

*Inhabited Places in
Aegean Macedonia*



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(Edited by Risto Stefov)

Inhabited Places in Aegean Macedonia

Published by:

Risto Stefov Publications
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Toronto, Canada

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e-book edition

January 20, 2019

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PREFACE

The decision to publicize this book, especially on the internet, was determined by the book's extraordinary content in dealing with the Macedonian exodus since 1912, instigated and propagated by Macedonia's occupiers, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. Todor Simovski, its author, has taken an extra step beyond other authors and has described not only the Macedonian forced exodus over the years, but also the trials, tribulation and suffering the exiled Macedonian people underwent on their way out and in their new settlements, especially in Bulgaria.

Simovski spares no detail in explaining the legal hoops the Greek state underwent not only to evict these people from their native lands, but to also Hellenize Macedonia and the Macedonians who remained at home.

Simovski has also taken a step further in describing how Greece Hellenized the Peloponnesus, Attica, Epirus and generally what people call "Greece proper", formerly a purely Slavonic region.

This is a book that goes beyond numbers and population statistics which everyone should read.

Risto Stefov

IN PLACE OF AN INTRODUCTION

As a consequence of the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 28 July (10 August) 1913, ratified by the Neuilly Peace Treaty of 14/27 November 1919 and the Sèvres Peace Treaty of 28 July (10 August) 1920, Macedonia was divided among the three Balkan states of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. (1)

That part which came under Greece, and ever since has been a constituent part of the Greek state, occupies an area of 33,953 km² out of Macedonia's entire territory totaling 66,474 km². (2)

With the inclusion of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia into its framework, and the other territories gained during and after the Balkan Wars, Greece was enlarged from 63,211 km² to 129,880 km² and its population increased from 2,631,952 to 6,204,684 inhabitants as registered in 1920. (3) Thus it shared state borders with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and with Bulgaria, although these were neither its natural, nor its ethnic, borders with these states.

Out of a total of 2,000,000 inhabitants which the whole of Macedonia had had before its division, more than half, i.e. 1,163,477 inhabitants, lived in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. (4)

The national composition of its population, which as a consequence of its five centuries of thralldom had undergone serious ethnic changes, on the eve of the Balkan Wars was as follows: Christian Macedonians 362,000, Moslem Macedonians 41,000, Turks 295,000, Christian Greeks 240,000, Moslem Greeks 14,000, Christian Vlachs 46,000, Moslem Vlachs 3,500, Moslem and Christian Albanians 9,000, Jews 60,000, Romanies 30,000, while the rest were inhabitants of other nationalities. (5)

In the present case there is no intention of going into the history of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia's national composition but it is certainly worth underlining that, before the coming of the Turks, it was the Macedonian population that prevailed in these parts and that, despite the frequent wars in the past which had brought about

devastation, destruction and migrations, Macedonians still remained the main nationality in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

However, what could not have happened in the past for a period of more than five centuries, took place in a relatively short time in the period after the Balkan Wars when major migrations and ethnic changes of unforeseeable consequences to the Macedonian people as a whole occurred.

The division of Macedonia among the three neighbouring countries inflicted a great historic injustice on the Macedonian people which up to then had fought persistently for its national freedom. The only option it had left was a further struggle which this time, owing to the new circumstances, became far more complex and difficult.

With this division, in addition to all the other repercussions, Macedonians from all three parts of Macedonia were subject to assimilatory torture and enforced emigration with the single purpose of altering Macedonia's ethnic composition. These tendencies brought about consequences which have been expressed above all in the changing of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia's national structure to the detriment of the Macedonians.

This policy on the part of neighbouring Greece was facilitated chiefly by several historic events which it utilized for its own goals:

1. The First and the Second Balkan wars (1912-1913)
2. The First World War (1914-1918)
3. The Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 and the Lausanne Convention of 1923
4. The Second World War and the Greek Civil War (1940-1949)
5. The policy that has been applied since the Civil War in Greece, a refined policy yet equally perfidious and denationalizatory regarding the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

I - REPERCUSSIONS DURING THE BALKAN WARS (1912-1913)

After the First Balkan War, declared on 4 (17), i.e. 5 (18), October 1912, the allied Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek and Montenegrin forces inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman Turkish army, so that Turkey was compelled to seek a truce (4 December, 1912). The war with Turkey was legally concluded with the signing of the London Peace Treaty of 17 (30) May 1913, whereby the European part of Turkey's territory was conceded to the allies without determining the borders between them. Because of this, and mainly because of the mutual disagreement as to which country should retain and occupy the larger part of the newly-liberated Macedonian territories, the Second Balkan War, which ended soon after with the complete defeat of Bulgaria, started. (6)

It should be noted that the allied troops showed their mutual intolerance and insatiable aspirations even in the course of the First Balkan War when the Turkish and the other Moslem population of Macedonia suffered most. Thousands of Moslems were slaughtered by the allied troops and their wealth was plundered, their houses burnt and even whole villages and entire parts of towns inhabited by Moslems were burnt. (7)

During the First Balkan War it was not only the Moslem population that suffered in the occupied territories, although it experienced the greatest loss. Consistently carrying out their imperialistic plans in Macedonia, the new conquering armies and authorities resorted to torturing that Christian population which, according to their calculations and opinions, did not consider itself as theirs. (8)

In the Second Balkan War, which turned out to be much cruller and broke out on 29 June 1913, the Macedonian people paid the highest price. During this war thousands of innocent Macedonians were slain, particularly by the Greeks. The majority of them were women and children, especially in the areas around Kukuš (Kilkis) and Valoviš, where the military operations were waged. Dozens of Macedonian villages and the beautiful Macedonian town of Kukuš (Kilkis) were burnt and destroyed. The Bulgarian troops showed

equal cruelty to the Greek population, particularly in the towns of Serres and Doksat. (9)

As a consequence of the two Balkan Wars, Bulgaria received around 112,000 refugees, of whom 50,000 were Macedonians and 30,000 of them were from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. (10)

In the territory of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia Greece received about 157,000 refugees, mainly Turks and fewer Greeks, Patriarchist Macedonians and Vlachs from Bulgaria, Vardar (Serbian occupied) and Pirin (Bulgarian occupied) Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor. (11) The rest, mainly Turks and other Moslems, moved via the port of Salonica to Turkey immediately after the normalisation of the situation, supported by the Greek authorities who deliberately made their lives insupportable in order to get rid of them. (12)

However, in spite of the fact that in the Second Balkan War, due to the above-mentioned atrocities, Macedonians were significantly scattered in certain districts (Kukuš [Kilkis], Valovišta, Serres, etc.) they still remained the main nationality in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and the absolute majority in the areas bordering with Bulgaria and Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia, which was then within the framework of Serbia.

This situation could not by any means satisfy the Greek designs for Hellenising this wealthy, and up to then non-Greek, area. This could have been achieved only by enforced migration or assimilation of the Macedonians and by enforced migration of the Turkish and other Moslem population, on the one hand, and by resettling it with a Greek and pro-Greek-oriented population from the Caucasus, Asia Minor and other areas, on the other hand.

For these reasons, immediately after the concluded truce, a strong pressure was exerted upon the Macedonians and the Turks to move out of the Greek state. This pressure forced a certain number of Macedonian families to emigrate to Bulgaria and Serbia (more precisely, to Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia, which was part of it) and there was also an increased emigration to countries overseas. (13) This emigration was temporarily interrupted by the

First World War and the deployment of Allied troops (French, British, Serbian, etc.) on the territory of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

II - MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS IN AEGEAN (GREEK OCCUPIED) MACEDONIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

This process of migration from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and the initiated process of colonising it with emigrants from the Caucasus and other areas was interrupted as a result of the newly-established situation, the withdrawal of Serbian troops from the territory of Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia and its occupation, as well as that of Eastern Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia by the Bulgarians, and the deployment of Allied troops on the territory of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. (14)

Despite this, and owing precisely to the newly-created situation in the course of the war, there came about a new wave of Macedonian emigration in three directions. Dissatisfied with the Serbian, and later with the Bulgarian, occupation, some of the Macedonians living on this territory made an escape to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia where, having been “taken care” of by the Greek authorities, they were settled in the border areas of Lerin (Florina), Sorovič, Ostrovo, Voden (Edessa), Meglen, Enidže Vardar, Gumendže, Bojmica and Kukuš (Kilkis). (15)

Later on the majority of the Macedonian emigrants from Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia, especially after the second withdrawal of the Allied troops from Bitola, (16) came into the custody of the Serbian civilian and military authorities, who often complained about the anti-Serb and anti-Slavic policy of the Greeks, who did their best to create difficulties for the Serbian authorities concerning the welfare of these emigrants. (17)

There were reverse emigration movements from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the direction of the Bulgarian-occupied territories, mainly to avoid recruitment into the Greek army. (18)

According to official statistical data, in the course of the First World War, 14,000 persons from Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia escaped to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. (19) (This figure refers to persons who did not return after the war.)

About 41,000 escaped to Bulgaria, half of them from the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia. (20) Segmented according to age, the emigrants arrived in Bulgaria depending on circumstances: in 1915 - 3,759; in 1916 - 6,713; in 1917 - 2,376; in 1918 - 13,454 and in 1919 - 14,785 refugees. (21) The number of emigrants was much higher, but a good many of them returned to their birth-places once the situation had been normalised. This emigration, especially in 1916, consisted of villagers and townspeople who, in the autumn of 1916, were forcibly withdrawn into the interior from towns and villages located on the very front line, among whom were the inhabitants of Dojran and Gevgelija. (22)

Of the above-mentioned emigrants in Bulgaria, who comprised 41,000, 5,500 were located in Plovdiv and its environs, while the rest were settled in other towns and districts in Bulgaria. (23)

The First World War ended favourably for Greece. Its territory expanded to Thrace which, in accordance with the Bucharest Peace Treaty, had been assigned to Bulgaria.

Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia suffered new losses due to these enforced migrations. On the other hand, on the territory of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia a new emigration, with pro-Greek feelings, of about 100,000 persons, was settled. (24) However, the situation in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia still remained unfavourable to Greece. The larger part of the population was not Greek and the majority still consisted of Macedonians, Turks and other nationalities. Apart from that, a number of the colonised population in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia were Macedonians from Pirin (Bulgarian occupied) and Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia who, although patriarchists, were by no means “suitable” to the Greeks. (25)

III - MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS IN AEGEAN (GREEK OCCUPIED) MACEDONIA (1919-1940)

1. Migration of Macedonians to Bulgaria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

It has already been pointed out that in the course of the Balkan Wars and the First World War around 50,000 Macedonians emigrated from the territory of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. (26) This enforced emigration of Macedonians did not achieve the results expected by the Greek authorities since in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, in view of the natural population increase, there still remained about 270,000 to 300,000 Macedonians.

Taking this fact into account, the Greeks, in accord with the Allies, imposed a separate convention on Bulgaria based on article 56 clause 2 of the Neuilly Peace Treaty. (27) The convention regulated the “voluntary” exchange of population between Bulgaria and Greece. This deliberate imposition had the purpose of enacting the forcible migration of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to Bulgaria. The defeated Bulgaria did not resist for it wanted to dispose of the Greek population living in Bulgaria, especially in Plovdiv and its surroundings and the towns and villages in the Black Sea region.

For this purpose compensation for their real estate was planned and guaranteed and as early as 20 September 1920 a special commission was appointed known as the Joint Greek and Bulgarian Commission of the Council of the League of Nations. There were two foreigners in this commission; Colonel A.C. Corfe from New Zealand and Major Mariel de Roover from Belgium; (28) the former was its President, the latter its Vice-president. There were also a Bulgarian and a Greek on the commission. The commission’s role was to perform inspection and to facilitate the migration and compensation for the emigrants’ estates. The convention itself proved superfluous in practice, just as the establishing of this commission did. In the period of three years from the commission’s appointment and of its functioning it was realised that neither the Macedonians nor the Thracians living within the framework of the Greek state, nor the

Greeks who had lived in Bulgaria, had any intention of voluntarily abandoning their homes.

In the period from 1919 to the autumn of 1923, utilising the services of the Joint Greek and Bulgarian Commission, scarcely eight hundred persons were moved in either direction, of whom the Macedonians were less than one third - in fact, not more than 250 persons. (29)

However, another factor was of significant consequence to the Macedonians, and not only to them, concerning the change of the ethnic composition in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. This was the war of 1919-22 between Greece and Turkey.

The “Megali Idea” (Greater Greece) aspirations of the Greek oligarchic clique towards Asia Minor, particularly its coastal parts which it considered as its own as a “historic right” emanating allegedly from the one-time Byzantine Empire, the successor to which it claimed to be, led Greece into a war with the much stronger Turkey. This war, which lasted from 1919 to 1922, and in which many Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia who had been mobilised into the Greek army were killed, ended with Greece’s complete defeat. Turkey made use of its victory and imposed the Lausanne Convention on Greece. This entailed the enforced migration of all Christians from the Turkish state to Greece and also of all Moslems from Greece to Turkey. Exception was made only in the case of the Moslem population from Western Thrace and the Christian population in Constantinople due to the long-term plans of both countries. (30) In practice, as early as the course of the military operations in 1922 the Turks forcibly expelled the Greek population from Asia Minor’s coast who, in the course of 1923 and 1924, had to move to Greece in their entirety with the enforcement of this convention. Greece was in an utterly unfavourable situation because it was not only militarily defeated and economically weakened, but had to abandon all its “Megali Idea” (Greater Greece) plans for Asia Minor. Yet it availed itself of this opportunity and a large part of this Greek emigration from Turkey, amounting to 1,230,000 persons, moved primarily to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. This enabled Greece to fundamentally change the ethnic composition of this territory. Thus,

more than 640,000 immigrants were settled in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, (31) while in the meantime, on the stipulation of the convention, more than 300,000 Turks and other Moslems, 40,000 of whom were Macedonian Moslems from the same territory, emigrated to Turkey. (32)

In this way the situation was exploited for the enforced emigration of Macedonians too. On the pretext of facing difficulties in the matter of accommodating the refugees, Macedonian households were forced to receive one or more refugee families. (33) This phenomenon was most frequent in the border regions, with the aim of rendering the life of the Macedonians unbearable. This enforced accommodation was accompanied by the expropriation of fields, goods and furniture. Physical terror and other kinds of pressure did not fail to be applied. Apart from this, in the whole of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, armed units were set up which, on the excuse of pursuing guerillas, terrorised the Macedonian families, conducted mass arrests, and even individual and mass slaughter.(34) Among the mass slaughters mention should be made that of nineteen Macedonian villagers from the villages of Trlis, Karakoy and Lovčen who, after being bound, were slaughtered on 27 July 1924, (35) and the mass arrest of citizens and villagers from Lerin (Florina) and its surroundings in November 1925, when the majority of them were sentenced to death and shot, while the rest were sentenced to many years' imprisonment. (36)

The numerous terrorist activities of these armed units, and all the other violent methods employed by the Greek authorities, compelled a large number of Macedonians to emigrate to Bulgaria and a smaller number to Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia, at that time in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, especially to the regions of Bitola, Gevgelija and Strumica.

According to the available official statistical data, between 1923 and 1928, 33,000 Macedonians emigrated to Bulgaria under such circumstances, while approximately 10,000 Macedonians moved to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. (37)

These Macedonians were forced to emigrate because they found themselves in unbearable circumstances, consistently terrorised and

provoked by the Greek authorities and by armed groups. Naturally, they sought the only way out in flight and migration, thinking thus to avoid the gallows, physical and psychological harassment, and to set themselves free from the nightmare they found themselves in, looking for relative peace through emigrating. (38)

2. Resettlement of Macedonian Emigrants in Bulgaria

Not entering into the procedure of the emigration of this body of Macedonian emigrants who were virtually stripped to the skin before they emigrated, (39) we will simply give a brief survey of how they were resettled in Bulgaria in the early years.

When a large number of Macedonian families were assembled for the purpose of emigration and when they were finally ready to set out and had received all the necessary documents, there then began new tribulations, disillusionments and sufferings for them. (40)

Arriving with great hardship at the railway station where they were compelled to board freight cars reserved for them for their transfer to Bulgaria, they frequently had to wait there for days and sometimes even for weeks. And when, eventually, the train would start off with its heavy load, in effect intended for deportation, it took them to the other side of the border where, according to their expectations, there would be an end to their troubles. (41)

Here, however, there began fresh sufferings for the Macedonian emigrants, and these sufferings were in no way less than their previous ones. In fact they turned out to be much harsher and more unbearable as they were accompanied by the agony of a lack of any prospect of security in the future.

These are some typical reports from Bulgarians responsible for their reception and accommodation: D. Dinev, a member of the National Committee, in his report of 11 August 1924 writes, among other things, the following regarding the manner in which the refugees arrived and the assistance that was offered them:

“... The refugee families arrived in Svilengrad at about 1.00 to 1.30 after midnight. Here they were detained, disinfected and vaccinated

and then further detained for between three and ten days in a camp in the open air. The hard-done-by refugees, having reached a point of painful despair, hear no gentle words from anybody. Here they are broiled in the hot summer sun and exposed to the wind and the rain. They are not permitted to move into the quarantine huts, not even the sick or the nursing mothers.” (42)

The refugees’ troubles did not end with their release from quarantine at the railway station where they were “unloaded” or with their transportation to and resettlement in various districts of Bulgaria. This can be seen from the many letters and from the official reports of those responsible for their resettlement.

Thus in one such report of 11 July 1924 among other things it is written:

“... At several points between Burgas and Mesimvria we encountered groups of despairing refugees of whose condition I can only say that they resembled anything except human beings.” (43)

It becomes clear that the Bulgarian authorities met the needs of the refugee families only very scantily and that in such a situation, worn out from what had gone before, the latter very easily fell victim to various diseases. This is the reason for the statement made by Dr. Talev, who informed the Ministry of the Interior and the National Committee by telegram on 25 June 1924 that: “... In the Bulgarian administrative region I have concluded that all the refugees have contracted malaria ... Their difficult journey and their hunger have exhausted the refugees and it is indeed a sad situation when we see the fatal cases of malaria.” (44)

An even more outspoken comment on the lack of concern over the resettlement of the refugees occurs in the report of the Annual General Meeting of the National Committee of the Macedonian Philanthropic Associations held in Sofia from 31 January to 2 February 1926.

