996/97, this index already amounted to 27.87%³⁴. Few Albanians were educated in middle schools.

Students at state and private secondary schools, according to the declared nationality in the school year 1997/98.

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Macedonians	67,510	80,3
Albanians	12,024	14,3
Other	4,525	6,4

Source: Statistički pregled, ... op. cit., p. 36.

The table shows that there existed differences in the level of education within the individual nationalities. Mostly Macedonian teenagers attended secondary schools 80.3% (the Macedonian population constituted 66.6% of the country's population) and only 14.3% of Albanians (they accounted for approx. 23% of the population). As shown by statistical data, only 683 Albanians studied in the Macedonian language, i.e. in the official language of the country in which they lived, in the school year 1997/8. Others were educated in the Albanian language. The existing gap in the educational level between Albanians and Macedonians grew larger as both communities lived separately, isolated from each other and each of them had their own problems - Macedonians lived in fear of albanization of their country and Albanians had a sense of lack of equal opportunities. In the state founded after 1991, the program of children's and teenagers' secularization was abandoned and permission was granted to create denominational schools. Albanians could get their middle school education

³³ „Nova Makedonija”, 16 V 2000, p. 2.

³⁴ *Facts about National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Skopje, April 1997, p. 12.

at a secondary Islamic school. In a similar way, an Orthodox secondary school is available and a Catholic middle school opened in the school year 1997/98. The Islamic school was attended by 225 students in the school year 1997/98, the classes were conducted by 28 teachers and, moreover, 143 Albanians attended extramural secondary schools (for adults) in the school year 1997/98³⁵.

The teaching staff for primary and secondary schools with classes in the Albanian language were educated in the Republic of Macedonia. New regulations of September 1995 stated that only citizens of the Republic of Macedonia could be teachers and only if they knew the Macedonian language³⁶. Representatives of national minorities (including Albanians) had the right to study at all departments (there were altogether 29 of them) at two existing state universities in Macedonia, i.e. the Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje and the St. Clement of Ohrid University of Bitola in the Macedonian language. The Albanian and Turkish language and literature majors at the Philosophy Department were an exception here. Also, classes were held in groups divided according to the language of a given nationality at the Department of Drama and Arts. Albanians educated in their mother tongue since early childhood were often incapable of undertaking education in Macedonian at a higher level or had language difficulties during the learning process. This is why they did not fully use the quotas of places which were reserved for them at the Skopje and Bitola Universities. The Skopje authorities decided to open a major for future teachers at the Pedagogy Department at the St. Clement of Ohrid University with classes conducted in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. 280 places were available in the academic year 2000/2001.

The adoption of the act on introducing classes in the Albanian and Turkish languages on 30 January 1997 caused protests among Macedonian students. Demonstrations were held using anti-Albanian slogans and 15 students started a hunger strike to mark their protest. The actions of Macedonian authorities were perceived as belated and aimed at calming the too bold demands on the part of Albanians.

The number of Albanian students at all departments was small and, as shown by the data of the Ministry of Education and Sports it amounted to 5.2% in the academic year 1992/93, 7.1% - 1993/94 to reach 9.2% of all university students in the country. In the following years, a reduced interest of Albanians

³⁵ *Statistički pregled...* op. cit., p. 43.

³⁶ Previously teaching staff were educated at the University in Priština.

in studies at state universities was observed. In the academic year 1996/97, only 7.2% of Albanians studied at state universities³⁷. This can be explained by growing numbers of students at the illegal universities in Tetovo.

When Albanians announced the opening of an Albanian university in Tetovo (with the seat in Mala Rečica) in October 1994, the Skopje authorities responded in a very firm manner and forbade its activity. Despite the ban, the university existed illegally until 2001 when changes in the Republic's constitution occurred. The university was situated in private Albanian houses, another department was located in each of them: philology, philosophy, mathematics, economics, law, arts. On 14 December 1994, a congress of Albanian intellectuals from Albania, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia was held in Skopje, where the opinion of the necessity of the university's existence was held³⁸. The university was funded using private contributions, while Albanians living outside the country also donated some funds. Financial support was also granted by the Sorosa foundation and the Albanian newspaper "Koha". During his visit to the USA in 1995, the university's rector Fadil Sulejmani received support for the university's activities from Richard Holbrooke, American Secretary of State³⁹. Prof. Sulejmani planned on the formation of a medical department claiming that students could do their internship at private Albanian clinics⁴⁰. Riots took place on 15 January 1995 when the authorities demolished the building in which Albanians students were to study. One demonstrator was killed during demonstrations and 15 other demonstrators were injured. The university's rector was arrested and sentenced to 2.5 years' imprisonment. At the same time, Albanians drew attention to the problem of using the Albanian language as an official language in the Parliament. As David Owen writes in his memoirs⁴¹, during the third round of talks between the Skopje authorities and Albanian parties which were mediated by Ambassador Geert Hinrich Ahrens from the ICFY - International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, at the time of Prof. Sule-

