

**HISTORY
OF THE MACEDONIAN PEOPLE**

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL HISTORY

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MACEDONIA IN THE PREHISTORIC TIME

On the territory of Macedonia an active life is registered even in the earliest stages of the human prehistory. The climate, geomorphology, and other natural factors on the whole territory of Macedonia were pre-conditions for establishment of an organized life and for the creation of different cultures whose evolution had a continuous course from the period of the first agricultural communities to the end of the Iron Age. The archeological and anthropological researches of the artifacts from the first settlements in Macedonia are where the basic knowledge which is crucial for the explanation of the origin of the later populations as well as the origin of the historical and cultural influences and movements came from.

The territory of Macedonia is situated in the core of the Balkan's natural crossroads and connects the two largest cultural spheres: the Aegean and the Anatolian, as the nuclei of the oldest farming and stock-breeding communities, or the inner part of the Balkan Peninsula and the Middle Europe. The natural routes along the river valleys have the particular role from this aspect; the valley of the river Vardar, which joins the valley of the river Morava enables communication of the Aegean World and Panonia while Strumeshnica, through lower reaches of the river Struma makes a link between southern Thrace and the front part of the Middle Asia. The valley of the river Drim joins the southern Adriatic coastline. The great influence comes from the routes on the mountain curves of the massifs around the region of Ohrid and Prespa which connect this region with the Albanian cultures as well as the Osogovo Mountain and Maleshevski Planini, which connect Macedonia with the middle reaches of the river Struma and Central Bulgaria.

Paleontological explorations reveal the facts about the life during the period of Paleolith and Mesolite, in particular in Pellagonia, at the area of Veles, in the cave of Makarovec at the canyon of the river Babuna and in the region of Shtip, where the material proof of the first bone and stone made weapons and tools are discovered (pin shaped, stone made tools of the man – huntsman); in the burial discovered near Shtip, a skeleton of a man was found, whose age dates from year 9000 BC). The artifacts from the Mesolithic Age (between the year 10,000 and 5,000 BC) such as: axes, hammers, flint made knives, crushing stone, pestles, mortars, needles, bone made and horn made chisels, prove the existence of the first farming and stock-breeding communities.

The map of the archeological locations shows the existence of nearly 160 Neolithical sites (from the period of the year 5,300 to 3,200 BC), mainly settlements placed on fertile land along the river valleys and at the mountain basis of the valleys of Pellagonia, Skopje, Kumanovo, Strumica, Radovish and Polog. Such evidences are also found in the region of Ovche Pole and Ohrid Basin. In eastern Macedonia, so-called Azenbegovo and Vrshnik group is characteristic with the elements of the eponymous settlements and late Neolithic culture called *Angelci* – the village of Zelenikovo. In the multi-layered settlements the life was organized in wooden houses on quadrangle or rectangular base, with double-row roof coated with mud and colored in white or red, sometimes decorated with plastic ornaments; in each house there was a stove, a fireplace, and rarely some cult objects (Tumba Madzari). The evidence of Tumba Madzari confirms the dense construction of the settlements in which houses are grouped around a common sanctuary and with equal orientation. At the region of Ohrid the settlements have a different aspect. Namely, there are pile-dwellings, which are analogous of the Adriatic cultures.

It is supposed that the inhabitants of the Pre-Ancient Macedonia were mainly dealing with farming (cultivation of cereal grains and growing of leguminous plants), stockbreeding (sheep, pigs, goats and livestock) as well as fishing and hunting. The pottery production was not only for domestic, everyday living purposes (in the early Neolithic period the pottery was mainly roughly made, monochrome or red colored, decorated with ornaments and geometrical motifs in white color – *Amphora* and *deep oval dishes*) but great attention was paid on the artistic and esthetic expression (variety of shapes and pottery of bigger size occurred, small earthenware, jugs, Amphora-s, cups on high, cone-shaped leg, pottery painted with dark brown geometrical lines) while the cult ceramic objects were made in artisan workshops. Among the religious artifacts the domi-

nant Deity is the Goddess of Fertility – The Big Mother, a sculpture of a woman's body in terracotta, whose lower part transforms into the form of a house; this unique Middle Neolithic representation of the Goddess from the Valley of Skopje is a protector of the home and the family; the cults of fire and domestic animals were also respected and they were all related to some religious rites in the sanctuaries.

The late Neolithic Age is a period when big social changes began. They were caused by the demographic movements of the neighboring area's populations.

The transition time from Neolith to Metal Age is well known as Eneolith (from the end of the IV to the end of the Millennium BC) and is connected with the great migrations that were caused by the movements of the Steppe and Nomadic Indo-European peoples, which settled the Balkan Peninsula and assimilated with the autochthonous population. This caused the creation of new prehistoric ethno-cultural entities of a specific material culture that is testified by many archeological proofs. As a result of an intensive use of copper this period is called Copper Age. The copper was used for production of jewelry, weapons, and tools and contributed to the development of trade. The people from this period were mainly farming, stockbreeding and hunting. The Regional Cultural Group of Shuplevac – Bakarno Gumno in Pellagonia, which is connected with the localities at the valley of Kumanovo (Nagorichane) and also the valley of East Bregalnica, is particularly interesting; some Eneolithic settlements are discovered near the Fortress Kale in Skopje, in Pellagonia, at the Ohrid and Prespa Basin, and at the region of Kochani. The settlements were constructed usually on some higher platforms – *tumba*, and were naturally protected. The exceptions are the pill-dwellings at the Ohrid Lake.

The discovered artifacts of small plastic objects demonstrate the rich spirituality and religious life of this cultural group. Due to be mentioned are the following evidences: Zoomorphic statues, male and female examples from Burlichevo, a small ceramic statue of male torso in sitting position from Govrlevo (near Skopje) so-called "Adam from Macedonia", small female statuettes in sitting position from Crnobuki and Bakarno Gumno, stone scepter from Shuplevac (a proof of the Indo-European origin of the population), a copper axe with a blade and circular opening (Vranishta, Kravari, the area of Prilep); the jewelry made of shells belongs here as well, modeled bracelets and seals, that prove the communications of this cultural group with the Mediterranean peoples.

The Bronze Age at the Aegean and Macedonian territory began earlier in comparison with the areas in the north. Most of the evidence

from this period is found in the valley of Pellagonia (before and after the year 1900 BC) exemplified in the cultural group called *Armenochory*. The archeological findings of this cultural group are similar with the findings from various excavation places in Aegean Macedonia and particularly with those dug in the valley of the river Vardar and in the District of Thessalonica. Special similarity of these findings was confirmed with the findings in Albania, such as the models of the cups, which contained two handles and the glasses that were only with one handle. These groups are somehow connected with the rough gray ceramics and the way it was decorated. From the findings of arms and tools, people were mainly farming, stockbreeding, hunting as well as doing artisan (pottery, twist texture, weaving texture). The settlements were larger and constructed over the previous Eneolithic settlements; some traces of necropolises were also discovered containing burnt dead bodies, and in Varosh near Prilep there is a necropolis outside the settlement with graves – *cisti*, which were fenced and paved with stone plates.

From the early bronze period in Macedonia a megalithic observatory is discovered, called Kokino (near Staro Nagorichane, at the area of Kumanovo); the observatory composed of volcanic rocks, marks the places where the Sun and the Moon rise in the period of summer solstice, winter solstice and equinox. Kokino was a kind of a sanctuary used for observation of the space bodies' movements in order to create a religious calendar for determination of the dates of rites; the Observatory also determined the days dedicated to seasonal work in the farming and the stockbreeding activities.

A special characteristic in this period is the working of bronze, so called "Macedonian bronze". Numerous artifacts discovered in the archeological localities at the village of Patele near Osogovsko Ezero (the Lake of Osogovo), Vardino at the upper reaches of the river Vardar, in Radanie, at the necropolis of Suva Reka near Gevgelija, in Pellagonia and at the region of Ohrid, such as (fibulas, necklaces, pendants, bracelets, bronze made small bowl-shaped dishes with a handle)

Typical characteristic in this period are also the trade relationships established with the Mycenaean World and with the south in general, in the direct line of Thessaly – Haliacmon (Bistrica) – Pellagonia – Polog – Ibar, or on the road-line Pletvar – Vardar; the artifact of this period is the Mycenaean sword in Tetovo.

At the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, there is continuity of an important ethnical population – Bryges. The older authors hold an opinion that the Bryges were the

oldest people in the World. According the archeological, onomastic, linguistic and historical researches, the Bryges migrated and settled in Asia Minor under the name Phrygi - Phrygians (the first migration waves dated from the period of 1500/1400 BC to 800/700 BC); smaller ethnical groups that left on the territory of Macedonia in the Antique Period assimilated with the antique Macedonian, Paeonians, Pellagones Dassaretæ, Edones, Mygdones and other ethnics.

The Indo-European way of burying under a burial mound and in general the material culture (characteristic dishes such as two-handle bowls) prove the presence of the Bryges's population in the region of Ohrid, in Pellagonia, in the east of the lower reaches of the river Vardar, then in the northwestern area or present time Greece, in Epirus, and in the central, southeastern and southern Albania. However the inter-disciplinary researches demonstrated that there was general connection of the cultures from the Karpates to the Adriatic Sea and to Pellagonia; this wide geographical area includes also the areas of the central Balkans, along the valley of the river Morava (Pomoravje) and along the valley of the river Vardar (Povardarje).

The archeological research of the periods from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age discovered necropolises on the territory that had been settled by the Paiones, which as an old population represents a link between the geographical complex of the Balkan and the low reaches of the river Danube with the Lower Macedonia. In the region of Skopje (the village of Dolno Sonje) and in the locality Bolnica - Prilep graves- *cisti* of skeleton burying type were discovered, with skeletons in the curved or "S" position, the grave findings of ceramic dishes and the stone made hilt's ball of a bronze made sword. This ethnical community settled the southern part of the central Balkans: Homer speaks of "Paiones from the wide Axios" (Vardar) and according to Herodotus, these tribes settled the area around Mount Pangeum, the river Strymon, and Prasiadious Lake; while Thucydides located them in the area in the west of Pella up to the sea.

In the XII century BC other waves of disturbances and migrations reached the Balkan Peninsula (so-called "Aegean migration") that brought along new cultural elements and marked the beginning of the Iron Age. For this period is characteristic the influence that was made by the cultures of the Mediterranean, as well as by the culture that derives from the Carpathians and the area along the valley of the river Danube where previously before the end of the IX century BC started the disintegration of the culture of the ember fields. As a proof for the arrival of the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes from the Russian steppes that were moving to-

wards the Balkans in waves, were the artifacts of ceramics with pressed ornaments and with incrustation; these artifacts can be connected with the findings of Pont, as well as with the formation of the style *basarabi* that covers the area from the Black Sea to Voivodina, with a huge influence in the west and in Macedonia. It is particularly interesting the appearance of the horse equipment and new types of arms such as axes, lances, arrows, “labris” (a new-shaped iron made sword, shields). In the necropolis at Trebenishte (near Ohrid) numerous findings were revealed (from the VII century BC to the end of the IV century BC). On the basis of the golden material proof from these graves (golden funeral masks, golden sandals, bracelets, golden and silver jewelry, massive bronze “crateres”, silver cups and “ritoni”, bronze made helmets and other cult objects) they are called “princely graves” because they obviously belonged to the passed away from the noble aristocracy; such artifacts are also found in the necropolis Syndos, near Thessalonica and in area of Halkidiki and along the low reaches of the river Vardar.

This period ends at the VIII century BC when separate ethnic communities with specific historical and cultural heritage had been formed. The intensive use of iron as a base material for production of weapons and tools has influenced the material culture which by its side drew changes within the social structure; namely, the social and economical situation was changed, and the fact that a part of the population gained wealth was the reason for its class stratification. During the late Iron Age the first clan structured and tribal communities were created in which the concentrated economical and political power of the noble aristocracy contributed to the creation of the ruling class as well as the states and social systems. Actually this was the period when the hereditary monarchies were created and the dynasties of the Antique Macedonia.

MACEDONIA IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

1. Historical and geographic borders of the Ancient Macedonia (the oldest historical records about Macedonia)

The first records regarding the Macedonian history is in Homer's epic poem *Iliad* in which Homer wrote about "...Paeonians" from "wide Axios" and he mentions the oldest toponyms Pieria and Emathia. The name Emathia was overridden by the name *Macedonia* whose older name used to be Maketa and Makedon as Hesiod, in his *Teogonia*, he mentioned it where he determined Makedon as the son of Zeus and Thia. The etymology of the name Macedonia, most probably derives from the substratum of extinct Balkan languages of Indo-European origin.

Considering the geographical characteristics, the Ancient Macedonia spread over the territory of the northeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula; the ancient authors describe it as a mountainous country with lots of rivers, fertile plains, forests, lakes and minerals. Almost all Macedonian rivers (Vardar, Struma and others) flow into the Aegean Sea. Along the valleys there are numerous lakes: Bolbe (Lake Volve), Lake Ludias, Lake Kastoria, Little Lake and Big Lake Prespa and Lake of Lychnidos. The fertile plains enabled the development of farming, cultivation of fruit and vegetables and viticulture (grape growing); among the most cultivated cultures were figs, grapes and olives. The forest resources made Macedonia one of the largest exporters in the Mediterranean of the highest quality wood and resin for the production of ships. Mineral wealth instead made its contribution to the economical growth of the country; there were gold and silver mines on the east of Axios, near Strymōn (Struma River) on the Mountain Pangaion, at Lake Prasiadios and near Daton. All these enabled Macedonia to gain economical independence.

The Olympus Mountain, river Peneios and the coastline of the Aegean Sea marked the geographical, ethnical and linguistic border between the Macedonian and southern Hellenic territory (on the south);

southwestern borderline spread up to the Pindus Mountains – the junction of Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly borders; the western border continued along the Shar-Mountains massif (Jablanica, Mount Korab, Deshat) up to the mountain Skard (Shar Mountain) – the junction of borders among Macedonia, Ilyria and Dardania; the northern borders went down along the slopes of the Mountain Jakupica and passed in the middle of the current cities Skopje and Veles and following the course of River Pčinja reached the Osogovo Mountains continuing up to the Rila Mountains; on the east the border followed the line from the Pirin Mountain up to the river Nest estuary (current river Mesta) in the Aegean Sea.

The core of the Macedonian state, according to Herodotus, was the so called the area of Lydia (between the rivers of Lydia and Axios). The coastal (seaside) Macedonia was called Lower Macedonia by the ancient authors while inner mountainous part – Upper Macedonia. Lower Macedonia covered the central part of the Macedonia and spread over the area between the rivers Haliakmon (Bistrica) and Axios (Vardar), as well as along the lower courses of the rivers Strymōn and Nest. The Macedonian rulers joined these two regions into one Macedonian state.

This partition represents the geographical and ethnical as well as historical content of the territory of Ancient Macedonia but at the same time it shows the political borderline of the ancient Macedonian state. The ancient authors, historiographers, geographers, logographers, biographers, through centuries were pointing out these geographical and topographical as well as historical and ethical determinations, which became a part of the Ancient state of Macedonia.

2. The ethnogenesis of the Ancient Macedonians

The Ancient Macedonians are paleo-Balkan population of Indo-European origin. They formed as a separate ethnos in the VIII century BC, from the populations that even in the III millennium settled the area of the central Balkans. At the end of the III and at the beginning of the II millennium BC, in the period of the greatest movements and migrations to Euro-Asia, started the Europeanization process of the populations in the Balkans. The region of the central Balkans, or more precisely, its southwestern part was populated by the oldest ethnical community, the Bryges (the Bryges settled the territory from the Pangaeum Mountain on the east of the river Axios to the central, southeastern and southern part of the current Albanian territory, Epirus, Ohrid region and Pellagonia). The

ancient authors believed that Bryges were the oldest people in the world (Herodotus) and the inventors of great number of skills (metal elaboration, mint coins, the invention of the wheel, the use of grain, *sirinks* – Marsyas' music).

The archeological, historical, onomastic and linguistic research demonstrates the ethnographical and linguistic connection of the Bryges with the ancient Macedonians. The ethnogenesis of the Macedonians is made of several ethnical groups that were lining the territory of Ancient Macedonia.

From the VIII century BC the unification process of the Macedonian tribes started in a sole country of the Ancient Macedonians under the rule of the Macedonian Emperors of the Argeadas dynasty. The state started expanding its territory. From the initial territory among the rivers Axios (Vardar), Lydia (Moglenica) and Haliacmon (Bistrica) it reached its largest territory in the period of Philip II (359-336) while during the rule of Alexander III of Macedonia (336-323) it reached its world's dimensions not only in terms of its military and economical power but also in terms of the historical significance of its civilization.

The ancient records testify the peculiarity and specificity of the Ancient Macedonians over the other neighboring ethnic groups – Hellenes, Thracians, Illyrians, Mysians; the peculiarity and specificity of the Ancient Macedonians over the Hellenes is the best noticed in the state constitution (the ancient political analysts wrote about the Macedonian *Basilea* that “the Macedonian cannot live without) – a Monarchy with hereditary ruler and with state institutions that rule according the “Macedonians legislative”; then specific Macedonian customs, ceremonies (wedding ceremonies), celebrations of the Macedonian deities are noticed (bacchi, Klodones, Mimalones, maenads), myths about the Macedonian Royal dynasty (Karan, Temen, Makedon, Mida), Macedonian cults (the cult of the water – *Bedi*, cult of the Sun, cult of the dog), the cults of the Macedonian deities (Bacchae, Sabasius, Zeirene, Heracles, Orpheus, the Muses) and a separate Macedonian language is also registered.

3. The language of the Ancient Macedonians

Although there are many proofs in the ancient authors' works about the distinctive Macedonian language around 150 Macedonian glosses are officially published until this point which confirms that the Macedonian language is an Indo-European language and it is related to the language of the Bryges. For instance, Plutarch testifies about the existence of the self-owned language of the Macedonians: Alexander in his own language addressed his shield-bearers; or the soldiers saluted the military commander (general) Eumenes in their own language. The use of the Macedonian language is also proved in a record on Egypt papyrus, which is related to the delegate Xenias who spoke Macedonian.

For the differences between the Macedonian and the Old Greek language and for the different customs testify also the part of the history of Quintus Curtius Rufus in which Alexander blamably addressed to the general Philotas and asked him if he would use the Macedonian language in front of the soldiers. Philotas found excuses and answered that besides the Macedonians, there were many present who, he thought, would find what he was going to say easier to understand if he used the language Alexander himself had been using, too. However, Alexander blamed Philotas of being disgusted by his own native language and alienated from the Macedonian customs and language. (Here Rufus refers to the Old Greek language – *Koine*, comprehensive not only for the Macedonians that “make use of it” although it was not their mother tongue, but also for the peoples from Persia).

Obviously *Koine* (an artificial language similar to the ancient) became the world's literature language, which continued being used in the Literature of the Roman Republic and later in the Roman and Romaioi Empire, too. This language was being used in the Macedonian Royal Court of pragmatic reasons in order to make it easier the commercial, political and cultural communication among the people of the Old world. All Hellenic and Roman authors represent the Macedonians as a separate ethnos, different and alien over the Hellenes, with different mentality, language and customs. The most often the Macedonians are represented as “barbarians” and Hellenes' enemy. Despite the military and political confrontations between the Macedonians and Hellenic city-states there were commercial and cultural relations that were creating entirely new era of global rating civilization achievements.

4. The religion of the Ancient Macedonians

The ancient Macedonian cults and myths represent the spiritual culture of the Ancient Macedonians. The ancient cults and myths of the Ancient Macedonians, as part of the cultic mythology of the ancient peoples that settled the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, strongly influenced the Hellenic mysterious and religious reality. In the Greek and Latin literature records, the Macedonian deities regarding their attributes were variously interpreted; namely, the Hellenic and Roman authors interpreted the Macedonian deities through Hellenic and Latin equivalents. The reason for this was the fact that the Ancient Macedonians based their religion upon the collective memory and people's tradition so that in order to reveal the authenticity of this spirituality it is necessary to apply the analogous method and to make comparisons with the mythological interpretations of the other Indo-European peoples from the Indo-European heritage.

The holy Macedonian city – Dion in Pieria was a center of the religious and cultural life in the period of Archelaus I and the Olympic Games initiated exactly there, in Dion. The Macedonians celebrated the deities of Dion, Bacchus, Sabasius, Dionysus etc; the goddesses were particularly respected such as Alkidemnos, Gigaia, Zeirene, Bendida and the woman of Paeonia and Thracian woman brought gifts to the deities of the nature wrapped in corn straw. The cult of the Sun and the Sun's rosette are symbols of the Macedonian rulers.

5. The Macedonian Emperors from the Argeadas dynasty

In the ancient records the name of Argeadas was used to indicate on the first Imperial Dynasty in Macedonia (Argeas is the eponymous hero of Makedon), associated with the city of Argos in Orestis. At the end of the VIII century BC the Macedonian ruler started the unification process of the Lower and Upper Macedonian tribes in a single state. The ruling Argeadas Dynasty is a paradigm of a long-centuries well-organized rule, which was led by an exclusive aim to make Macedonia a powerful state. The historical ruling period of the Macedonian Emperors from the Argeadas Dynasty started in 707 BC and lasted to 310/309 BC. The names of the Macedonian Emperors in chronological order appeared as follows: Perdiccas I, Argaeus I, Philip, Aeropus I, Alcetas, Amyntas I, Alexander I, Perdiccas II, Archelaus, Orestes, Aeropus II, Amyntas II, Pausanias, Amyntas III, Alexander II, Ptolemy Alorus, Perdiccas III, Philip II, Alexander III the Great, Philip III, Arrhidaeus, Alexander IV

(310/309 BC). The history of the oldest Macedonian dynasty is briefly represented in the historiographies of Herodotus and Thucydides. In these records there are many legends about the establishment of the Macedonian dynasty such as the legend of the three brothers, Perdiccas, Aeropus and Gavanus and much data regarding ancient Macedonian customs and myths like the mythological representation of the Sun, the river and so on. The first Macedonian basileos, **Perdiccas I** (around 707-659 BC), ordered to be buried in Aiga (Aegeae), the first Macedonian capital, and not only his mortal remnants but also to those of the later emperors to be deposited there (according to the Macedonian legend this was the way in which the Macedonian rule was maintained within the family).

For the following rulers, **Argaeus I** (659-645), **Philip I** (644-640) and **Aeropus I** (639-574) there is not much information and regard only to their warfare with the Illyrians. Aeropus campaigned also with the Thracians. He reinforced the Macedonian military organization and enlarged the state.

There are more detailed historical records about the Macedonian Emperor **Amyntas I** and his son Alexander I. This was the period when the military campaign of the Persian's Army started on the Balkan (513 BC) and its movement crossing Macedonia towards Hellada. Amyntas I (540-489) at the beginning ruled over Pieria, Bottiaea and Eordaea but he expended his rule over the area besides the river Axios delta and western Mygdonia – the area called Anthemus, up to the northern boundary of the state – the mountain Dysoron. Amyntas I established good political and commercial relationships with Peisistrates from Athens. Macedonia was constrained to recognize the Persian rule after the end of Darius' campaign against Scythians.

The next ruler was **Alexander I** (498-454), who was called Philhellen (admirer of the Hellenes) in the Hellenic period, was the older son of Amyntas I. He ruled over Lower Macedonia, on the territory from the Olympus Mountain up to the river Strymon (Struma) and also on a part of the Upper Macedonian territory (Lyncestis, Orestis, Elimiotis).

In the period during the first years of the Alexander's I rule the territory of Macedonia was under the control of the enormous Army of the Persian Emperor Xerxes that was composed of various armies of all defeated peoples in the Balkan; the Macedonian Army participated in the Greek-Persian War but on the side of the Persians. According to Herodotus, Alexander sent heralds to the Hellenic Army, situated in Tempe (480 BC), the crossing point from Lower Macedonia towards Thessaly, in order to warn the Hellenes about the danger from the enormous Persian

Army; at the same time Alexander was sent by the Xerxes' General Mardonius to Athens to persuade the Athenians to enter into alliance with Persia; prior to the Battle of Plataea, "Alexander the Macedonian" left the camp of the Persian Army in secrecy and went to the Athenians to inform them about the Mardonius' plan.

It seems that all these episodes of the Greek-Persian War were narrated by Herodotus in order to justify the friendly attitudes of the Athenians and the sympathy they had for the Macedonian Emperor, who is proclaimed "proxenos" and "euergetes" (a friend and a benefactor) of Athens, and after the Greek-Persian War his golden statue was placed in Delphi. The possession of sympathies for the Athenians was most probably down to the commercial relationships between these two countries and in particular down to the supplies of wooden material from Macedonia necessary for the Athenian navy.

On the other hand, always according to Herodotus, Alexander wanted to compete on the Hellenic Olympic Games, but the Hellenes did not allow him, because as he wrote: "the competition is not for barbarians but for Hellenes"; due to this Alexander was forced to prove his Hellenic origin, and he benefited from the homonymy between the Argos in Orestis and Argos on Peloponnesian Island. It is due to mention that the victory of Alexander at the Olympic Games is not recorded on the preserved lists of the Olympic winners with the exception in literature record.

After the Greek-Persian War, Alexander I with the annexation of the new territories of the Edonians, on the East up to the river Struma, he strengthened the state economically operating the gold and silver mine on the mountain Dysoron and with this began the process of minting coins of the Macedonian ruler. After the death of Alexander I the rule was divided among his sons: Perdicas II got the Supreme Authority in Aiga, Philip ruled in Amphacsitida, it is unknown what part of the Empire belonged to Alcetas while Amyntas and Menalayas remained anonymous as rulers.

Perdicas II (454/413-414/413) kept following the main objective of the previous rulers – to create a powerful Macedonian state, and in order to reach this goal he applied complex diplomatic games, tactics and strategies. Perdicas II ruled in the period of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides) and making use of the animosity of the biggest Hellenic city-states (polis-poleis) Athens and Sparta; the Macedonian King (Czar) instigated and roused the antagonism between Athena and Sparta and in a diplomatic way but always in accordance with the interests of his own country he was taking sides, once that of the first city-state while in

another situation the side of the second one. In this period the relationship between Macedonia and Athens confronted upon the Northern coast of the Aegean Sea, in the basin of the river Strymon, where the Athenian colony was formed, called Amphipolis (437/436 BC).

Macedonia had been twice attacked by the Athenian troops near Pydna and thanks to the Corinth Army that was opposing the Athenians during the Battle of Potidaea (432 BC) the battles at Pydna stopped.

The military conflict was renewed when Perdiccas signed an agreement for military support with Sparta, while Athens together with the Thracian ruler Sitalces were preparing to attack Macedonia. The numerous army of Sitalces, entered into Amfaksitida across the valley of Strumica and Dober (Valandovo), and devastated Mygdonia, Crestonia and Anthemous. After a month period of campaigning, Sitalces didn't receive the promised support by the Athenians so that the Thracian army withdrew. Perdiccas concluded a truce or peace agreement with Sitalces and agreed on marriage between his sister Stratonika and the next heir to the Adrianople (Edrine) throne.

Endangered by the Athenian attacks, Macedonia and the cities of Chalcidice required help from Sparta. The Spartan Army, headed by General Brasida, arrived in Macedonia as support, led successful battles and conquered Amphipolis. As according to Brasida, he gave support to Perdiccas' army with a lot of soldiers (424/423 BC) in order to get into war against the Lyncestian ruler Arabaius, who was opposing the central Macedonian authority; however the Spartan-Macedonian Alliance was broken so that the Spartans remained on their own and continued the war against the Illyrian Army, which had been on the Arabai's side. This military campaign ended with the battle of Amphipolis when the Spartan general Brasida and the Athenian general Cleon were killed.

In 417/416 BC the Macedonian king was proclaimed Athenian enemy just because he did not send them military support during the battle of Amphipolis so that he entered into alliance with Sparta again. Athenian sent their troops to the Macedonian coast near Methone in order to ravage the country. But after these events, the historian Thucydides noticed that Perdiccas again was campaigning together with the Athenians at Amphipolis (414 BC).

However in this historical period, filled with military conflicts and strong political influences of the powerful city-states Athens and Sparta, Perdiccas managed to strengthen the Macedonian state and took initiatives for cultural growth of Macedonia establishing permanent cultural contacts with the Hellenes. Many educated Hellenes were often present in

the court of the Macedonian ruler (for example, the famous doctor Hiperitus and the poetry writer Melanipidus).

The idea about creation of politically, military and culturally superior Macedonia was also followed by the next King **Archelaus I** (413-399), the son of Perdiccas II. In this period the constellation of the military and political events in the Hellenic world created a new relationship between Athens and Macedonia; during the Peloponnesian War the Athenian military and economical power was destroyed and Macedonia gained remarkable benefits with the exportation of wooden material supplying the Athenian navy. The mutual interests caused the establishment of better commercial and friendly relationships between Archelaus and Athens; Archelaus obtained the title “proxenos”; nonetheless according Thrasymachus, Archelaus was “barbarian” over the Hellenes and that was the reason why he couldn’t become member of the Peloponnesian alliance.

The new political relations enabled the Macedonian Monarch to reinforce and enlarge the state through implementation of military and monetary reforms. Archelaus at the same time imposed its own military and political rule over Upper Macedonian areas particularly the areas ruled by Arabius (Lyncestis) and Syrra. According Thucydides, Archelaus was building fortresses, roads, was organizing everything that was necessary for campaigning: horses, weapons and other equipment, better than all other monarchs that had been previously ruling.

Most probably of geo-strategic and economical reasons, Archelaus transferred the capital from Aiga to Pella that in the period of Philip II developed and became the real Monarchical capital. The central position of the new political and administrative Monarchical center – Pella enabled total control of the country: on the west up to the Pindus Mountain, to the east to the river Strymon, in the north – the road along the valley of Axios, in the south – the sea with the port at the Lake Ludias – Phakos.

Archelaus strengthened his country through implementation of “monetary reforms”, i.e. applying Lydian-Persian monetary system; there were many new coins from his time that were being used for a long period and on a vast territory.

Archelaus I established the Macedonian Olympic Games (gymnastic, musical and theatrical competitions in honor of DIOS and the Muses) in the holy city Dion. The Macedonian Czar (King) became “patron” of the art, and Pella became the cultural center of the Balkans, the city-host of the outstanding persons: historian Thucydides, the tragedian Agathon, the epic poetry writer Choirilos from Samos, the musician Ti-

moteus from Milet, the icon-painter Zeuxis that painted the Castle of Pella and founded the Macedonian painting school; the tragedian Euripides the last years of his life spent on the Macedonian court where he wrote the drama *Archelaus* (dedicated to the ruler) and the tragedies *the Bacchae* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. Euripides passed away in Macedonia (408 BC) and was buried in the Aretusa. The Macedonian poetry writer, Adaios wrote the epitaph. There is evidence that Athens required the Euripides' mortal remnants but the Macedonian people's Assembly rejected this request.

At the end of his life Archelaus led campaigns with Lyncestian ruler Arabius and with Sira for gaining dominance in Macedonia. The Macedonian ruler was killed while hunting.

6. The battles for the Macedonian throne

In the period from the assassination of Archelaus to the Philip's II rule in Macedonia various struggles among the dynasties were conducted that weakened the power of the Macedonian state. The first three years were under the rule of **Aeropus II** (around 396-393) as a regent of the underage Orestes, the son of Perdiccas II. In this relatively peaceful period for Macedonia Aeropus set up internal stability supported by the Macedonian noblemen.