The report contains the following concerning the refugee question:

“The refugees arrive naked, starving, maltreated and worn out. They had had the hope that here in free Bulgaria, there would be an end to their dark bondage and to their physical and moral sufferings, that here they would be greeted and received in a brotherly fashion and that they would at least temporarily find support and a place to settle down. Alas and alack for them! Immediately upon their arrival at Svilengrad station they were met by the official authorities in a manner which at once cooled that modest hope that they had had on leaving their own homes, only to replace it with complete despair in the face of the dreadful Bulgarian reality... In place of brotherly sympathy, an utter lack of concern, a complete lack of care on all sides on the part of the relevant authorities and, in places, from the local population which led to the paradox of the refugees being treated as internees in Lovečko, or being called “eskimos and barbarians” as was the case with the village headman of Mesemvria in his letter to the district administrator in the city of Burgas.” Further on it states the truth that “... the fatal fellow-traveller of the deprivations, despair and hunger was not behind-hand with his rich harvest. From 20% in the Plovdiv district this reached 80% in the Rusen district.” (45)

That high mortality among the refugees is borne witness to in many official documents as well as in the work of Andre Wurfain, who on p. 106 of his book states: “... Housed temporarily in schools, railway stations, huts or tents, they all the more easily fell prey to all sorts of diseases as they were already weakened by their earlier deprivations. Because of the lack of available workable land, many of the refugees were sent to the marshy surroundings of Burgas, a fertile area which had become virtually unbearable because of the malaria which had laid it waste. And thus the mortality among that group became truly terrible. In two years 65% of the refugees resettled in the surroundings of Burgas had died.” (46)

A similar picture of the situation of the refugees in Bulgaria is given by Lucien Cramer in the *Revue internationale de la Croix Rouge* no. 83 of November 1925, where he writes: “When we saw the wretched state of the refugees in Bulgaria we thought that we were in one of the circles of Dante’s *Inferno*. This is a real European scandal which cannot be put up with.” (47) On the occasion of their visit to the refugee camps the delegates from the International

Labour Bureau of the League of Nations, Proctor and Tiksyte, stated: “This is dreadful! We are overwhelmed to such a degree that we can neither eat nor sleep peacefully as a result of the fearful scenes that we have seen in the refugee camps.” (48)

Only certain fragments of the true picture are presented here of the situation confronting the Macedonian refugees in Bulgaria as a result of the megalomaniac plans and aspirations of Greece and of Bulgaria, which cost the Macedonian people so much.

The resettlement of Macedonian refugees in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes took place relatively smoothly, not only because their migration and resettlement took place under relatively normal conditions, but also because their number was comparatively small. Despite all this, more than once the then Southern Star, which was published in Bitola, the Belgrade newspaper Politika and other Yugoslav newspapers as well as the Avala newsagency registered the deviations and the nature of the terror which the Greek authorities had exercised on the Macedonians. (49)

3. Emigration of Macedonians to Overseas Countries

The fact should be mentioned that between the two World Wars there was emigration from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to countries overseas for the same political reasons. In relation to this emigration it is considered necessary to state briefly the motives and the earlier process of emigration in order to obtain a clearer insight into what was to follow.

The tradition of Macedonians, especially from backward areas, of going abroad as migrant workers is very old but it was most pronounced in the 18th and 19th centuries. Most of the Macedonian migrant workers were in Constantinople, Anatolia, Egypt, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and the countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Macedonian migrant workers were known as craftsmen, labourers and small businessmen. They were particularly distinguished in these trades: masonry, milling, baking, pastry-making, sawing, inn-keeping, brick – and tile-making, etc. Most of these migrant workers had their families in the villages to which they returned from time to

time for a visit, to build houses and to buy land. More rarely, they took their families with them to the towns and cities where they worked: Constantinople, Sofia, Bucharest, Belgrade, Alexandria, Cairo, etc.

The tradition of going further, at the outset to the countries of Western Europe, dates from recent times, whereas the tradition of going overseas started chiefly with the increased terror from the Ottoman authorities, i.e. from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries Macedonian emigrated mostly to America immediately after the Ilinden Uprising when dozens of villages in Macedonia were burnt and destroyed by the Ottoman army and the irregular forces.

The emigration to countries overseas increased after the Balkan Wars, especially from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, and the reasons for this were mainly political. In fact, as previously mentioned, the Greek authorities facilitated this emigration, which was particularly pronounced in the first years after the Balkan Wars. However, owing to the First World War, in which by force of circumstance Greece was also involved, the emigration of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was rapidly reduced. It gained impetus once more after the end of the War and particularly after the end of the war between Greece and Turkey and with the strong flow of Greek emigration from Asia Minor to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. This time there was a new wave of emigration, mostly to Canada and Australia. The flow of Macedonian emigrants to these countries increased especially after the establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship on 4 August 1936 when the terror towards the Macedonians was increased and even the use of the Macedonian language in Macedonian homes was banned and the number of Macedonians imprisoned or deported drastically increased because of their national feelings. This process of emigration from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to overseas countries lasted until the Second World War, in fact up to the declaration of war between Greece and Italy on 28 October 1940.

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It can be concluded from the above-stated that the Lausanne Convention of 23 July 1923, i.e. the forced emigration of Christian population from Turkey to Greece and the recent emigration of Macedonians to Bulgaria and partly to Vardar (Serbian occupied) Macedonia which existed within the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, fundamentally changed the ethnic structure of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. These forced measures of decolonisation and colonisation achieved the desired effects for the Greek *grande idée* (Greater Greece) policy.

It should be said that, despite the enforced migrations and emigrations of Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia during the period from 1912 to 1940 which reached the number of about 90,000, (50) the number of Macedonians still remained very high. Taking into account the natural increase of the Macedonians, whose average rate of increase for the period from 1928 to 1940 was 24%, (51) their number in 1940 was the same as in the period before the Balkan Wars, i.e. between 300,000 and 320,000. In many typical regions where no Greeks had lived before, such as those of Voden (Edessa), Enidže Vardar, Gumendža, Kukuš (Kilkis) and Valoviš, as a consequence of this policy the number of Greek inhabitants increased and in some of these areas the Macedonians became a minority. However, in the districts of Voden (Edessa), Lerin (Florina) and Kostur (Kastoria) the percentage of the Macedonian population remained relatively high, varying from 55% in Voden (Edessa) to 85% in Lerin (Florina). (52)

This situation continued to worry the Greek authorities as all the measures of enforced emigration and assimilation taken so far had not completely achieved the desired effects, although it is a fact that the ethnic composition of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was drastically altered as a consequence of the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the Graeco-Turkish War of 1919-22 and the ensuing conventions as well as of the denationalizatory and assimilatory policy and the great colonisation of the Greek state. As a consequence of the colonisatory policy and of natural increase, and in spite of the previously-mentioned turbulences, Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia's population was marked by constant growth. From 1,084,022 inhabitants in 1920, the population increased to

1,410,884 in 1928 and in 1940 it reached 1,752,091 inhabitants which resulted in the first place from the natural increase in which the Macedonian people had a vital share. (53)

IV - ENFORCED RENAMING OF INHABITED PLACES, TOPONYMS AND MICRO-TOPONYMS IN AEGEAN (GREEK OCCUPIED) MACEDONIA

It is a fact that, under certain historical circumstances, beginning from the 6th century numerous Slavonic tribes which had inhabited the northern parts of the Balkan Peninsula, suppressed by other related or foreign tribes, headed southwards and inundated all of mainland Greece including the Peloponnese and, unfamiliar with its ancient name, they called it More, or Sea, (Morea) since this peninsula is surrounded by the sea. These tribes, known as Ezerci and Milinzi, overran the Peloponnese, whereas the Berziti and Veligosti Slavonic tribes settled in Aetoliokarania, Attica, Boeotia and to the north of these regions. The newly-captured territory, of which the Slavonic tribes became absolute masters, having settled it divided it into municipalities and districts and built new settlements (villages and towns) on the sites of the ancient ones, giving them Slavonic names. As they were not familiar with the old toponomy of the places they conquered and settled, all the geographical features (mountains, rivers, lakes, ridges, hills, plains and the like) acquired new, Slavonic, names and, until recently, were known as such both in the country and to the world and some of them have retained these names even today, only slightly altered due to their Greek suffixes.

Thus at one time the famous and the main mountains of the Peloponnese, such as Helicon, Parnon, Chronios and Kimina, acquired Slavonic names - Zagora, Helmo (H'lm) and Malevo - while the rivers Pamisos, Piros and Helicon were renamed Pirnatsa, Kamenitsa and Burbutseva. Certain districts in Greece were also renamed, such as Suvdela, Melinzi, Opština, Župa, etc.

A new, Slavonic settlement called Varsova was built in the vicinity of the Sparta ruins and over the ancient ruins of Mycenae the Slavonic village of Horvati appeared. Even the resounding, allegedly Greek names Mani - Maniates, Mistra and Tsakonia - Tsakones were without doubt of Slavonic origin. It is possible on the basis of old topographical maps and the official population censuses in Greece since the establishment of the Greek state up to the present only in this part of Greece - the Morea, Aetoliokirania and

Attica - to quote hundreds of villages, towns, cities and other localities which, until yesterday, had sonorous Slavonic names that would make all Slavonic countries envious.

Apart from the Slavonic names, later - especially in the 14th century - others were added such as Albanians, Vlachs, Ottomans, etc. so that in the newly-created Greek state the names of a large number of inhabited places and their surrounding toponyms were not Greek but predominantly Slavonic or of other origin.

As early as its establishment as a state in 1830, official Greece faced inconveniences in referring to these numerous, non-Greek - in the first place Slavonic - names on its state territory, for which reason foreign scholars, and not only they, registered all this carefully and published it abroad with their comments, going as far as to claim that present-day Greeks have no or, if any, only a very loose connection with the ancient Greeks and in fact represent an entirely new race stemming from the mingling with the Slavonic, Vlach, Albanian with the colonised population from Asia Minor which predominantly contained Hellenised Hittites and Phrygians who, not without reason, had been forcibly expelled from Byzantium from the 10th century onwards.

In addition to the voluminous historical factography, foreign scholars referred to the toponyms which seriously confirmed their statements.

Faced with this problematic issue, gradually and quietly the Greek state changed the names, especially of the larger towns with mainly Slavonic names, and these acquired new, sonorous classical Greek names such as the one-time capital of the Slavs in the Morea (the Peloponnese), Tropolitsa, which was renamed Tripolis, the town of Mistra which became Sparti, Voštitsa - Egion, Salona - Amphissa, Pisati - Pyrgos, Gortina - Kartagena, Dragomesti - Astakos, Zeituni or Zituni - Lamia, etc.

With the annexation of Thessaly by Greece in 1897, Greece faced this problem even more, and not only because of the numerous Slavonic names of the inhabited places and the other toponyms.