³⁷ *Facts about National Minorities...* op. cit., p. 20

³⁸ Peter Bachmaier, *Die Kulturpolitik Makedoniens 1944-1997, in: Makedonien. Geographie-Ethnische Struktur-Geschichte-Sprache und Kultur-Politik-Wirtschaft-Recht*, Walter Lukan, Peter Jordan, (Hrg.), „Österreichische Osthefte“, Wien 1998, J. 40, p. 332.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 332.

⁴⁰ „Rzeczpospolita”, No. 15, 18 I 1996, p. 8.

⁴¹ D. Owen, *Balkan Odyssey*, London 1995, p. 355.

jmani's trial, Albanians brought up the issue of using the Albanian language in the Parliament. At that time, the question was asked how the translation of possible speeches made by Albanians into other languages would look. Members of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia were then convinced that, despite the radicalization of Albanian demands, it was still possible to resolve the issue of the University in a peaceful manner. Lack of the Skopje authorities' consent to the approval of the university resulted from the conviction that the university would cherish the ideas of Albanian radical nationalism and spread the ideology of "Greater Albania". Furthermore, the level of education, the skills of academic teachers and the existing learning conditions were questioned⁴².

The battle for the university in Tetovo was treated by the Macedonian authorities as a political action aimed at creating an impression that national minorities were being discriminated against in the Republic of Macedonia. The level of education of the individual ethnic groups can also be illustrated by the number of defended master's theses and doctoral dissertations. In the years 1994-1996: 4 Albanians, (compared to 1 Turk, 2 Vlachs, 7 Serbs and 159 Macedonians) defended Master's theses and 3 Albanians, (compared to 2 Turks, 1 Vlach, 6 Serbs and 112 Macedonians) defended their doctoral dissertations⁴³. It should be emphasized that newspapers were published in the Albanian language in the Republic of Macedonia (the most popular ones included the "Flaka e vël-lazërimit" and "Fakti" published in Skopje), books and radio and TV programs were broadcast. These rights were already guaranteed to Albanians under Tito's rule.

VI

Conflicts were mitigated and relations between both ethnic communities, i.e. Albanians and Macedonians improved, amongst other things, owing to American mediation and U.N. efforts. At the first stage, international actions were aimed at preventing an outbreak of an open conflict. The Working Group appointed by Jussef Boutros-Ghali, U.N. Secretary-General led by Geeret H. Ahrens (a German diplomat) who had already started negotiations in October 1991 within the ICFY. The Working Group played the role of the mediator with

⁴² K. Gligorov, *Makedonija e se što imame*, Skopje 200, p. 518.

⁴³ *Albancite vo Republika Makedonija...* op. cit., p. 348.

the three-lateral forum whose members included:

Serbs, Albanians and the Macedonian government. Owing to its work, it was possible to negotiate several concessions for Albanians, i.e. greater access to education and media, sharing power with Albanians. Despite the fact that progress in solving the most urgent problems was only slightly noticeable, these actions in the first years of the country's independence where the structures of a new state were being formed and the economic crisis radicalized the Albanians' attitudes helped to prevent the outbreak of violence on ethnic grounds⁴⁴.

Visits of CSCE/OSCE representatives were very important for keeping peace in the Republic of Macedonia. The creation of the mandate of High Commissioner on National Minorities OSCE in 1992 as an instrument for conflict prevention played a very important role, and especially Max van der Stoel (Dutchman) appointed in 1993. The mission in the Republic of Macedonia (official name: the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje) was appointed on 18 September 1992 to observe the development of the situation in the borderland with Serbia and to prevent the extension of the conflict in Macedonia. The basic task of the mission was also to establish contact with political parties and citizens and also active elimination of economic, political and ethnic results of the Kosovo crisis for Macedonia⁴⁵.

Max van der Stoel's greatest achievement was to obtain the consent to the creation of the University in Tetovo just before the outbreak of the armed conflict between Albanians and Macedonians⁴⁶. The university is still open today and classes are conducted in Albanian, Macedonian and English. It bears the name of South East European University in Tetovo. Van der Stoel also issued an early warning document, which was very important at the time - the first in history on the part of the OSCE. It was a declaration and simultaneously a warning of May 1999 about the destabilization of Macedonia during NATO air raids in Yugoslavia.