After his death, his son **Pausanias** came on the throne. According to the coin minting from 394/393 BC, Pausanias was ruling for a certain period together with **Amyntas II**, so called *the Little* and a year after that Amyntas III, the son of Aridaios, came on the throne.

Amyntas III (393/392 – 370/369) married to Eyridice (the daughter of Sira, the nobleman from Pellagonia), and he got three children with her, who would be the next coming Macedonian monarchs: Alexander II, Perdiccas III and Philip II.

In this period the western border of Macedonia was under pressure from the attacks of Illyrian tribes, which headed by Bardilis, entered and raided the areas of the Upper Macedonia.

The Macedonian rulers had permanent contacts with the Thessalian aristocrats and at the same time they were helping them because they wanted to expand their own territory. So in a period, Amyntas managed to set up his own protectorate over a great part of northern Thessaly and when the tyrant Jason from Phera conquered Thessaly, Amyntas concluded a political agreement with him.

In this period Amyntas set up a military and economical alliance with the Chalcidice Alliance for 50 years but the agreement soon was broken because the Chalcidice Alliance not only did not assist Macedonia when it had been attacked by the Illyrians but it also broke through into Pella. Amyntas required help from the Spartan hoplites, which attacked on Olynthushus (382 BC), because this, the most powerful city of Chalcidice entered into alliance with Thebes and Athens and it was a danger not only for Macedonia but also for Sparta. The Spartans together with the cavalry of Amyntas and Dedra from Elimea were campaigning until 379 BC when Olynthushus surrendered; according to Isocrates, the Spartans were not taking care for the pan-Hellenic interests but were conducting wars and losing their lives (the Spartan basileos and his brother were killed) for the benefits of the Macedonian rulers.

With the re-establishment of the Athenian Maritime Alliance, Macedonia became the main supplier of wooden material, and that was the reason for the new alliance between Athens and Macedonia above all with a purpose to conclude a trade (commercial) agreement. The Macedonian ruler participated at the general assembly, which was convoked in Sparta (371 BC) where he recognized the right of Athens to rule in Amphipolis.

After the Amyntas' III death, the Macedonian throne was inherited by the 20 years old Alexander II, the oldest of the three sons of Amyntas and Eyridice. Alexander continued the wars with Thessaly and conquered the cities Larissa and Chaeronea. The political turning point happened when Thebes, headed by Pellopida pushed out the Macedonian troops from Thessaly. After the death of Alexander II, Ptolemy Alorus, who probably was supported by Eyridice, conquered the Macedonian throne. As a guarantee for the military alliance, Thebes captured around 30 hostages from Macedonia and among them was Philip II, the youngest son of Amyntas III. The next coming great king Philip II of Macedon had stayed in Thebes for 3 years where he received Hellenic education and was drilled in military skills and strategies.

Ptolemy Alorus, as a guardian of Perdiccas and Philip, was ruling until 365 BC when Perdiccas III came to the throne and liberated Philip who had been a hostage. The new ruler set up good relations with Thebes therefore he was proclaimed "proxenos" and "evergetes" (friend and benefactor). Perdiccas was in a good relationship with Athens and he was also participating in some military actions on the side of the Athenians aiming to re-conquest the cities of Amphipolis, Potidaea, and other cities of Chalcidice. With the changes of the political circumstances, Perdiccas III turned against Athens and in 359 BC he conquered Amphipolis. At the

same time the Illyrians, headed by the old general Bardilius, attacked Orestis and Perdiccas got killed in the battle with 4,000 Macedonian soldiers (359 BC).

In this period of crisis for the Macedonian state, the Macedonian Assembly acclaimed Philip II, who was the youngest son of Amyntas III, a new Macedonian king.

7. The growth of the Macedonian State – the King Philip II of Macedonia

The crucial point in the development of the Macedonian state was overtaking the rule of Philip II (359-336). Philip II came on the throne at the age of 23, but his youth did not mean inexperience and ignorance in ruling the country. On the contrary, Philip who was the son of Amyntas III, as a hostage in Thebes obtained excellent personal education in the field of military organization and strategies, acquired superb military skills and studied the Pitagorian philosophy.

Because of this in the ancient history Philip II is known as the biggest ruler in Europe (Diodorus). Isocrates (in his act *Philip*) expressed admiration for the fact that Philip “gained such a power as no one else in Europe... Philip’s actions are heroic, because other people too were conquering cities but no one has conquered so many people”. Isocrates used Philip’s education as an argument for bringing closer the Macedonian ruler to the Hellenes, which were known xenophobes; so Isocrates explained to the Athenian intellectuals that Philip, although he was a ruler of “alien people”, he had “Hellenic education” and could have been conciliated because he was familiar to them not by gender but by spirituality.

As a great ruler, Philip II took immense construction activities such as new cities, sanctuaries and temples. Strabo wrote that Pella, up to the period of the Philip’s rule was small but thanks to Philip it enlarged and reached the dimensions that were larger than Athens; the length of its walls were around 6.5 km; the Acropolis was located on the island called Phacos, on Lake Ludias, where Philip II placed his treasure. The lake was transformed into a large harbor connected with Axios through artificial channel where the sailing was controlled by gates through Ludias and without flow of the water (lake). This was the first major harbor on the river estuary in Europe; it was possible to enter into the Thermaic Gulf at any time and the entrance gate could have been closed in case of danger

(this port is a model for the other Alexander's ports in the east, on the river Nile, Euphrates and Indus).

7.1. The state of Philip II – a paradigm of social and political system of Ancient Macedonia

Philip II inherited a state, which was set up as a hereditary monarchy (*basileia*); according to Isocrates, the Macedonians could not imagine their life without the dynasty, because they have dynasty from times immemorial. This monarchy type was characteristic for the initial period of the state and it provided rule, as Arrian wrote, without use of force, but in accordance with the laws; the Macedonian Assembly, on the base of the primogeniture principle, was in charge of appointing the *basileos*. It means that the besides the authority of the Monarch there are other institutions (Assembly, The Council of *tagosi*, *hetairoi*...) of appropriate and judicial authority. Alexander III established a modified version of the old social system – absolutistic monarchy, characteristic for the period of the Diadochis (the Successors) – the will of the Monarch was the highest authority (law). During the period of the Second Macedonian Antigonids Dynasty, the old system was brought back – the traditional monarchy. Actually the Macedonians were not subordinates but citizens of the state. In the ancient records and in the official documents (military alliances, concluded between the Macedonians and the Hellenic city-states) these citizens are recorded as Macedonians and the name of the state as the Macedonian Community.

The Macedonian *basileos* was a supreme commander, a high priest and a judge. The ruler was leading the Army and always fought in the first front lines; as a signalization during the battles white, purple and red flags were used. Alexander III, as a sign in the battles used a red flag suspended at the top of the *sarissa*.

The rulers' insignias were equal for all Macedonian rulers. Such signs were as follows: white strip (band), *kausia*, diadem, purple cloth, scepter, and seal. The white strip was worn on the head it had two-ends tied at the back of the neck (as in the image of Alexander I Philhellenes on the octodrachm and of Philip II on the tetradrachm). The strip used to be tied around the Macedonian hat called "kausia" which played the role of a crown. The Macedonian rulers wore a metal diadem (according the material evidence from Vergina and Beroea). The most popular is the golden diadem, which is supposed to be of that which belonged to Philip II, but the former kings embellished with diadems (on the coins in the im-

age of Alexander I and Philip II). Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus noticed that the Macedonian rulers were crowned with a lion skin as a decoration (the coin in the image of Alexander of Macedon). It is also believed that the purple clothing and the weapon of the Macedonians from the period of the last Macedonian basileos's rule, that of Perseus, had been brought as a spoils of war in Rome. The Macedonian ruler was to close documents using the seal - ring (according Diodorus and Plutarch, the 16 years old Alexander was a guardian of the Monarch's seal, while his father was laying siege to Byzantium; according Arrian, Alexander sent grain for the Narhus Army and it was sealed off with the ring; Diodorus, Justin and C. Rufus wrote that Alexander handed over his ring to Perdicas). The Macedonian rulers were also wearing the solemn weapon that was put into the royal tombs— *mogila-s* (evidence was found of this in the *mogila* in Vergina).

The basileos – high priest, before every political step or before the start of the various celebrations during the religious festive days were making sacrifices by the name of the people – *prostasia*, and while he was visiting some cities he used to be welcomed with *guala* (a kind of glass) in order to make a sacrifice (offer) so-called, libation. The hunting of wide animals, especially lions (the lion symbol, present on the coins and frescoes) had religious- supernatural (miraculous) significance.

The Macedonian monarch was also a Supreme Judge and was in charge of conducting the trials in front of the Macedonian Assembly in a role of public prosecutor while the Assembly was in charge of capital punishment. The Macedonian Assembly, which mostly was represented by Macedonians under weapon, used to have plenty of state administrative competences among which the most significant that of acclaiming the new ruler.

In order to strengthen the state Philip implemented military reforms of great social and political impact. Namely, he created the well-known Macedonian phalanx and equipped it with weapons (for battles). The main purpose of the military reforms was to create a professional army, through building high level of consciousness regarding their internal relations, mutual respect, friendship and above all regarding the necessity of unconditional obedience. The historians (Pompeius Throgus, Polibius, C. Rufus) noticed that such a military system was not a characteristic for any of the countries of that historical period. The core of the Macedonian phalanx was an infantry formation. The phalanx differed from the Hellenic battle row by the depth of their formations and the kind of weapon – called *sarissa*, long pikes (spears) that were carried over several rows

within the formation. The phalanx troops were among the first troops ever to be drilled, thereby allowing them to execute complex maneuvers well beyond the reach of most other armies. It was very difficult to break-through the phalanx just because they fought packed in a close and tight rectangular formation “a forest” of dense pikes. The Macedonian Army organized in this way and fighting as a compact unit was breaking through the enemy’s battle ranks like a nail.

There was also the noble cavalry (in the ancient times the horse was a symbol of nobility, wealth, and power) within the Army of the Macedonians. It was equipped with helmets, panzers, and armed with swords and pikes. The attack squadrons were led by the elite infantrymen, personal king’s bodyguards (agema) or the famous hetairoi - king’s entourage (friends). This entourage of the basileos was composed of people from noble origin and they were mainly king’s counselors, deputies, negotiators and commanders.

Between the cavalry and the phalanx were located the hypaspists, that were easier moving than the phalanx and the hoplites. They were drilled for quick campaigns and attacks.

Philip’s state was particularly strengthened when some “monarchies” and tribes were included such as: Elimiotis, Orestis and Lyncestis. The evidence for the inclusion of these tribes within the state was seen by giving the military units the same name as the tribe such as: Lyncestians, Orestians, Elimioties, Tymphaeans, Eordaens.

On purpose and persistently Philip kept intensifying the military power and with this the political power of the Macedonian state by the use of his army always prompt for battles and the king-commander among the battle-men who was encouraging and stimulating the warriors giving promises and awards.

With the end of the first phase of Philip’s ambitious plan was gained the inner state stability providing secure borders and economical independence to Macedonia. Basically it was done with the conquest of the maritime route, working the gold and silver mine at the area of Pangaiion and minting silver and gold coins (Philippics, stater).

7.2. Military and political achievements of Philip II

Before he starts his historical campaign against Hellada, Philip II had been in war with the Illyrians and Thracians in order to conquer the territories in the west and east of his state. The first success Philip marked

in 358 BC against the Illyrian ruler Bardylis, conquering the territory up to the Lake of Lychnidos.

The next step was the conquering of the Hellenic colonies on the Macedonian - Thracian coastline; the most important campaign was the conquering of the biggest strategic city - Amphipolis. Diodorus narrates about the fieriness of the siege carried out with constant attack on the city ramparts with heavy war machinery. After he had conquered the city (357 BC) pushed out all forces that were enemy oriented towards Macedonia but it was remarkable his generous attitude towards the others. Expelling his political adherents, the Hellenic colonists, Philip managed to conciliate the autochthonous population that was hostile toward the Athenians. From this event that made the Athenians feel betrayed until 346 BC when Athens was in war with Philip II.

During the period of 356/355 BC Philip broke the opponent's military alliance concluded among the Thracian ruler Ketripor, Illyrian ruler Grab and Paeonian ruler Lypeus. The same year, while Philip was conquering Potidaea, according Plutarch, he got three pieces of good news: the Illyrians were broken by his General Parmenius, his horse won the Olympic Games and his wife Olympias born the following Monarch – Alexander of Macedon (Philip married the princess Olympias, the daughter of the Epirian ruler Neoptolem, in 357 BC).

The subsequent successes at the battlefields were happening during the 353 BC when Philip conquered the cities of Abdera and Maroneia, which were in alliance with the Athenians, and was preparing an attack on Hersonnes in Thrace. According to Strabo, after these conquests the eastern borders of Macedonia with Thrace was demarcated – along the river Mesta. In this “golden” area on Mt. Pangaion he established the city of Crenides later renamed in Philippi, that he populated it by many Macedonian migrants; golden mines were bringing him profit of several thousands so-called talant-s that he started using them for minting golden coins, called “philipics”, well-known in whole Mediterranean, Egypt, central Europe and Southern Russia.

In this context, the conquest of the Macedonian – Pierian coastline was extremely important to Philip. This way Macedonia got its way out to the sea. The Athenian colony Pydna was conquered (357/356 BC). After he had conquered Methone in 353 BC (in this battle Philip lost his right eye) Philip started giving land to the Macedonians that were settling this area.

This way Philip, (according to the historical records) made Macedonians masters, while the Illyrians and other “faraway peoples” were

forced to pay taxes to Macedonians. He occupied the Triballi, put Thrace under control and rule over many Greek tribes. The first war victories made Philip so powerful that there was no force that could have stopped his further conquering campaigns on Hellada. After his conquests in Thrace, on Chalcidice and in the Thermaic Gulf the Macedonian ruler went on south to Thessaly where he broke through the Hellenic world.

7.3. The breakthrough on the territory of the Hellenic tribes

In order to accomplish his political and military program Philip benefited from the disagreements among the Hellenic city-states of the Amphictyonic Alliance and from the political games and intrigues among these city-states that was a regular form of acting typical for the poleis states. The Macedonian monarch got involved into the so called “Holy War” for the territories around the sanctuary Delphi.

The Thebans and Thessalians, having been afraid of the possibility that some of their people could get predominance on the territory of the Hellenic city-states (poleis) called Philip to help them (as peacemaker). During 352 BC Philip with the Macedonian Army broke through in Thessaly joined the Thessalian Army and moved towards Pagasae. After the defeat over the tyrant Onomarchus of Phocis near Crocus Field and helped by Athens and Spartan Philip was proclaimed as life-lasting leader of the Thessalian Alliance and he received the highest title of honor arhon – supreme commander of the renewed Thessalian Alliance. In many fortifications among which Magnesia, Philip placed Macedonian troops and Thessalians in a sign of gratitude gave up the profits from the ports and markets leaving to him as a compensation for the military costs and they put themselves under obligation to support him with armed forces.

This was the way in which Philip managed to acquire exits to the sea in three places: Amphipolis, Methone (Thermaic Gulf) and Pagasae and with this he inflicted a strong strike to the Athenian maritime forces, which until then had been unlimited ruler over the Aegean Sea.

7.4. Political speeches of Demosthenes, Isocrates and Aeschines – historical testimony about the antagonism between Macedonia and the Hellenic city-states

Authentic and reliable historical fact about the rule of Philip II can be found in the political speeches and in other rhetorical acts of some Athenian politicians – orators, contemporaries of the Macedonian Mo-

narch and participants in all political and military activities undertaken by the Macedonian Philip II.

The expansionistic policy of Philip II directly endangered Athens, which could not accept the fact to lose the conquered territories. As far as Philip was enlarging his territories so far fierce political speeches were held in Athens, which were used for preparing the Athenian citizens for the war against Philip. Philip's conquests were a reason for Demosthenes to write his speeches against Philip – *Philippics* and *Olynthushics*, regarding his invasions of Olynthus and of the other rich cities on the Peninsula of Chalcidice. With skillful diplomatic games Philip benefited from the incapacity of the Athenians and conquered Olynthus, he raided it and razed it to the ground while the citizens were being sold as slaves (349 BC). Nevertheless some other cities of Chalcidice surrendered Philip and acted fiercely towards them too. Among these cities was Stagira, the birthplace of Aristotle, which due to the respect toward the great philosopher was restored in accordance with the new regulations. Conquering the central Balkan territory Philip's state got its way out to the sea, and occupied a great deal of the arable land, and also was in possession of rich forests and pasturages, powerful rivers, mine wealth and developed city centers; This was the reason for fast development of the economy and trade; Macedonia built up its own navy, which enabled its breaking through via maritime lines; Philip's state achieved all conditions to become a world force; an ambition for implementation of a conquering polity was born and Athenians did not like it at all because they shared the same hegemonic aspirations. The military act of Philip, which enabled him to impose his rule over a territory of 1000 km, from the Thermopylae to Propontis, really frightened the Athenians and they seriously started thinking how to oppose the Macedonian basileos. All these event transformed the Athenian Assembly into an arena on which the orators were conducting fierce battles proving their political standpoints. The most influential political person and the most influential political orator was Demosthenes with his speeches against Philip; moreover Philip's power was increasing on the battlefields and the power of Demosthenes was increasing as a politician but all this paradoxically was against the Athenians and Demosthenes himself. Philip was implementing his state administrative function while Demosthenes encountered political and personal defeat; at the same time this defeat was shared with Athens; however regardless of the outcome (lucky for Philip and unlucky for Demosthenes) both of them gained everlasting, immortal fame; in the history their names are connected in "dialectical unity of contradictions"!

7.5. Ancient world of the Hellenic city-states divided between philomys and philophyls

The outstanding Athenian political analyst Isocrates willing to help Athens and the Hellenic community, which was politically disturbed, conspired for the idea of pan Hellenism; according to this idea the Hellenic city-states should have united under sole objective - to be spared from the internal crisis but also from the danger of the internal enemy. This inspired Isocrates to think about establishing an autocratic authority, whose will and power would have imposed over the disagreed Hellenic city-states and would have united them into pan-basilea. In order to accomplish this idea Isocrates chose the Macedonian ruler Philip, who appeared on the political scene as the biggest monarch-basileos, powerful, ambitious, self-confident but at the same time ruler of the state that Hellenes used to have “friendly” relationships with. Isocrates revealed the hegemonic characteristics of Philip’s personality able to start up the “great” idea for pan-basilea; the old orator played the role of an “advice-giver” of the Macedonian basileos, because on the one hand he was afraid of his tyrannical nature and of that how much hostility he would have towards the Hellenes but on the other hand he was not sure to what extent the Hellenes would accept this idea.

The other political program, of Demosthenes, focused on the defense of the democracy and democratic city-states from the oligarchic and tyrannical system. The orator believed that it was a suitable moment for Athens to demonstrate itself as a rescuer of all Hellenes from the danger that was coming from the menaces of the oligarchs and barbarians that endangered the freedom of the city-states pointing out Philip, or as he was called, “the Macedonian plague”, which was destroying everything that was Hellenic.

In his *Philippics* Demosthenes with regrets was pointing out to the Athenians the immense loss by the suffered defeat of Pydna, Potidaea, Methone, Thermopylae, Hersonnes, Olynthus and of many other cities that in that period of time joined the rule of Philip and that once upon a time used to be Athenian colonies. Namely, Demosthenes believed that the Athenians with their idleness and negligence were barely responsible themselves for the terrible political situation in Athens and that it was high time they had started preparing financial and strategic warfare plan against Philip’s state. On the other hand Demosthenes thought that Athens was not in a situation to organize an Army that would be capable to resist Philip’s army which was strong and well drilled; so, Demosthenes sug-

gested the guerrilla warfare type against Philip, the warfare tactics to be apposite to Philip's strategy, to be stopped Philip's robberies of a "countless amount of money", to stop the enslaving of their citizens...It is fundamental, emphasized Demosthenes for Athens to understand that that man (Philip) is a "foe" for the Hellenes that deprives them of their own belongings and that he was rampaging for a long time.

At the middle of the IV century BC the opportunistic political program of the Athenian statesman Eubulus and his supporters had the greatest sustain in Athens; the accent of his program was put on achieving a peace agreement with Philip, that was supposed to be much more beneficial than the war itself. Athens started its dual policy, by one side insisting on achieving a fictive peace agreement with Philip and by the other side establishing peace and collaboration with the Hellenic city-states in the struggle against Philip. The peace negotiation started in Athens where on the one hand arrived the delegates of the Hellenes and on the other hand Philip's delegates. Simultaneously Isocrates started advocating Philip and he sent a message to the Macedonian ruler in which he addressed him as a benefactor who should have united the Hellenes; at the same time he celebrated him as a glorious general that could have initiated the war against the Persian monarch.

Considering the danger that Philip could break through Hellada across Thermopyles and above all as alliance forces of Thebes, Athenians were in a hurry to achieve the peace agreement with Philip. Among the delegates were the politicians Philocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines and the actor Aristodemos. The political determination of Athens was to accept the peace agreement and the alliance as a temporary solution in order to eliminate the momentary risk of Philip, although the conditions proposed by him were inconvenient. Namely, the oligarchs and a part of the educated sophists were expecting economic welfare from these agreements; Demosthenes concluded that Philip had "friends" in many Hellenic cities; some of them were official delegates chosen by Philip or appointed by the Macedonian Assembly; but there were also intellectuals who (like Isocrates) were advocating Philip on the base of ideological reasons and who were named "betrayers" by the Anti-Macedonian party.

This was the moment when Philip became the main political individual on the Balkan. The focus of the political happening was moved from Athens to Pella. In the Macedonian capital were arriving the delegates from all over Hellada hoping that Philip would help and assist them.

The Macedonian ruler benefited from his position and prepared a strategy (later well-known as imperialistic tactics "divide et impera"); in-

initially as a winner from the “Holy War” Philip imposed himself over the Hellenic city-states and gain their immense support in as far as the decision of the Amphictyonic League (an alliance that was organized about the sanctuary in Delphi) were concerned. In the Delphian lists of temple builders, the Macedonians are Philip’s delegates that took care of the constructions and the maintenance of the temple. Instead of Athens, Philip achieved the priority while addressing at the sanctuary in Delphi.

After all these events, the Athenians were in a dreadful panic: they were evacuating its population, hiding their property and the refugees from Boeotia and Fokida were being accepted in the city. Philip sent an ultimatum to Athens in which in a rude and straight way imposed them over the conditions for peace: the Athenians would have been attacked if they had rejected to join him and he also added that he would not have felt any regret if they had decided to break up the agreement.

From 346 BC Athens was separated by Philip’s supporters, on the one side: philipists, plutocrats, panhellenists, and peace protagonists and on the other side the Demosthenes policy supporters: radicals, militant democrats i.e. patriots. Demosthenes though that Philip’s supporter were “betrayers” who were corrupted by Philip, as in a case of Philocrates. Demosthenes claimed that Philocrates received silver, gold and immensity of wood material while Aeschines instead received real estate property.

7.6. Macedonia – dominant historical factor of the Ancient world

While the Athenians were constantly dealing with the political processes and while numerous judicial cases were being heard, Philip was taking care about the strengthening of the western and northern boundary and of the Macedonian state; there is an evidence about a campaign of 344 BC against the Illyrians in which the Macedonian ruler conquered many new places up to the Adriatic Sea; he campaigned against Dardanians too that were often attacking Macedonia; after he had strengthened his navy he was also active at the seaside and colonized new areas where Macedonians, Hellenes and Thracian settled in.

In the following period a total turnabout happened on the political scene: Persia became involved in the political games and happenings. Considering the discord and the disintegration of the Hellenic city-states and adding the fact that there was constant consternation (fear) from the Macedonian ruler Persia was also insisting on quickly getting into an alliance with the city-states against Philip. Aiming to this, the great monarch Artaxerxes Ochus sent representatives into Hellenic city-states,

Thebes and Argos, in order to mobilize professional warriors and offered to Athens to reactivate their common fight against Philip. The Persian Monarch offered and promised an enormous financial support just to start the war against the Macedonian.

The Athenians rejected again the concluded agreements with Philip, and postured negatively towards the Philipists, punished to death Philocrates, accusing him of betrayal and corruption. Demosthenes benefited from this situation for the attack on Aeschines considering him as betrayer and accused him for the intrigues and false reports that he had made due to the fact that he had been working in favor of Philip.

When the peace agreement between Athenians and Philip was broken the Macedonian monarch started acting in an open hostile manner and initiated the campaign in 342/341 BC in order to conquer the whole eastern part of Thrice, up to the Black Sea; with a solid Army through several attempts he managed to defeat Thrice, imposing taxes over it, as well as an obligation to send soldiers for the needs of Macedonia; Thrice was put under control of the Macedonian strategist, and the Hellenic city-states which were liberated from the Thracian threat voluntarily entered into alliance with Philip. Philip established colonies on the conquered territory that provided safety on the new territory and started exploiting their natural resources. The most important for him was the city Philipopolis, then Kabile (or Kalibe) on the river Tundza and the village of Beroe (Stara Zagora).

These actions endangered the Athenian colonies of great importance – the maritime channels from Herosnes to Byzantium (Dardanelles and Bosphorus), the roads of extreme meaning for the Hellenic trade. Then Demosthenes made his most powerful speech against Philip, *the Third Philippic*, in which he bespoken: eventually to be accepted the fact that Philip was in war with their state and that he was breaking the peace, so according to that the sole activity of the Assembly should have been to find the easiest and the most secure way to defend from Philip. The speech had success and Demosthenes was awarded with a golden wreath. During the period of 340 BC Athens started its military actions against Philip. He sent military assistance to the citizens of Byzantium, concluded an Alliance with Thebes and defeated Thermopolis. Assisting Byzantium, Athens managed to conquer again the Bosphorus trade line and with this it officially started the war against Macedonia.

However it seems that all this did not upset the Macedonian ruler who stuck to his strictly defined plan; according to the plan, he had to defend the northern Macedonian border, which had been attacked by the

Skythos and Triballi; the Thracian dynasty was defeated and the rulers of the northern tribes, Paeonians, Arkanians and Illyrians acquired “vassal” status.

After these successful actions Philip conquered the crossing from northern to middle Helada so that he could have reached Boeotia in one single day and Athens in only three days. Demosthenes touchingly described this fateful moment for Athens. The Athenians headed by Demosthenes went to Thebes to form an alliance. At the same time the delegates of Philip arrived in Thebes with an intention to dissuade the Thebans from entering into an alliance with Athens and with a suggestion to attack Attica together or to let the Macedonian army pass freely through Boeotia. The dilemma in the Thebans Assembly was resolved after the passionate speeches of Demosthenes, which were awakening the feelings of patriotism and self-respect. The Assembly decided the Hellenic city-states Euboea, Megara, Corinth, Leukas, Corcyra, Achaea and Acarnania to enter into an alliance against Philip’s state; Arcadia, Messenia, Elida and Sparta stood apart from these happenings notwithstanding.

The war started in Boeotia. Athens and Thebes had won twice during the battles at Parapotamii so that Philip did not manage to break through Boeotia. This success increased the popularity of Demosthenes, who brought a decision in the Macedonian Assembly to declare a war against Philip. As an award, Demosthenes once again was crowded with a golden wreath for his political activities in favor of the state.

However the further events were in favor of Philip. Brilliantly estimating the situation Philip led the Hellenic Alliance forces to believe that he would withdraw to Thrace, allegedly to suppress the existing rebellion there. The Hellenic troops withdrew to Chaeronea and Philip attacked Amphissa and Naupactus so that he destroyed the Achaea’s army.

8. The battle of Chaeronea – the historical turning point in the Ancient world

The war between Philip of Macedonia and the Hellenic city-states started and ended with a single battle, which was led at Chaeronea in 338 BC. The Macedonian phalanx attacked Hellenic Alliance armed forces, which were situated in the Chaeronea’s plain. Philip was in possession of 30,000 troops almost the same number as the Hellenic infantry forces but with a difference that the Macedonian warriors acquired much more experience in various battles and were loyal and in compliance with their

commander Philip. Demosthenes participated in the battle as a hoplite. Philip was standing with his phalanx opposite to the Athenians: Philip at the right wing and the young Alexander headed the left wing and was positioned opposite to the Thebans. After a long and exhausting battle Alexander managed to break the Theban's infantry as well as the infantry of their alliance forces while Philip defeated the Athenian Army; Hellenic city-states suffered immense losses and that was the outcome of the battle.

The Battle of Chaeronea is one of the most significant historical events of the Ancient world because after the victory of the Macedonian state the historical courses of the Ancient world changed and new period started in which the Macedonian rulers took control over the whole civilized world at that time and established new world order.

After the famous battle Philip solemnly celebrated his victory, offering up sacrifices, awarding all distinguished warriors at the battle, burning the dead bodies of his soldiers and burying dead Athenian soldiers with highest military honors.

In a manner of a great conqueror, Philip was arranging the political issues with the defeated: his attitude towards Thebes was hostile; the enemy was punished to death or expelled; he located the Macedonian Army there and established oligarchic authority and behaved generously towards the Athenians (who were in tremendous panic), because he wanted to enlist their support for his next political and military actions; he handed over the Athenian hostages without ransom and sent back the remains of the killed soldiers (Demosthenes held a speech). Philip sent his representatives to Athens and among them was his son Alexander, the generals Antipater and Alcimachus, to inform the Athenians about the peace conditions. With this new agreement Athens managed to keep its autonomy, territory and its domination on the islands of Delos, Samos, Skiros and Lemnos; the greatest punishment for Athens was the loss of Herakles, what implied Macedonian control over the exportation of grain. The Maritime Athenian Alliance was broken and Athens entered into new Maritime Alliance under the Philip's hegemony.

Upon the example of Athens other Hellenic states concluded peace agreement with the winner. After he arranged the things with Middle Hellada, Philip moved towards Peloponnese. In many city-states Philip's partners took over the authority, Megara and Corinth surrendered and Macedonian army was situated in the Corinth's Fortress. The Achaean city-states on Peloponnese were separately concluding the peace agreement with Philip, one by one. The troops of Arkadia, Messenia and Elis, together with the Macedonian Army started a campaign against

Sparta, because only the Spartans were still resisting the Alliance with Macedonia. Philip's Army entered into Lacedaemonia and demolished it but Sparta did not give up although it had not been strong enough to resist. On the other side Philip did not have an intention to destroy Sparta very probably because of the same reason as that of Athens.

When the peace agreement was concluded the, Macedonian ruler was given highest honors: Philip and Alexander as Athenian friends were given the Athenian citizenship; a statue of Philip was erected as an act of gratitude; Antipater and Alkimah received titles of honor – proxenes of Athens, protectors of the Athenian citizens who were traveling through Macedonia. As a sign of appreciation Peloponnesians awarded honors to Philip too: In Magalopolis was built a huge market covered with colonnades and given the name "Philip"; in Olympia a spherical edifice called "Philippeion" was dedicated to him, with his statues and statues of his parents, of Olympias and his son Alexander.