In the opinion of the Greek state the problem of toponym-renaming could be solved more efficiently by setting up a special commission which would explore this problem systematically and would turn urgently to toponym-renaming, insisting primarily on assigning classical Greek names.

There were also other reasons for this intention. In fact Greece had aspirations towards Macedonia where not only the toponyms but also the absolute majority of the population was Macedonian or Turkish while the Greek minority represented only slightly more than 10% of the total population in this area.

For the above purpose, the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, N. Levidis, on 8 March 1909 personally submitted an elaborate statement to the Greek King George I which emphasised the necessity of establishing an official commission with the task of working out a special plan for re-naming inhabited places and other toponyms of non-Greek origin.

On the basis of this statement, on 31 May 1909, a Decree was issued, published in the Gazette No. 125 of 8 June 1909, concerning the establishment of a state commission for exploring toponyms and discovering their historical origin.

According to paragraph 8 of this Decree the administrative and other state authorities were responsible without objection for supplying the commission with the necessary information and offering assistance to facilitate its task.

Matters became more complex for Greece with the fact that; as a result of the Balkan Wars and the First World War and the ensuing peace agreements, it expanded northwards, adopting new territories, among which were part of Epirus, the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia and Western Thrace, where the number of the Greek population represented an absolute minority compared the the local Macedonian, Turkish and other population.

Apart from this, almost all the toponyms in these newly-adopted territories, especially in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, even in the areas where a compact Greek population lived (Greben,

Kožani, Naselitsa and Katerina) and the names of the inhabited places were absolutely Slavonic, which indisputably testified to their origin, while where the majority population was Turkish the toponyms were Turkish. It was becoming fully evident that Greece had entered, i.e. adopted, territory which neither ethnically, geographically nor historically belonged to it.

Greece decided to pursue the designed scheme for toponym alteration primarily in the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia, whereas in the rest of the country it was to be done gradually.

Thus, immediately after the Bucharest Peace Treaty (August 1913) a census of the population in the newly-adopted lands was carried out whereby it was established that 1,160,477 inhabitants lived in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and in 1917 an Act was passed, known as No. 1051, Article 6 of which determined the establishment and the management of the urban and rural municipalities.

On 10 October 1919 a circular letter was issued containing detailed instructions on the urgent need to apply the toponyms and the manner in which this design was to be implemented by the Toponym Commission of Greece. In the introduction to this circular letter it says:

The Toponym Commission of Greece, whose highly significant assignment is the rejection of all Turkophonic names (the word Slavonic is avoided. Author's note) of villages and municipalities which contaminate and brutalise the face of our beautiful country and leave space for unfavourable conclusions about the Greek nation which unfriendly peoples use against us, by means of a Decree of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has decided to reinforce its endeavours to replace foreign names with Greek ones. Today's toponyms (it says further on in the instructions) have not been selected by chance. They have their reasons, their life, their history together with the surrounding landscape, the inhabitants, the history ... some of them are Turkish or Slavonic and it is intended that they be replaced.

Almost immediately after the issuing of the circular letter by the competent Toponym Commission, the Ministry of Internal Affairs published a special brochure, entitled Advice on the Alteration of Municipality and Village Names, in Athens in 1920. At the same time in the newly-formed districts in the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia special sub-commissions were set up with the task of studying the problem on the spot and of proposing new names for the villages and towns in their districts.

In the spirit of the same circular letter, in 1922, as No. 426, a more detailed instruction from the Toponym Commission was issued and intensified and active work was undertaken in that direction in Greece. However, due to the Graeco-Turkish War (1919-22) and the still undefined peace agreement with Turkey, as well as the great migration of population from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to Turkey and the reverse. More than 300,000 Turks and other Moslem people, were expelled to Turkey while in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia settled were approximately 640,000 colonist refugees from Asia Minor and other places. There was also the forced expulsion of 33,000 Macedonians to Bulgaria by means of the so-called “voluntary” emigration enacted according to Article 56 of the Neuilly Peace Treaty. As a result the process of the accelerated renaming of inhabited places and other toponyms in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and in the other parts of Greece was slowed down.

For these reasons, from 1918 to 1925 only 76 inhabited places in the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia were renamed at the following rate: 1918 - 1 settlement, 1919 - 2, 1920 - 5, 1921 - 4, 1922 - 18, 1923 - 18, 1924 - 5 and 1925 - 26. Many inhabited places in the districts of Lerin (Florina), Kostur (Kastoria), Voden (Edessa), Kukuš (Kilkis) and Solun (Salonica) were affected.

However, although all the commissions for the renaming of inhabited places and other toponyms worked at full speed on the basis of the legal acts of the time, and not only in the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia but in the other parts of Greece too, a need was felt to pass a more complete act on the basis of which all renaming was to be carried out in the future. Such a Decree was indeed passed on 17 September 1926, published in the

administrative Gazette No. 332 of 21 September 1926, entitled “On Renaming Villages, Towns and Cities”.

Among other things, the following was stated in the Decree:

Article 1. On the proposal of the Toponym Commission of Greece, it is allowed that foreign or distasteful names of villages, towns and cities be replaced. Their renaming shall be performed according to a Decree issued by the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Article 2. By decision of the local district superintendent, located in each district, a competent commission may be established to study the renaming of villages, towns and cities.

Article 3. The Commission shall compile a list for the renaming of villages, towns and cities with a brief explanation of the reasons for the selection of the proposed new names. The list shall be submitted to the Internal Affairs Ministry which shall forward it to the Toponym Commission of Greece for its judgement.

Article 4. The Toponym Commission of Greece, within 15 days of receiving the proposed renamings, shall express its opinion on them and inform the Internal Affairs Ministry which, on that basis, shall issue the necessary Decree of approval of the proposed renamings.

Article 5. The renaming approval Decree shall be sent to the competent district superintendent and to all Ministries and railway directorates. It shall be their duty to issue the necessary Acts on renaming and alterations...

Article 7. a) After the renaming of settlements a list shall be published with the new names. b) Once these lists have been published, the use of the old names shall be absolutely prohibited.

From that moment onwards all the acts for renaming inhabited places and other toponyms were to be based on this order and from September 1926 to the middle of November 1927 945 settlements were renamed in the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia.

Despite this accelerated activity's being extended to the other parts of Greece, and despite the warning by the competent bodies about strict compliance with and application of these acts on the part of the citizens and the competent authorities, this was in practice impossible because the people and the authorities faced difficulties in finding their way amidst the great and sudden changes. On the other hand, since the acts on toponym renaming did not specify the sanctions against offenders using the old names, on 13 November 1927 a new legal order was passed, published in the administrative Gazette No. 287 of 13 November 1927. The legal order was thereby transformed into Act No. 3342 of 12 December 1927 (Administrative Gazette No. 303/17 December 1927). In fact the sanctions the courts were to employ against offenders were extended and specified as well as the need for the measures undertaken by the authorities being imposed at all costs, i.e. the new names were to come into use and everything relating to the past was to be forgotten.

Here are certain articles from the new legal order, the Act referring to the sanctions and other measures in the implementation of the new and the obliteration of the old:

Article 5. The changes of the seal and the name of a municipality in compliance with its new name are compulsory and any use of the old name by the president of the municipality or municipal councillors in the municipal council's minutes or correspondence shall be a disciplinary offence punishable by the District Superintendent with a fine of from 50 to 200 drachmas and in certain cases the offenders may be suspended by the ruling of the District Superintendent.

Article 6. The renamed municipalities and villages are ordered to place signs in the central area and along main roads at the entry to the village or municipality. The new name of the settlement is to be written on the sign. Failure to do so or a removal of the sign shall be punishable according to Article 429 of the Penal Law.

Article 7. Clause 2. Once the new names have been announced, the use of the old names by public authorities or bodies in official correspondence or in the correspondence of associations,

corporations, cooperatives and other corporate bodies is absolutely prohibited.

Clause 3. Violation of this ban is a penal offence punishable by a fine of 100 drachmas or up to ten days' detention.

Clause 4. Applications by individuals or corporate bodies submitted to public services may be disregarded if the applicant's already renamed place of residence, town or village, is not mentioned.

Clause 5. A witness, prosecutor or other person examined in court using as a place of residence or birth the old name of a town or village that has already been renamed according to the findings of the court may be punished according to Clause 3 of this Article.

In accordance with these legal orders, decrees and other regulations, the competent district toponym-renaming commissions and the Primary Commission of the Council of Ministers in Greece from 1918 to the end of 1928 in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia alone renamed 1,497 inhabited places.

Although the majority of inhabited places had been renamed by 1928, the Greek state continued to work in that direction while at the same time extending its activity throughout the whole of Greece, improving the system and passing new acts and instructions for that purpose. On 13 March 1929 a new act was passed containing detailed instructions and obligations to carry on with the task of renaming toponyms.

By virtue of this act and the preceding acts and instructions, and supplemented by Act No. 6,429 of 18 June 1935 and Act No. 1,418 of 22 November 1938, from the beginning of 1929 to April 1941, 39 more settlements were renamed in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

Endeavouring to invent new names, the authorised commissions paid special attention to the possibility of renaming as many towns and villages as possible with old classical names from Macedonia. Thus Krste Misirkov's birth-place, Postol, was renamed Pella, Rupista in the Kostur (Kastoria) region was renamed Argos

Orestikon, Banitsa in the Lerin (Florina) region was renamed Vevi, Libanovo in the Katerina region was renamed Eginion, S'botsko in the Meglen region became Aridea, Vrtikop in the Voden (Edessa) region was renamed Skidra, Larigovo in the Larigovo region became Arnea, while Kazandži Mahala, the birth-place of Aristotle (Alexander the Great's teacher), in the same region, was renamed Stagira. The one-time smallholders' settlements of Barbeš and Kutleš in the Ber district were renamed Vergina. These settlements were in fact built on the site of the first Macedonian capital Ege, where the tombs of the ancient Macedonian kings were found as well as the sunburst associated with Macedonia's national flag which aroused a great deal of trouble and slander on the part of the Greek state. In the same spirit the village Ostrovo in Voden (Edessa) district was renamed Arnissa, the village Sehovo in Gumendži district became Idomeni although the site of this ancient Macedonian town has been established with certainty further to the north near today's village Miletkovo, the village Elevis in the Lerin (Florina) region which as early as 1926 was renamed Laka has recently been again renamed Levea, the name of a famous ancient Macedonian city, the village of Malatria in the Katerina district has been renamed Dion, etc.