In November 1992, due to a very difficult situation in the Republic dur-

⁴⁴ B. G. Ramcharan, *The International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia: official Papers*, Cambridge 1997, vol. 1, p. 489-521.

⁴⁵ Cf. OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, URL: <http://www.osce.org/skopje>, (accessed on 1 XII 2011).

⁴⁶ The Macedonian Parliament adopted the Act on the formation of the University in Tetovo in July 2000, as a non-public education facility. It was officially opened in November 2001.

ing the first years of independence, President Kiro Gligorov turned to the United Nations Security Council requesting that peace mission troops should be sent to the border between Serbia and Albania. Frequent provocations both on the part of Belgrade and Albanians mostly from Kosovo, crossing the border without the required documents destabilized the situation in the country. After adopting UN Resolution 795 dated 11 December 1992, at the beginning of 1993 the United Nations sent 1,100 soldiers to protect the border of the Republic of Macedonia, half of whom came from the USA. These soldiers were stationed at the Albanian-Macedonian and Serbian-Macedonian borders. Until 1995, those were UNPROFOR units, appointed to supervise the truce and demobilization of soldiers in Croatia, and in spring 1995, it became an independent preventive mission - UNPREDEP. Its tasks were clearly and precisely defined. They included: firstly, monitoring the border between the Republic of Macedonia, Albania and Yugoslavia, secondly, preventing all threats in this country, enhancing its stability and thirdly, protecting civilians against threats⁴⁷. The advantage of this mission consisted in the fact that it had received a UN mandate and the primary involvement of the USA. Its nature was strictly preventive and it was based on three pillars: military - observing the border by continuous or temporary monitoring, political - monitoring political, economic and social conditions and humanitarian - it mostly concerned long-term social problems under the UN auspices, including the development of the country's infrastructure. UNPREDEP closely cooperated with OSCE. The UN mission in the years 1995-1998 was led by Henryk J. Sokalski, a Polish diplomat⁴⁸.

Agreements with Taiwan (Republic of China) signed in 1998 concerning financial aid and capital investments led to a diplomatic conflict with China (People's Republic of China), which, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council vetoed the extension of the peace mission in the Republic of Macedonia. UNPREDEP had to withdraw during the Kosovo war and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. For strategic reasons, i.e. the plans of Republic of Macedonia to become a NATO member in the near future and for security reasons, a declaration was issued in Skopje in summer 1999, which concerned the

⁴⁷ A. Ackerman in, *International intervention in Macedonia. From preventive engagement to peace implementation*, in: *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995*, ed. By Pater Siani-Davies, London and New York 2003, p. 109.

⁴⁸ Henryk J. Sokalski, *Odrobina prewencji. Dorobek dyplomacji prewencyjnej ONZ w Macedonii*, Warszawa 2007.

readiness for cooperation and the possibility of implementing the “Joint Guarantor” operation by distributing NATO quick reaction forces all over the Republic. This evoked sharp reaction on the part of Belgrade and issuing an official letter of protest in which it was emphasized that the distribution of the NATO forces “may have a detrimental effect on the interests of both countries”⁴⁹. Since that time the mutual relations between Belgrade and Skopje have been tested. After starting the NATO bombing in Yugoslavia, there was just one violation of the Macedonian border. The borderline villages of Jažince, Malino and Tanuševci came under fire. The Macedonian forces took no action.

After the end of military actions in Yugoslavia and signing an agreement in Kumanovo on 9 June 1999, preceded by UN Security Council Resolution No. 1244, Albanians were disarmed and the regular troops withdrew and were replaced by the international *Kosovo Force* – KFOR led by the NATO. Some of them were stationed in the Republic of Macedonia. Poland sent over the 18th Landing-Assault Battalion consisting of over 800 soldiers led by Roman Polko, a Polish Military Unit of the Strategic District of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe. The military base - Camp White Eagle was situated near the Petrovec airport, approx. 20 km away from the capital city of the Republic of Macedonia - Skopje.

At that time military operations did not reach the Republic of Macedonia. However, the country found itself in a very difficult situation. The arrival of enormous numbers of refugees and fighters from Kosovo was a big problem. Some of them were Albanians from Macedonia who helped their compatriots in Kosovo. They realized that they had international support. Moreover, the NATO force (KFOR) was engaged in Kosovo and after the withdrawal of the UN forces did not guarantee the effective defence of the Macedonian border. Therefore, it is not surprising that soon after - in 2001 military operations moved to the Republic of Macedonia. At that time, Albanians put forward their demands for the Skopje authorities with arms in their hands.

⁴⁹ J. Phillips, *Macedonia...* op. cit., p. 76.



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