The autumn in 338 BC when Philip had concluded the separate peace agreement with the Hellenic city-states, with an exception of Sparta, convoked a meeting with all Hellenes in Corinth, where the so-called League of Corinth was formed. The decision was brought and general peace was declared. A part of this Agreement was preserved in two parts of stela in Acropolis. It is well-known the text of a part of the Agreement where the Hellenes took an oath in front of Philip that they would not start any kind of armed intervention on ground or at the sea against those who respected the oath; that they would not try to encroach upon Philip's authority nor the authority of his inheritors; that they would not be against the state order accepted by all participants who swore an oath to peace; that would assist and led a war against those who would break the general peace as ordered by and in accordance with the hegemonic ruler. A congress of representatives was organized - Synedrion and it was to meet at Corinth where all Hellenic members sent their delegates on proportional principle. Synedrion was authorized to bring decisions, to issue laws, to judge in the cases of disagreements among the League's members and to state its opinion in case of breaking the Agreement. Philip was an acclaimed Hegemon of the League, i.e. declared Supreme Commander of the League's army. As a mutual commander of the Macedonian and Hellenic Army, Philip started preparing the Asian campaign against their common enemy, the great basileos.

It was evident that according to this Agreement, Macedonia was an absolute winner and demonstrated the fact that it was in a position to

make unconditional requests. Despite of this the Macedonian ruler was tactical and wanted to stick to the peace agreement.

At Philip's last ceremony in Aiga, the autumn 336 BC, which was prepared in honor of the marriage between Philip's daughter Cleopatra and the Olympias' brother, Alexander of Epirus and at the same time it was supposed to be triumphal solemn celebration of all Philip's victories there were guests from everywhere. The Athenian representatives brought golden garlands and lot of gifts for Philip and for the spouses; glamorous dancing ceremonies and musical competitions were organized and during the solemn procession among all 12 statues of Olympus deities that were carried, the statue of Philip was the 13th one. On the day that was predetermined for the theatrical performances Philip was in the entourage of his son Alexander and his son-in-law Alexander of Epirus, and a huge mass of people was gathered to see the greatest European ruler. Then a young Macedonian nobleman, Pausanias, attacked Philip stabbing him with a Celtic sword. The assassinator was caught and killed by the Philip's bodyguards Perdiccas and Leonidas.

The Macedonian People's Assembly immediately appointed Alexander III its King. At the same time, the Hellenic political regulations and relations, but in accordance with the hereditary right of the Macedonian dynasty, Alexander III assumed the role of Hegemon of the League of Corinth.

9. The political activity of Demosthenes in the period of Alexander III of Macedonia and Antipater

Demosthenes as one of the most ferocious enemies of the Macedonian basileos continued holding speeches against Alexander in the same way he was speaking against Philip. In this new anti-Macedonian campaign the Persian King, Darius III, got involved. He was frightened of the Asian campaign so he knew that the destruction of the Macedonian force would mean the elimination of the potential danger. The Persian Monarch incited to anti Macedonian rebellion in Hellada offering financial support to the Hellenic city-states. In the process of incitement to rebellion Demosthenes mainly assisted the Persian ruler and in 335 BC he directly incited the Hellenic city-states in a rebellion. Thebes assisted by Peloponnesian cities made an attempt to push out the Macedonia armed forces and to establish democracy. Demosthenes, in his speeches invented that Alexander was killed in Thrice, in a battle with the Thebans (Tribal-

li). But Alexander got back and as a Supreme commander of the Corinth's League he razed Thebes to the ground and sold its citizens as slaves. Athens got caught in a panic again and the events repeated. Alexander spared Athens identically as his father Philip had done previously, but Alexander requested Demosthenes to surrender together with some other adversaries. The Athenian Demades was entrusted with the mission to calm down Alexander and to persuade Alexander to give up his request for the exile of leaders of the anti-Macedonian party talking to him that the request might have been considered as an offense of the Athenians feelings. He explained to him that the Athenians could feel the surrender of Demosthenes and their state-men as unconditional surrender to the forces of Alexander.

After these events Demosthenes changed his behavior, somehow. It seemed that he might have become afraid or as the old orator become exhausted or after all he might have realized that the Hellenic city-states were incapable to resist to the Macedonian rulers. Demosthenes became resigned probably because he might have hoped for the failure of the Alexander's campaign and that the Athenians would have had an opportunity to liberate themselves.

Before he started the Asian campaign (the spring 334 BC) Alexander had made an appeal to the Hellenes to refrain from rebellions or mutinies in his absence. Despite of this, the rebellion arose on the island of Rhodes and Sparta rejecting all military and political agreements with Alexander, established contacts with the leaders of the Persian Fleet.

On the other hand Demosthenes was encouraged again and tried to stop the Athenian ships leaving the harbor, which was supposed to be reinforcement of the Alexander's Army. He thought that Alexander would use the ships when he got back to turn against Athens.

While Alexander was conquering the Far East, turbulences appeared in Hellada, but the general Antipater who was still leading Macedonia and Hellada quickly suppressed the rebellion of the Spartan basileos Agis (330 BC). Demosthenes considered that it was not real time for the Athenians to start a rebellion so he stopped them joining the Spartans.

The period between 330 and 323 BC is a period of famine, discontent and enormous impatience towards the Macedonian authority. After the death of Alexander in Babylonia (July 13, 323 BC) Demosthenes came back with highest honors. The information about the death of Alexander was an opportunity for Hellada to liberate from the Macedonian occupation. So Athens, Aitolia, and Thessaly incited rebellions all over Hellada. At the beginning of the rebellion the Hellenes had success and

the Macedonian strategist Antipater was surrounded at the Fortress of Lamia. But the best Hellenic strategist died and the Phoenicians-Macedonian Fleet defeated the Athenian. This time the conditions offered by the Macedonian winner of the battles Antipater were difficult and defeating: Athens must accept the Macedonian equipage in one of its fortresses on Pireja – Munihi and must resign from its proper century-long democratic system and to accept a kind of plutocratic polietea. The most suffering was the order that provided the Macedonian enemies, Demosthenes and Hiperides to be surrendered. Hiperides was caught and severely punished while Demosthenes escaped to the little Island Calauria. The restless Antipater absolutely had no compassion toward Athens and the great orator was enchainning Demosthenes who poisoned himself in the Poseidon's Temple.

ALEXANDER III OF MACEDONIA (336–323) Macedonia the world Empire

Alexander was the only son of Philip II and Olympias, the daughter of the ruler Neoptolemus; he was born in 356 BC in Pella. The Romans gave him the nickname Magnus, because he was “the Great” conqueror of the World. As he was a child Alexander was being educated in the spirit of the Macedonian aristocratic tradition; at the age of 13, he was being taught by the philosopher Aristotle in the small place Mieza (near Pella); his education consisted of: poetry, astronomy, geometry, rhetoric/eristics, competing in gymnastic exercises, horse riding and hunting. His interest in natural sciences would make Alexander transform his conquering campaigns of Persia into exploring expeditions containing various disciplines, such as: geography, ethnology, botanic, meteorology. Plutarch illustrated the best the ambition of the young Alexander, who narrated that Alexander did not want to inherit from his father nor the wealth, nor the luxury or the pleasure but the Empire that would have enabled him to lead wars and implement deeds of glory and honor.

At the age of 16, Philip entrusted him with the first political task – to act as regent of Macedonia (340 BC) while he was away campaigning against Byzantium. The first military campaign of Alexander was against Medes a tribe from the upper course of the river Strymon); this battle was actually his first victory and here he founded the city of Alexandropolis. When he was 18, Alexander participated in the glorious Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC) heading the left wing of the Macedonian Army against the “Sacred Band” of Thebes and together with his father Philip defeated the Hellenic Alliance Forces.

After the assassination of Philip (336 BC) the Macedonian Assembly, in accordance with the Macedonian custom, declared Alexander III the ruler of Macedonia. His first military action is addressed towards

the Hellenic city-states that were trying to reject the Macedonian authority; the Macedonian Monarch enforced them to accept the decisions of the Corinth's Agreement by which Alexander inherited the title Hegemon of the Hellenes.

In the campaign against the Triballi he crossed the river of Danube (335 BC) and defeated their alliance forces Getas. There are records about the celtic tribes of the Adriatic Sea, which were hired by Alexander for the defense of the Northern border of the Macedonian state. Upon the news regarding the rebellion of the Ilirians Alexander came back and broke them in a battle. After he had arranged the political and military relations on the Balkan Peninsula Alexander started preparing for the campaign against Persia, which was planned earlier by his father Philip II. The general Antipater as "the strategist of Europe" remained to rule over Macedonia and with 12,000 infantry forces and 1,500 hetairoi to defend the country. Alexander started his conquering campaign (334 BC) with 40,000 soldiers that formed the core of the Macedonian phalanx with the hetairoi: 9,000 pezhetairoi, heavily armed phalanxists, 3,000 hipaspists, lightly armed infantry soldiers, 1,500 hetairoi, 300 elite cavalrymen. The Hellenic city-states (Sparta was an exception) under obligation of the Corinth's Agreement sent 7,000 Hellenic hoplites, 5,000 professional soldiers, and 8,000 lightly armed archers, spike throwers and 1,600 military ships. Alexander's Army was scarce compared with the Persian Army, which was headed by the Persian King Darius III; The Persian Army was formed from numerous states and peoples on the territory from Asia Minor up to India together with Egypt to Syria.

1. The Eastern campaign

Alexander's Army entered into the territory of Asia Minor through Hellespont near Sestos; the first stop was the Ancient city of Troy, where Alexander in the Temple of Athena offered a sacrifice dedicating his weapon to the Goddess of Athena and took the weapon from the temple, the sacred shield of Achilles following the heroic deeds from the epic Iliad.

The first armed clash with the Persian Army happened at the river Granicus on Propontis (334 BC). The Persian troops accompanied by the Hellenic hoplites took up positions at the steep right bank of the river and on the hills around it so that it was easy for them to observe the movements of the Macedonian Army. This battle was a great challenge for Al-

exander in order to show off the power of the Macedonian Army as well as to demonstrate his own strategic qualities. In a fierce battle Alexander was wounded in his shoulder. The Persians suffered thousands of killed soldiers and 2,000 captured mercenaries who coercively were sent to Macedonia by Alexander to work.

The victory over the Persian army, headed by the *satraps* of Asia Minor at Lydia, Hellespontian Phrygia, Great Phrygia, Caria opened the door to Alexander towards Asia Minor; the city Sardis in Lydia surrendered without fight, as well as the cities of Aeolus and Iones; Ephesus was another city that surrendered in the same way. The Macedonian King was welcomed as a liberator from the Persian slavery; the only cities that resisted with enormous Persian army were Miletus and Halicarnassus (334 BC).

After these conquering actions Alexander divided the Army into two parts: the first one, headed by the commander Parmenio went to spend the winter in Sardis while the other part started a campaign crossing Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia and conquered all cities and citadels. The following year, 333 BC, the whole Army gathered together in Gordium, the capital of the Phrygian Kings (Gordian and Mida); according a legend, Alexander “undid”, cut off with a sword, the hitherto the inseparable (undividable) slavery knot of the King Mida’s chariot and this fulfilled the prophecy that would rule over Asia Minor.

Alexander usually kept the existing administrative system in the conquered territories: satrapi-s were the basic administrative unites governed by the satrap, mainly Persians that had the military and civil authority (except in Lydia where the authority was in the hand of a Macedonian), while the financial authority was assigned to the Macedonians. The Macedonian commanders with the Macedonian Army had an absolute control over the conquered territories.

The first battle against the “Great King” Darius III happened at Issus (333 BC). Moving along the coastline of Asia Minor towards Syria, Alexander left the sick soldiers in the city of Issus and continued chasing the Persians. But Darius moved with his army towards Cilicia, reached in Issus and killed the Macedonian soldiers. Alexander came back, and there at the gorge near Issus, between the seaside and the high mountains, at the river Pinar the second great battle between the Macedonians and Persians took place. The Persian Army was enormous: heavily armed infantry soldiers, Hellenic mercenaries, and cavalry; the endless convoy of machineries and baldachins of the King’s harem accompanied the Army. The King Darius did not foresee that such a huge army would have difficulties

and could not easily maneuver in the tight space along the river; Alexander instead as a genius strategist reordered the Army in motion, disabling Darius to attack him from behind. The Macedonian Army crossed the river and rushed forward fiercely; Alexander flinging himself into the chariot of Darius; on the one hand, there was a heavy clash between the Macedonian phalanx and Hellenic mercenaries and on the other hand the left wing of the Macedonian commander Parmenio was fighting against the Persian cavalry; The Persians were discouraged when they saw their commander fleeing from the battlefield. Alexander did not start chasing Darius immediately, but first he assisted his phalanx in the fight and then after the end of the battle was pursuing the King until late in the night. Darius managed to spare himself but Alexander captured his chariot, his bow, shield, and mantel and got back in the Persian military camp where Alexander captured the Darius family, his wife and children; Alexander behaved with dignity towards The Queen – the mother and her daughters. Parmenio was sent to Damask to take over the immense Persian treasury.

The next conquest was the city of Tyre where Alexander wanted to offer a sacrifice to the supreme Phoenician God, Melcart (Heracles); the city that was located on the island, refused to give up, leaning on its excellent fortification, but the army constructed an artificial mole that connected the city-island with the coast and after a long-lasting siege, Tyre was conquered and it became a Macedonian citadel. The same destiny shared the city of Gaza.

2. The conquering of Egypt

From Phoenicia, Alexander started moving toward Egypt where he was welcomed as a liberator from the Persian Empire. The Egyptian priests in Memphis handed him over the double crown of the Egyptian pharaohs. Alexander expressed remarkable respect towards the Egyptian cults and customs and was present at almost all ceremonies where he was introducing himself as an Egyptian pharaoh, the son of the God Ammon-Ra. He traveled through the Libyan Desert up to the oasis Siwa the place where the Temple of the Egyptian-Libyan God Ammon (the cult of Ammon was corroborated in Macedonia as Zeus Ammon) was situated. At the estuary of the river Niles Alexander founded (331 BC) the city of Alexandria (the territory of the city he drew (depicted) with the barley flower in accordance with the ancient Macedonian rite).

3. Alexander – the King of Asia

Crossing Syria, Alexander broke through the Northern Mesopotamia; the army crossed the river of Euphrates; at the left bank of the river Tigris and near Gaugamela the two big armies clashed for the last time in 331 BC. Alexander directed his crucial strike towards the center where Darius was placed surrounded by his elite troops, Indian forces on elephants, Bactrian, Persian and Skythos cavalry. During the battle Alexander rode his old horse Bucephalus and together with the *hetairoi-s* and *hypaspist-s* assailed the center of the Persians, broke up their forces and Darius again fled from the battlefield. Alexander did not follow him because he left to help the left wing of the Macedonian phalanx. At around 100 km of Gaugamela, Alexander again managed to capture Darius' chariot and his arms.

After this difficult battle that changed the Persia's destiny Alexander proclaimed himself the King of Asia and in a manner of a King marched and entered into the ancient city of Babylon, the capital of the Persian Empire. There he renewed the Temples ruined by the Xerxes. The Macedonian troops conquered the second Persian capital Susa, where the richest King's treasury was ensconced. Through the "Persian Gate", in 330 BC, Alexander entered in the Achaemendid capital – Persepolis revengefully inflaming the King's Palaces. At the Ancient city of Ecbatana and in accordance with Corinth's Agreement, Alexander as hegemon of the Corinth's League disbanded the Hellenic military formations and sent them back home. The Macedonian Army continued its conquering campaign to the east.

In the newly conquered Persian capital Ecbatana, Alexander left the old commander Parmenio. He confided the captured Persian treasury to Harpales while he set off in pursuit of Darius himself. It is well known, the fast and hard march of the army that in 11 days managed to pass 600 km and when in Hecantopolis Alexander finally caught up to Darius, but he found the Persian king dead. He was assassinated by the Persian satrap Bessus. Alexander gave Darius a royal funeral with full military honors in Pasargada.

Alexander continued the military campaign as the King of Asia, the legal heir of the Persian Empire. Using the seal-ring of Darius he was authorizing all the orders regarding the eastern, Asian part of the Kingdom.

The Macedonian army carried on moving towards Hircania and Parthia, the areas at the south of Caspian Sea, the countries with severe climate and relief. The period from 330 to 327 BC, while the Macedonian Army was in Bactria and Sogdiana was the hardest period during the campaign, mainly due to the wild and cruel nature, high mountains and huge deserts; The Macedonian army was constantly being attacked by the cavalry units of the local tribes applying guerilla war-tactics. The heavy tasks and efforts caused enormous discontent among the soldiers and mutiny; this was the reason for the resistance and conspiracy against Alexander. However the betrayers and conspirators were condemned to death and Alexander's close collaborators and friends such as Philotas, Parmenio and later Cleitos and the historian Callisthenes were among them.

In a four-year period the Macedonian Army managed to conquer all Middle Eastern countries. Besides the conquests Alexander was also involved in construction activities especially of new cities, called Alexandria-s. In Bactria (327 BC) Alexander married the Iranian Roxanne, who was a mother of his posthumously born son, Alexander IV.

According to Plutarch, Alexander set out his campaign to India with 120,000 infantries and 15,000 cavalry forces but followed by a long convoy of auxiliary services, technicians, ship makers, merchandisers, servants, wives and children of the soldiers. During the campaign new ships were made and left floating down the river Indus and across the bridge that was built, the other troops were sent to the other bank of the river.

At the banks of the river Hydaspes, the Macedonian army was leading his fourth and last battle against Porus the King of Punjab (326 BC). After this victory Alexander annexed also the countries at the other side of the river Indus; but the Army met at the Assembly and rejected the King's idea – to continue the campaign to India up to the Ganges River and The Eastern Sea. The return was carried out in two directions: the first one was a direction that took Alexander with the Navy floating down the river Indus and the other direction was taken by Craterus, heading another part of the Army composed of the phalanx, elephants, part of the archers and part of the Macedonians that were supposed to get back to Macedonia. The Navy commander was Nearh. Along the bank of the river Indus Alexander built a new city of Alexandria, started an exploring expedition on the river's delta and he started building ports and shipyards. At the coast of the Indian Ocean the army split up: the troops headed by Alexander moved overland while the other part of the army headed by Nearh was navigating at sea nearly 80 days.

4. Holy wedding in Susa

In 324 BC the whole Macedonian Army gathered in Susa, where the King organized a “Great Holy Wedding” at which 10,000 Macedonian officers married Persian women; among them were all the *hetairoi-s* and Alexander himself, who married Parisatida and Brasida, the two daughters of Dareus, and also marrying Oxos, the youngest daughter of Artaxerx. “The Holy Wedding” symbolized the “wedding” community of the Ancient World.

After this event almost 10,000 veterans, heavily awarded were sent back to Macedonia and their new wives and children remained in Asia; the state was supposed to take care of them, the children were brought up in the Macedonian way and when they would be grown up they were supposed to be brought back to Macedonia.

Alexander was planning further campaigns but more of an exploring and scientific character than of a military.

All these plans failed due to the death of “the Great” ruler. The great grief for the death of the closest friend and war-companion Hephaiston and during the last military campaign against the belligerent tribes in Media and Susiana, Alexander came back to Babylon. He was planning to build a port for thousands of ships. However, Alexander caught a fever at the ceremony in Babylon and he died after 7 days on July 13, 323 BC, at the age of 33. He left behind a 12-year and 8-month warfare and rule.

5. The idea about the World Empire

The Rule of the Macedonian King Alexander III, his celebrated campaign and conquering of the Persian Empire (the East) is the most significant part of the mankind’s history. The era in which Alexander changed the character of the Ancient world will be remembered as a history of the heroic acts, power, and glory but also as a period that was remarkably characterized with the connection of many cultures, peoples and states of three continents – Europe, Africa and Asia.

In the world’s history but also in the legends of all peoples of the Ancient world, Alexander is remembered as the greatest world commander and undefeatable warrior, an excellent strategist and wise man and also as a God in apotheosis. In the real historical context, Alexander is the creator of the New World, of the new era, of the new order – of the idea

of globalization in terms of civilizations that is still widespread nowadays. At the same time Alexander was a great constructor, founder of 77 new cities under the name “Alexandria”. He built ports, temples, bridges, historical monuments that connect the people from Europe and Asia and transcend the large ethnical, cultural and linguistic barriers. Alexander is a mythical hero, a God for the people from Africa and Asia; the Asian peoples have their own mythical stories and artistic images in which Alexander appears as a “naturalized” domestic hero, highly admired for his heroic deeds.

The conquering Alexander managed to create the new world’s order in which Macedonians were bearer of the state administrative system – Monarchy, adapted into various social conditions, which were basically determined by the specificities of the conquered peoples. The World’s Empire of Alexander had a new politically shaped order and new cosmopolitan culture.

THE FORMATION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRES AFTER THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III OF MACEDONIA

This epoch started with the rule of Alexander of Macedon (336-323 BC) and his campaign to the East (the conquering of the Persian Empire) and ended with the Roman conquests (I century BC) of the Macedonian Monarchies, which had been founded on the territory of the Alexander's Empire. Namely, this era contained the exceptional historical phenomenon – Macedonian pan-basilea, the accomplishment of the idea of Philip and Alexander for creation of an Ecumenical state and for united civilization that would unify the Ancient world. The creator of this idea was Alexander of Macedon, and it was maintained by his heirs, the Diadochis – the rulers of the great states in Europe, Africa and Asia; the bearers of this civilization were scientists, thinkers, philosophers, educated people settled in the administrative, economical and cultural centers of Alexandria, Antiochia, Pergam, Rhodes. In the historical context, the special and temporal border is even bigger. This era that creates a brand new way of world perception, demonstrated in symbiosis of many cultures which had a great influence over the Roman and Romenian Empire (Byzantia) and lasted until the end of the Ancient times and it was restored through the period of the Italian humanism from the XIV to XVI century.

This significant historical epoch, considering the aspect of civilization of the peoples from Europe, Asia and Africa is disapprovingly marked under the term Hellenism (german: Helenismus, the term used by the historian G. Droysen of XIX century, according the old Greek – “hellenismos”) - imitation of the Hellenic way of living, acceptance of the Hellenic culture and the use of the codified Old Greek language – *koine*), besides the fact that in this period the Hellenic city-states entered into the zone of historical and cultural provincialization, considering the new world's centers created by Alexander, Ptolemy, Perdikkas, Cassander,

Antigonus, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucos, Antiochus. According to this, the modern historical approach imposes a new term for this epochal “transitional” century – “*Alexanderism*” or “*Macedonism*”, because a new cultural history was created, with the implementation of the noble idea of Alexander of Macedon, the idea of the “Holy wedding” among peoples. This epochal transitional century talks in the language of the world’s thinkers, in Plato’s and Aristotle’s philosophical language, intimately named as “common language” (koine glosa); this idea was absolved by the genius visionary and person of liberal education, Alexander of Macedon, who was emphasizing the necessity of developing a mutual world’s language for the purpose of exchanging thoughts, ideas, philosophizing which were written on long rolls of papyrus and parchments in the “Alexandria” centers.

After the death of Alexander of Macedon, the Macedonian commanders, so-called *diadochis*, inherited the conquered territories in Hellas, Egypt and the Persian Empire and later they were inherited by their ancestors – *epigones*. That means that the rulers of the new states were Macedonians, the closest friends of Alexander *hetairoi-s* (Alexander’s army commanders). Antipater and Cassander ruled over Macedonia and Hellas and later they were the rulers of the Antigonid Dynasty. The rulers of the Ptolemaic Dynasty ruled over Egypt and in the east. After many Macedonian rulers the authority was taken by the Seleucid Dynasty. The Macedonian rulers were always adapting their rule to the social circumstances and customs of the people they ruled with.

1. The destiny of the Alexander’s Empire after the death of the King

The destiny of the new empire started developing in the Persian capital the city of Babylon, immediately after the death of Alexander of Macedon. Namely, in the historical records six of the *hetairoi-s* are mentioned as present in front of the Macedonian Monarch’s bier. Among them was the most influential and the oldest Perdicas whom Alexander before he died had left the seal-ring that was supposed to be handed over to the next ruler. But, in accordance with the Macedonian custom, the bearer of the sovereignty was to be the Macedonian army that was not complete at that time because one part of the soldiers had been in Macedonia with Antipater, the “strategist of Europe”.

Consequently, the Macedonian army had to bring the decision for acclamation of a new ruler in Babylon. The Macedonian phalanx headed

by Meleager initially decided to appoint a new ruler the half-brother of Alexander, Arrhidaeus, Philip's illegitimate son, who was considered as mentally and physically weak so Perdiccas suggested to wait for Roxanne's birth of a child and to appoint regents who would meanwhile rule the Empire. On the other hand, Antigonus and Nearh proposed that Alexander's son and the Pergamian princess Barsina – Heracles, while Ptolemy proposed the creation of a common administration formed of highest ranged commanders. Here started the conflicts among the dynasties between Macedonian noblemen the closest collaborators of Alexander and lasted till the end of this period. At the end the Macedonians accepted Arrhidaeus to be the King of the Empire under the name of Philip III until the birth of Alexander IV, Roxanne's son (Philip III – Arrhidaeus ruled until 317 BC); after his death Alexander was proclaimed the King, but before he reached maturity, 310/309 he was also killed).

The highest state functions were divided among the most eminent of Alexander's commanders, such as: Craterus, Antipater and Perdiccas; Antipater as a "strategist of Europe" unified the military and civil authority in Macedonia and in Hellenic areas so that he managed to mobilize and send recruits to Asia. Craterus received the high state administrative function as a "prostates" (protector, representative, plenipotentiary) and supreme commander of the King's Army, while Perdiccas as a "hiliarh" (the most important political function) and an "epitrop" (regent, protector, guardian) administered the civil authority over the Asian part of the Empire and was preparing all state affairs. Ptolemy ruled over Egypt, Libya and the boundary area of Arabia in Egypt. A part of the satrapy Syria on the west of the river Euphrates was given to Laomedon, Phoenicia kept its local rulers, Tyre and Gaza became Macedonian colonies, and Cyprus was in a similar situation. Antigonus ruled over the satrapies of Pamphylia and Lycia and in 333 BC the Phoenicia was annexed to his rule. In a 10 year ruling period this ruler strengthened the authority in Asia Minor. Later Antigonus expanded his authority over Pisidia. On the south, the satrapy Paphlagonia, Cappadocia and the area of Pontus was taken over by Eumenes. The western part of Asia Minor, the satrapies of Caria, Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia belonged to Leonnatus, the closest Perdiccas' collaborator.

The supreme authority in Europe belonged to Antipater, and both with Craterus were ruling over Macedonia, Epirus, and Hellenic areas but also over Illyrians, Thracians and Agrianes. Thrace was entrusted to Lysimachus, who probably the same as the other rulers depended on the supreme authority of Perdiccas in Babylon.

The central areas of the Empire were spreading over six satrapies, which during the period of Alexander's rule they had Iranian satraps; some of them remained independent while others became under the control of Perdiccas. The eastern areas were under the military control of the Macedonians, the King Porus ruled over Punjab while the satrapy of India was entrusted to Peithon.

The only one among all of Alexander's officers that remained in the position of commander of the *hetairoi* was Seleucos who did not get any satrapy.

1.1. The wars of the Diadochs

The wars of the Diadochis could not have been stopped either with the attempts to divide the Empire so that each would receive its own ruling territory or with the creation of parental relations in matrimonial communities. The common ground that was connecting all Alexander's heirs was Macedonia; namely, they all without regard of the size of their ruling territory they were insisting to take over the territory of Macedonia and to proclaim the King of the Macedonians. It means that in most of the cases Macedonia was the reason for their mutual conflicts.

The first conflict was among Perdiccas on the one side and Antigonos, Ptolemy, Craterus and Antipater on the other side. During 321 BC Perdiccas considering Ptolemy as his biggest enemy was breaking through Egypt but he was stopped because the river Nile was swollen with rain. After several unsuccessful attempts to cross the river but also due to the discontent among the officers and commanders in his army, Perdiccas was killed in the military camp. After his death Perdiccas' troops took the Ptolemy's side.

Two years after the death of Alexander the number of the Diadochis decreased and the jointed Macedonian troops entered into new alliance. Now Antipater, as the oldest and the most influential became a regent with unlimited authority and was in charge of reorganization of the state. With the reorganization the largest authority was given to Antigonos as Perdiccas' heir and he had to command the Asian military forces. Antipater's son, Cassander, became the commander of the cavalry forces; Ptolemy was entrusted with unlimited authority in Egypt and Antipater as a strategist – the autocrat of Europe withdrew in Macedonia together with the Macedonian Kings.

Antipater, Philip's last collaborator, died at 80 years of age (319 BC); loyal to the traditions of the Aegreid Dynasty, he managed to keep

and strengthen the Macedonian state and at the same time despite of the numerous rebellions of the Hellenic city-states (like the Lamian war) he managed to keep the authority in the conquered Hellenic territories. The new pretender of the Macedonian throne, Cassander, the commander of the cavalry forces of the *hetairoi*, wanted to take over the position of his father who proclaimed Poliperchont as his heir, because he trusted him, as being the older, that he would take care of the family. Poliperchont became *epimeletes* (protector) of the Macedonian Kings and he received this title somehow against the Macedonian laws, without consent of the Macedonian Assembly. That brought a new conflict among the Diadochis and a new war, this time addressed towards Poliperchont; on the one side, Cassander with army and navy of Antigonos, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, fighting on the Hellenic territory and on the other side Poliperchont with Eumenes clashed with the Army of Antigonos in Asia Minor; Olympias, Alexander's mother was also on Poliperchont's side and he gave her the responsibility to take care of Alexander's son Alexander IV and his mother Roxanne.

As a winner Cassander placed the Macedonian army in Athens and appointed Demetrius of Phaleron, a philosopher and Aristotle's student, his regent. He set out to Macedonia took over the Army (together with the elephants brought by Antipater) and went down on Peloponnes. In the period of his absence Olympias and Poliperchont (317 BC) killed Philip– Arrhidaeus and his wife Eurydice, the nephew of Philip II, as well as other Cassander's relatives and friends. Cassander revenged this severely conquering Pydna the place where Olympias, Roxanne and the little Alexander sheltered so that he captured Olympias and sent her to court; it is strange why the Alexander's mother was not been allowed to defend herself in front of the Macedonian army but the prosecutors killed her while Roxanne and the little Alexander were enslaved in Amphipolis. After all these events Cassander became ruler over Macedonia (316 BC). The King's family, Philip-Arrhidaeus, her wife Eurydice and her mother Cinina were solemnly buried in the royal tomb in Aigae. In order to become real King of Macedonia, Cassander married to Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip II, and in her honor he founded the city of Thessalonica in the Thermian Gulf. Aiming to rule over the territory of Hellada, Cassander with his army broke through Thermopylae, restored Thebes attacked on Aetolia, where Poliperchont was sheltered, and conquered several Peloponnesian cities.

1.2. The rivalry between Antigonos and Demetrius I

When Eumenes was defeated Antigonus became the only ruler in Asia. In Babylon he was given all royal honors (Seleucos was replaced as a satrap of Babylon so that he fled from there and went to Ptolemy). With great treasure from the east, Antigonus with military convoy composed of caravans of camels started a new campaign towards the west. All this caused fear among the other Diadochis and once again organized themselves against Antigonus. During the period of siege of Tyre (315 BC), Antigonus convoked the Macedonian army on Assembly in order to resolve the issue related to the highest authority; Antigonus addressed the Macedonia Army from a position of a sole representative of the Macedonian Kings accused Cassander for murder of Olympias and for arresting the little Alexander and his mother Roxanne and asked for their liberation.