The Macedonian kings, especially Philip II and his wife Olympia, have not been forgotten. Thus the village of Seliani in the Kavala area was renamed Philipi and the River Rakita in the Kailari district has been renamed Olympias. Most of Philip II's and Alexander the Great's generals, such as Ptolemey, Philotas, Klitos, Amindas, Andigon and others, acquired their own towns and villages. Thus the Turkish town Kailari was renamed Ptolemais and the former Turkish villages Caldžilari and Haiderli in the same district were renamed Philotas and Klitos. The small town Sorovič in the Lerin (Florina) district was renamed Amindeon, while the village Kosiler in the same district was renamed Antigonos, etc.

Much later, in fact after the Second World War and the Greek Civil War, owing to the current Macedonian national question it was not until 1953 that Alexander the Great acquired a town of his own. In that year the large settlement of Gida in the Ber district was renamed Alexandria and as such, from being a rural municipality, it acquired the status of an urban municipality.

Many Macedonian villages were renamed with the names of the leaders of Greek andart (armed bandit) companies who wreaked havoc in Macedonia in 1904 and thereafter. Thus the village of Statitsa in the Kostur (Kastoria) district was renamed Melas, the village Vladovo in the Voden (Edessa) district became Agras, the village Palior in the Kailari district became Phuphas, the village Crneševo in the Meglen district became Garaphion, the village Šlopintsi in the Gumendža district was renamed Doganis, etc.

In its attempt to discover ancient and classical names in the field for the various settlements, the so-called expert commissions made many mistakes at the expense of the Greek cause as a result of insufficient knowledge. Thus the village with the name Tsakoni, in Kostur (Kastoria) Region and the other with the same name in Meglen Region, retained their original name thanks to the fact that some of the members of the commission, teachers originating from the Morea (the Peloponnese), thought that Tsakoni was a pure Greek name connected with the tribe that still lives in Morea known as Tsakoni. Although these teachers correctly linked the names of the two villages with the Tsakoni tribe in Morea, they disregarded, or did not know, that this tribe, which had not long been Hellenized, was of purely Slavonic origin, so that by good fortune these villages have retained their original Slavonic names. This has been the case with other villages as well. A similar error was made in the case of the village Salamurovo, located near the River Galik and administratively belonging to Kukuš (Kilkis) Region. Though its former name was most probably of Turkish origin the “special” commission members, linking it with the name of the River Galik, renamed it Galikos, unaware that the name of the River Galik is of purely Slavonic origin. This form of name is known to exist in other places including Galitsia district in Poland, and many places in Macedonia. One need only recall, apart from the River Galik and Mt. Galichitsa, which divides the lakes Ohrid and Prespa, we have the village Galichnik in Tikveš Region, the village Galishta in Kostur (Kastoria) Region and the village Galichani in Prilep Region, all bearing a variant of the same name.

One of the more interesting cases refers to the two large Macedonian villages Gorno and Dolno Poroi on the southern slopes of Mt.

Belasitsa. They have retained their original names up to the present time since some “scholarly” person, not knowing the real origin and meaning of the name, associated it with Heraclitus’ *panta rei* (everything flows) and drew the conclusion that the name Poroj was of classical Greek origin, forgetting, or not knowing, that while it was from the same Indo-European root, it had a different meaning. In Greek, for example, the noun *rema* (meaning stream or small river) is derived from the verb *reo-rei*, while the Slavs have derived the noun *reka* (river) from the same root. In Greek a river is called *potami* or *potamos*, while the Slavs have used the same root with a slightly different meaning as in *pot* (sweat), *potop* (flood), etc. Thanks to this “knowledge” on the part of the Greek experts, i.e. their misunderstanding, these two villages have retained their old names with only the Gorno (Upper) and Dolno (Lower) parts were replaced by Ano and Kato. Interesting is also the case of the village Dislap in the Naselits area. It, most probably at the proposal of the villagers, was renamed Dragasia on account of its proximity to Mt. Dragos and in thus “avoiding” its first Slavonic name, it acquired a new, again Slavonic name, only with a Greek suffix.

Not only were the names of towns and villages affected, but also all the geographical concepts, such as mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.

In the administrative division of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia into districts and areas, a great number of places acquired ancient classical names. Thus Katerini district and area were renamed Pieria, Ber district and area became Imatia, Voden (Edessa) district and area became Pella, Naselich area became Voion, the Kailari area was renamed Eordea, the Gumendži area became Peonia, the Valoviš area was renamed Sindiki, Zihnen area became Philida, Nigrad area became Visaltia, Larigovo area became Arnea, Praviš area became Pangeron, while Sarisaban area became Nestos.

Some towns and larger settlements of Turkish origin, such as Enidže Vardar, Lerin, Kukuš, Drama and Doiran were merely trimmed with Greek overtones. The same thing happened to certain towns and larger settlements of Macedonian Slavonic origin such as Gumendže, Kufalovo, Kožani, Greben, Čotili, etc.

It should not be forgotten and should always be kept in mind that this enforced renaming of inhabited places, toponyms and microtoponyms, was accompanied by the forced changing of the Macedonian people's names and surnames. Most of them were completely depersonalised and could not be recognised, but a certain number of them acquired only Greek suffixes and their roots could easily be detected - that these names were of Slavonic origin. Thus Božinov/ski became Mpozinis, Petrov/ski became Petridis, Gušev/ski became Gusidis, Bogdanov/ski became Mpogdanis, Želikov became Zalkis, etc.

Regardless of all these oversights, the virtually complete renaming of settlements and all other toponyms and microtoponyms in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia and of personal names and surnames, which was accompanied by all the other forms of denationalization and assimilation, had the aim of depersonalising the original ethnic features of Macedonia and of proving that since time immemorial Macedonia has been and has remained a purely Greek province.

V - DEPORTATION AND EMIGRATION OF MACEDONIANS FROM AEGEAN (GREEK OCCUPIED) MACEDONIA BEFORE AND DURING THE GREEK CIVIL WAR (1945-1949)

The process of enforced renaming of settlements, toponyms and microtoponyms, accompanied by denationalization and assimilation, was temporarily interrupted because of the Second World War and ensuing events. It is worth mentioning that, in the Graeco-Italian War declared by Mussolini on 28 October 1940, Macedonians showed exceptional heroism, fighting in the front lines. They fought so bravely in the conviction that the fight against the fascist aggressor was a common international debt and a contribution against the mutual enemy of all peoples, and, consequently, of the Macedonian people as well.

In the April War of 1941 Greece, and Macedonia within its framework, became prey for German militarism. This time Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia became a coin for the ransoming of others' consciences and interests, in the first place of Bulgarian revanchisme and Italian fascism.

The only way out and the only requirement for fulfilling the centuries-old ideals of freedom for the Macedonians and for all the peoples of Greece enthralled by German, Italian and Bulgarian fascism was armed struggle, and they did not show the slightest hesitation in taking this route, full of sacrifice and deprivation, a route they had familiarised themselves with throughout the centuries.

Because of Macedonia's division and historical circumstances, the battle which all Macedonians were to face was to be waged by the Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, together with the Greek people, convinced that, either during the war or later, in a new anti-fascist Greece, their national rights would be recognised.

However, in practice, even during the Great Anti-fascist War, in which Macedonians participated in large numbers, they were becoming increasingly aware that the anti-fascist forces in Greece

had no intention of recognising the rights of Macedonians. On the contrary, everything was done to quell the aspirations and demands made on the part of the Macedonians.

In that respect, of course, those Greek forces fighting under the aegis of the occupier went furthest. In the course of the war the occupiers' armed units crusaded in Macedonian villages and districts, plundering, burning, terrorising and slaughtering Macedonians. These armed units, such as those of Kircidakis, Kolaras, Pulos, Papadopulos, Kisa Badžak, Andon Čauš and others, leaders of the collaborationist P.A.O., attacked Macedonian villages with particular pleasure, villages which in the past had proved to be more revolutionary or tenacious in their resistance.

As a result of numerous historical circumstances, the anti-fascist forces in Greece laid down their arms. Their destiny was sealed by the Varkiza Agreement of 12 February 1945. Immediately after the Varkiza Agreement and the laying down of arms on the part of the anti-fascist forces of Greece, the situation in the country deteriorated to an extreme extent. Macedonians were again facing an exceptionally difficult situation. Almost immediately after the Varkiza Agreement, intimidation, pressure and terror were applied upon them. Slaughter, the raping of women and girls, plunder, the burning of houses, internment, imprisonment, violence and deportation were everyday occurrences.

It is sufficient to cast a glance at the documentation issued by the Archive of Macedonia in its publication *Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the National Liberation War*, (54) at the Yugoslav and international press of the time, at the rich documentation assembled by the Public Opinion Commission of the UNO, as well as other documentation, to understand even to a certain degree the situation which confronted Macedonians in *Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia* immediately after the Second World War.

The wave of refugees grew from day to day. It was becoming clear that the Greek monarcho-fascistic state was determined, at whatever cost and without paying heed to international protests, to get rid of its Macedonians.

By way of illustration we will mention only a few, and those not necessarily the most typical, actions.