In 311 BC a peace agreement was concluded among the Diadochis but once again the Empire was divided: Cassander remained a strategist of Europe until the maturity of Alexander IV; Lysimachus became a ruler of Thrice; Ptolemy ruled over Egypt while Antigonus was entrusted with all Asia except the eastern part which was ruled by Seleucos.

Obviously the Empire started being ruled by new rulers who did not take care any more about the royal family. From 310/309 or 308/307 BC when Cassander in secrecy killed Alexander IV and his mother Roxanne in Amphipolis the rule of the Argeadas Dynasty eventually ended.

In the period from 311 to 301 BC the Diadochis were campaigning everywhere, on the territory of Thrice, Hellada, Asia Minor and eastern Mediterranean.

Antigonus was in war against Seleucos in Babylonia and during 307 BC sent his son Demetrius I a large fleet formed of 250 ships and finances for the mercenaries to break through Athens. When the Macedonian army was defeated of Cassander, Demetrius announced liberation of Athens and the return of its democratic rule. The city with admiration proclaimed Demetrius and Antigonus rescuers and benefactors. Golden statues were erected in the city in their honor and many other honorable acts and celebrations were carried out too.

The armies of Demetrius and Ptolemy clashed at the Salamis port. The Ptolemy army was defeated and a part of his troops and cavalry passed on the Demetrius' side. Antigonus and Demetrius reigned over the Aegean Sea and eastern part of the Mediterranean. The Army acclaimed them basileos-s. Upon this example Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander and Seleucos in the period from 306/305 proclaimed themselves basileos-s,

Kings of the Empire's part that was under their rule; so Alexander's Empire was divided into five parts.

Antigonus was not satisfied with the territory that had belonged to him so he had an intention to rule over Egypt; however he was also stopped in a similar way as Perdiccas by the swollen with rain river Nile. One part of his army passed on the Ptolemy's side. In order to block Egypt, Antigonus attacked Rhodes and Demetrius in 305/304 BC organized the biggest siege in the history: he engaged an enormous army, used ships, battle equipment and colossal machineries. The siege lasted about one year the Rhodes' citizens were desperately defending and at the end they achieved the negotiations. After this siege everyone talked that no one was capable of opposing to Demetrius I Poliorketes.

When the Peloponnesian cities were conquered, in 302 BC Demetrius convoked a meeting at Corinth with the Hellenes and suggested signing a new Agreement for Alliance. The Agreement had the same content with that of 337 BC signed between Philip II and the Hellenic city-states, with a difference that in this one Antigonus and Demetrius were signed as baseleos-s and not as hegemon-s. And it was true, Demetrius' behavior was of an absolutist and he endlessly was demonstrating his will in Athens.

Cassander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy formed the new League and based on individual interests joined their forces against Antigonus and Demetrius. The decisive battle happened in Phrygia near Ipsus (302 BC). The reason for the defeat was probably the age of Antigonus who was almost 80. After this battle in which Antigonus was killed the Asian part of the Kingdom was divided again: Lysimachus took over Asia Minor up to Tauros, Seleucos ruled over Ermenia, Cappadocia, Mesopotamia and Syria while Ptolemy remained to rule over Egypt.

2. Demetrius I Polioretēs– the new King of Macedonia

The Alliance and the conflicts among the Diadochis continued into the next period too. A remarkable historic personality was Demetrius I Poliorketes, who did not give up the idea to rule over the whole Kingdom; this excellent commander was in possession of the biggest fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, ruled over the sea and had secure basis in different parts of the seaside. After the death of Cassander (297 BC) Demetrius broke through Macedonia clashed with the King of Epirus, Pyrrhus, who was another pretender over the rule in Macedonia.

In 294 BC Demetrius managed to kill Alexander, Cassander's son, and proclaimed himself the King of Macedonia. Despite the great successes and the great territory that he conquered (Macedonia and the territory of Hellada), Demetrius continued to prepare for the new conquering campaign to the east and with this purpose he constructed 500 huge war ships. However after a 7-year ruling period he was attacked by Pyrrhus, Lysimachus and Ptolemy and his army took the side of the opposing alliance. After this conflict Pyrrhus was acclaimed Macedonian King in 288/287 BC, and eastern Macedonian, probably up to Axios belonged to Lysimachus.

Demetrius withdrew in Asia and continued to fight but now with a huge army made of mercenaries; defeated by Seleucos he died as a hostage in Syria (283 BC). After his death Lysimachus, one of the most loyal hetairoi of Alexander of Macedon, became one of the most powerful rulers over the Euro-Asian territory (he built his own city, called Lysimachya over the city of Chersonese). Due to the fact that he was in possession of Macedonia and Thessaly he proclaimed himself the King of Macedonia. It seems like by tradition, the conflicts continued but this time between Diadochis, Lysimachus and Seleucos. Seleucos was a winner from this clash and managed to unite again the eastern and western parts of the Empire proclaiming himself the King of Macedonia. However this success again ended tragically. Ptolemy Ceraunus, the son of Ptolemy Lagos, killed Seleucos. Ptolemy Lagos was a founder of the Dynasty of Ptolemies who was acclaimed the King by the Army (280 BC).

3. The new generation of rulers – Epigones

This was a ruing period of the Diadochis's sons – the generation of the Epigonoi; so Ptolemy was inherited by Ptolemy Philadeplhus, Seleucos by his son Antiochus while Demetrius by Antigonus Gonatas (one of the Antigoneads Dynasty, which ruled in Macedonia until the period when it was conquered by Rome).

Namely, the Macedonian Seleucid Dynasty (312-64 BC) ruled over the territory of the Syrian Empire in Asia Minor and in Babylon up to India; the Ptolemaic Dynasty (323-30 BC) ruled over Egypt. The last heir of the Ptolemaic Dynasty was Cleopatra VII (51/52-30 BC). Her life and rule were often being connected with the Roman Republic, with Gaius Julius Caesar and with the Consul Mark Antony with whom she was fighting against Octavian Augustus. The last battle in which the army

of Cleopatra and Antony was defeated took part in Actium (31 BC) after which the Queen committed suicide. After her death, Egypt fell under the Roman rule and became a Roman province.

The Antigoneads Dynasty was the second Macedonian Ruling Dynasty (277 –168 BC). Its founders were Antigonus Gonatas (227-239 BC) and his son Demetrius II (239-229). They were inherited by the new generation of rulers such as: Antigonus Doseon (228-222/221 BC), Philip V (221-179 BC) and Perseus (179-168 BC), the last Macedonian ruler who together with Philip V were leading the Macedonian-Roman wars.

Antigonus II Gonatas (277-239 BC) Being an excellent commander and skillful diplomat campaigned against the King of Epirus, Pyrrhus and expanded the Macedonian rule up to Corinth. He participated in the Chremonidean War (261-255 BC) and as a winner from this was he confirmed the domination of Macedonia over the Hellenic city-states. He also strengthened the navy that helped him to defeat the navy of the Egyptian King Ptolemy II (255 BC) and to achieve predominance at the Aegean Sea.

Antigonus III Doseon (229-221 BC), an excellent war strategist and diplomat; at the beginning he ruled as a regent of the 8-year old son of Antigonus Gonatas, Philip V. He was proclaimed a legitimate ruler after he married Philip's mother and adopted the young King. He strengthened the boundaries of Macedonia secured the northern frontier, which had been endangered by the Dardanians and managed to establish Macedonian rule over the territory of Thessaly. He also politically reinforced the state and renewed its domination on the Balkan Peninsula. After the victory over the Illyrians in Upper Macedonia he got tuberculosis and died.

4. The Macedonian-Roman War in the period of Philip V (221–179 BC)

Philip V, the son of Antigonus Doseon, at the age of 16 was appointed the King, with five regents that were ruling to the moment of his maturity. This Macedonian King, the same as his antecedents, was taking care about the power of Macedonia as the biggest force on the Balkan. He headed successful wars against the Dardanians on the North and against the Aetolian League on South that helped him to impose a new Macedonian domination over the Hellenic city-states; at the same time he conquered the territories around the Lihnidia Lake.

Philip V entered into an Alliance with the Illyrian ruler Demetrius from Pharos, who after the defeat in the war against the Romans was preparing for a new war together with Philip. With navy composed of around 100 ships Philip set out to Illyria (216 BC) but the Romans succeeded to defend the city of Apollonia. The military and political interests of Macedonia came up against the expansion of the Roman state. The military conflict caused the beginning of the first Macedonian-Roman War (215-205 BC), which did not have a positive outcome for Macedonia. In 215 BC Philip entered into a new alliance with Hanibal, the Roman enemy. This strategy initially was successful but the Macedonian army was defeated near Apollonia and while it was withdrawing Philip was forced to burn the Macedonian Navy, which was blocked by the Roman ships. That is why the following attack taken by Philip was by land and he succeeded to seize over the Adriatic port of Lisos (212 BC). The next year Philip carried out a campaign in Illyria, attacking the Dardanians and the Medes. The first Macedonian-Roman war terminated so that the Macedonians kept the territory of Lihnidas' area and Skodra while Romans took over the cities of: Epidamnos, Apollonia, Oriq, Lisos and southern part of Corcyra.

During the 5-year long truce Philip concluded an alliance with the King Prusia, renewed the Navy and managed to conquer more coastline cities of Hellespontes and the islands of Samos, Milet and Hios. By the other side, after the victory over the Carthaginian ruler Hanibal, Rome started to prepare for a new war against Macedonia.

The second Macedonian-Roman war (200-197 BC) was a failure for the Macedonian state. In this war the Romanians were attacking together with the armies of the Illyrians, Dardanians and some of the Hellenic city-states, among which Athens, then Rhodes and Pergam. In the first decades of this war, the Macedonian army was successfully resisting the Roman army, which was attacking from Illyria. Such successful resisting tendency lasted till the Battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC) when the Macedonian phalanx despite its initial success was thoroughly broken; 8.000 soldiers were killed and 5.000 were capture; while the withdrawing toward Larisa, Philip V had burnt the Royal archive, and all important documents for Macedonia before the city seized into the hands of the Romans.

Philip had to renounce all conquered territories outside Macedonia but in a short period of time he managed to consolidate Macedonia and to prepare it for the new war against the Romans. It is due to mention that following the example of Philip II, he paid particular attention on the de-

velopment of the cities, economy, farming, stockbreeding and he also revitalized the old gold and silver mines.

5. Perseus (179–168) – the last Macedonian King of the Antigonit Dynasty

This ruler continued implementing the policy of his father, secured the northern boundaries of Macedonia, campaigned against Thracians, renewed the treaty with Rome in order to be acclaimed the King of Macedonia and led the third Macedonian-Roman war.

After long preparations, Rome declared war to Macedonia (171 BC). The 13,000 numbered Roman army landed in Illyria and started helping the Hellenic city-states. Perseus, at the Macedonian Assembly brought a decision to initiate the war. He gathered 14,000 soldiers in his army and enormous war reserves for a 10-year war period. During the first year of the war Perseus blocked all crossings from Thessaly to Macedonia and disabled the pervasion of the Roman Army. The defense of the Macedonians wasn't broken even with the second Roman attack in the following year. Perseus then encouraged successfully was campaigning against the Dardanians and on his way back he inflicted defeat on the Romans at Penestia and Illyria.

During 169 BC the Roman consul Mark Philipus attacked him by the sea (Thessalonica, Casandrea, Aion and Antigonia) and by land (entered into Dion). Perseus withdrew in Pella but managed to stop the marching of the Roman Army. The new Roman attack started under the guidance of the Roman consul Emilius Paulus (168 BC); Perseus withdrew at Pidna. After a short but fierce battle (168 BC), in which both sides were fighting with 40,000 soldiers each, the Macedonian phalanx was definitively broken. After this defeat Perseus moved to Amphipolis and the Roman Army was devastating Macedonia. Perseus with all his family and his enormous treasury was sheltered on the Island of Samotradi where actually he was captured. After that Macedonia fell under Roman protectorate.

MACEDONIA IN THE PERIOD OF ROMAN RULE (168 BC to the end of the III century)

1. Territorial partition of Macedonia

The Roman conquest of Macedonia (168 BC) marked the end of the Macedonian Empire. The definition of the new status of Macedonia was sanctioned one year later in Amphipolis, where the Consul Aemilius Paulus, in the presence of the Macedonian king Perseus and the Macedonian elite, announced that “the Macedonians will be free, they will own the cities and fields as before, they will abide by their laws and customs and will elect their own magistrates every year.” However, the Macedonians were obliged to pay “a tribute to the Roman people” whose amount was “one half of the tribute that they were paying to the Kings”. Such apparently granted “liberty” was of nominal character, because Macedonia at the same time was divided into four autonomous districts called *Merides*. The first district, with the capital city of Amphipolis, stretched over the territory between the rivers Nestus and Strymon including also the areas from the east of the river Nestus to the river Hebros, while on the western side of the river Strymon it incorporated the whole territory of Bisaltia including the city Heraclea Sintica. Thessalonica was the capital city of the second district, which bordered with the river Strymon from the east without Heraclea Sintica and Bisaltia, while on the west it spread up to the river Axios, including the region on the eastern side of the river. The territory between Axios in east and the river Peneus in the west, the Mt. Vermium in the north with the Peonia from the western side of the river Axios including the cities of Edessa and Beroia, belonged to the third area, with Pella as capital. The fourth area with the capital located in Pelagonia, bordered with Epirus, Illyria, and Dardania as well as with the independent regions of Orestis and Dassaretia. Apart from abolishing the Macedonian Monarchy, Rome instituted measures that provided several prohibitions for Macedonians, including commerce and marital relations among the people of separated areas, as well as extracting of silver and gold from their mines. The main purpose of the territorial division of Ma-

cedonia was to disable the unification process of the Macedonians in terms of preventing the restoration of the political, military and economical power of Macedonia. The hardest measure was the expulsion of the king Perseus and his family to Rome. The subjects of this measure were also the Macedonian elite as well as the male children over the age of 15. After that Perseus was imprisoned in Alba where under suspicious circumstances he died in the period between 163 and 161 BC.

2. Rebellion of Andriscus (149–148 BC)

The new administration was considered as imposed by the Macedonians and the administrative division in four parts as a step that leads to the deterioration of the Macedonian tissue. This was illustrated by *Livy*, who concluded that the Macedonians perceived their county in such a disintegrated form that he compared it with "an animal torn into separate parts, each of which needed the others". The aspirations of the Macedonians to restore their Empire was manifested in giving wide support to the leadership of Andriscus, who introduced himself as a son of the last Macedonian king Perseus. This supported his official acclamation as Macedonian king in 149 BC in Pella. The rebelled Macedonians headed by Andriscus in a short period of time managed to liberate a major part of the Macedonian territory. However applying the tactic of dissension, the Romans succeeded to inflict a catastrophic defeat to the Macedonians at Pydna (148 BC). Andriscus was captured and killed, which represented an end of the attempt of the Macedonians to revive the Macedonian Empire.

3. Macedonia - the first Roman province on the Balkans

After the suppression of the Andriscus' rebellion all forms of apparent internal autonomy were cancelled. With the decision of the Roman Senate in 148 BC Macedonia was transformed into a Roman province. The establishment of the direct Roman administrative system with the permanent provincial governor with capital in Thessalonica was followed by the allocation of the permanent Roman garrisons. Illyria and Epirus were annexed to Macedonia so that the administrative territory was exceeding the geographical and ethnical territory and was expanding from the Ionian Sea in the west to the river Nestus in the east. Its southern border was the Mt. Olympus while the northern one was represented by the

upper course of the river Axios. The Roman writers however made a clear distinction between the geographical-ethnic and provincial border of Macedonia, who used to identify the Macedonians as a majority population in the Macedonian territory. The establishment of the new Roman provincial administration was not followed by drastic changes of the laws. The *Merides* continued their existence but they lost their political importance. The common *Synedrion*, most probably was transformed in the Macedonian *koinon*, thus representing the continuity of the old *koinon* from the period of the Macedonian Empire. In order to adapt the previous Macedonian traditions to the new municipal administration, Rome allowed the Macedonian cities to preserve their former administration. However, this was not sufficient for soothing the tendencies of the Macedonians for restoration of their Empire.

4. The new tendencies of the Macedonians for restoration of the state

In 142 BC the Macedonians arose again with a rebellion against the Romans but this time it was headed by Alexander, who alleged his imperial origin, being a son of the king Perseus. Although the Macedonians managed to take control over the territory around river Nestus, the prompt intervention of Rome impeded the expansion of the uprising, which was quickly suppressed afterward.

Actually from 144 BC the long-lasting period of continuous attacks on Macedonia embarked from the central Balkan tribes Scordisci, Dardani, Maedi, Dentheleti and others. For the duration of one of these raids in 112/111 BC the Macedonians mobilized their forces again and turned against the Roman authority. This "Macedonian war" inflicted serious problems to the Romans, who were making great efforts to overwhelm the Macedonians in 110 BC.

The mobilization of the Macedonians was also a consequence of the new Roman strategy applied, which was directed towards gaining benefits of the strategic position of Macedonia on the Balkan Peninsula for the implementation of Roman expansionistic plans toward the river Danube and in the eastern Mediterranean. In this context, Rome initiated the construction of the great land road *Via Egnatia* for the purpose of enabling its West-East communication by land that additionally accentuated the strategic importance of Macedonia.

In 88 BC the Macedonians demonstrated again their discontent

from the Roman authorities and rose up another armed rebellion. They benefited from the involvement of the king of Pontus, Mithridates, on the Balkans affairs so that they managed to liberate a significant part of the Macedonian territory declaring Euphanus as their king. The Romans encountering great difficulties defeated the Macedonians whose tendency was to restore the “Macedonian Empire”. Actually this was the last authentically registered major uprising of the Macedonians against the Roman authorities.

The tendency for reunification and restoration of the Macedonian Empire was also present in the following period, but the methods were altered, due to the change of the policy of Rome towards Macedonians. In this context, *Cicero* was particularly engaged and he pledged that only the honest attitude towards the Macedonians could have insured the interests of the Roman people.

5. Macedonia – the first Christian country in Europe

When in 49 BC the Apostle Paul commenced the mission for the spread of the Christian teaching in Europe, the first visited country was Macedonia. The *Bible* testifies that Apostle Paul had chosen Macedonia because he witnessed a vision of a Macedonian calling him to come to Macedonia, and help the Macedonians. Accompanied by his entourage he immediately made his way towards Macedonia “to proclaim the Gospel of Christ to the people there”. At the end of 49 BC the Apostle Paul arrived in the Macedonian city Philippi, where he held the first Christian sermon on the European ground. *Clement of Alexandria* emphasized that Paul “became the bearer of the God’s voice when he addressed to the Macedonians”, the founder of the first Christian community in Macedonia and generally in Europe. After the disclosure of the mission Paul was forced to continue his missionary journey to Thessalonica. The Christian mission of Paul had been widely accepted by the Thessalonian citizens who “although in great difficulties with pleasure” accepted the Christianity. The Apostle Paul was constrained to leave Thessalonica due to the Jewish protest so that accompanied by his entourages he continued his mission in Beroia. He continued preaching the gospel there, in the Jewish synagogue, but soon he was forced to discontinue the apostolic mission because of the civil protests provoked by the Jews from Thessalonica. Although he was hindered to accomplish the apostolic mission in Macedonia, Paul set up the foundations of a Christian organization in Macedonia

and in Europe as a whole. The Paul's Epistles to the churches in Philippi and Thessalonica as well as his second visit of Macedonia (56 and 57 BC), are clear indications of his devotion to spread Christianity in Macedonian towns, and thus in Europe.

Among the followers of the Apostle Paul's commitment in Macedonia as his concomitants were mentioned Jason, Aristarchus and Secundus that were later proclaimed as Saints. The Macedonian Aristarchus, according the encrypted church tradition, was the first bishop of Thessalonica that was persecuted and martyred in the period of the emperor Nero. The adoption of Christianity by the Macedonians was a parallel process performed gradually at the same time with an existing wide admiration of the pagan deities.

6. Macedonia in the period of the Roman Civil Wars (49–31 BC)

From 49 BC Macedonia became the focal point of the First Roman Civil War, which arose after the break of the alliance between Caesar and Pompey (Pompeus). After fleeing from Rome, Pompey arrived in Macedonia in the winter 49 BC and concentrated his political seat in Thessalonica where almost the complete Roman senate was transferred. The Macedonians having been incapable for their own military and political organization joined Pompey's army, along other peoples and tribes. The strategic motivation of Pompey, for which he was later accused about in the Roman Senate, had been "to create his own Empire in Macedonia". This fact implies that he received the strong support by the Macedonians. In the decisive battle with Caesar near Pharsala in Thessaly (48 BC) Pompey's army was completely crushed. Taking over of the authority in Macedonia, Caesar intervened in the clash of the Ptolemaic Dynasty promoting Cleopatra VII to the new Egyptian Queen.

After the assassination of Caesar in March 44 BC Macedonia was again in the focus of the interest of the Roman political elite, who vied for the supreme power in Rome. The conspirators Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus after being forced to leave Rome headed towards the rich provinces of Macedonia and Syria. The arrival of Brutus in Macedonia around the end of 44 BC resulted in providing swift support by the Macedonians so that he was enabled to form two legions consisted of Macedonians, which were drilled in Roman style warfare. *Cassius Dio* evaluated that the participation of the Macedonians in the Brutus' army was mainly motivated by the promised "benefits for their country" that

illustrated their ambitious expectations from the outcome of this civil war. However, Brutus committed a strategic mistake with his decision to move from Macedonia to Syria with intention to associate his army with the army of Cassius. In this way the united forces of Anthony, Octavian and Lepidus were enabled without difficulty to take over the control in Macedonia. In the battle of Philippi in the autumn 42 BC Cassius and Brutus were defeated after that both committed suicide. Macedonia came under the jurisdiction of Antony. The Macedonians once again did not manage to reach their planned objectives despite of the fact that they changed sided and supported Octavian and Anthony in the final phase of the civil war that in some way determined the outcome of the war. However, Thessalonica was promoted to a free city (*civitates liberae*) that additionally emphasized its position as a leading Macedonian city. At the same time the Romans started implementing their organized colonization policy in Macedonia focusing particularly on the cities of Cassandreia, Dion, Philippi, Pella and Scupi.

The marriage with the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra VII (37 BC), who was the sole representative of the Macedonian Ptolemaic Dynasty, implied Anthony's imperialistic plans in which Macedonia was also included. His ambitions and his alliance with Cleopatra provoked categorical military response by Octavian, which resulted in a great victory in the Battle of Actium in 31 BC. This enabled Octavian in a short period of time to establish his authority in Macedonia and in the Balkans. After the final clash with Anthony and Cleopatra VII, who both committed suicide, Octavian conquered Egypt in 30 BC and put an end to the last Macedonian dynasty.

7. Macedonia in the period of Pax Romana

After 31 BC came the period of so-called Roman peace in the Roman Empire. The favoritism of the Macedonian *koinon* by Octavian Augustus led to the gradual reduction of the separatist tendencies of the Macedonians. The Roman policy of creating a representation of free political expression actually made its contribution for the integration of the Macedonians within the Roman community. This gradual integrative process was accompanied by the preservation of the ethnical identity and the historical traditions of the Macedonians. The honor that the Thessalonica citizens gave to the provincial administrator Calpurnius Piso - Pontifex allowing him to wear the Macedonian hat *causia*, from the period of

Alexander of Macedon, just because he defended the city from the Thracians (11 BC) clearly illustrates this process. From the first century AD the unity of the Macedonians was symbolized also by the Macedonian capital city, Thessalonica, which gained the epithet, “The mother of all Macedonia”. The tendency of the imperial dynasties in Rome from the II and the III century AD for *immitatio Alexandri*, which reflected their immense interest for Macedonia, had also made its contribution in terms of maintaining the compactness of the Macedonians. The Emperor Hadrian (117-138) personally visited Macedonia in 132 and stayed in the city of Pella. The respect for Alexander of Macedon was particularly emphasized by the Severan Dynasty (193-235). The Emperor Mark Antonius Caracalla (211-217) was appointing Macedonians in high-levelled positions just because of their Macedonian ethnical origin. He even formed a phalanx composed of 6,000 soldiers “exclusively Macedonians” and named it “Alexander’s phalanx”. The similar tendency was marked in the period of the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235), who formed a phalanx of 3,000 soldiers in Macedonia and ordered to be called “phalanxarians”. Such Roman policy corresponded with the preservation of the collective memory among the Macedonians about their Kings Philip and Alexander that was a significant segment in the process of preservation of their ethnical and cultural distinctiveness in the period of the Roman rule.

MACEDONIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST (IV–V century)

1. Macedonia in the period of the Tetrarchy

The period of *Pax romana* was disturbed in the middle of the III century when the Goths managed in a short period of time to impose themselves as a serious threat so that the whole of Macedonia was concerned about their attacks. The administrative and economical crisis that affected the Roman Empire was resolved in the period of Diocletian (284-305). His innovation, based upon the implementation of the tetrarchic administration system actually raised the position of the *caesar* and heir, Maximilian Galerius (293-311), who was entrusted the jurisdiction over the major part of the Balkans, including the province of Macedonia, which was incorporated in the newly formed *diocese*, Moesia. The tendency of Galerius to identify himself as Alexander of Macedon and to give an essential role to Macedonia within the framework of his ambitious imperialistic plans was clearly manifested in the appointment of Thessalonica as his main political and military center in 298. By a decision of Galerius in the first years of the IV century new provinces were formed, Thessaly and New Epirus, whose separation from the province of Macedonia was complemented by the restitution of the historical and ethnical boundaries of Macedonia. In accordance with the conception for promotion of Thessalonica as main political center of the Empire, Galerius carried out an immense construction activity in the city, which resulted in several prestigious buildings built in the first decade of the IV century. However, the ambition of Galerius resulted in a direct confrontation with the other rulers of the Tetrarchy, so that the Roman Empire was transformed into an arena of fierce conflicts. During the clashes, which brought the fall of the Tetrarchy, Galerius suddenly became ill and died in 311. Before his death, Galerius proclaimed the edict providing tolerance towards the Christians that actually implied the beginning of the new ideological policy of the Empire in which Macedonia obtained a central position on the Balkan Peninsula.

2. Macedonia in the period of Constantine I (306–337) and his successors

In the clashes among the tetrarchic rulers, Constantine I (306-307) and Licinius (308-324) imposed themselves as undisputable leaders of the West and the East. During 317 Constantine managed to impose his authority over the major part of the Balkans inclusively over Macedonia. The concentration of political and military authority in Thessalonica as his new seat, as well as the implementation of the tolerant religious policy, which was based on the Edict of Milan of 311, enabled Constantine I to consolidate swiftly his positions in Macedonia. The Church authors accentuated that opportunity given to Macedonians, among other people, to practice freely their own faith, was a merit of Constantine I.

After the superior victory over Licinius in 324, Constantine I emerged as an indisputable ruler of the Empire that provided completion to the implementation of the administrative and economical reforms. This had a direct impact on the increase of the administrative status of Macedonia and its promotion to *diocese* in 325. The enhanced political status of Macedonia actually initiated the growing of the significance of its religious policy, manifested in the prestigious positions of the Macedonian bishopric centers acquired during the dogmatic definition of the Christianity at the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea (325).

With a tendency to ensure the unity in the complicated region in the Balkans, Constantine I before he died, had incorporated Macedonia as a *diocese* within the framework of the newly formed central prefecture Italy-Illyricum-Africa. However, very soon the unity of the Roman Empire appeared as unsustainable due to the conflict of the imperial dynasty among the sons of Constantine I, who confronted their antagonistic political and ideological conceptions of the west and east. Such tendencies inevitably reflected in Macedonia, which entering into the zone of the political and ideological orbit of the west appeared to be at the margins of the new spheres of influence. Strongly supporting the Nicæan creed and the positions of the Western church, Macedonia did not digress from the church affiliation in the period of Arian domination during the short independent rule of the Emperor Constantius II (337-361) nor in the period when the Emperor Julian (361-363) tended to restore the paganism through a “short-lasting” attempt. After the brief rule of the Emperor Jovian (363-364), which was marked with the restoration of the positions of

the Christianity in the Empire, from 364, Macedonia entered again in the political domain of the western Emperors.

3. Theodosius I (379–395) and Macedonia

With the infiltration of the Goths in Thrace after the decisive victory over the eastern Emperor Valens (364-378) at Andrianople in 378 the constellation in the Balkans was significantly altered. In order to achieve a more effective management of the Gothic problem the western Emperor Gratian (367-383) appointed as eastern Emperor, Theodosius I (379-395). In that context besides the eastern part of the Empire he entrusted Theodosius temporary military and administrative responsibility over the whole prefecture of Illyricum. Theodosius focused his military, political and ideological activity on Macedonia from the beginning so that he promoted Thessalonica as a temporary imperial seat in 379. At the same time the seat of the prefecture Illyricum was also transferred from Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) to Thessalonica.

After the initial success of the battles against the Goths in Macedonia, in spring 380, Theodosius was inflicted with a humiliating defeat. The same year in the autumn, the Bishop Acholius in Thessalonica personally baptized the sick Emperor. This act was complementary with the Theodosius' Edict issued in Thessalonica in February 380 and it was actually a promotion of the domination of the Nicæan creed in the Empire. The failure of his Gothic policy forced Theodosius to move to Constantinople in November 380. After that the western Emperor in accordance with the previous agreement assumed the responsibility for the problem resolution of the Gothic crisis in Macedonia as well as the administration of the prefecture of Illyricum.

The activity of Theodosius however marked the increasing significance of Macedonia for the imperial and religious interests of the west and the east. It was confirmed in 387 when the new western Emperor Valentinian II (375-392) after fleeing from Italy because of the usurper Maximus, established the imperial seat in Thessalonica. Consequently, in 387, Thessalonica also regained the status of a temporary seat for the prefecture of Illyricum. The military and political alliance between Theodosius and Valentinian II, which was concluded in Thessalonica by the end of 387, resulted in the authorization for permanent transfer of the prefecture of Illyricum within the political borders of the Eastern Empire. The assumption of the direct political responsibility of Theodosius over the pre-

fecture of Illyricum had direct impact on Macedonia, which was manifested in the administrative division of Macedonia in two parts: *Macedonia Prima*, with the center in Thessalonica and *Macedonia Salutaris*, with the center in Stobi. This administrative division was effectuated in 388 by a decision of Theodosius, which was consistent with his plans for establishing more efficient military and administrative control in Macedonia, having in mind the confirmed presence of Gothic forces in the region.

The involvement of Theodosius in the arrangement of the situation on the West provided him with a dominant position in the Empire. Unfortunately, the unresolved military situation in Macedonia and the huge uprising in Thessalonica (390) disabled him to effectuate the agreed formal separation of the prefecture of Illyricum from Italy. The bloody massacre of the Thessalonica citizens that resulted with 7,000 victims caused a direct confrontation between Theodosius and the Milan Bishop, Ambrose, who was defending the interests of the western church in Macedonia. The newly created situation constrained Theodosius to accept the conciliatory position in regards of the western church so that he approached the resolution of the problem with the Goths in the Balkans. His successful military campaign against the Goths in Macedonia enabled Theodosius to promote formally Illyricum to a separate and permanent prefecture in 392 with its seat based in Thessalonica. However, the untimely death of Theodosius in January 395 caused the definite division of the Roman Empire into Western and Eastern Byzantium that came about with the division of the authority between his minor aged sons, Honorius and Arcadius. The undefined political and ideological delimiting between the two empires predetermined the fierce clash for political and religious domination, which was concentrated in the Balkans and particularly in Macedonia.