On 20 February 1945 Greek armed bands attacked the Macedonian village Volak, in the Drama district, where they killed seven villagers, burned 40 houses, looted the village and drove 350 villagers across the frontier. The same day a similar armed band attacked the village of Cuculigovo, in the Serres district, where they arrested 15 villagers, plundered the village and drove 33 families across the frontier. From 12 February to 12 April the bands of Andon Čauš killed 29 Macedonian villagers, imprisoned 3,100 Macedonians, looted a dozen Macedonian villages and drove several hundred Macedonians across the frontier. (55)

In the district of Kostur (Kastoria) Macedonian villages were attacked daily by local armed bands whose most frequently-employed methods were maltreatment, force and theft. Thus on 26 April 1945 the village Kumaničevo was attacked, 60 houses were plundered and, among other things, 1,000 sheep and 110 head of cattle were carried off. On 29 April the village Gališta was attacked, as had been the village Aposkep on 27 April. In the same month the village Zagoričani was plundered and 40 villagers sent to prison; 2,000 sheep and 500 head of cattle were carried off from the village Meniak and 22 villagers imprisoned. In the village Cetirok 160 houses were plundered and 150 men and three women imprisoned, one woman was killed and 2,500 sheep and 600 head of cattle were carried off. Massive arrests, thefts, violence and individual killings were performed in the month of April 1945 in virtually all the Macedonian villages in the Kostur (Kastoria) district, during which the villages that suffered most were those of Izglibe, Tiolišta, Ličišta, B'mboki, Gosno, Staričani, Ludovo, Rupišta, Semasi, Markoveni, Pesiak, Krčišta, Gorno Papratsko, Grače, Županišta, Smrdeš, Gabreš and D'mbeni. (56)

The situation in the Lerin (Florina), Voden (Edessa), Meglen, Enidže-Vardar, Kaliar and Kukuš (Kilkis) districts was similar. By the end of June 1945 in the Kostur (Kastoria) district alone some 800 villagers had been imprisoned. In the Kukuš (Kilkis) district some 110 villagers were killed, more than 400 imprisoned and 2,500 driven out, of whom 1,000 left for Yugoslavia. For the same

reasons, more than 2,000 people left from the districts of Kostur (Kastoria) and Lerin (Florina) left for Yugoslavia. In the month of July alone 117 men and women were killed. The number of Macedonians imprisoned in the Lerin (Florina) district was twice as large as that in the Kostur (Kastoria) district. (57)

In addition to this sort of terror improvised courts were introduced in which Macedonians were sentenced either to death or to life imprisonment with the aim of terrorising them even more and forcing them to flee across the frontier. In Solun on 25 April 1945 six Macedonians were sentenced to death and two to life imprisonment. In the month of July in Kostur (Kastoria) 109 Macedonians were sentenced either to death or to heavy terms of imprisonment. On 18 July the Greek authorities exerted heavy pressure on the Macedonians from the village Teklievo, in the Solun surroundings, to abandon the village and to flee to Yugoslavia. On 12 August eight Macedonians from the Voden (Edessa) district were sentenced to death and were executed in Solun, and on 17 November nine young people who had hidden in the woods from fear that they would be taken were killed above the village Varovica, in Gumendže district. Over all in the course of 1945 terror continued with unrelenting intensity, while the pressure on Macedonians to abandon their homes and to flee to Yugoslavia was ever-increasing. The number of victims was continually on the increase. (58)

This exceptionally difficult situation became the occasion for numerous protests and interventions at an international level. Even the American Panslavonic Committee sent telegrams to Truman, Stalin and Churchill in July 1945 demanding that measures be taken and a halt be put to the terror exercised against Macedonians by the official Greek authorities. Likewise the president of the Macedonian Association in the USA sent a letter of protest to the Greek ambassador to the USA with similar contents. (59) And yet all of this did not help to improve the situation of Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia; on the contrary, this deteriorated even more.

In fact, as early as December 1944, in the offices of the Greek right-wing party, which had not yet won complete power in Greece, detailed plans for the liquidation, deportation or enforced exile of

120,000 Macedonians from their native country were elaborated. The reason for this criminal activity was the existence of a sovereign Macedonian state within the framework of the then Federal Yugoslavia and the fact that Macedonians from the Aegean (Greek occupied) part of Macedonia had taken the side of the anti-fascist forces, fighting in the front lines against the invader and fascism.

After the Varkiza Agreement and the laying down of arms by E.L.A.S., Greece's right wing had its hands free to clash fiercely with the Macedonians.

The terror exercised upon Macedonians and upon democratic Greek citizens was the main reason for the outbreak of the Civil War in Greece.

The Greek Civil War lasted for more than three and a half years, i.e. from the early spring of 1946 to the autumn of 1949. It ended with the defeat of the democratic forces in Greece. The consequences of this war were enormous. Dozens of Macedonian villages were completely destroyed while many of them ended up sparsely populated. Tens of thousands of emigrants headed not only for the liberated part of Macedonia, which was already constituted as a sovereign Macedonian state within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation, but for all the other East European countries. Greek government troops, while persecuting D.A.G forces, the main core of which consisted of Macedonians, had an assignment to raze Macedonian villages to their very foundations in order to intimidate the population and force it into exile. For this reason, a number of Macedonian villages were completely abandoned by their Macedonian inhabitants.

In the course of the anti-fascist war and the Civil War in Greece, in addition to contributing 20,000 victims, thousands of prisoners and dozens of villages that were completely destroyed, 60,000 Macedonians were compelled to abandon their homes and cross the border under most unfavourable conditions.

With the end of the Second World War and the Greek Civil War another phase of enforced emigration of Macedonians from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia ended. This time even those

Macedonian parts that had been somewhat spared in the previous large-scale emigratory movements, such as the areas of Kostur (Kastoria), Lerin (Florina), Voden (Edessa) and, to a certain degree, the Kailari area, were deeply affected.

The plan drawn up for reducing the number of Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia by 120,000 was, to a certain extent, fulfilled as early as December 1944.

It can be clearly seen from the above-stated that the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, in the course of the anti-fascist war, and particularly during the Greek Civil War (1946-49), underwent their greatest reduction which was almost equal to their reduction during the entire period of time from 1912 to 1940.

The question can be justifiably asked: How many Macedonians remained in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia after all this reduction immediately after the Civil War in Greece?

This question is not difficult to answer having the knowledge that, on the eve of the Graeco-Italian War of October 1940, the number of Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was between 300,000 and 320,000. Therefore it can be claimed that in 1951, with the fifth successive Greek official data on Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, and taking into consideration the decrease in the number of Macedonians by 80,000 in the period from 1941 to 1949 and the increase in population during this period, which was understandably smaller due to the circumstances of war as compared to the previous peace-time period, more than 250,000 Macedonians continued to live in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia. This conclusion can also be arrived at by an analysis of the ethnic composition of each separate settlement in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia giving the numerical situation of the population in 1951.

VI - EMIGRATION FROM AEGEAN (GREEK OCCUPIED) MACEDONIA TO OVERSEAS COUNTRIES AFTER THE GREEK CIVIL WAR AND THE FURTHER ENFORCED RENAMING OF SETTLEMENTS

The migratory movements and their repercussions at the expense of the ethnic composition of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia which occurred during the period 1912-1949 as a consequence of historical events and the discriminatory policy of the Greek authorities have already been presented and dealt with briefly.

In spite of the great decrease in the number of Macedonians in this relatively short period of four decades, the presence of 250,000 Macedonians in their native place further continued to “concern” the Greek authorities.

It is known that everywhere in the world, because of their originality, nationalities can and should be a bridge linking neighbouring peoples and countries, providing mutual communication and cooperation in all walks of life and mutual relations, but, unfortunately, this did not become the case in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

The discriminatory and assimilatory measures of the Greek state continued. In this case, after the Greek Civil War an efficient, although not a new, measure was applied to the Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia - emigration to overseas countries. This phenomenon, however, also present in the period before the Second World War, mainly applied to political emigrants and did not scatter the Macedonians much, although to a certain extent it did absorb the labour surplus in places with a higher natural population increase.

After the Greek Civil War the emigration of Macedonians to overseas countries was accelerated as a result of the continuing discriminatory policy of the Greek authorities towards the Macedonians who, justifiably, had feelings of uncertainty.

The Greek authorities used all possible means to stimulate this emigration which this time was primarily directed towards Australia and Canada, and, to a lesser extent, towards the USA.

The emigration process after the Civil War in Greece can be divided into three periods: first, from 1950-51; second, from 1962-71; and third, from 1972 to the present day.

During the first period, from 1950 to 1961, although significant, the emigration was lower as compared to the second phase. At this time the greatest emigration was from Kostur (Kastoria) and Lerin (Florina), although other Macedonian districts were also perceptibly affected. For the first time in the history of overseas emigration entire settlements and regions were included, which had been unheard-of in the past.

During this period, according to the same figures, the greatest amount of emigration was from Lerin (Florina) where, out of 69,391 inhabitants, as there had been in 1951, in 1961 their number was reduced to 2,035. In fact, the number of emigrants was larger since this figure does not include the natural population increase and because of the fact that in this area there was a partial colonising of abandoned Macedonian villages after the Civil War.

In the area of Kostur (Kastoria), although the number of inhabitants in 1961 as compared to that of 1951 had increased by 1,180, the number of Macedonian emigrants was still very high, which may be conjectured by taking into account the decrease in the number of inhabitants of Macedonian villages as compared to that of the previous censuses.

The second phase of this emigration covers the period from 1962 to 1971. During this period of time the emigration process was much greater. The increased emigration from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia to countries overseas is to be seen not only in the annuals of the Greek Statistical Office but also in the significantly reduced number of inhabitants in the Macedonian villages, despite the natural increase, which can best be seen from the census of the population of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia taken in 1971.