4. Macedonia between Byzantium and the Western Roman Empire

The issue over the administration of the Eastern Illyricum caused an open confrontation between both Empires. By the direct involvement of the Goths headed by Alaric the Byzantine imperial court managed to secure the control over this controversial part of the Balkans. Inciting Alaric's campaign in Italy in 401 Byzantium successfully liberated itself from the presence of the Goths. The same year the Byzantine imperial court abolished the province of *Macedonia Salutaris*, and reestablished a sole province of Macedonia.

The direction of the Goths towards Italy that resulted in the conquest of Rome in 410 marked the relatively peaceful period for Byzantium. Under these circumstances the previous military and political confrontation between the Byzantium and the Western Roman Empire exchanged a strong conflict for the religious supremacy on the Balkan Peninsula. The outcome was determined by the act of the Pope Innocent I of 412, which promoted Thessalonica as Papal *vicariate* with a large jurisdiction over the territory of the Balkan Peninsula. It particularly highlighted the position of Thessalonica, which simultaneously became the political center of Byzantium in the Balkans and the religious center of Rome in the region. Macedonia in this period marked a strong economical development that influenced the development of the cities such as Thessalonica, Philippi, Amphipolis, Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, Bargala, Lychnidos, Scupi, Edessa, Servia, Beroia, which had a status of Bishopric centers. The immense fortifications, basilicas, villas, public and private buildings illustrate the developed and wealthy urban life in the Macedonian cities in this period.

Macedonia once again was in the focus of events when the new Byzantine emperor Theodosius II (408-450) got directly involved in the dynastic changes that happened in the Western Roman Empire. The enabled incorporation of the Western Illyricum as well as the Theodosius' motivation to set up the church influence in the Balkans as a counterbalance to the Roman *vicariate* of Thessalonica were reasons for the transfer of the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum from Thessalonica to Sirmium in 437/8. However, the Huns invasion in the Balkans and the destruction of Sirmium forced Byzantium to change its plans, and in 440/41, after the *prefector* of Illyricum Apremius escaped from Sirmium, the seat of the prefecture of Illyricum was returned to Thessalonica. The Huns' breaking through the Balkans forced the Byzantine imperial court to initiate new administrative changes during the year 448 that caused the new division of Macedonia in two separate provinces *Macedonia Prima* and *Macedonia Secunda*. The integral part of the new Byzantine policy in the Balkans was the initiative for the creation of new cult of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica at the middle of the V century. It was implemented by the creation of the new legend about St. Dimitrios in Thessalonica that was a modification of the previous Sirmium's legend due to the integration of religious traditions of the ancient Macedonians in Thessalonica. The substitution of the previous pagan deity, *Cabeiri* with the new Christian hero Demetrius was acceptable for the Macedonians in the period of global religious transition as a way of expressing the ancient traditions and iden-

tity. The new Byzantine religious policy was institutionalized with the construction of the Church of "St. Demetrius" in the middle of the V century, that was gradually reflected in the weakening of the Roman *vicariate* in Thessalonica.

After freeing from the Hunic problem, with the death of Attila (453), Macedonia soon became a target of new attacks but this time by the eastern Goths. Particularly serious were the Gothic campaigns in Macedonia during the period of 473/4 and 478/9 when the cities of Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis were demolished which caused the rising of anti-Byzantine uprisings in Thessalonica. By diplomatic efforts Byzantium however succeeded to prevent the settlement of the Goths on the territory of Macedonia, who in 488, directed themselves towards Italy.

In the period of the Gothic attacks on Macedonia, the role of the church elite was particularly emphasized so that it assumed the political representation of the citizens in the Macedonian cities. Probably, the promised privileges by Byzantium influenced the cancellation of the loyalty towards Rome by the Macedonian Bishops during the period of Acacius schism between the Western and Eastern churches (484-518). The temporary cessation of the Thessalonica vicariate functioning was a direct consequence of the changes in the religious policy of the Macedonian church elite. The conflict related to the division of the spheres of influence between Byzantium and the Western Roman Empire during, which was focused on the Balkan noticeably reflected in the increased political and church status of Macedonia.

MACEDONIA AND THE SLAVS

(the middle of the VI century – the middle of the IX century)

1. The appearance of the Slavs on the historical scene

The numerous traditional theories about the origin of the Slavs identify the primordial Slavic settlements behind the Carpathian Mountains prevalently in the area of the Pripet river basin. The determination of the so-called “homeland” of the Slavs, far behind the river Danube, generally is based on the interpretation of the *Jordanes*’ testimonies in the context of confirmation of the old Slavic and Antic origin through their classification as *Venethi*. The connection of the use of the term “Venethi” by *Jordanes*, which had also been found in the works of *Pliny the Elder*, *Tacit* and *Ptolemy*, created preconditions in the traditional historiography for the direct connection of the history of the Slavs’ with the history of the old *Veneti* situated on the territory between Baltic Sea, Carpathians and the river Vistula. But the new archeological and historical studies of the Slavs (F. Curta, W. Pohl, P. M. Barford) initiated the trend of abandoning the existing theories about Slavic “homeland”, the ancient origin of the Slavs and their migration. The critical analysis of the *Jordanes*’ work implies his noticeable tendency to use older historical sources regarding the interpretation the origin of the Slavs and to put their settlement in a concrete historical and geographical context. The comparison with the other testimonies about the Slavs, such as those based on the personal perception and experience of *Procopius of Caesarea* inflicted the necessity of abandoning the traditional historiographic comprehension about the Slavs. Thereby, the concrete definition of the relevant appearance of the Slavs on the historical scene should be chronologically assigned at the beginning of the VI century. The lack of archeological assertion of some kind of depopulation within the alleged homeland of the Slavs and absence of archeological artifacts that might indicate both the connection and the existence of some older culture from the one that had

been formed along the lower course of the river Danube in the VI century, is an additional argument that explain the necessity of abandoning the traditional migration theory. The explicit authentic testimonies that indicated the increasing problem with the new enemies identified under the name of Slavs (Sclavenes) can be found only from the period of the Emperor Justinian I (527-565). But in these historical records the Slavs had been located on the territory northern of the river Danube and not behind the Carpathians.

2. Macedonia in the political and religious conception of Justinian I

Significant changes of the social, economical and political structure happened at the beginning of the VI century in Macedonia, as well in the other Balkan provinces of Byzantium. It was a period in which the small and medium cities started weakening economically. The process of de-urbanization affected Macedonia so the number of the cities decreased from around 100 to 40. At the same time the number of the rural settlements also decreased, causing a significant reduction of the rural population. All these events influenced the weakening of the economical infrastructure on the Balkan Peninsula. Thessalonica was one of the rare cities that managed to avoid the process of ruralization. In such circumstances Byzantium was constantly facing the attacks by the barbarians making the Danube river the frontier with the Barbarian world. In the first decades of the VI century, both, the “Huns” and the “Getae” were mainly threatening Byzantium and they were generally identified as nomadic horsemen by the Byzantine authors. Their attacks were mainly focused in the eastern Balkans although during the year of 517 Macedonia was also affected by the thorough campaign of the “Getae equites”. This campaign coincided with the catastrophic earthquake that ruined the city of Scupi (Skopje). *Procopius of Caesarea* in 518 registered the first attack of the Antes who were “living near the Slavs”. Among the identified barbarians as a threat in the Balkans the Bulgarians and Cutrigurs were also mentioned.

When Justinian II came to the Byzantine throne (527) the process of reconfiguration of the political and ideological strategy of Byzantium was initiated that was followed by a radical redefinition of the security system in the Balkans. It was manifested in the invasive Byzantine military strategy that started being implemented from the third decade of the VI century and which was focused on the strengthening of the defense of the frontier along the river Danube. The integral component of the Justi-

nian's concept was also the raising of the status of his native city Taurisium (Taor) situated near Skopje. In its vicinity Justinian constructed a "magnificent city", which in 535 was promoted in Archbishopric called *Justiniana Prima*. The far-reaching plans of Justinian were focused on the transformation of *Justiniana Prima* into a political and church center in the Balkans as a kind of counter balance to the Roman religious influence through the *vicariate* in Thessalonica. Justinian entrusted the Archbishop of *Justiniana Prima* with large authorizations so that they pervaded the church competencies and entered into the civil and military responsibilities. This administrative and church innovation was complementary with the Justinian plans for the rearrangement of the prefecture of Illyricum and the transfer of its seat from Thessalonica to *Justiniana Prima*. It coincided with the new administrative reorganization implemented in the period of 535-534, which united the Macedonian provinces Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Secunda in a sole province Macedonia. However the Justinian's intention to transfer the prefecture's seat in *Justiniana Prima* failed to reach its accomplishment. Justinian was soon forced to recognize the domination of the Roman Church in *Justiniana Prima* (545) but despite this he continued to treat the Archbishopric in accordance with his own strategic vision for the religious reunification and for more effective administration of the Balkan region.

The Justinian's intentions corresponded with the first independent raids of the Slavs in the 540s when they impose themselves as a real threat for Byzantium. Soon after followed the first well organized offensive campaign of the Slavs (550) with the main objective of conquering the city of Thessalonica. However, the appearance of the strong Byzantine Army headed by the famous commander German, constrained the Slavs to change their direction of movement so that they turned towards Dalmatia, where they spent the winter 550/551 "as in their own country". This was actually the first authentic registered case when the Slavs were spending the winter on the territory of Byzantium. Nevertheless, it did not implicate the tendency toward permanent settlement of the group of Slavs. That was also influenced by the completion of the new security system in the Balkans at the mid-550s through implementation of the impressive fortification activity of Justinian. This defense concept of Justinian demonstrated itself as highly efficient because the period from 552 to 577 did not mark any single raid by the Slavs in the Balkans. The only registered attacks were those of the Cutrigurs (558/9 and 568) but they were not of that capacity to affect the strengthened military and strategic position of Byzantium.

3. The first raids of the Slavs in Macedonia and the sieges of Thessalonica

The appearance of the Avars and the provided domination in the Panonian Plain in the 560s had essential reflection in the constellation on the Balkan Peninsula. Encouraged and stimulated from the victories of the Avars, the Slavs started a new campaign in 578. They broke through from Danube across Thrace up to Hellas. *John of Ephesus* registered this new attack of the “accursed people of Slavs” who in 581 rapidly crossed the whole territory of Hellas, the area around Thessalonica and whole Thrace, occupied many cities and fortresses and overstayed on the territory “as on their own land, without fear and like masters”. This continuous four-year campaign of the Slavs (581-584) registered by *John of Ephesus*, coincides with the first Slavic attack on Thessalonica, which was recorded in Book I of a collection known as the *Miracles of St. Demetrius* by the Archbishop John of Thessalonica. As a eyewitness of the events *John* refer to the unexpected attack on Thessalonica carried out by the 5,000 selected and experienced Slavic warriors (584). Despite the unsuccessful outcome of the attack, its actual organization reveals the seriousness of the plans of the Slavs in terms of their infiltration on the territory of Macedonia and wider in the Balkans. Nevertheless the historical records do not inform explicitly, it is not excluded that in this period the first attempts were initiated for permanent settlement of isolated Slavic groups in certain Balkan regions, inclusively in Macedonia. These settlements however were spontaneous, without planned and organized character and of limited territorial domain. After 584 the major part of the Slavs got back in their homes behind the river Danube, in a triumphal manner carrying with them the acquired riches from the pillage.

During the year 586, Macedonia was being threatened by the Slavs again. This time the Slavs associated their forces with the Avars and directed their campaign across the river Danube towards Thessalonica. The Archbishop John of Thessalonica, in his *Miracles* registered 100,000 warriors of the Avar-Slav *army* that put under siege Thessalonica. John directly indicated that the 7 day long siege by land and by sea that happened in September 586, had been successfully rejected emphasizing that it was all a merit of the “courage of the Macedonians” who had been inspired by St. Demetrius. The absence of prefect of Illyricum at the time of the attack implicates that the defense of the city was due to the self-

organization of the citizens, who were most probably led by the Archbishop John. This situation was illustrated in the constant threat for the city manifested in the fact that the Thessalonians could have recognized from distance “certain signs of that barbarian cry to which ears were accustomed”. The areas surrounding Thessalonica as well as some other parts of Macedonia undoubtedly were submitted on plundering raids by the Avars and the Slavs while they were withdrawing towards Danube. The archeological findings indicate a collapse of the life activities in some Macedonian cities at the end of the VI century and at the beginning of the VII century. The Pope Gregory I in his letters illustrated the unstable situation in Macedonia and in Illyricum manifested also in the fleeing of the Bishops from their centers.

4. The Settlement of the Slavs in Macedonia and the attempts for political unification

The Byzantine offensive campaign on the Danube River in the mid-590s resulted in the short period of absence of the Slavic attacks in the Balkans. After the death of the Emperor Maurice in 602 the Danube border totally collapsed. The Slavic raids were renewed during the first year of the rule of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) but this time they were motivated by their planned and permanent settlement on the conquered territories. The anonymous author of the Book II of the *Miracles of St. Demetrius*” in 515/6 registered the new siege of the Slavs on Thessalonica. He identifies for the first time different Slavic groups that had already settled in Macedonia and also in the wider surrounding of Thessalonica, with the particular names such as: Dragoviti, Sagudati (Sagudates), Velegeziti, Vajuniti and Berziti. The unification of these tribes headed by the Union chieftain Prince Hacon with the aim of conquering of Thessalonica illustrates the tendency for their associated military and political organization. Nevertheless, the city walls remained again insuperable for the Slavs and the citizens managed to capture the Hacon who was later killed. The anonymous author of the *Miracles* reveals also the episode in which prominent persons of the city were hiding the Prince Hacon from the citizens. This segment illustrates the early-established communication and interaction between the elite representatives of the Thessalonica and the Slavs. The failed assault on the city leads to the conclusion that there was a lack of adequate strategy for undertaking the city and presumed weak unity among the Slavic subjects. This was the reason

for the failure of the first attempt for permanent political unification of the Slavs on the territory of Macedonia mainly motivated by their tendency to conquer Thessalonica.

For the first time in Book II of the *Miracles of St. Demetrius* we are told about the intentions of the Slavs to establish themselves in Thessalonica, “together with their families after the conquest of the city”. This expression by the anonymous author, who at the same time identified the attackers as “our Slavic neighbors”, implies that through the past years groups of Slavs gradually situated on the major part of the territory of Macedonia concentrating their settlements mainly on the hinterland of Thessalonica. The territories populated by the Slavs in Macedonia besides being known under the names of the separate tribes in Byzantine historical sources they are recorded under the general name *Sklaviniai* Isidor of *Seville* also concluded that in this period “The Slavs took over Greece” from Byzantium that indicates the existence of a general threat of the Byzantine positions on the Balkans.

The new attack of the Slavs on Thessalonica followed in 618, after previously providing themselves with the logistic support of the Avars. The strong resistance of the Thessalonica citizens, the provided grain and food supplies as well as the secured sea traffic, were the main factors for the failure of this short-lasting Slav-Avar siege of Thessalonica. In the 630s the Slavs carried out another unsuccessful attempt to overtake Thessalonica willing to benefit from the earthquake that had hit the city. The anonymous author of the *Miracles of St. Demetrius* registered another important moment pointing out that “those of the previously mentioned Slavs, who were close to us, announced with songs, the miracles made by the saviour and victor of the city “St. Demetrius”. He explained that in that period “almost every year the townsmen gathered peacefully in the temple of their patron, evoking with hymns those unspoken miracles, which were with joy announced even by barbarians”. Such testimonies point out that the cult of St. Demetrius started penetrating among the Slavs in the city surroundings even from the 630s. The cult actually represented an early stage in the process of Christianization of the Macedonian Slavs and played a significant role in the process of interaction between Thessalonica citizens and the Slavs.

The tendency for the political and military mobilization of the Macedonian Slavs aiming to Thessalonica conquest during the 670s become seriously manifested in the formation of the new military and political alliance led by “king” (rex) Prebond of the powerful *Sklavinia*, that of the Rynchines (Rinhini). In this political and military alliance besides the

Rynchines and *Strymonians* (*Strumjani*) later on joined *Sagudates* and *Dragovites*. This time the Slavs were much more prepared in attacking the city, that illustrates the existence of noticeably higher level of political organization within the *Sklaviniai* and among them. This alarmed the Prefect of Thessalonica who managed to capture Prebond by deception while he was staying in Thessalonica. The fact that previously Prebond had been allowed to move freely in the city confirms that there had been established a peaceful coexistence and interaction between the elites of Thessalonica and the Macedonian *Sklaviniai*. The proof for this process is the petition submitted by the representatives of Slavic and Thessalonica leading men to the Emperor Constantine IV (668-685) for the liberation of Prebond. The fact that the Emperor agreed on a negotiation with the Slavic representatives actually depicts the seriousness of the approach that the Byzantine imperial court used to have regarding the political organization of the Slavs in Macedonia. This explains also the alarmed situation in Byzantium that happened after the two consequential escapes of Prebond after which he was executed. This act caused bitter rage in the *Sklaviniai* which were in a alliance, that was reflected in the extensive attack on Thessalonica by land and by sea, in July 25, 677. This time the Slavs were military and strategically much better prepared using their own-made siege equipment. However, the manifested disunity within the alliance that was illustrated by the withdrawal of the *Strymonians* right before the attack, as well as the provided grain deliveries from the *Velegezites* in Thessaly, were decisive factors for the failure of this last authentically registered, attempt of the Slavs to conquer Thessalonica.

The strong mobilization of the Macedonian Slavs and the political objectives expressed in the process of their unification for the conquest of Thessalonica including the evident tendency for formation of a unique political and state entity in Macedonia incited Byzantium to an urgent military intervention. The successful campaign of the Emperor Constantine IV against the *Sklaviniai* in southern Macedonia in 678 brought the stabilization of the Byzantine control over the strategically important land road communication *Via Egnatia*. That enabled the presence of Archbishop of Thessalonica together with the Bishops of Stobi, Edessa, Amphipolis and Philippi on the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople (680-681).

At the same time Byzantium was faced with a new threat from the Bulgarians that crossed the river Danube and penetrated the occupied the territory of Thrace where they situated themselves permanently. The formation of the new Bulgarian state, which Byzantium was constrained to

recognize in 681 made significant changes in the constellation in the Balkan region. Byzantium was forced to strengthen its positions in Macedonia that further complicated the situation and made more difficult the realization of the tendencies for creation of a unique and independent political subject on the Macedonian territory. During 680 a short-lasting invasion on the territory of Macedonia of a group called *Sermisianoï* was registered, under the leadership of certain Bulgarian Kouber that after annihilating the subordination of the Avars managed to reach the so called “the Keramissian plain” (probably in Pelagonia). The granting of Byzantine titles to Kouber and his collaborator Mavro as well as the provided aid in food supplies from the *Draguvites* on request of the Emperor reflect the tendency of the Byzantium through the use of various mechanisms to manage the problem in Macedonia. The ambition of Kouber and Mauros to conquer Thessalonica that failed to reach its accomplishment due to the Byzantine intervention, demonstrated the risky character of the strategy that Byzantium was coerced to implement as a result of its incapacity to restore its authority in Macedonia. However, the Macedonian *Sklaviniai* managed to keep their political organization, one part of them independent and another part under nominal sovereignty of Byzantium.

The new Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-695; 705-711) during 687/8 directed his expedition towards Macedonia and managed to reach the city of Thessalonica. The campaign terminated with the transfer of around 30,000 captured Slavs in Asia Minor. The decrease of the number of Slavs in the region on the east of Thessalonica allowed certain stabilization of the Byzantine positions in this part of Macedonia. The strategic significance of this region was confirmed in the 688/9 when emperor Justinian II ordered strengthening of the positions on the mountain passes and canyons along the river Strymon (Struma). *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, who registered this measure, pointed out that at the gorges of the river Struma “instead of Macedonians”, Justinian II settled group of “Scythians”, who were probably Slavs. Byzantium was obviously led by the intention to establish firm control over Macedonia, along the river of Strymon, which was considered as kind of a “red line” with the Bulgarian state. This intervention actually laid a foundation of the new administrative and military unit - *Strymon kleisura*, that later became a Byzantine theme. *Porphyrogenitus* unquestionable identification of the ancient Macedonians on the territory of Macedonia and the settlements of the Slavs instead in the region of the Strymon river indicated that the policy of *divide et imperi* had been actively practiced by the Byzantium towards the *Macedonian sklaviniai* and the Macedonians.

5. Macedonian Sklaviniai and Byzantium

During the 8th century the level of the political organization of the Macedonian *Sklaviniai* had noticeably amplified so that it achieved some form of semi-state formations. This process was facilitated by the representation of the power of the leaders of *Sklaviniai* (ϣrcontej, `rÁgej), which was based on the acquired wealth that was manifested in the tendency for allied political action on the territory of Macedonia. The coexistence and the interaction of the Slavs with the ancient Macedonians represented an exceptionally strong factor that came along the tendency for the political unification and formation of a single state entity on the territory of Macedonia. This was exactly what Byzantium was trying to prevent with undertaking the complex campaign of the Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) against the “Macedonian Sklaviniai” in the period of 758/9. But Byzantium did not gain any concrete benefit from this campaign because it did not manage to establish a direct and firm authority on the territory of Macedonia. The new Byzantine campaign followed in 783 when the logothete Staurakios managed to reach “Thessalonica and Hellas” forcing the “Sklavinian tribes” to pay tribute. This campaign was concluded with the establishment of Byzantine authority in parts of Thrace and Greece that in the period from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century was valorized by the formation of new administrative and military units – *themes*: Thrace, Hellas, Peloponnese, Cephalonia and Macedonia.

The theme Macedonia was formed around 800 and it did not cover the historical, geographical and ethnic territory of Macedonia but it was located in Western Thrace with a capital in Adrianople. The naming of this theme as Macedonia and its location near the Macedonian territory actually expressed the Byzantine intention to impose its military and political control over the historical Macedonia. Byzantium in this period except in Thessalonica still maintained only the formal sovereignty in Macedonia. The instability of the Byzantine positions is illustrated with the interference of the *archon* of “the Slavs from Velzetia” in Thessaly, Akameros, in the inter-dynastic conflict in Byzantium. Regardless of the unsuccessful conclusion of the involvement of Acamir, this event indicates on the increased political influence of the Slavic elite that was present in all Macedonian Sklaviniai. This prompted Byzantium to focus its military

potential on establishing its ultimate authority in Macedonia. Shortly before 836 Byzantium managed to sanction its domination around Thessalonica region forming the new administrative and military unit - theme of Thessalonica. In spite of this the Byzantine hegemony on the wider surroundings of Thessalonica was very unstable which was confirmed by the uprising by the *archon* of one of the *Sklavinia* near Thessalonica in 836/7. Particularly sensitive was the region between the rivers Strymon and Nestus (Mesta) where the Strymonian and Smoljani Slavs had been situated and where Byzantium was not still in a position to sanction the *thematic* administration.

6. The continuity of the ancient Macedonians and their symbiosis with the Slavs

After the fall of the Macedonian Empire (168 BC) the Macedonians continued their existence perceiving their ethnic identity. In the historical testimonies of the Roman period the Macedonians are registered as majority population in Macedonia and the bearers of the ancient traditions from the period of Philip II and Alexander of Macedon, the fact that was recognized also by the Roman Emperors. The continuity of the ancient Macedonians is particularly applicative for the period that anticipates the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans. Many authors from the early Byzantine period in their political, geographical and religious definition on the territory of Macedonia were using the term *Macedonians* in ethnical connotation. In the works of *Ammianus Marcellus*, *Claudian Claudianus*, *Zosimus*, *Philostorgius*, *Sidonius Apollinaris* a constant tendency is registered for concrete ethnical and geographical distinction of Macedonia from the neighboring territories. The ethnical identification of the Macedonians is present also in the description of the religious events in the Balkans during the 4th-5th century period, within the elaborative works of authoritative church writers such as: *Eusebius*, *Sozomenus*, *Socrates*, *Theodoret* of Cyrhus, *Ambrose* etc. Even more *Theodoret of Cyrhus* directly qualified Thessalonica as a "large and very populous city, belonging to the Macedonian people", that represents an indisputable authentic confirmation that the Macedonians constituted a majority of the population in Thessalonica as well as in Macedonia. The most typical testimony is that of the Archbishop John of Thessalonica who named the Macedonians as the only merited for the defense of Thessalonica from the attack of the Avar-Slav army in 586. His identification of the Macedonians as a

major ethnical element in Thessalonica has particular importance if we take into consideration that *John*, having been a eyewitness of the events and direct participant in the organization of the defense of the city, not only demonstrate his personal awareness of the ethnical structure of Thessalonica but also directly reflects the existing identity perception of the Thessalonica citizens. The testimonies by *Symeon Metaphrastes* from the 10th century for the ethnical association of St. Demetrius with the “ancient Macedonian genus” also refers to the factor that used to have a influence for the popularity of the cult in Thessalonica and its diffusion in Macedonia. Thus, it was not accidentally found in the satirical work *Timarion*, the fair which was being traditionally held in honor of St. Demetrius, even in the 12th century was identified as a “Macedonian celebration on which not only the Macedonian people gathered but different peoples from all over...”.

The attested continuity of the Macedonians as a major population in Macedonia had an essential reflection on the process of the transfer of the Macedonian traditions to the Slavs that settled on the territory of Macedonia from the 7th century. This was also confirmed by the recent historical and archeological studies, which demonstrate that the Slavic settlement in Macedonia did not represent massive colonization of such capacity that might have completely changed the ethnical constellation in Macedonia, although the strong influence of the Slavic ethnos was certain. At the same time the Slavs themselves during the 7th century noticed a demographic crisis. Actually, it was a gradual process that enabled the mutual interaction, coexistence and symbiosis between the ancient Macedonians and the Slavs that settled in Macedonia. Actually, the new complex ethnical configuration that had been created on the territory of Macedonia during the 7th-8th century period, with the attested presence of ancient Macedonians and the settled Slavs in Macedonia, caused the Byzantine authors like Theophanes to start identifying the Slavs that were living on the Macedonian territory under the unified name – *Macedonian sklavinii*. Thus it can be concluded that the ancient Macedonians had a strong influence in the process of group self-identification and the creation of the identity of the Slavs settled in Macedonia, which were considered by the Byzantines as *Macedonian Slavs*. The episodes that were found in the Book II in *the Miracles of St. Demetrius* in which the anonymous author makes clear distinction between “our language” and “the language of the Romeians, Bulgarians and Slavs”, actually refer that in the initial phase of the process of interaction, not the Greek, but the Macedonian language spoken in Thessalonica was used in the communication between the

Thessalonian citizens and the Macedonian Slavs. However with the passing of time the coexistence between the Slavs and the Macedonians resulted in a situation in which the Slavic language imposed its domination as a means of communication. That was due to the status, which Slavic language obtained as *lingua franca* on vast territory of Europe, probably as a consequence of the previous communication within the Avar Khaganate. However, as far as the Byzantine authors of the 8th century are concerned, the ethnical classification generally depended on the military and political potential of the new enemies, which were identified as *Macedonian Sklavinii* on the territory of Macedonia. The formation of the administrative and military unit named “Macedonia” and the establishment of the new Macedonian dynasty in Byzantium that coincided with the Bulgarian occupation of a great part of Macedonia influenced the perception of the Byzantine writers from the middle of the 9th century in which construction of the existent and undisputable geographical and ethnical identification of Macedonia and the Macedonians was artificially altered.

MACEDONIA THE CRADLE OF CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL PROCESSES (from the middle of the IX to the middle of the X century)

1. Constantine–Cyril and Methodius and the creation of the first Slavic alphabet in Macedonia

The direct threat from the strengthened Bulgarian state enforced the Byzantine administration on implementing active policy measures in order to gain the support by the Slavic elite. In this context Byzantium granted privileges by appointing the local leaders as *archon* of the Slavs. The introduction of the Christianity among the Slavs was an integral part of this Byzantine political and ideological strategy. Such a practice determined the Byzantine military and political missions in Macedonia that were entrusted to the brothers Constantine and Methodius from Thessalonica. Constantine and Methodius were born in Thessalonica and derived from respectful family. Their father Leo had a high-level military service - *drungarios* of Thessalonica theme while their mother also originated from a referential family. The fact that brothers knew the Slavic language excellently, that was also testified personally by the Emperor Michael III in the *Panonian Life of Methodius* as well as the fact that their administrative and missionary activity was later accepted by the Slavs in Macedonia refer to the assumption of their probable Slavic origin. Furthermore, since the brothers were born in Thessalonica where the active interaction between the Macedonians and Slavs was being carried, they were considered as the most suitable persons for Byzantium for implementation of the missions in the identical environment in Macedonia. In this context quite applicative is the testimony of *John Kameniates* who at the beginning of the 10th century identified his birthplace Thessalonica, as “the first city of the Macedonians”.

Constantine was born in 827 while Methodius' date of birth is assumed to be in 825. The high state positions of their father helped them to acquire education in prestigious schools in Thessalonica. Due to the fact

that Methodius had remarkable military skills the Byzantine imperial court noticed him very early, which indicates that the educational process of the Thessalonica brothers was closely monitored, anticipating this way the necessity of the missionary activity implementation among the Macedonian Slavs. In accordance with the *Long Life of Methodius* and with the *Panonian Life* Methodius at the age of 20 was appointed by Byzantium as “Prince of the Slavs” entrusted with the governance over the “Slav Princedom”. The authentic data from the so-called “*Istinnaya povest*” as well as those from folk tales of the XIX century from the Strumica region indicate that the Methodius’ Principality actually covered the territory of the Strymon *Sklavinia* that was concentrated in the areas of the rivers Strumica and Bregalnica. The strategic position of the Slav Princedom, which most probably corresponded with the location of the Strymon *kleisura*, was actually due to the interrelation between this region and the defense of Macedonia and the city of Thessalonica from the anticipated concentration of the attacks from Bulgaria. Exactly this was the main objective of the military and political mission of Methodius, whose priority was, with the help of the Slavs, to strengthen the Byzantium defensive positions along the river Strymon. However, Methodius was facing various problems during his 10-year governance (845-855) especially in the segments of discipline and motivation of the raised Slavic army. Considering this fact Methodius approached the translation and creation of a Codex, called *The law for judging people* which primarily was regulating the military issues. The Law was written in the Slavic language with the use of Greek letters and it is placed amongst the first works in the Slavic literature.

The compound activity of Methodius required also skillfulness in terms of dispersal of the Byzantine political ideology based on the Christianity as a symbol of the imperialistic authority. In order to provide this significant segment of the Methodius’ activity, Constantine was also sent to Macedonia by the Byzantine imperial court at the beginning of the 850s. As a result of his extraordinary talent in philosophical and linguistic sciences, Constantine at the age of 20 completed his education at the University of Magnaura in Constantinople tutored by the most eminent intellectuals of that time, Leo the Philosopher and Photius. Soon after, he was promoted to a philosophy professor. Constantine was certainly one of the most suitable persons for the realization of the missionary activity within the Slavic Princedom in compliance with the governance of his brother Methodius. Constantine focused his several year missionary activity on the Slavs that were living in the area along the river Bregalnica. The anal-

ysis of the data from the *Short Life of Cyril*, the *Thessalonica legend*, “On the letters” from *Crnorizec Hrabar*, the *Long life of Clement* allows us to reconstruct the Constantine’s activity, whose final outcome in 855 was the invention of the Slavic alphabet for the needs of the Macedonian Slavs, the so-called *Glagolitca*. During the Bregalnica mission Constantine composed several “books written in Slavic” and introduced many Slavs to the Christian religion whose number in the *Short life of Cyril* is registered as 54,000 persons. Undisputedly, Methodius, was providing the logistic support as well as concrete assistance for the Constantine’s Mission of Bregalnica. The findings near Krupishte archeologically confirm the presence of the mission of Constantine in the Bregalnica region that resulted in the formation of the first Slavic literary language on the territory of Macedonia. The attestation that the Slavic alphabet was originally intended to the Macedonian Slavs is the undisputable fact that it had been created on the base of the Macedonian dialect spoken in Thessalonica and its hinterland.

The missionary activities that were carried out by the brothers Constantine and Methodius however were not sufficient to stop the penetration of the Bulgarians on the territory of Macedonia. The direct Bulgarian threat influenced the termination of the brothers’ missionary activity at the end of 855. However, the activity of Methodius and Constantine created a base for cultural mobilization of the Macedonian Slavs introducing a new essential element in the process of group identification in which the Macedonians had been directly involved. The mass-acceptance of the Slavic alphabet created on the basis of the Macedonian dialect spoken in Thessalonica and its hinterland represents a clear indication that the process of ethnical and cultural interaction between the native Macedonians and Macedonian Slavs came along with the domination of the Slavic language and with the acceptance of the Christianity as common elements of the ethnic identity. This gradually affected the toponyms as well. At the same time the integration of the Macedonian traditions had essential influence on the preservation of the distinctive Macedonian identification, from the aspect of the Bulgarian invasive campaigns in Macedonia that followed in the middle of the 9th century. Up to 864 eastern, central and southwestern Macedonia as well as a part of southern Albania entered within the domain of the Bulgarian conquests while the territory of southern Macedonia including Thessalonica remained under the Byzantine rule.

In the following years Constantine and Methodius were staying on Mt. Olympus, dedicated their activity to improving the Slavic alphabet

and on translation of books into Slavic while their missionary potential was used by the Byzantine diplomacy. The key missionary activity that was realized by the brothers was in the Slavic Princedom *Moravia* that was initiated in 863. Actually they previously supplemented and adapted the Slavic alphabet that had been created in Macedonia for the needs of the Moravian people. Benefiting from the interest of the Roman papacy, which intended to establish its spiritual authority among the Slavs, Constantine and Methodius succeeded to perform publicly the holy liturgy in Slavic in Rome (867). With this act the Slavic liturgy acquired an official recognition and Slavic was equally ranked among the international languages. But, Constantine-Cyril (his monastic name) fell ill and in 869 passed away leaving his brother to continue their mutual work. The activity of Methodius, as a Pope's legate and Archbishop of Pannonia was accompanied by strong obstructions from the German priests during the succeeding years. Methodius was totally committed and determined to his work until he died in Moravia in 885, directing his activity towards the development of the church and the establishment of the Slavic liturgy. The dimension of the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in Moravia, which resulted in wider affirmation of the Slavic language in Europe did not correspond with the previously projected objectives of the Byzantine diplomacy. Moreover, it created a basis for development of a new political culture of the Slavic elite that had not been the Byzantine intention at all. It was directly reflected in Macedonia where the legacy of the Cyril and Methodius literary and linguistic work was incorporated into the activity of their most prominent disciples Clement and Naum, who during the last decades of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century developed comprehensive spiritual, cultural and educational activity in their native country Macedonia.

2. The activity of Clement and Naum and the formation of the Ohrid Literary School

After being expelled from Moravia by the German priests, who took radical measures for the extermination of the Slavic liturgy from the churches, the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, Clement, Naum and Angelarius made their way towards Macedonia. But as soon as they had arrived in Belgrade they were immediately sent to Bulgarian capital Pliska where they were welcomed with high honors by the Bulgarian tsar Boris I (852-889). In these well-educated people with exceptional missionary

skills Boris actually recognized an opportunity for the implementation of his own policy. The fact that Clement had Macedonian origin allowed him to be seen as an extremely suitable person within Boris' plans for consolidation of the Bulgarian authority in the newly conquered territories in southwestern Macedonia and in the part of the southern Albania. The main objectives of Boris policy were to disable the Byzantine influence that was coming from the main Byzantine centers - Thessalonica and Dyrachion (Durrës) and also to provide more efficient integration of the Macedonian Slavs within the Bulgarian state. It was an attempt to replicate the practice of the Byzantine diplomacy in establishing its predominance by introducing the Christian ideology and by cultural assimilation of the new subordinated people. The fact that Clement was urgently sent on a mission to Macedonia implies that Boris had been encountering serious difficulties during the process of the authority consolidation in Macedonia and that he had been facing strong resistance from the elite of the former *Sklavinia* that were opposing the new Bulgarian authority. Clement accepted the entrusted task but he, as Constantine-Cyril and Methodius at their time, had completely different motives and intentions related to the implementation of the mission among his compatriots. The result was that the final outcome of Clement's activity in Macedonia was absolutely in opposition with the Bulgarian interests.

In 886 Clement was officially sent to missionary work in the area of Kutmichevica, whose location, on the basis of the fact that his main centers of activity were Ohrid, Devol and Glavinica, might be identified with the territory in the southwest of Macedonia and southern Albania, or more precisely, the region gravitating around Ohrid Lake. The innovation that Clement implemented during his missionary activity in the area of Kutmichevica was that he had given priority to the educational segment while simultaneously was carrying out the Christian conversion and the process of establishing the Slavic liturgy. The devotion to his work in particular to the elevation of the educational culture among the Macedonian population that was accompanied with his diligent church activity resulted in formation of great number of high-educated teachers and priests. The Clement's hagiographer, *Theophylact of Ohrid*, registered a concrete number of 3,500 scholars that acquired their education in Ohrid by Clement. In this way Clement actually promoted the higher education with the Ohrid Literary School, which made this Macedonian city one of the first university centers in Europe. In the light of the prioritized education activity Clement himself composed around fifty works in the Slavic language. The resuscitation of the cultural and spiritual activity in Ohrid was

also manifested in the creation of the monastery near the Ohrid Lake dedicated to St. Panteleimon. All this attributed to the elevation of Ohrid and Macedonia as the centers of Slavic literature and culture. The fact that Clement devotedly embraced the tradition of Cyril and Methodius reflected in the use of the Glagolitic alphabet within the Ohrid Literary School. The comparison of the parallel tendency of the Bulgarian court in Preslav that resulted in the quick abandoning of the use of *Glagolica* in favor of adaptation of the Greek uncial to the needs of Slavic, later known as *Cyrillic* alphabet, clearly addresses the differentiation of the cultural projects in Macedonia and Bulgaria which were directly correlated with the different needs of the population. The cultural rivalry between Ohrid and Preslav was clearly demonstrated in the work “*On the letters*” of the anonymous monk known as *Crnorizec Hrabar*, where in an extremely polemical tone defensive arguments had been exposed in favor of the use of *Glagolitic alphabet* in Macedonia depicted as an authentic Cyril and Methodius tradition. Macedonia and Bulgaria manifested their difference not only in aspect of the scriptural practice but also regarding the use of the Slavic lexicon. This reflected in the constant use of *Glagolica* in the literature works in Macedonia in the following two centuries.

The tendency that was expressed in Macedonia and the extensive proportions of the Clement mission that resulted in a strong cultural and spiritual mobilization of the Macedonian population were incompatible with the interests of Bulgaria. Probably this was the reason why the new Bulgarian tsar Simeon (893-927) was motivated to abolish the mission of Clement in Kutmichevitca and to appoint him as Bishop. On the emptied position in Kutmichevica was placed Naum who probably until then had been staying in Pliska. Clement’s work as an Bishop (893-916) was probably concentrated in the regions of Strumica and Bregalnica, which is confirmed by archeological findings. The appointment of Clement as a Slavic Bishop in this area had also military and political dimension, manifested in the further Bulgarian penetration on the territory of Macedonia that at the beginning of the 10th century reached the zone at only 22 km distance from Thessalonica. This campaign of the Bulgarians coincided with the short-lasting conquest of Thessalonica by the Arabians in 904. Probably Clement’s work as Bishop had a limiting impact on his educational activity. The fact that the cultural and educational cradle continued to be concentrated in Ohrid explains the enduring aspirations of Clement to visit this Macedonian city and to support the teaching activity of Naum. On the other side, Naum devotedly continued his work following the steps of Clement, prioritizing the educational activity and the manage-

ment of the Ohrid Literary School simultaneously dealing with the development of the Slavic liturgy.

The death of Naum (910) and Clement (916) did not represent the end of their work. The high-educated cadre originated from the Ohrid Literary School represented the base for formation of the new Macedonian elite, which gradually started to demonstrate active tendency for a separate political, cultural and religious self-organizing in Macedonia independently from Bulgaria and Byzantium. Therefore, Clement activity provided a new qualitative dimension to the process of the collective identification linkage of the Macedonian Slavs and native Macedonians, which was enabled by the previous coexistence and symbiosis on the Macedonian land. This process acquired the tendency for independent political, religious and cultural representation of the wider interests within the territory of Macedonia that played the role of unifying ethnical and geographical denominator. Thus, the conquering attacks of the Bulgarians, which were followed by the abolishment of the semi-governmental system that the Macedonian Sklaviniai previously enjoyed and which was to some extent tolerated by Byzantium, actually caused only additional mobilization of the Macedonian elite for creation of separate political culture. In this context, the activity of Clement and Naum had a particularly stimulating effect which led to the creation of the new cultural and spiritual integrative core in Macedonia, which besides its traditional gravitation around Thessalonica also started gravitating around Ohrid and its hinterland.

3. The Bogomil movement in Macedonia

The tendency for cultural and spiritual mobilization that was mainly inspired by the activity of St. Clement and Naum of Ohrid was maintained and incited by the elite derived from the Ohrid Literary School. A part of Clement's disciples continued the activity performing consistently the services of the official Church but undoubtedly there were some that upgrading their theological and educational conceptions were trying to find out an alternative and independent spiritual expression. Actually under these circumstances that were characterized by wider affirmation of the cultural and educational tendencies in Macedonia appeared the so-called Bogomil movement. Searching the reasons for the appearance of the Bogomil movement we cannot talk about a direct connection between the activity of Clement and the movement itself but we

can mention the existence of indirect influences that actually predetermined its appearance. A strong mobilizing factor was the discontent accumulated among the people in Macedonia from the Bulgarian and Byzantine authority that actually deepened the social and political antagonism.

The conditions for the organization of the Bogomilism as an independent and authentic religious movement and teaching actually matured at the middle of the X century when its appearance had been registered in Macedonia. In this context in the *Long life of Clement*, it had been pointed out that after the death of Clement, his followers was affected by “vicious heresy” that actually corresponded with the beginning of the Bogomil movement in Macedonia.

The pope Bogomil was authentically registered as an ideological creator and main preacher of the Bogomilism. His activity could be chronologically determined in the period of the Bulgarian Tsar (Czar) Petar (927-969) and territorially could be located in southwestern Macedonia. The pope Bogomil certainly had reformatory tendencies in his time regarding several issues of religious and social character. The idea of Bogomilism as a new spiritual manifestation probably was due to the theoretical experiences and the objective judgment of the Pope Bogomil. However, its complete implementation as a teaching with defined conception, which had affected more extended theological and social aspects, probably was a result of many years of collective work that he was carrying out with his closest collaborators and like-minded people. Bogomilism actually represented an authentic spiritual appearance with dualistic character related to the religious expression and socio-philosophical orientation. The tradition of the older heretic experiences such as Manichaeism, Masilianism and Paulicianism in constellation with various philosophical orientations left visible traces in the conception and ideological course of Bogomilism. At the same time it is undisputable that there were pretensions to include new substantial tools adequate to the circumstances in Macedonia, which would have contributed to the authentic and original articulation of the teaching that had been created on the territory of Macedonia.

The essence of Bogomilism might be reconstructed on the basis of several key postulates, such as: the dualistic character (manifested through the struggle between the good and evil, i.e. between God and Satanail) which varied from moderate to extreme positions; the specific theological and dogmatic determination to support the ethical principles in their social life as well as the political proportion of the movement whose determinants derived from the complex social and political

processes in the Middle Ages especially in Macedonia. In fact, the Bogomils were against the church, in its institutional sense, as well as against the Christian ritual system, which resulted in rejection of the cult of the temples, liturgies, icons, the cross, baptism, eupharistia, the saintly relics as a source of miracles, the resurrection, religious celebrations, secular image of the Holy Virgin, etc. In organizational terms, they were divided into three basic categories: the common adherents, believers and the perfect ones. The participation of one of the mentioned categories depended on the proficiency of presenting the dogmas and asceticism, identified through fasting, praying, living in celibacy and absolute distancing from material goods. The activity of the Bogomils seriously threatened the interests of the official church and the state, thereby they were subjected to terrorizing pursuits.

The positioning of Bogomilism as opposed to Bulgaria and Byzantium demonstrated its political dimension in the period of the creation and establishment of the Macedonian state in the second half of the 10th century. The relationship between the Bogomils and the royal dynasty of Samuel was built on mutual and reciprocal interests. As a result of this in the second half of the 10th century Bogomilism was considered as a partially organized movement of national orientation. In spite of the Bogomil's pacifistic doctrine, the participation of their followers in the military-liberation campaigns of Samuel appeared as actual need and necessity for the common cause. At the certain point of the historical processes, the Bogomils and Emperor Samuel, directed their actions as a counterbalance in regards to the Byzantine political, spiritual and cultural domination. As an alternative form of the religious and ideological determination, Bogomilism managed to influence the cultural processes, directly integrated in the spiritual culture of Macedonia and exactly from there it was later spread over the region of the Balkans and wider in Byzantium as well as in the west European countries. The identification of the cultural values and influences of Bogomilism are best depicted in the literature compositions of original Bogomil articulation, *apocryphal text*, philosophical aspects of the teaching, as well as in its tradition in folk tales. The Bogomilism continued its existence until 15th century, and its disappearance can be connected with the Ottoman conquests on the Balkans.

THE CREATION OF THE MEDIEVAL STATE IN MACEDONIA

1. The uprisings against Bulgaria and Byzantium and the creation of the state

The favorable ambient for the realization of the cultural, social and spiritual tendencies through creating an independent political entity in Macedonia was created after the death of the Bulgarian Tsar (Czar) Petar in 969. The same year the sons of the Prince Nikola, the *Kometopouloi* David, Moses, Aron and Samuel, revolted against the Bulgarian authority that resulted with the creation of a separate medieval state in Macedonia. The core of the new political identity was the former *Sklavinia* Berzitia with a strong gravitation towards the regions of Ohrid and Prespa, which used to be the places where the activity of Clement and Naum as well as of the Bogomil movement had been concentrated. After the renunciation of the Bulgarian authority the so-called *Kometopouloi* established an organized military and political as well as religious authority over the major part of the territory of Macedonia so that all the fundamental functional elements of the new state were provided. The weakened Bulgarian state, which at the same time was under pressure of Russia and Byzantium, was out of capacity to prevent the establishment of the new political subject in Macedonia.

The *Kometopouloi* gradually managed to consolidate and strengthen the authority over the major part of Macedonia, gaining support by the Macedonian population. Benefiting from absence of the military activity on the Macedonian territory, they managed to establish a stable administrative system and within its framework they equally governed the state. While establishing the authority the *Kometopouloi* were leaning on the support of the Macedonian elite that originated from the Ohrid Literary

School. The city of Prespa was promoted as the capital of the Macedonian state where the seat of the independent church was also located. Thus in a short period of time the new political and church elite was established and the main constitutional elements of the statehood were provided.

The Macedonian state continued its existence after the liquidation of the Bulgarian Empire in 971 by Byzantium that came along with the removal of the royal insignia of Boris II. The price for the further existence of the new Macedonian state was recognition of the supreme authority of Byzantium. It considered losing of the sovereignty but not the state subjectivity. Obviously, Byzantium was satisfied with its success related to the abolition of the Bulgarian Empire, so that it postponed the dealing with the new state of the *Kometopouloi*. Actually Byzantium underestimated the new political entity in Macedonia, which was providing its particularity, power and the endurance from the long-century Macedonian cultural and historical traditions.

The appropriately established relationships with the Byzantine Emperor *John Tzimiskes* (969-976) enabled the *Kometopouloi* to develop their own diplomacy. Two of the *Kometopouloi*, one of them probably Samuel, in 973 were present at the Court of the German emperor Otto I in Kvedlinburg and this event was used for international affirmation of the Macedonian state. The significance of this diplomatic activity was emphasized at the end of the 10th century when in his efforts for international recognition of the state Samuel inclined to the western Church.

Under circumstances of consolidation of the state the *Kometopouloi* benefited from the death of *John Tzimiskes* in 976 and repudiated the agreement with Byzantium. The new rebellion raised in Macedonia that this time was against the Byzantine authority had been in preparation for a long period of time resulted in maximum effect and expressly achieved state independency. It came along with the extension of the state whose borders reached the city of Serres and went along the upper course of the river Strymon. The same year (976) the dethroned Bulgarian tsar Boris II and his brother Roman, after fleeing from the Byzantine court performed unsuccessful attempt to negate the authority of the *Kometopouloi*. Boris II accidentally lost his life while Roman had to content himself with the relatively low-leveled political position that he was entrusted with by the *Kometopouloi*.

2. Samuel – the symbol of the power of the Macedonian state

The year 976 appeared to be a tragic year for the *Kometopouloi*. David was accidentally killed near Prespa in a battle against the Vlachs (nomads) while Moses lost his life in a clash with the Byzantines near Serres. During 976 (or 987/8) the inter-dynasty conflict between Samuel and Aron followed, which had been caused by the fact that Aron had affiliated to Byzantium with an objective to take over the rule of the state. This inter-dynasty conflict came along with the elimination of the whole of Aron's family except his son John Vladislav who was spared after the intervention of the Samuel's son, Gavriilo Radomir.

Samuel founded its state power upon the established network of fortresses that at the same time represented centers of a larger territory. They were administered by persons close to Samuel as well as persons that had previously acquired the authority among the people. In this way the new Macedonian elite was gradually established and together with the church and political establishment concentrated in the capital Prespa composed the backbone of the Macedonian state. The solid military and administration system that was established enabled Samuel to begin expanding the territorial domain of the state, with a priority for extension over the whole territory of Macedonia. In that context, logically appeared the concentration of the attacks by Samuel towards the south with a tendency of conquering the area around Thessalonica and the city itself. Within the framework of this thorough military campaign that was mainly carried out on the territory of Macedonia, Samuel managed to enter into Thessaly and to conquer the city of Larissa in 985. The transfer of the relics of St. Achilles from Larissa to Prespa, implied Samuel's intention for legitimizing the independent Macedonian church in terms of promotion of Prespa and Ohrid region as political, cultural and religious center in the Balkans.

The wide range of the Samuel's military activities forced the emperor Basil II to focus his attention on the new Balkan state. But the first direct clash between Basil II and Samuel in 986 ended with a humiliating defeat for Byzantium at the Trajan's Gate near Serdica. In spite of the fact that the victory came along with the conquest of the former Bulgarian capital, Preslav it was evident that Samuel had not been particularly interested for the Bulgarian territories and his attitude towards this region was more in regards of a military-strategic context in the function of protection of Macedonia. Samuel's tendency refers to the conclusion that he did not have pretensions to connect himself and the state with the traditions of the liquidated Bulgarian Empire. This is confirmed by the Samuel's stra-

tegic military conception that was focused on the protection of Macedonia as a core of the state and by the efforts that he was making for the integration of all Macedonian territories including the capital city, Thessalonica under his rule. The devoted compliance with this conquering conception during the period of the next years caused moving of the frontiers of Macedonian state towards Thessalonica. This was a direct provocation for Basil II that forced him in 991 to initiate a new campaign that this time was straightly directed towards southern Macedonia. Although the proportion of the campaign could not be authentically reconstructed, the presence of Basil II in Thessalonica and the expressed gratitude to St. Demetrius were considered as symbolic messages addressed to Samuel that Byzantium will engage all its forces in defending Thessalonica.

However, Samuel benefited from the actualization of the eastern problem for Byzantium that caused Basil's II withdrawal from the Balkans. This actually enabled Samuel to fulfill his long prepared plans for the conquest of Thessalonica. The campaign that started in 995 resulted in penetration of the Macedonian army to the very proximity of Thessalonica, where in a direct battle the Duce of the city was eliminated. Basil II was seriously alarmed by the direct threat for Thessalonica, specially due to the fact that a part of the Thessalonica elite shared the political tendencies of Samuel. However, Samuel did not decide to attack Thessalonica directly but he redirected his campaign towards Peloponnesus. The direct clash with the Byzantine army near the river Spercheios in 996 ended with the catastrophic defeat for Samuel. This outcome did not affect seriously the power of the Macedonian state and its military efficiency. But the confrontation with the Byzantine tendency to concentrate its defense in the region around Thessalonica, made Samuel in 997 to redirect his military campaign towards the western Balkans. Samuel was enabled to do undertake this step, since he had strengthened the control over Dyrrachion, as a result of marriages, that of his daughter's and his own, with the influential families of Dyrrachion, Tarronits and Chryselios. The power of Samuel's army was initially felt by Duklja and the outcome was the capturing of the Dukljan ruler Vladimir who later expressed his loyalty as Samuel's son-in-law. The further progressing invasion of Samuel came along with the devastation of the Dalmatian coastline up to Zadar including the cities of Kotor and Dubrovnik. He also easily managed to impose his authority over Bosnia, Rashka (Serbia) as well as over part of Albania. As a result of this campaign Samuel, besides the state core area concentrated on the major part of Macedonia (without Thessalonica and its hinterland) at the end of the 10th century became a sovereign ruler over

the wide Balkan area, that included a part of Bulgaria, a part of Thessaly, a part of Albania including Dyrrachion, a larger part of Dalmatia, Duklja, Travunia, Bosnia and Rashka (Serbia).

The fact that Byzantium did not recognize the legitimacy of the powerful Macedonian Empire, logically brought Samuel in a position to require support from the Western church. The traditional relations of the Roman Church with Macedonia as well as the presence of the constant tendency of Rome to establish a counterbalance in the Balkans to the Church of Constantinople, reflected in the common interest for official recognition of the Macedonian state and the church. The official admission of the Macedonian Church most probably came with the blessing from the Pope Gregory V (996-999) and resulted in its immediate promotion as Archbishopric. At the same time an official ceremony of appointing and crowning of Samuel as tsar in the Church St. Achilles at Prespa was performed, probably the Archbishop of Prespa, German (Gavril) in the presence of Papal legats, the political and religious elite. The transfer of the relics of St. Tryphon from Kotor, the construction of churches in Prespa as well as in the newly promoted capital Ohrid at the beginning of the 11th century, confirm the Samuel's intentions to transform these Macedonian cities into religious centers in the Balkans as counterbalance to the Byzantine establishment.

3. The battle at Belasica (1014)

The recognition and international promotion of the Macedonian state came at the end of the 10th century logically provoked the first serious Byzantine counter-offensive, that was carried out in the period 1001-1004. Byzantium straightforwardly recovered large part of Bulgarian territory, taking over Serdica, Preslav and Pliska. The lack of a more serious engagement in the defense of the Bulgarian territories confirms that Samuel's defense strategy was based on the protection of the Macedonian state core. Because of this, Basil II initially focused his attacks on the areas on the north and east of Macedonia. Afterwards the first serious Byzantine offensive on the Macedonian territory followed, that resulted with the imposition of the Byzantine rule in the Macedonian towns of Veria, Serres, Voden as well as Skopje (1004). The key factor for the Byzantine success related to the conquest of the Macedonian cities derived from the provided support of the political and military elite that was offered Byzantine prestige and titles. Among them was Roman, the son of the

Bulgarian Tsar, Petar, who as a governor of Skopje, surrendered the city to the Byzantines. The identical Byzantine diplomatic strategy resulted in loyalty transfer of the Durres' leading people (1005). This way Byzantium provided itself with the strategic control over wide region from the key costal towns Dyrrachion to Thessalonica and at same time it encircled the Macedonian state from north and east. With this Basil II reached the priority objective of his campaign that had not been directed towards direct confrontation with Samuel and the elimination of the Macedonian state.

Nevertheless *John Skylitzes* mentioned continuous annual military campaigns of Basil II against Samuel, actually from 1005 and for the next 10 years no confrontation was registered between Byzantium and Macedonia. This situation implicates that Samuel and Basil II actually were content with the existing *status quo* that does not exclude the possibility that there might have been a 10-year Peace Agreement, which would mean that Byzantium indirectly recognized the independency of the Macedonian state. From Samuel's point of view this might have signified the preservation of the core of the Macedonian state that actually used to be his priority agenda and was reflecting the interests of the elite and the interests of the Macedonian people that represented the majority of the population. The transfer of the capital from Prespa to Ohrid which happened at the beginning of the 11th century among other had been inspired by Samuel's tendency to establish more efficient administration through direct connection with the traditions that had derived from St. Clement's activity.

Samuel made use of the 10-year period of relative peace, strengthening the frontiers the Macedonian state. The testimony of *Skylitzes* does not exclude the appearance of some occasional conflicts with Byzantium but their character was not of that capacity to endanger the existing agreement. Most probably, anticipating the potential attacks from Byzantium after the expiration of the agreement, Samuel strengthened the border areas especially the strategic passes that were leading to Macedonia. In summer 1004 when the emperor Basil II had pretensions to enter Macedonia he was surprised when he encountered the installed barricade at the mountain pass *Kleidion* that was located at the gorge between the mountains of Belasica and Ograzden. The strategic tactic that Basil II decided to apply was to bypass the mountain Belasica and to attack from behind, that enabled him to get through the barricade. The fierce battle that followed on July 29, 1014 at the bottom of the mountain Belasica ended with tragic consequences for Samuel's army with 14,000 – 15,000

registered detained soldiers. Tsar Samuel hardly managed to escape withdrawing in Prilep together with his son Gavriilo Radomir. Despite his victory Basil II did not decide to push further attacks into Macedonia, but the sudden ambush and the execution of the Duke Theophylaktos Botaneiates, while he was ensuring the secure passage to Basil II to Thessalonica, angered the Emperor so much that he ordered all detained soldiers at Belasica to be blinded. This was done in a way that every 100th soldier remained one-eye just to be able to lead the soldiers' way to Samuel. This act of Basil II and the tragic sight were so hard for Samuel that he had a heart attack and died in October 1014. This unprecedented cruel act mirrored the legendary character of battle at Belasica, which is registered in the Byzantine historical records and folk tales as well as in the toponymia in the region of Strumica. Samuel was buried in the royal chamber in Prespa probably in the church of St. Achilles.

4. The rule of Gavriilo Radomir and John Vladislav and the end of the state

With the death of Samuel, Macedonia lost its extraordinary military strategist, skillful diplomat and the person that in several-decade period was symbolizing its unity. The fact that military power after the battle at Belasica was decimated and the disunity manifested within the Macedonian dynasty and elite, caused the process of gradual fragmentation of the Macedonian Empire. Under such circumstances the heir of the throne, Gavriilo Radomir (1014-1015) although having been characterized as courageous and experienced in military affairs, was not able to provide the loyalty and to unify the elite around him. It was also contributed by the attempt of usurpation of his cousin John Vladislav, who contested his title. The Byzantine diplomacy benefited from the personal animosity within the royal dynasty, providing direct support for John Vladislav's plans for taking over the throne. But after the assassination of Gavriilo Radomir (1015) and the usurpation of the throne, John Vladislav (1015-1018) distanced himself from Byzantium and turned against Basil II. However, the failure of Vladislav to provide general recognition of his royal authority by the Macedonian elite seriously harmed the cohesive element of the state and led to further competition and factionalism. This resulted in a lack of serious resistance to the invasive campaigns of Byzantium in Macedonia. Starting from the autumn of 1015 Basil II was systematically taking over the Macedonian strongholds in southwestern Ma-

cedonia. In the attempted counter-offensive towards Dyrrachion in February 1018 John Vladislav was killed. The serious disagreement that followed regarding the inheritance of the throne within the Dynasty and among the Macedonian elite eventually brought Basil II in a position to dictate his conditions for surrender, which were compulsorily accepted by the widow Maria and the royal family as well as by the other members of the loyal Macedonian governors in the key strongholds. With this, the same year 1018, the Macedonian state was abolished and the Byzantine rule was established over the entire territory.

5. The character and identity of the state

The debate in the historiography that produces opposed theories about the ethnicity of the Prince Nikola and his sons - *Kometopouloi*, in absence of a concrete authentic data, generally adds up to their Armenian, Bulgarian or Macedonian origin. The fact that the *Kometopouloi* had been quickly accepted by the population as well as the territorial domain of the uprising lead towards their probable origin from Macedonia or more precisely from the former *Sklavinia* Berzitia, where the core of the new state had been concentrated. The stone inscription in which the tsar John Vladislav had been mentioned that was discovered in Bitola in 1956 remains the only authentic data about the alleged ethnical self-identification of the *Kometopoulos* family members. But the unusual apostrophizing on the Vladislav's origin as "Bulgarian by birth" contained in the text of the inscription that is atypical for the circumstances of that period introduces strong skepticism regarding its authenticity. Moreover, such ethnic self-identification was not present in any other historical record from the period of the existence of the Macedonian state nor it was a practice in the other medieval Balkan states. Even if we exclude the probability that the inscription might have been fabricated the text would appear to be personal grasp of John in context of his usurpation of the throne of the Macedonian state and his protest and disagreement with the Macedonian elite. But in no way it could be linked to the ethnical identification of the state and the population.

The ethnic identity of the rulers in any way was not a key factor that was mobilizing the population in the medieval Macedonia. Furthermore, the ethnical identity of the rulers themselves did not reflected the identical ethnical character of the state and the population that they were ruling over, the fact that was applicable in all medieval states. However it should be also taken into consideration the different comprehension of the

ethnicity in the medieval period from the aspect of the modern theories for the creation of the nations. Anyway, the cultural and social representation of the interests and traditions as well as the free religious expression articulated by the new political and religious elite in Macedonia were crucial factors for the mobilization of the Macedonian population in the 10th century. Undoubtedly, the separate process for creation of the ethnical identity which was based on the integration of the Macedonian and Slavic traditions that were present on the territory of Macedonia during the long-century period that was strongly inspired by the ancient Macedonian past and by St. Clement's activity had its final outcome in the creation of the independent Macedonian state at the middle of the 10th century. The differentiation of the cultural and political processes in Macedonia and Bulgaria was manifested, among others, through the preservation of the Cyril-Methodius legacy and traditions at the Ohrid Literary School and through the consistent use of the *Glagolitic* alphabet within the Macedonian state and in the literary works. This is attested by the preserved manuscripts composed with the use of *Glagolica* in Macedonia during the period from the 10th to the 11th century, such as: *Assemani Gospel*, the *Zograf Gospel*, the *Macedonian Glagolitic Folia*, *Ohrid Glagolitic Folia*, *Codex Marianus*, the *Sinai Psalter* the *Sinai Euchologion*, *Codex Clozianus* and others. An additional indicator for the differential processes that developed in Macedonia is the tolerant attitude of the Macedonian elite towards the Bogomils compared to the previous treatment of the Bulgarian authorities.