The third phase of emigration to countries overseas covers the period since 1971 and is consistently on-going up to the present time with a gradually decreasing intensity.

It has been estimated that, since the beginning of the Greek Civil War, i.e. from the end of the Second World War to the present time, approximately 40,000 Macedonians have emigrated to these countries from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, which, in fact, has completely fulfilled the plan drawn up by the rulers in Athens: “120,000 Macedonians to be removed beyond the state borders of Greece.”

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Simultaneously with the policy of “voluntary” emigration of Macedonians to countries overseas and the accelerated and perfidious methods of assimilation, which started at birth, continued through kindergarten and pre-school education and has accompanied Macedonians throughout their whole life, Greece continued with its renaming of inhabited places, toponyms and microtoponyms.

On the basis of the already familiar acts, regulations and instructions, and on the basis of new ones such as Act No. 697 of 4 December 1945, immediately after the Greek Civil War this renaming resumed in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia as well as in the other parts of Greece, including the Morea (the Peloponnese) where many settlements with typically Slavonic names which had been overlooked in the past were now renamed.

During the period between 1950 and 1970 alone, 135 new settlements in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia were renamed, among which were many Macedonian villages that during the Second World War and the Greek Civil War had been razed to their foundations but, strangely enough, had not been renamed during 1940.

Thus, the ornate Macedonian village Βαρϕορ in the Kostur (Kastoria) area, completely ruined by the Greek monarchist and fascist ally, was renamed Pimenikon (Ποιμηνικόν) in 1955 although there was

no trace of it left. In the same area new names were acquired by the ruined Macedonian villages of Chuka- Arhangelos (Αρχάγγελος), Slivnitsa- Trilofon (Τρίλοφον) and the villages Vitsista -Nike (Νίκη) Tsurilovo -Agios Nikolaos (Άγιος Νικόλαος). The large Macedonian village Buf in the Lerin (Florina) area, for some reason overlooked earlier, was renamed Akritas (Ακρίτας). The village Lehovo in the same district was renamed Iroikon (Ηρωϊκόν), but the local inhabitants, Christian Albanians, complained loudly and succeeded in regaining the old name for their village.

It is estimated that from 1919, when the enforced renaming of inhabited places in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia started, to 1970, the Greek authorities renamed in total 1,666 cities, towns or villages and by now this number exceeds 1,700 inhabited places. This figure does not include those inhabited places whose renaming has not been published in the administrative Gazette which is our sole source for the numbers quoted and the dynamics of renaming according to years and areas, nor does it include the numerous Macedonian settlements known by the names of saints which official Greece simply translated from Macedonian into Greek, thereby imposing new names.

The number of renamed settlements in the rest of Greece in the post-war period is equally high. Only a glance at the administrative Gazettes of the time would be enough to ascertain this. For example, the administrative Gazette No. 287 of 10 October 1955 contains an order by means of which 212 settlements were to be renamed, most of them in the Morea, Attica, Etikoboeotia and other areas of that part of Greece.

This order contains a myriad of interesting Slavonic settlement names, now replaced by typically Greek names. Here are some examples referring primarily to the Morea (the Peloponnese): Arahova has been renamed Pili, another Arahova - Eksohi, Bistritsa - Agii Anargiri, Bičova - Levki, Bukovina - Agia Trias, Aragozena - Alsos, Valkuvina - Ampelos, Varibob - Daphni, Varsova - Agia Eirini, Godena - Peristerion, Gurnitsa - Agia Sophia, Dobrena - Korimi, Zupena -Agii Anargiri, Kopanitsa - Krionerion, another Kopanitsa - Karie, Krali - Agios Nikolaos, Kukovitsa - Koriphi, Lukavitsa - Kampos, Nubrevitsa - Eleohorion, Marvintsi - Drosaton,

Prostovitsa - Drosia, Prostova - Levkon, Poliana - Krionerion, Topolia - Kastron, Topolova - Agia Paraskevi, Hlebotsa - Asopia, etc. There are hundreds of such and similar names, let alone the other toponyms and microtoponyms which point to the fact that Slavonic toponymy has been highly present and that it is impossible to erase and to rename it completely. Some of the towns in this part of Greece have retained their Slavonic roots, their names being only trimmed with Greek overtones, as, for example, Tropolitsa in the Morea which was renamed Tripolis and Karditsa, Volos, Velestino and Tsaritsani in Thessaly, Konitsa, Metsovo and Igumenitsa in Epirus and many others. This is an indication that, despite all the efforts to erase all Macedonian and all Slavonic traces in the other parts of Greece, it has been virtually impossible, especially in the case of toponyms and microtoponyms. However, it must be admitted that the Greek authorities have done a great deal towards this end. The only thing that it is impossible for them to do is to change their own blood and genes mixed with much Slavonic blood and many Slavonic genes. This, however, is another issue.

An attempt has been made to give a brief survey of migratory movements and their repercussions on the ethnic composition of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia since 1912.

According to their scope and consequences, they can be listed among the greatest changes of this kind in Europe in the present century.

Despite all the above-stated reduction undergone by the Macedonians of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the last eight decades, mostly from political motives, the fact that their presence is still relatively marked and that in the areas of Voden (Edessa), Lerin (Florina) and Kostur (Kastoria) they are still a majority even today is surprising.

The continuing presence of over 220,000 Macedonians in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia confirms indisputably the fact that it is not an easy matter to uproot a people from where it has lived throughout centuries despite all the measures of violence, denationalization and assimilation utilised.

This also points to the fact that it is in the interest of every country to have and to implement a policy of respect for the national minorities that live within it and to acknowledge their particularity by means of all possibilities for developing their national traditions and cultures freely.

This is in the interests of Greece itself, since in practice and throughout history it has been demonstrated that the suppression of freedom and of the national traditions of national and ethnic minorities does not in any way lead towards cooperation or the coming together of peoples.

NOTES:

1 Συνθήκη Ειρήνης μεταξύ των Συμμάχων δυνάμεων και της Βουλγαρίας μετά του προσθέτου πρωτοκόλου, υπογραφείσα εν Νεϊγύ τη 14-27 Νοεμβρίου 1919. Εν Αθήναις 1919; Д-р Б. Д. Кесяковъ, Приносъ към дипломатическата история, Vol. I and II, София 1926; A History of the Macedonian People. Vol. II, Skopje, 1969, pp. 376-8. A small area of Macedonia remained within the framework of the new Albanian state. Part of the territory of Mala Prespa and further south, with a total of 14 villages which from 1913 to 1923 were within the framework of the Greek state, was attached to this area in 1923. Those villages were: Vernik, Zagradec, Vidova, Kapešnica and Trstenik which, up to then, had belonged to the district of Kostur (Kastoria), and Globočani, Gorna and Dolna Gorica, Tumenec, Cerje, Šulin, Pustec, Leska and Zrnovsko which used to belong to the district of Lerin (Edessa).

2 A History of the Macedonian People. Vol. III, pp. 7 & 170; Οικονομικός και Κοινωνικός Άτλας της Ελλάδος, Αθήναι 1964, p. 204; Πληθυσμός του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 19ης Δεκεμβρίου 1920. Πραγματικός πληθυσμός, Αθήναι 1921. Greek statistics do not always show the same figures with reference to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia's area. This is due to the frequent administrative changes whereby some of the inhabited places bordering on Epirus and Thessaly, such as Densko (Aetomilica), Leptokarija and others sometimes administratively belonged to Macedonia and at others to Epirus or Thessaly. By a decree of the Greek government of 21 November 1923, published in the Government Bulletin No. 349 of 3 December 1923, more than 20 villages in the Drama district were set apart and attached to the newly-established Thracian district of Ksanti. These villages belonged to the then municipalities of Eni Koy, Kozludja and Sarnic and covered a total area of over 300 km².

3 Οικονομικός και Κοινωνικός Άτλας της Ελλάδος, Αθήναι 1964, p. 204; Πληθυσμός του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 19ης Δεκεμβρίου 1920. Πραγματικός πληθυσμός, Αθήναι 1921.

4 Απαρίθμησις των κατοίκων των Νέων Επαρχιών της Ελλάδος του έτους 1913, Αθήναι 1916.

5 Васил Кънчов, Македония, Етнография и статистика, София 1900; Todor Simovski, The Balkan Wars and Their Repercussions on the Ethnic Situation in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, Institute of National History Bulletin, Yr. XVI, No. 3, Skopje, 1972, p. 62.

6 Bucharest Peace, Belgrade, 1914; Petar Stojanov, Ph.D., Macedonia During the Period of the Balkan Wars and the First World War (1912-18), Skopje, 1969, pp. 58-63.

7 Survey of the Balkans. Анкета на Балканите, Докладъ на Карнегиевата комисия по войните праз 1912-1913 година, Sofia, 1914, pp. 2 & 137.

8 Survey of the Balkans, p. 132.

9 Survey of the Balkans, pp. 10-29; Д-ръ Л. Милетичъ, Гръцките жестокости въ Македония през гръцко-българската война, Sofia, 1913, pp. 39-41 & 57-73.

10 Survey of the Balkans, p. 185; list - table of the refugee population in Bulgaria according to age and place of origin from 1924. The list belongs to the Moloff Collection kept in the Vasil Kolarov National Library in Sofia. A photocopy exists in the author's personal archives.

11 Survey of the Balkans. p. 184.

12 Ibid. p. 81.

13 Survey of the Balkans; Archive of Macedonia, Macedonian National Committee Collection, Sofia. In this collection there are extremely extensive records relating to this problem.

14 Général Sarrail, Mon Commandement en Orient (1916-18), Paris, 1920, Annexes; Διπλωματικά έγγραφα 1913-1917. Ελληνικοσερβική συνθήκη συμμαχίας – Εισβολή Γερμανοβουλγάρων εις Μακεδονίαν, Αθήναις 1919, p. 88-93.