The Byzantine writers however had not registered the particularity of the political and cultural processes in Macedonia that was not only the result of their lack of interest for concrete elaboration and cognition related to the ethnicities in the Balkans. The negation of the legitimacy of the new state created in Macedonia in the middle of the 10th century by Byzantium directly reflected in the absence of Macedonian terminology in Byzantine historical records related to the identification of the state and the population. The Byzantine authors instead, following the policy and ideology of Byzantium from the IX century, continued to use the terms "Bulgaria" and "Bulgarians" while identifying the new state despite of the fact that it was founded on the territory of Macedonia and was based on a totally different cultural and historical traditions. The ethnical and topographic substitution of the names "Macedonia" and "Macedonians" with the Bulgarian terminology was due to a variety of mutually conditioned factors. The first identification perplexity in the byzantine sources occurred in early 9th century when Byzantium gave the name Macedonia to the new *theme*, formed in western Thrace that had nothing in common with

the historical and ethnical territory of Macedonia. Although, Byzantium with this measure had symbolically revealed its plans to restore the authority in historical Macedonia the term for the same named administrative and military unit – *theme* had been conventionalized in the Byzantine documentation. The key factor that contributed to the maintenance of such an illogical situation was based on the fact that the new Byzantine dynasty, which was founded in 867 by Basil I (867-886), had its origin derived from the *theme* named Macedonia. As a direct consequence of this the term Macedonians was integrated as the identity name of the Byzantine dynasty from the period of Basil I and this name was also coming alongside the names of the emperors. The establishment of the Byzantine dynasty which became recognizable as “Macedonian” and its emperors as “Macedonians” chronologically corresponded with the crucial period of the cultural, spiritual and social mobilization in Macedonia that resulted with the creation of the new Macedonian state in middle of the 10th century. All these factors contributed the process of creation of the separate ethnical identity, which was associated with the territory of Macedonia, to remain unregistered in the authentic testimonies and to be mechanically interpreted by the byzantine writers with the use of Bulgarian terminology. This practice was in compliance with the Byzantine political ideology based on the negation of the new Macedonian state legitimacy. This made the Byzantine authors to identify the Macedonians as well as all other citizens of the Macedonian state with the term “Bulgarians” that was a result of the Byzantine political qualification of their main enemies that previously had been located in the Bulgarian state, despite of the fact that it was definitely eliminated in 971. This situation very clearly can be noticed from the the analysis of the Byzantine texts from the period between the 10th–12th century. *John Skylitzes*, *John Geometres*, *Leo the Deacon* simultaneously were using the term “Macedonia” in geographical and ethnical connotation, but it had been exclusively used for the definition of the Macedonian territories under Byzantine authority. In the perception that was created by the Byzantine authors, “Bulgaria” actually represented the part which was controlled by the new enemies identified as “Bulgarians” or “Mezians” as opposed to the part of Macedonia which was under Byzantine rule and which was carefully identified with the real geographical and ethnical Macedonian terminology. Under circumstances that were characterized by the monopolization of the name “Macedonians” by the byzantine dynasty and administration, within the new state formed in the middle of the X century, the Macedonians were simply deprived from the ethnical identification by the external authorities. It did not refer to the Macedonian territories in the wider area of Thessalonica, which were un-

der Byzantine authority. At the same time the *theme* “Macedonia”, as the place of origin of the Byzantine dynasty, continued to be named under the adequate administrative term. Regarding the part that signified the core of the new Macedonian medieval state, which gravitated toward the regions around Ohrid and Prespa, traditional Byzantine historiography continued to use the toponyms and ethnonyms “Bulgaria” and “Bulgarians”. The above-mentioned arguments emanate that the antagonism between Basil and Samuel had far deeper political and ideological dimension based also on the right of use of the Macedonian identification and traditions. The concentration of the conflict around the Macedonian city Thessalonica additionally refers to such tendency. Therefore, it is not surprising that even after the abolition of the Macedonian state (1018) the established traditional Byzantine application of the term “Bulgarians” continued to be used for definition of the Macedonian territory around Ohrid, Prespa and Skopje, which belonged to the new military and administrative unit named “Bulgaria” and was not used to identify the real Bulgarian territory around Preslav and Pliska as well as the area along the river Danube. After 1018 the use of the term “Bulgaria” extended and it was also used in church and administrative context that was complementary with the political and ideological conception of Byzantium, which intended through the Ohrid Archbishopric to legitimize its influence wider over the territory of the Balkan Peninsula. This established Byzantine tradition continued to be registered in the Byzantine sources from the period of the Komnenos Dynasty (1018-1185) and it also reflected the eastern historical records. In the most illustrative way it was depicted by the fact that the epithet “*Bulgar-Slayer*” was added to the name of the emperor Basil II the Macedonian in the historical writings from the end of the 12th century, that was at the same connected with the tendency to inspire the Byzantine aristocracy in the context of the Balkan campaigns and with the necessity to deal with the newly formed Bulgarian state in 1185. The rule of the Macedonian emperor dynasty in Byzantium (867-1056) actually resulted in artificial alteration of the toponyms and ethnonyms related to “Bulgaria” and “Macedonia” so they actually did not reflect at all the real geographical and historical and even less the ethnical identification of Macedonia and Macedonians. This Byzantine perception did not question at all on the distinctive identification processes that was happening in Macedonia but on the contrary it only verified it. In the Byzantine authentic historical testimonies can also be noticed simultaneous use of the terms “Macedonian” and “Macedonians” in the geographical and ethnical connotation, but which in accordance with the established Byzantine political and ideological construction was basically limited to Thessalonica and its

wider surrounding area. This perception was also illustrated in the letters of *Theophylaktes of Ohrid*, who had made clear distinction between the administration of the Archbishopric in the “barbarian country” Macedonia named by him as “*Bulgaria*” with “the areas of our Macedonia”. The terminological confusion was gradually overcome after the crisis in Byzantium during the period between the 13th and 14th century, when the real identification of the historical Macedonia reflected in the works of eminent Byzantine writers such as *Nicephorus Gregoras* and *John Kantakouzenos*.

Regarding the efforts made to legitimize the Macedonian statehood it could be noticed that Samuel did not have pretensions to establish a direct connection with the Bulgarian traditions but his intention was to support the establishment of the new state on the Macedonian traditions. This can be confirmed by the concentration of his political and religious activity in Macedonia, that was concurrent with the ancient Macedonian traditions interweaved by the cultural and spiritual traditions derived from the Clement’s activity. The established tradition at the Roman Papacy during the period of 12th-13th century with the consecutive mentioning of Samuel together with the Bulgarian tsar Peter as appointed tsars, absolutely does not imply that Samuel referred to the Bulgarian traditions in order to obtain legitimacy of the royal throne. In fact, this was the act which was later performed by the Roman Popes, who had a pretension to restore the church influence over the Balkan territory, benefiting from the interest of the Bulgarian rulers for international recognition of the Bulgarian state in the 12th and the 13th century period when the Macedonian state no longer existed. Such Roman policy unquestionably derived from the tendency to establish counterbalance to Byzantium and the Ohrid Archbishopric. That in Macedonia an autonomous ruling dynasty was established, which was independent of the Bulgarian traditions is also indicated by the historical sources from 11th century that point to the fact that the leaders of the liberation rebellions against the Byzantine authority that were concentrated in Macedonia, managed to provide their legitimacy among the people by emphasizing the direct relation with Samuel’s royal family. Therefore, the direct result from the creation of the medieval state in Macedonia in the middle of the 10th century was the conclusion of the separate cultural and historical processes that developed during the period of several centuries on the Macedonian territory and which resulted in generational integration of the Macedonian and Slavic traditions into distinctive ethnical identity, with a collective Macedonian denominator associated with the territory of Macedonia and represented by the new royal dynasty, political and church elite.

MACEDONIA BETWEEN THE BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN EMPIRE (XI – XIV century)

1. The uprisings in Macedonia at the XI century

The abolishment of the Macedonian state in 1018 came along with its incorporation within the military and administrative system of Byzantium. Basil II provided the presence of Byzantine troops at the crucial fortifying cities and strengthened the strategic locations. Therefore, some fortifying strongholds were destroyed among which was also Ohrid Fortress, that came along with the confiscation of all royal insignia including the emperors crowns. The city of Skopje was promoted as the center of the Byzantine military and state administration with authority over the territories that used to belong to the Macedonian state. Simultaneously, with the deportation of the royal family members as well as of one part of the Macedonian political elite in the eastern provinces of Byzantium, Basil II remained loyal to the practice of appointing the loyal local elite representatives with the aim of providing more efficient control over the territory and the population. The fundament of the political and ideological doctrine of Basil II in the efforts to consolidate the Byzantine authority in Macedonia and on the Balkan Peninsula became the Ohrid Archbishopric. It was given the autocephalous status and its jurisdiction was also legitimized widely over the Balkans. All this was aiming towards providing in some extents the sense of autonomy among the new Byzantine subordinates. The integral part of this policy was the appointing of John of Debar as Archbishop of Ohrid, who was from Macedonian origin. The act of retention of the fiscal policy and the taxation system from the Samuel's pe-

riod as well as the practice of appointing the loyal persons from the local elite as governors, were in function of the restraint of the potential mobilization of the Macedonian people against Byzantine authority. The Byzantine authority over the rest of the territory of Macedonia was generally based on the military administration in Salonica while the church jurisdiction was provided through the Metropolitans of Salonica, Serres and Philippi.

The successors of Basil II after 1025 revised the conciliatory approach towards the implementation of the political and religious conception in Macedonia. An indicator for this was the established practice from 1037 of appointing persons of Byzantine origin as archbishops at the Ohrid Archbishopric, who were directly implementing the Byzantine state administrative and church policy. Actually through the Ohrid Archbishopric the previous free religious expression was affected that coincided with the new fiscal reform that introduced the paying of taxes. All these factors reflected in the strong accumulated dissatisfaction among the population in Macedonia. It was apparently that in this period the Bogomils also intensified their activity in Macedonia that is confirmed from the *Balkan Annals* and with the increased production of apocryphal literature works of Macedonian provenience. The local Macedonian elite took advantage from these conditions for the mobilization of the people that resulted in the rebellion against the Byzantine authority in 1040. In this context in order to implement the tendency for restoration of the state in Macedonia it was necessary to identify a person that would have represented a unifying factor for the elite and the Macedonian people. So, Petar Deljan, who claimed his origin from the Samuel's royal family with the abolished marriage of the tsar Gavrilko Radomir with the daughter of the Hungarian King, was entrusted with this role. The Byzantine authors pointed out the established custom among the people to appoint as their leaders persons of "royal blood". The news about the proclamation of Petar Deljan as tsar in Belgrade actually provided the massive character of the uprising and it also helped the quick overtaking of the Byzantine strongholds in Niš and Skopje. The attempt of Byzantium to intervene in order to prevent further expansion of the uprising failed because the mobilized soldiers from the regions of Macedonia and Albania disobeyed and turned to their own leader, Tihomir, proclaiming his as tsar. The dual pretension tendency for the Samuel's royal title from both partitions were overcome after Deljan had managed to eliminate Tihomir and had taken the command over the united army. The straight direction of the rebels towards Salonica as well as the expressly taking the control over the ma-

major part of Macedonia including the former capital Prespa, illustrate the complementarity of the Deljan's political and military strategy with Samuel's that also corresponded with the aspirations of the Macedonian people. In the point when the uprising got larger proportions taking control over the major part of Macedonia, southern Albania with Dyrrachion, parts of Greece as well as over the Bulgarian territories up to Serdica, Alusian, the son of the tsar Jovan Vladislav, arrived among the insurgents. The support that Alusian managed to provide from one part of the Macedonian elite constrained Deljan unwillingly to recognize his authority after what both were equally accepted as tsars and leaders of the uprising. However, the inadequate military strategy applied by Alusian resulted in total failure of the direct attack on Salonica whose outcome was followed by huge victims among insurgents. The defeat however did not affect Alusian's authority, who after detaining and blinding Alusian, managed to impose himself as a sole tsar and leader of the rebellion. But following the second defeat against the Byzantine army Alusian secretly started negotiations with the Byzantine emperor, accepting all his promised privileges in exchange for his own surrender. Alusian's behavior brought in serious suspicion regarding his real motives, including the possible Byzantine influence upon his activity and decisions. Anyway, the Macedonian elite was deprived from the royal leadership and was faced with the ruined military power. That enabled the Byzantine army during 1041 to defeat the rebels and suppress the uprising.

The manifested political uprising objective to restore the Macedonian state and in particular the tendency for providing legitimacy through the royal origin of Deljan and Alusian showed the instability of the Byzantine authority. The undertaken administrative measures that accompanied the suppression of the uprising, which came along with the establishment of even harder fiscal and tax policy, caused the renewal of mobilization process of the Macedonian elite. Georgi Vojtech, a prominent man from Skopje, in 1072 emerged as a leader of the new uprising with the center in Skopje. The political objectives and motives of the Macedonian elite were identical as those of the previous uprising, and were focused on the realization of the tendency for restoration of the Macedonian state. The Royal Dynasty linkage with the traditions of the Macedonian state was found in Duklja, through the linkage of the king Michael I of Duklja and his son Bodin with Samuel's dynasty. This resulted in formation of political alliance, which was effectuated by the proclamation of Bodin as tsar in Prizren by the rebel leaders. The provided royal legitimacy as well as the swift victory over the Byzantine army which had been

headed by the Duce of Skopje, enabled the fast spreading of the uprising. However, Bodin delegated the command role for liberation of the territory of Macedonia to one of his commanders, named Petrilo while himself headed towards Niš. Petrilo with a part of the army easily penetrated further into the Macedonian territory conquering the city of Ohrid that had a huge effect among the population. However, the Byzantine army managed to outmaneuver and defeat the rebels at Kostur, thus disabling the insurgents to extend their authority and to consolidate their positions in Macedonia. This enabled Byzantium to inflict the decisive defeat to Georgi Vojteh near Skopje, which was the center of the uprising, and soon after it straightforwardly, defeated the troops of Bodin at Niš. The capturing of Vojteh and Bodin enabled Byzantium soon to destroy the insurgents' defensive positions in Macedonia so that the uprising was definitely suppressed in 1073. The establishment and strengthening of the Byzantine authority in some of the Macedonian cities and regions was accompanied by the destruction of the royal palaces in Prespa that was a symbolic message to the people. The course of the uprising and its outcome illustrated the failure of the Macedonian elite of their uniting which was a result also of the divergence in the interests. Nevertheless their common tendency in representing the aspirations to restore the state was the intention to mobilize the Macedonian people evoking the collective memory of Samuel's Empire. Exactly this was the crucial factor that provided the mass character of the uprisings in Macedonia in particular to the Deljan uprising that had been led by the direct successors of the royal dynasty. This people's traditions reflected in the testimonies of *Theophylaktos of Ohrid* who mentioned the "victorious songs" that had been present in Ohrid and wider on the territory of Macedonia at the 11th-12th century period.

2. Macedonia in the focus of the conflicts between the new Balkan forces

The founder of the new Byzantine dynasty of Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1118) instantaneously approached towards the reorganization of the Byzantine administration in the western Balkans. Within its framework the Ohrid Archbishopric gained the key position. The fact that the Archbishop *Theophylaktos* identified the population of Ohrid and wider of Macedonia as "barbarian ecumenical" illustrates the tendency of Byzantium for more effective establishment of its political and church influence in Macedonia and in the Balkans. It coincided with the growth of the Bogo-

mil movement that resulted in a rapid increase of the number of its adherents in southwestern Macedonia and also with the spreading of this movement from Macedonia over the other Balkan countries and wider in Byzantium and among the noble circles in Constantinople as well as with the its indirect spreading over the western European countries.

Byzantium in the period from 1081 to 1085 was constrained to deal with the short-lived invasion of the Normans in the Balkans that particularly affected the territory of the southwestern Macedonia. The intervention of the European crusaders in the battles against *Seljuk Turks* during 1096 caused devastation on the territory of southwestern Macedonia, which was being crossed by the Crusader's army. The aggressive Byzantine diplomatic activity that followed resulted with fortification of its positions in the northern Balkans and on the Adriatic Sea. The internal stability reflected in the intensified cultural activity of the Komnenos Dynasty represented through the erection of churches all over Macedonia (Salonica, Ohrid, Veroia, Edessa, Serres, Strumica, Prespa and others). Of particular representation is the church St. Panteleimon in Nerezi near Skopje with its illustrious frescoes of the Byzantine art. In this period the flowering of the major Macedonian cities especially Salonica, Ohrid and Skopje was noticed which was followed by further growth of large land properties. Nevertheless the Byzantine influence achieved through the Ohrid Archbishopric had a limiting effect over the Slavic literature activity in Macedonia that was confirmed by the gradual substitution of the *Glagolitic* alphabet with the *Cyrillic*, the Macedonian cultural tradition continued to develop. It was manifested with the distinctive Macedonian language specificities evidenced in the manuscripts from the 11th and 12th century of Cyrillic provenience, which are identified as Macedonian linguistic reduction. From the 12th century despite of the traditional practice of the literature activity to be concentrated in Ohrid, it started concentrating in northeastern Macedonia where the Literature School of Kratovo was later established with its centers in the monasteries of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo, St. Joachim of Osogovo and St. Prochor of Pcinja.

The dynastic overturn in Byzantium of 1185 and the establishment of the Angelos Dynasty came along with the erosion of the Byzantine positions in the Balkans and with the overtaking of Salonica by Normans, which was short-lived. Byzantium was forced to recognize the new Bulgarian state, as well as to recognize the independency of the Serbian state. The events in the near neighborhood inevitably reflected in Macedonia. The impossibility for political organization and unification due to the concentration of the Byzantine political and church authority in Skopje,

Ohrid and Salonica was substituted with the manifestation of individual political separatism in Macedonia. The feudal lord, Dobromir Chrysos in 1185 became independent providing his authority in Strumica and in the neighboring fortress in Prosek. His positioning in a strategic location enabled him not only to sustain his rule over the independent principality but also to extend his rule over Pelagonia and Prilep having benefited from the disagreements within the Byzantine Imperial family. In 1202 Byzantium managed to liquidate the independent entity of Chrysos and to restore its authority.

The declining tendency regarding the Byzantine prestige was confirmed in 1204 when the European crusaders conquered Constantinople. The period of the Latin Empire existence on the territory of the temporarily abolished Byzantine Empire (1204-1261) was characterized with continuous battles among the new regional states concentrated in the Balkans. The different ambitions and strategic aims of the new dynasties that emerged caused the creation of new separate state with capital in Salonica, which was known as the “Kingdom of Salonica”. The territory of Macedonia was incorporated within this new Kingdom. The fragmentation that came along with the clashes among the new Latin entities were utilized by the Bulgarian state which in 1207 managed to conquer a major part of Macedonia reaching the area of Salonica surroundings. But from 1208 Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Salonica significantly weakened which enabled the feudal elite to implement its separatist political tendencies in Macedonia. Among them were Strez and Alexius Slav who after the confrontations with the Bulgarian ruling elite gained independence on the territory of Macedonia. Strez benefiting from the provided logistic support of Serbia and the local regents in the Macedonian cities rejected the Bulgarian authority and became an independent ruler over the city of Prosek and after that imposed his rule over the city of Ohrid. He managed to establish friendly relationships with the Alexius Slav, who in the meantime obtained independency in Melnik. The skillful diplomatic maneuvers enabled Strez from the positions in Prosek to keep the control over the larger territory up to 1214 when he was killed. His principality was incorporated within the state of Epirus, which in the period up to 1215 succeeded to conquer major part of Macedonia.

Under these circumstances the establishment of the Alexius Slav’s authority in Melnik and its larger surrounding area versus Bulgaria was a result of his aliened relationships with the Latin Empire. He turned his loyalty towards the strengthened state of Epirus after 1216 and this enabled him to maintain his independent rule in the following years. In

favor of Slav was also the ambitions of the Epirus' ruler Theodore Komnenos Angelos to conquer Salonica which was achieved in 1224, marking the fall of the Kingdom of Salonica. Theodore Komnenos concentrated the church policy on the Ohrid Archbishopric where he managed to perform his crowning as an Emperor in 1227. This event was the confirmation of the important role that the Ohrid Archbishopric used to have in that period related to the legalization of the emperors' tendencies in context of the Byzantine traditions.

The last mention of Alexius Slav date from 1229 but there are no information regarding his fate. However the territories under his rule were incorporated within the Bulgarian state during the period of the invasive Bulgarian campaigns that followed the decisive victory over the Epirus' army in 1230. Eventually, at the end the Empire of Nicaea managed to impose its superiority over the Balkans, that on account of Bulgaria, by 1246 imposed its rule over the major part of Macedonia including in Salonica. *George Acropolites* evaluated that the Macedonian population in this period under circumstances characterized by the lack of proper political representation was focused on the activities that would have "prevented its destruction and preserved the major part of its property". This influenced the loyalty of the local Macedonian elite, which was unstable and variable depending on the changeable military and political situation. After conquering Constantinople in 1261 the Nicaea Emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1282) renewed the Byzantine traditions so that Macedonia was again incorporated within the framework of the reestablished Byzantine Empire.

3. Serbian conquests in Macedonia (the end of the XIII – the middle of the XIV century)

Benefiting from the Byzantine Empire incapacity to uphold the positions in the Balkans the Serbian ruler, Milutin starting from 1282 focused his expansionistic campaigns towards Macedonia that by 1299 resulted in moving of the borders of the Serbian state with Byzantium along the zone line Ohrid-Štip-Strumica. Serbia at the same time had mostly benefited from the clashes among the regional Balkan subjects. After the great victory over the Bulgarians at the battle of Velbuzd (1330) Serbia managed to gain new territorial benefits in Macedonia. The largest expansion reached by the Serbian state is registered during the ruling period of Stefan Dušan (1331-1335), who until 1334 managed to impose his rule

over the major territory of Macedonia and Albania. The political and religious conception of Dušan in Macedonia was based on the gaining support from the Ohrid Archbishopric regarding his efforts for the consolidation of his rule. In this context Stefan Dušan confirmed the existing jurisdiction and assigned new privileges to the Ohrid Archbishopric. He also relied on the local elite in order to provide himself with more efficient administration in the newly obtained territories. The strengthening of the Serbian state coincided with the large uprising in Salonica that arose in 1342 under the initiative of the political group called Zealots. This enabled Dušan by 1345 to spread his authority almost over the whole territory of Macedonia except Salonica. His domination was concluded with his crowning as tsar in Skopje in 1346 the act that was legitimized by the Serbian Archbishopric, Ohrid Archbishopric and by the Bulgarian Patriarchy. Dušan even started titling himself as tsar of the “Romeians and Serbs” as well as “Macedonian tsar” ambitiously announcing his plans for the conquering of Constantinople itself. He also had to deal with the intensified Bogomil’s activity in Macedonia and in the Balkans, whose activity was sentenced with the “*Dušan’s code*” published in Skopje in 1349.

4. The creation of the independent states of Volkashin and Ugljesha

The sudden death of the tsar Dušan in 1355 was followed by an intensive process of fragmentation of the Serbian state stimulated also by the inter-dynastic conflicts. Several feudal lords benefited from this situation and they established their own independent rule in Macedonia. As a result of this in the 1350s the territory of Macedonia was partitioned in various areas controlled by the independent feudal lords.

The trend of the feudal separatism in Macedonia and the anticipated expression of the people’s discontent acquired the characteristic of more effective political organization that was manifested with the foundation of the two powerful states in Macedonia in 1365, that were ruled by the brothers Jovan Uglješa and Volkašin. Uglješa (1365-1371) formed an independent state concentrated on Serres and the territory south of the town, gaining the title of *despot*. Volkašin (1365-1371) established the large state with its capital in Prilep, providing the control over the larger Macedonian territory including the cities of Bitola, Prespa, Skopje and Ohrid. Volkašin also established a royal dynasty by proclaiming his son, Marko as his co-ruler. Intending to strengthen the state as well as to ob-

tain its admission Volkašin relied on the Ohrid Archbishopric and he deprived the Patriarch of Peč from the jurisdiction over the churches of Skopje and Prizren. The despot, Jovan Uglješa, on the other hand expelled the Metropolitan Sava from the church of Serres and appointed Theodosius as his successor, who was exponent of the idea for church reconciliation with Constantinople and was Macedonian by origin. The erection of churches and monasteries was an integral part of the church policy of the brothers Volkašin and Uglješa, among which the Monastery of St. Demetrius in the village of Sušica, near Skopje was the most representative one. The associated armies' of Volkashin and Uglješa was also successful dealing with the invasive plans of Serbian ruler Uroš V. But, the military capacity of the both countries was not sufficient for a more serious resistance to the Ottoman forces. The killing of the brothers Volkašin and Uglješa in the direct fight against the Ottoman troops at the river Marica in 1371 opened the doors to the Ottomans towards the unstoppable conquering of Macedonia.

MACEDONIA UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

(from the end of XIV to the end
of the XVIII century)

1. The appearance of the Ottomans in the Balkan Peninsula

When in 1352 Suleyman, the son of the Ottoman leader Orhan (1326-1359), conquered the fortress of Tzympe located on the European part of the Dardanelles, no one had imagined that in a period of less than a half century almost all of the Balkan Peninsula would be under the Ottomans control. The invasion which happened immediately after this event was one of the largest as well as one of the most critical events in the tempestuous history of this peninsula. It was the sign of the beginning of new historical processes, which has radically changed the old political, cultural, social and religious relations in the Balkans, leaving long lasting inherited and indelible traces in many aspects of life on this area. On the territory of the old Christian states, a new Muslim Empire was created, well known by the name of the Ottoman Empire. In the following centuries, the empire was one of the most influential political factors in Europe that determined the destiny of the people in the Balkans. The history of this country begins in Asia Minor.

The Ottoman Empire has its origin from the Beylik of Ertughrul, who belonged to the nomadic tribe Qayı which in the legends appeared to be one of the noblest clans of the Turks - Oghuz. According to tradition, one part of the Qayı tribe, even before the Mongol invasion in the middle of the XIII century, had moved from Middle Asia to Anatolia. The region of Karadzadag was their first settlement, situated on the west of present day Ankara. This was exactly the place where Ertughrul started fleeing

from the invasive Mongols. With 400 - 500 tents he moved on to the west, toward the territories in the possession of the Great Seljuk Sultan, Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād (*Alāeddin Keykubad*), and he managed to obtain the rule of a boundary area on the west border of the Seljuk Empire with Byzantine Empire. After his death he was replaced by his warlike son, Osman (1289-1326). All of Osman's successors took his name and called themselves Ottomans (Osmanlies, Osmanlılar). The favorable geo-position of his Beylik, as well as the weakened Byzantine Empire enabled Osman to start expanding his territories soon after. Actually, his Beylik or territory played the role of a buffer zone between the Byzantine and Seljuk Empire. This Beylik also became a place with a huge number of Muslims mostly nomadic or half-nomadic that were bred on a large scale with the idea of a Holy War (ghaza) against the Christians. The first leaders of that population, due to this fact, created and taught extremely mobile war troops, which followed the war plan and were attacking constantly the territories of the weaker and more politically disintegrated Byzantine Empire. On the other hand they provided themselves with a very safe background considering the fact that the Seljuk Sultanate existed only formally, or as a vassal state of the Mongols. All this enabled Osman to build the foundations of the Ottoman State at the beginning of XIV century. According to the legends, in 1299, when the Seljuk Sultan Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād II fled his capital from insurgents, Osman declared independence of this territory and appointed himself a sovereign. In the following few years, the Ottomans remarkably expanded their territory.

The first larger Byzantine city conquered by the Ottomans in 1326 was Brusa (Bursa) and was controlled by Orhan (1326-1359), the Osman's son. Orhan made Brusa the capital and this is exactly where the first Ottoman silver coin (*akche*) was made. This proved that the Osman's had accomplished the transformation process of the Erturghrul Beylik and now the territory was an independent state.

The take-over of Nikea (Iznik) (1330) and Nikomedia (Izmit) (1337) opened the door wide to the Ottomans so they could conquer the Balkan Peninsula and after that the Northern part of the Gulf of Izmit all the way to Bosphorus. This territorial expansion enabled the Ottomans to have a way out to the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara that increased the crossing to the Balkan shores. The attacks were not only targeting the coastal area but were steadily aiming towards the inland territories as well. So it was almost clear that the Ottoman Turks were not content with burglarizing only and a permanent Turkish settlement on European ground was more than likely in only a matter of time.

In 1352 the Byzantine Emperor, John Cantacouzenos, needed help while fighting against the joined armies of Serbs and Bulgarians and subsequently, Suleyman, the son of Orhan, who was heading to Thrace managed to conquer the coastal fortress of Tzympe on the Gallipoli Peninsula. In order to empower the peninsula the Ottomans started populating the area with settlers from Anatolia ignoring John Cantacouzenos's request to leave the fortress. The Ottomans, benefiting from the earthquake which happened between the 1st and 2nd of March 1354, without great effort conquered Gallipoli on the Western Part of the Dardanelles, gaining that way an even more secure anchorage, which provided an opportunity for the systematic invasion of the Balkan areas. Actually in a very short period of time the Ottomans seized the occasion of the disputed and internally disintegrated Balkan states and consequently, continued the invasion on the north after the Gallipoli conquest. They completed this task by settling a Muslim population, mainly easily adopting shepherds – nomads from Anatolia, on the newly conquered territories providing the safety of their army.

However, Thrace was the first country invaded by the Ottomans during their further campaign. In 1356, the strong army commanded by Suleyman, the son of Orhan, moved towards Edirne (Adrianopol). However, Suleyman unpredictably passed away in 1357 and the Ottomans did not reach their target. Thus, Orhan's second son, Murad, in the history well known as Murad I (1359 – 1389) renewed the war operation and officially signed the conquest of the Balkan.

The largest cities of Thrace, such as: Dimotika (Didimotiki), Edirne and Plovdiv (Philippopol) were conquered during the first years of Murad's ruling. Immediately after that, the Ottoman capital was moved to Dimotika, at the beginning, and then to Edirne, which actually made the state of the Ottomans a European state. As a matter of fact, mutual political disagreements as well as different territorial interests disabled the Balkan Christian countries to recognize the potential danger coming from the new conquerors. Due to this situation they also failed to recognize the real need for integration of the armed forces and common fight against the aggressor. However, at that time the danger of the Ottoman state was still far away from the major European countries who at their time did not assume anything against the "just arrived" Ottomans. Such a conventional approach and a lack of military intervention, was one of the main factors that made the Ottomans fast progressing on the Balkan territories. Ottoman troops were well organized and dynamic and were easily breaking the resistance of the disintegrated Balkan rulers. The final result of the

belligerent Murad's rule was the constriction of the Byzantine Empire only on the territory of the city of Istanbul. The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 opened the doors to the Ottomans toward Serbia, which had already been transformed into a vassal state. The same destiny was shared by the Bulgarian Empire, where the capital Trnovo was put under the Ottomans' absolute control in 1393. Macedonia's destiny was to be determined immediately after the battle on the river Marica in 1371.