15 State Archive of Serbia, Belgrade, Refugee Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Governmental Commissions.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Στατιστικά αποτελέσματα της απογραφής του πληθυσμού της Ελλάδος της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928. IV. Lieu de Naissance - Religion et Langue, Αθήναις 1935. IV lieu de Naissance, Religion et Langue, Athenes, 1935. According to these statistics, in the census of 1928, persons born in Yugoslavia accounted for a total number of 15,504 in the whole of Greece, while in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia alone there were 13,038. Considering that in the preceding period some of them had died and their descendents were not registered since they were born in the place of settlement, it is clear that their number would have been slightly higher than that officially registered in 1928.

20 List - table from the Moloff Collection previously quoted.

21 Ibid

22 Ibid. With reference to the tragedy and the consequences suffered by Macedonian emigrants from the regions bordering on Bulgaria, particularly from Dojran and Gevgelija, there is rich documentary evidence in the above-mentioned Collection of the Macedonian National Committee in Sofia, held in the Archive of Macedonia. See also Vlado Kartov, Gevgelija and the Gevgelija Region from the Balkan Wars to the Liberation (1912-44), Skopje, 1969, pp. 51 & 56 and Mito Temenugov-Železni, Dojran and the Dojran Area in the Past and Today, Skopje, 1972, pp. 230-4.

23 List - table from the Moloff Collection previously quoted.

24 Στατιστικά αποτελέσματα της απογραφής του πληθυσμού της Ελλάδος της 15 - 16 Μαΐου 1928. I. Πραγματικός και νόμιμος πληθυσμός, πρόσφυγες, Αθήναις 1935, p. 438-444. According to

these statistics, the exact number of immigrants into Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia was 101,748.

25 A large number of Patriarchist Macedonians, influenced by the Greater Greece propaganda, moved to Greece during the Balkan Wars and the First World War, only to be confronted by the truth that they were not and could not be Greeks as they had thought they might, and returned to their homes after the normalisation of the situation. Such cases were most numerous among Macedonians from Strumica and its surroundings, and from Gevgelija, Dojran and Bitola and their surroundings. (From the author's personal survey.)

26 List - table from the Moloff Collection previously quoted.

27 This Convention, entitled "Convention between Bulgaria and Greece on the Mutual and Voluntary Emigration of Minorities" was published in the gazettes of the time in both Greece and Bulgaria. The entire text of the Convention was published in Wurfbain Andre, Dr. Sci. Polit., *L'échange Greco-Bulgare des minorites ethniques*, Lausanne-Geneve-Neuchatel-Vevey-Montreux-Berne-Bale, 1930 under the title *Convention entre la Grèce et la Bulgarie relative a l'émigration reciproque*, signée à Neuille-sur-Siene le 27 novembre 1919, pp. 183-7. The Convention contained 11 articles and was signed by the Prime Minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, and the Greek Foreign Minister Nikolaos Politis for the one side and the Bulgarian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Aleksandar Stamboliski for the other.

28 Above-quoted work by Wurfbain, pp. 45-6. See also, Jacques Frou Dupard, *La protection de minorites*, Paris, 1922, p. 215.

29 Ibid., p. 178.

30 On the insistence of Greece, Turkey agreed that the Greek Patriarchate, and the Greek population in Constantinople, should not be subject to the compulsory exchange in compliance with the Lausanne Convention, hoping that there would be an opportunity in the future to take over the Straits and Constantinople. Greece, in return, agreed that the Moslem population in Western Thrace should also not be subject to the compulsory exchange, intimately hoping

that, under favourable historical circumstances, it would be able to regain this area. See the Lausanne Convention on the compulsory exchange of 24 July 1923.)

31 Στατιστικά αποτελέσματα της απογραφής του πληθυσμού της Ελλάδος της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928. I. Πραγματικός και νόμιμος πληθυσμός, Πρόσφυγες, Αθήναι 1933; Egé-état matrimonial – Instruction. Athènes, 1935, pp. 438-44. According to these official statistics, in the course of 1922 and later 538,595 persons moved to Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, whereas before that, as mentioned in footnote 25, 107,748 persons, which is to say that, up to 1928, 640,343 colonists in all immigrated into Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.

32 Most of the Moslem Macedonians were in the Meglen district while there were some in other districts as well. See Васил Кънчов, Избрани произведения, Том II, София 1970, p. 331-346.

33 VERITAS, Македония поль иго 1919-1929. Документи и свидетелства. София 1931. The greatest number of the 707 documents published in this volume refer to such kinds of pressure. This is also quoted in the above-mentioned work by André Wurfain. See in: Archive of Macedonia, Macedonian National Committee Collection, Sofia.

34 See the documents mentioned in footnote 34. According to Les cahiers de droits de l'homme. No.24/25, 30.XI.1927, from 1 January 1919 104 persons were slain, there were 95 rapes, 26 of which were carried out on girls younger than 14, 3,464 people were imprisoned, 2,327 tortured and 1,165 families were robbed and forcibly banished.

35 See concerning the slaughter in Trlis: Rapport du Commandant Marcel de Roover et du Lt. Col. A. A. Corfe. Membres de la commission mixte nommes par le Conseil de la Societe des Nations relatif a l'émigration greco-bulgare sur les événements de 26 et 27 juillet 1924 dans la region de Tarlis, 1924, pp. XXXVII-XXXIX. See also Veritas, Македония поль иго. . . , pp. CLV-CLIX. Almost all the European newspapers wrote, at the end of July or the beginning of August 1924, of this cruel slaughter which caused a

great uproar throughout Europe. Much material on this is also to be found in the reports of the Avala News Agency of Belgrade and also in Southern Star (Južna Zvezda) which appeared in Bitola.

36 Македонија полъ иго..., Nos.217 & 223-8, pp. 128- 37. See also Southern Star (Juzna Zvezda), which was published in Bitola, of the same period.

37 Василь Георгиевъ, Впечатления отъ Гръцка Македонија, in manuscript form pp. 299-302. This ms. is held in the Institute of National History. This work gives the total number of all the Macedonians who emigrated to Bulgaria in accordance with the Neuilly Convention with neatly ordered documents for each village. Their number amounts to 32,232 persons. The number of people who emigrated to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was approximately the same in the above-mentioned period, and it is based on the author's own research.

38 Archive of Macedonia, Macedonian National Committee Collection, Sofia. See esp. the report of the Macedonian Benevolent Brotherhood Committee, Sofia, 1926.

39 Veritas, Македонија полъ иго...; AM, Macedonian National Committee Fund...

40 AM, Macedonian National Committee Fund - Sofia; v. Ilinden of 1924 published in Sofia.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Quoted report of the National Committee of Macedonian Philanthropic Fraternities, Sofia, 1926.

46 Andre Wurf bain, op. cit., p. 106.

47 Lucien Cramer, *Revue internationale de la Croix Rouge*, VII, no. 83, Nov. 1925. See also *Veritas*, pp. 424-27.

48 AM, Macedonian National Committee Fund, Sofia; see also the quoted report of the National Committee of Macedonian Philanthropic Fraternities ...

49 See the quoted press of the period.

50 Д-р Вл. Руменовъ, Българите въ Македония подъ Гръцка властъ. Отделен отпечаток од “Македонски прегледъ”, 1941, Sofia, p. 90. This number is obtained by adding the number of Macedonians who emigrated before the Neuilly Convention by means of “voluntary emigration” in 1919 according to the quoted table-list in the Moloff Collection and that of the around 33,000 Macedonians who emigrated after 1919 by virtue of the above-mentioned Convention.

51 In view of the fact that between 1928 and 1940 there was significant emigration from Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia, it can be stated with certainty that the increase from 1,408,784 inhabitants, as there were in Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in 1928, to 1,759,130 in 1940 was due to natural increase. The Macedonian population, i.e. Macedonian settlements, represented the dominant figure in this birth-rate. For example, the following Macedonian villages had the following number of inhabitants in 1928: Zervi - 304, Cegan - 1,024, Mokreni - 924, Zagoričani - 890, German - 1,622, Banica - 1,995, Gorničeno - 1,093, etc. In 1940 the same villages had the following populations: Žervi - 457, Čegan - 1,395, Mokreni - 1,133, Zagoričani - 1,247, German - 2,177, Banica - 2,450, Gorničeno - 1,577, etc. See: Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928. Δευτέρα Εκδοσις, Αθήναι 1935; Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 16ης Οκτωβρίου 1940. Πραγματικός πλιθυσμός κατά νομούς, επαρχίας, πόλεις και χωρία. Athens 1950.

52 Στατιστικά αποτελέσματα της απογραφής του πληθυσμού της Ελλάδος της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928. I. Πραγματικός και νόμιμος πληθυσμός, πρόσφυγες, Athens, 1933, pp. 225-444. These pages

give the number of emigrants by districts and settlements, whereby the exact number of emigrants and of the local population can be seen, See also Rumenov's above-mentioned work pp. 90 & 92.

53 See the quoted population censuses in Greece of 1920, 1928 and 1940.

54 The volume Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the National Liberation War, I, II, III & IV. These collections of documents are full of source materials on the various types of violence perpetrated upon the Macedonian population of Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia during the period in question.

55 The volume Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia in the National Liberation War, vol. II, Skopje, 1973, edited by Risto Kirjazovski and Todor Simovski.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid... See also the speeches by Tito of 7 July 1945 delivered in Kosmaj on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Serbian uprising and of 11 October 1945 delivered in Skopje on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Macedonian uprising. In these speeches Tito talks of the terror that the Greek monarcho-fascists were exercising upon Macedonians and Greek anti-fascists. See likewise the entire Yugoslav press of that period, esp. Nova Makedonija, Borba, Politika and Bilten, the publication of the Chief HQ of the NOF for Aegean (Greek occupied) Macedonia.