2. The fall of Macedonia under the Ottoman rule

In the period just before the battle of the river Marica, the two most important rulers of the territory of Macedonia were the brothers Volkashin and Ugljesha Mrnjavchevich. The period of their rule coincides with the period after the death of Tzar Dushan (1355) and the deterioration of the medieval Serbian Empire. Firstly, Ugljesha had experienced the attacks of the Ottomans, ruling the southeastern part of Macedonia with the capital in Serres. He attempted in various ways to unite the neighboring rulers in a common fight against the enemy. With this idea and his willingness to make Byzantium join the alliance, the despot Ugljesha deplored the declaration of Dushan's Empire, which was related to the Constantinople's Patriarchy so Ugljesha could reach the higher level, that of Patriarchy. This act endangered the interests of the Constantinople's Patriarchy and in March 1368, Ugljesha pronounced the resolution or decree concerning the recognition of the former rights of the Constantinople's Patriarchy (Patriarch) on his own territory. However, the Byzantine Empire did not react in a way that Ugljesha expected as far as this act was concerned, and the answer came three years later, in 1371, when the Byzantine Empire finally confirmed the reconciliation of the Church. The policy of Ugljesha to bring the Byzantine Empire into the alliance against the Ottomans failed. Actually the idea of joining forces was restricted since he only managed to attract his brother Volkashin, to join the alliance. Volkashin possessed a very powerful army and in this period was a co-ruler with the Serbian Tsar Urosh. Both of the brothers, after they had joined forces, proceeded to Edirne. But as far as their movement had been revealed, the Ottoman beylerbey of Rumelia Lala Shahin, reacted immediately sending his troops toward them. Not being in possession of numerous troops Lala Shahin Pasha decided to apply the shock warfare tactic by attacking, unexpectedly, both armies of the brothers, stationed near Edirne, at Chernomen, on the river Marica. This hap-

pened the night between the 25th and 26th of September 1371. Due to the tactics applied, the Ottomans triumphed in an unexpectedly easy way, gaining at the same time a significant victory over the Christian Army having killed both of the brothers. This was a short lasting battle however the battle had long-lasting consequences which brought the Ottomans the most relevant victory on the Balkan Peninsula. This marked the period of agony for the rest of the Christian states on the Peninsula. After the battle on the river Marica, the systematic conquest of Macedonia lasted, with variable intensity, until 1395, when Kral Marko was killed at the battle of Rovine. This signalled the end of existence of all of Kral Marko's half-independent states in Macedonia.

Within the period of two decades almost all the cities in Macedonia were conquered although for many of them it is still difficult or even impossible to determine exactly the time and the way of conquest. The general impression is that the Ottomans has satisfied themselves with the pilfering invasions on the territory of the destroyed state of Ugljesha, keeping for themselves only a small part of the conquered territory - the East boundary zone. The South-Western part of this area was invaded by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos of Salonica (1391-1425), the son of the Byzantine Emperor John V Palaiologos, who in November 1371 took over the city of Serres while the Northern areas were occupied by the brothers, John and Constantine Dragash, the sons of the despot Deyan. However, after the battle of Chernomen, the Dragash' territories were the first targets of the Ottomans' attacks. The brothers, whose capital was present day Kyustendil, accepted one of the lesser evils in order to obtain the vassal status in comparison to the strong enemy state which meant that the state should have paid an annual tax to the Sultan and should have been giving active military participation for the purposes of the Ottoman's army whenever requested by the Sultan itself.

Considering the fact that most of the territories under Dragash brothers' rule expanded throughout Eastern Macedonia it is easy to assume that the ottoman garrisons were situated in some of the cities belonging to that territory at the end of 1371 or at the beginning of 1372. It would seem that the Ottomans ensured that they would be in a safe region avoiding risks of being too staggered, nonetheless, during their further conquering campaign the Ottomans planned to move in the direction of south west Macedonia and actually set off at the beginning of 1380.

After the death of Volkashin several independent rulers were created In the south western parts of Macedonia. The title of king was given to the Volkashin's son Marko. His brothers, Andreas, Dimitar and

Ivanish were not in possession of significant property and could not have played an important role as far as further development of the events were concerned. A part of the Volkashin's possessions on the territory of Macedonia was seized by the feudal lord, Nikola Altomanovich, who took over Kastoria in the south, then by Vuk Brankovich who seized control until 1377 over the city of Skopje and the suburbs and also by the big zhupan Andrea Gropa who consolidated his positions in Ohrid. That way the whole rule of Volkashin's sons was diminished and reduced to a very small territory in western Macedonia: from the west side, the territory expanded to Ohrid, from the east to the river Vardar except the lower part of the river Crna Reka that belonged to the Dragash family and from the north to Skopje and Mountain Shara. On this territory the power of the political role of the brothers Marko and Andreas was strongly felt which was proved by the fact that they started minting coins there and building their own monasteries.

Before the Ottomans attacked the territory of the Kral Marko they had previously solved the situation with the rests of the despot Uglesha's state. The campaign toward these territories was led by several outstanding military commanders such as Evrenos – bey, Deli Balaban Pasha and Lala Shahin Pasha. In the period from 1382 to 1384 they conquered many significant fortresses and cities in the eastern part of Aegean Macedonia such as: Kavala, Marulija, (Avert Hisar), Drama, Zihna, Veria and one of the most important places among them, the city of Serres that came under the Ottoman's control on the 19th September 1383. With this, the subjugation process over the whole former Ugljesha's state was completed and if we take into consideration that the brothers Dragash have already accepted the vassal status for their states it becomes clear that the Ottomans seized control of over more than a half of the Macedonian land.

The new Ottoman campaign, aiming to take control of the rest of Macedonia, to the west of the river Vardar, still under control of Volkashin's son Marko, started out in 1385 and was led by Timurtash Pasha the beylerbey of Rumeli. After he had mobilized large troops he firstly headed toward Prilep and Bitola, the two largest cities in Pelagonia. The breakthrough was made probably through the vassal state of Constantine Dragash. Considering the fact that the main idea of this Ottoman conquest had been to terminate the Kral Marko's rule, they firstly attacked and conquered the city of Prilep which gave up without resistance. Immediately after the defeating of Prilep, Bitola was under siege but the city put up very strong resistance. After a certain period of time the city was definitely overpowered and raided as a punishment for its disobedience

for giving up without resistance. The conquest of these two cities abolished the sovereignty of Marko's Kingdom and it seems that mainly as a result of this Ottoman campaign the certain vassal relationship between the Kral Marko and the Sultan could have been established.

Timurtash Pasha's campaign was also felt in the largest city of Macedonia, Salonica, which was the target of the Ottoman forces on their way back from their campaign in Albania. This first attempt to defeat Salonica failed but that did not reflect the Ottoman's intention to give up on the idea of gaining control over the largest city of Macedonia. Finally, in 1387, after two years of attempting, Hayreddin Pasha finally defeated the city. However, the defeat was not final. Only one small Ottoman troop was situated there being charged to guarantee the payment of the annual tax (harach) that had been previously arranged with an agreement for recognition of the absolute Sultan's rule by the city's authority. However, this troop had been situated there for a 3-year period only. In 1390, the troop was withdrawn and very soon in 1391 or at least until 1394, the troop was brought back again, proving the fact that in the last decade of the XIV century the most important seaport city in Macedonia was completely under direct Ottoman control.

The Ottoman campaign from 1385 did not mean the conquest of the Central Macedonia only. In the following years (until 1391/92) almost all of the more significant cities from the western and eastern Macedonia were conquered, as well, such as: Edessa, Ohrid, Kastoria, Kratovo, as well as, Skopje. Although, Skopje put up strong resistance that in the end the conquerors charged down and the city of Skopje was finally taken by storm and transformed into a strong military base suitable for further campaigns on the north, towards Serbia and Bosnia.

Skopje seemed to be the last point wherefrom the new conquerors were offered resistance. Its defeat signed the subjugation of Macedonia. The existence of the vassal states, those of Kral Marko and Constantine Dragash, symbolised just "small islands" in the "Ottoman Sea". Their agony lasted until 1395 when both of the brothers, like the Sultan's vassals, died at the battle of Rovine fighting against Walach Voyvoda Mirche. The short-lasting liberation of Salonica (1403-1430) performed by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II at the beginning of the interregnum of the Ottoman Empire was also irrelevant as far as Macedonia was concerned. Macedonia was sealed firmly within the new state and the new laws and regulations started changing the lifestyle.

3. Territorial and administrative organization of Macedonia within the Ottoman state

The internal structure of the Ottoman Empire was built on the inherited structural fundamentals of several states that used to exist in the area of Near and the Middle East. Basically, it was the heritage of the Seljuk and Byzantine Empire as well as of some medieval Balkan states. The Ottoman Empire was a theocratic state as the other Islamic states. The absolute ruler was the Sultan with unlimited rights as far as political, military and state issues were concerned and for its acts he felt subordinate only in front his God Allah. The Imperial State Council or "*Divan*", composed of high government officials, represented the authority operative mechanism. The special place in the *Divan* was reserved for the grand vezier who was the first adviser and assistant of the Sultan and on the behalf of the Sultan he was implementing all of his political decisions. The *Divan*, as the highest body, could have been addressed by every single person in the state, no matter their class or religion, in oral or written form of any kind of issue. The people (reaya) usually addressed the Divan by sending delegations. The basis on which the Ottoman Empire built its system of justice was the religious precepts found in the *Shariah*. The issues that were not discussed in the *Shariah* were regulated by numerous Sultan's laws or *kanuns* which should have been harmonized with the basic legislative document.

The first Ottoman Sultans paid much more attention to the territorial and administrative organization and governance of the newly conquered territories. Firstly, they were divided into several districts or so-called "*sanjak*" or "*liva*", governed by a "*sanjakkbeyi*" or "*mirliva*". When the Ottoman rule in the Balkans was fortified, the "*eyalet*" – of Rumeli was established putting all the European conquered states under the same jurisdiction. The center of this most significant governing and political body was Edirne and then Sophia. A counterpart of the first "*eyalet*" in the Balkans appeared to be the "*eyalet*" of Anatolia on the Asian territory. Later, other "*eyalet-s*" were created. In the second half of the XVI century 16 of these '*eyalet-s*' existed. These 16 governing bodies covered the authority of *sanjaks*, which by their side were composed of smaller administrative units so-called "kaza" (townships/companies). *Kazas* were judicial and territorial units governed by a "*kadi*" and consisted of the smallest administrative units, "*vilayet*" and "*nahiya*". The territorial division into *vilayets* used to have a temporary status because the regular administrative units, *nahiya*, gradually replaced them

all. The Balkan “*nahiya*” most often fitted the pre-ottoman “*zhupa*”. The same territory of a “*zhupa*” was just given the new name “*nahiya*”.

This administrative and territorial structure, with some changes mostly of formal character, remained intact until the end of the Ottoman Empire, which also played the most important role for its successful functioning and represented an efficient controlling mechanism of the central authority over the local authority. However, Macedonia constantly was made part of the *Rumeli* eyalet and its territory which was divided into several “*sanjaks*”. In the XV and XVI century there were 7 *sanjaks*, formed in different periods of time, which totally or partially spread over the territory of Macedonia: Pasha *sanjak*, Kyustendil, Ohrid, Salonica, Skopje, Ioannina and, with a temporary status, Florina *sanjak*.

One of the oldest and the largest *sanjak* was that of Edirne, which was directly governed by the *beylerbey* of Rumeli with the title “pasha” which is why it was later called Pasha *sanjak*. This *sancak* spread over the largest part of southern and northern Macedonia. During the first decades of the XV century the following cities that at the same time were centers of *kazas* and *nahiyas* belonged to these *sanjaks*: Drama, Zihna, Nevrokop, Demir Hisar, Avret Hisar, Serres, Salonica, Enixe Vardar, Siderokapsa, Veria, Serfidze, Hrupishta, Kastoria, Biglishta, Skopje, Tetovo, Kitchevo, Veles, Prilep and Bitola. Due to the fact that it was a very large *sanjak* by the time it became unsuitable for governing and for this reason by taking out some territories two other *sanjak-s* were created, those in Salonica and Skopje, dividing the Pasha Sanjak into two separated and disconnected parts.

The *sanjak* of Kyustendil spread over the territory of Macedonia, Serbia and Bulgaria and is believed that it was formed after the death of Constantine Dragash (1395) who ruled this area as an ottoman vassal. This *sanjak* constituted the whole north eastern part of Macedonia with the following territories and administrative centers: Kratovo, Nagorichane, Slavishte, Shtip, Kotchani, Pijanec, Maleshevo, Strumica, Petrich, Melnik, Doyran, Boimija, Konche, Tikvesh and partially Mariovo and Pchinja.

The forming of the Ohrid Sanjak was also connected with the year 1395 when Kral Marko died in the battle of Rovine. Only a small part of western Macedonia belonged to the *sanjak* with its capital in Ohrid, while the rest of the territory spread over to Albania. Towards the end of the XVI century the following Macedonian *kazas* belonged to this *sanjak*: Ohrid, Debar and Starova, these belonged to the following *nahiyas*: Ohr-

id, Prespa, Debartza, Upper Debar, Reka, Zhupa, Dolgo (Golo) Brdo, Mokra and Gora.

The *sanjak* of Salonica, as previously mentioned, was created by taking out some of the territories belonging to the enormous Pasha *sanjak*. The period of forming for this *sanjak* is not exactly known but in the middle of the XVI century when the *sanjak* strengthened itself as a governing unit the following kazas were made part of this *sanjak*: Thessaloniki, Veria, Avret Hisar, Enidze Vardar and later Edessa and Siderokapsa.

The Skopje *sanjak* with its capital in Skopje was formed no later than 1553 when for the first time this area was mentioned as a *sanjak* governed by *sanjakkbey*. These belonged to the ex-Pasha *sanjak kazas* such as: Skopje, Tetovo, Prilep and Kichevo. This sanjak spread mainly over the territory of Macedonia, as well, with an exception, on the north including the *nahiya* of Kachanik and which did not undergo major changes in the constitutional portion.

Besides the above-mentioned *sanjaks* another one that penetrated the territory of the southwestern Macedonia was the *sanjak* of Janina including the *kaza* of Grebena (Grevena). The existence of the *sanjak* of Florina was noticed on the territory of Macedonia for a short period of time, whose territory coincided (matched) with the territory of Florina's *kaza* but only temporarily between the 1520 and 1530. Around 1530 it was abolished and reaffirmed as a *kaza* of the Pasha *sanjak*.

This administrative structure of Macedonia was kept intact during the next centuries of the Ottoman domination. Nevertheless the borders of the state had the tendency of gradually moving toward the north. These *sanjaks* remained integral without significant territorial changes, while also existing within these borders for a longer period of time functioning as a stable administrative and governing units.

4. The Ottoman feudalism

The Ottoman state was organized under the basis of the military feudalism system so called the *Timârlı Sipahi system*, which by its side was based on the land state ownership. The absolute owner of the land on the territory of the Ottoman Empire was the state represented by the Sultan. The *Sipahi* (cavalrymen) was the holder of a fiefdom of land *tîmâr*; granted directly by the Ottoman sultan, and was entitled to all of the income from that land, in return for some state service and above all military service. The peasants on the land were subsequently obliged to pay

taxes to the owner *Sipahi* as well as to the state. So the *Tîmârlı Sipahi* system was based on the principle of shared ownership, which means that the state, *sipahi* and the peasants had the right to the same land at the same time. *Sipahi* were actually after the state nominated the “second owners” of the land. Three forms of land grants existed with different annual revenue: *timar*, with the annual revenue of 2,000 to 19,999 akches; *zeamet* – with 19,999 to 99,999 akches and *khass* with over 100,000 akches of annual revenue. The amount of the annual revenue determined the range of the military obligations of the *sipahis*. The owners of the land with the smallest annual income, *timar*, had to participate in the military actions with their own war equipment while those with larger *timar* had to procure their assistants (*jebelu*) providing them with armies, as well. *Sipahi* had no rights to convey their *timar* and *zeamet* neither by selling nor by concession or in form of grants. They actually had at their disposal the land’s revenues and not the land itself. The *timar*’s son could have succeeded his father only if he had undertaken his military obligations. This kind of military feudalism was installed over the territory of Macedonia in the middle of the XV century where mostly *timars* with the annual revenue of 2,000 to 6,000 akches prevailed.

In the period of the early Ottoman domination in Macedonia there were also *sipahis* – Christians in possession of *timars*. They were actually members of old Christian feudal class, and the affiliation to this class was mainly a criterion for obtaining *timar*. The integration of these Christians into the Ottoman military structures was a deliberate political decision of the Ottoman state with a purpose to calm down the rapidly conquered territories and to neutralize the local feudal class. In the middle of the XV century the Christians possessed 27 *timars* and one *zeamet* from the *nahiyas* of Prilep and Kichevo and in 1466/67 in the area of Debar the number of the Christians’ *timars* was 18. The *zeamet* owned by Gerg Stepan, *subashi* of Kitchevo, besides the city of Kitchevo it also included 29 villages, 23 *mezras* and 1 monastery with annual revenue of 50,200 akches. With the passing of time the number of Christians’ *timars* constantly declined and in the XVI century they almost completely disappeared. This phenomenon is basically due to their conversion into the Islamic religion and dissolving into the Muslim feudal class or due to the lost of their feudal possessions that transformed them into members of the ordinary people, *reaya*.

On the territory of Macedonia existed the “*khass*”, the largest but at the same time the most infrequent form of property in the Ottoman Empire. Some of the most profitable resources in Macedonia such as the

mines in Kratovo, fishing at the Ohrid Lake and nearby rivers, Struga with several nearby villages, the fertile soil on the area of Salonica and Bitola, were all the Sultan's *khass*. Besides the Sultan, viziers as well as other high state officials were also in possession of *khass*.

The well known Isa-bey from Skopje, was one of the major feudal lords in the Balkans in the XV century and the *khass* in his ownership, excluding the city of Skopje, brought him an annual revenue of 763,000 akches.

The peasants appeared to be the "third conditional owners" of the state land and its main cultivators, who regardless of their religious affiliation were commonly called by the name of *reaya*. In its widest context, the term *reaya* was used to indicate the subordinate - the producers, whose status in the state, in contrast to the military class members, *asker*, forced them to pay taxes. In the later period, the term *reaya* referred only to the Christians. The peasants possessed limited land in size from 70 to 150 *donums* depending on the land's quality. The Christians called this land with the Slavic word "bashtina" and the Muslims called it *chiftlik* deriving from *chift* meaning pair, relating to a pair of oxen necessary for the cultivation of one *chiftlik* or "bashtina". In order to obtain a "bashtina" the peasant should have paid a tax to the feudal lord, *sipahi*. After that the peasant got in a possession of so called "tapu" for the land that could not have been taken away until he has completely fulfilled his obligations, came out in the regulations for the granted land. With the permission of the *sipahi* the peasant could have inherited or sold the right of using that land. The new holder of the land should have accepted all feudal obligations of the previous one. There was also a law that forbade the *reaya* to leave its living place at its own will and to move somewhere else. The *sipahis* were legally supported to be in a position to constrain the run away peasant to come back to his land within a period of 15 years. In this way the *reaya* was double chained both to the feudal lord, *sipahis* and to the land. It could not have changed its status because it had been strictly and clearly regulated by law that the "son of the *reaya* is the *reaya* himself".

The economical subordination of the *reaya* was demonstrated by the payment of the feudal rents that the peasant should have given to the feudal lord and to the state. There were three types of feudal obligations: labor obligations (*kulluk*, *angariya*), payments in kind (productive) and cash (financial) payments. At the beginning the most common form of taxation was the payment in kind that was gradually substituted by the cash payment. The less represented was the labor obligation which often

was the most beneficial for the state. The peasant had to participate offering its own livestock in the construction and reconstruction of the roads, fortresses, bridges and all other public buildings, to transport the food, weapons and equipment necessary for the troops and so on.

In some cases they had to build a house and a granary for the feudal lord, to move to the granary the part of the production called *tenth* (ushr) that as a payment in kind should have been given to him as well as to work several days free of charge on his property. Payments in kind in most cases were beneficial for the direct feudal lords. Fundamental payment in kind was above mentioned tenth taken from different agricultural products. There were payments in kind for some agricultural products that were committed to a cash payment on insistence of the feudal lords and more over against the official legislation. Within the legal procedure the feudal lords were taxing all the male Christian population capable of work. This tax was called *ispendze* and its whole amount was 25 akches while the same tax taken by the Muslim population was only 22 akches (called *resm-i chift*). There were also cash payments for the livestock, sheep and pigs, for the summer and winter pasturelands, for the mills, rolling mills, steam-hammers and so on. Sipahis were charging many other cash payments that were not related to the production such as a wedding tax, heritage tax, offence fines and others.

The state itself participated also in collecting taxes. The most common state tax was so called *haraj*. It was paid only by non-Muslim population or better by the Christians and Jewish people as a substitute for military service in order to prove their loyalty towards the state. Although well known as “glavarina”, until the end of the XV century the most general taxes were levied using the household (hane) as the basic taxation unit rather than the individual to ensure revenue stability through group obligation. Basically, the amount of these duties was varying in relation to the income status of the land holder and the state’s financial needs, but it was constantly increasing and from 140 akches in the XVI century it reached the amount of 400-500 akches at the beginning of the next century.

The most painful tax that Christian reaya had to pay was *devshirme* known as blood tax. *Devshirme* (derived from Turkish: devşirmek - collection, gathering") was the systematic collection of non-Muslim children and their involuntarily taking to Istanbul and conversion to Islam followed by their special educational training. The most talented children so called *ich oghlan* (inner children) were chosen and further trained in one of the Sultan’s palaces in order to take part in the personal Sultan’s

entourage. The other children *ajemi oghlan* were mostly recruited and became part of the *Janissary* corps. *Janissaries* were brought up as Muslims and were in close relation to the Dervish group of Bektashis. They enjoyed great privileges that enabled them to reach high-level positions in the state hierarchy. During wars they served as infantry taking always the central position in the military formation protecting the Sultan. In the period of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) the *janissaries* reached the number of 12,000. They were abolished by the Sultan's act in 1826, after they had lost their military significance, transforming themselves into a destructive and uncontrolled force. It is believed that the "devshirme" was lifted around the middle of the XVII century.

Although all non-Muslims within the Ottoman Empire were classified as "protected reaya", the obligations as the "haraj" and "devshirme" were the most obvious examples of the religious discrimination and unequal treatment towards them compared with the attitude towards the Muslims. Besides the ordinary taxes, the state in certain periods imposed additional obligations (*avarizi-i divaniyye ve tekalif-i orfiyye*) that ultimately deteriorated the living conditions of the reaya.

Due to the fact that one part of the reaya was engaged in special state services they enjoyed some tax relief. In some of the cities, the craftsmanship marked significant progress. It particularly referred to some specialized craftsmen, especially those dedicated to the production and servicing of the weapons in the fortresses of the cities. That is why all the population of Salonica, Muslims and Christians, were released from the additional duties in exchange for protection of the 24 towers at the Gulf of Salonica. The citizens of Ohrid were also released from the additional taxes in exchange for maintaining the Ohrid fortress.

Among the rural population such special responsibilities and services were also developed which were carried out for the benefit of the state. These special jobs provided their doer with certain tax alleviation. It referred to the following: *voynuks*, *martolos*, *falconers* etc. The *voynuks* were members of a special military formation within the Ottoman Army. They were armed with lances and representing an auxiliary unit they most often were acting as advance guard in the battles. The regular *voynuks* were Christians while the higher ranged senior positions belonged to the Muslims. The most present all over Macedonia were so-called *dervenjis* who were in charge of providing and maintaining the safety of the places on the public roads that were considered as hardly traversable and dangerous. This office was basically carried out by the Christians from the villages, who were located near the passageways where they were giving

drum signals to the passengers if the road was free or passable. As a result of the tax alleviations the members of these special groups were known by the name of “privileged reaya”.

5. Demographic changes

5.1 Colonization

The Ottoman conquest of Macedonia brought changes in all living spheres, but it seems that the most impressive were those in the field of demographic changes. Immediately after the Ottoman conquest, there was a very strong colonization wave of Muslim population composed of Turkish ethnic elements which covered the territory of Macedonia. The new settlers firstly inhabited the city centers. The medieval Macedonian cities had already been established as economical centers of their own areas as well as strategic mainstays (anchorage) which had the role of being a significant crossroads. That is why the majority of the colonizers headed towards the cities as the most suitable centers for control over the Christian’s rural suburbs. Initially they were settled by military garrisons and shortly after the new administration were established by recruiting mostly Muslim elements. This administrative and military presence in the cities has naturally withdrawn all other necessary services for regular spiritual and holy functioning of the urban Muslim (structures) environment. This was typical for the larger cities such as Serres, Skopje, and Bitola which were mainly settled by Muslim population during the second part of the XV century. The conquerors insisted to settle the emptied areas basically with their loyal people, important craftsmen and traders whose activities were closely related to the further military actions. The Ottoman chronicle writer Ibn Kemal, wrote about Yigit –bey after he had conquered the city of Skopje: “the emptied houses of the heretics, and there were plenty of them, filled them with its sipahis and slaves, and focused intensively on the reconstruction and reparation of the damages made in that place turning it into his own headquarter”. These kinds of activities focused mainly on inhabiting a proper population in the conquered cities such as what was undertaken in Ohrid and Shtip. Creating the proper population was carried out by powerful and influential people that established family domination such as the infamous families, Ohrizade and Ishtipzade. The well-known commander Gazi Evrenos Bey, in the cities of Serres and Enidze Vardar, did the same.

The most relevant colonization element for other territories outside the city centers was Yuruks whose settlement in Macedonia was particularly intensive in the XV century. Declaratively they voluntarily settled the territory but behind this voluntary settlement was often hidden coercion or pressure, which was mainly motivated by the military, political and economical interests of the Ottoman state. The most often settled areas were those connected with the important communication and strategic directions in Macedonia such as: the area of Salonica, Serres and Ovche Pole. Besides the economic role these nomadic stockbreeders wore the military role as well because a part of them was included in a separate military organization. Yuruks in the territory of Macedonia were organized in two huge sanjaks: the Salonica sanjak and Ovche Pole yuruk sanjak, named by the territory on which they were concentrated. In each of these sanjaks there were a determined number of yuruks military units, by the name of *ojak*, which totaled 30 people in each. It is assumed that in the XVI century 17,600 *yuruks* were included in these military units, while the total numbers of yuruks in Macedonia reached 140,000. With the passing of time these nomadic people became a sedentary population whose occupation besides stockbreeding was extended to agricultural activities.

During the period of the Ottoman rule, a numerous population of Jewish settled the area, too. Fleeing from the inquisition in Spain and Portugal, one part of the Jews known by the name of Sefardim (Spanish Jews) found a safe shelter in the Ottoman Empire. Most of them settled the city of Salonica which in the middle of the XVI century could count around 3000 Jewish houses. In 1530, they were organized into 21 municipalities known by the following names: Spain, Sicily, Magrebi, Lisbon, Italy, Otranto, Ezhaim, Old Catalonia, Aragon, Old Sicily, Shalom, Madras, Apulia, Provence, Castiglia, Evra _Portugal, Alaman, Gerush - Kalavrish (Calabria), Saragossa and Korfu. That was why this city was named "the city – mother of Israel". From there the Jewish people started inhabiting the other Macedonian cities. The census results from 1528 indicate that the Jews came to Shtip from Salonica and the same was assumed for the Bitola's Jews who originally were from Aragon-Spain and Portugal. The expelled Jews from Sicily and Italy arrived in Macedonia from Dubrovnik, and after the battle of Mohács in 1526 other Jews from Buda, Pest and Alba Reil moved to Kavala, Serres and Drama. There were also other cities where Jewish colonies were established such as: Skopje, Veria, Kastoria, Shtip, Kratovo, Strumitsa. The Jewish settlement not only enriched the ethnical structure of the Macedonian cities but it

was also an incentive or even a stimulus for faster economical and commercial development.

In the early years of the Ottoman domination there were cases of compulsory deportation of indigene or native Christian population. Two such cases of the XV century were linked to the cities of Ohrid and Skopje. The first is when the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II Fatih ordered a deportation of the Archbishop of Ohrid, Dorotei, to Istanbul in 1466, together with other clerks and *bolyars* who probably were expatriated because of their anti Ottoman acts during the Skender-Bey's rebellion. The expatriated citizens from Ohrid created there own settlement in Istanbul called the Ohrid quarter and it was registered within the population census in Istanbul almost one century after the expatriation. At the same time or nearly in 1467 the citizens from Skopje, around 15 houses, were expatriated to the Albanian city of Konjuh (Elbasan), which was constructed as a fortress to help the fighting against Skender-Bey. In the census of Elbasan besides these Christians from Skopje as Elbasan's citizens appeared other families from Ohrid, Kastoria and Serres that were compulsorily moved into this city.

The demographic structure of the population has been strongly influenced by frequent wars, rebellions as well as by the feudal anarchy, which was the main reason for the Macedonian Christian population's migrations and mass leaving of the whole regions. As a result of these migrations, by the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII century, the western parts of Macedonia started gradually being settled by people from Albania. Until the end of the XVII century the Albanian presence on the territory of Macedonia was still modest. Their first mass settlement in the western and northern parts of Macedonia was marked after the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Macedonia (1689/90) during the great Austro-Turkish War (1683-1699). With the withdrawal of the Austrians a large part of the Christian population from the north, which participated in the war allied to the Austrian troops or participated in the Karposh Rebellion in 1689, moved to northwestern Macedonia. The greatest migration happened from the regions of Tetovo, Skopje, Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka that caused desolation of whole areas and extinction of many settlements. Very soon loyal Muslims – Albanian people from neighboring Albania, settled these areas that brought significant and (durable) permanent changes in the ethnic structure of the population of these regions. This settlement however was strongly encouraged by the central authority that was giving to the outstanding Albanian beys the right to rule whole areas. It is well known that immediately after the

Karposh uprising, a *ferman* or decree was sent to the *serasquer* of Morea (Peloponnes), Arnaut Kocha Halil Pasha, who took part in the suppression of the rebellion, which ordered that “the outstanding and brave beys of Arnaut within the range of your dominium in the name of recognition and awards to be given 25 parcels of land”. All these beys in a short period of time became very powerful local potentate, of the range of the central authority control.

The Albanian settlement in Macedonia continued during the whole XVIII century, especially during its last decades when the anarchy within the Ottoman Empire culminated. The authority was incapable to act in front of the independent Albanian beys that were in possession of their own troops composed of Albanians. In the period of the powerful Ali Pasha of Ioannina all of southeastern Albania, where there were numerous Slavic settlements, which were inundate with Albanians. Exactly in that period the Albanians reached to the Ohrid Lake or more precisely to the monastery St. Naum. The Christian population was constrained to move towards the east also in the period of the Great Mustapha Pasha from Skadar, who during the first half of the XIX century possessed territories, which spread over up to the river Vardar. The attacks in the areas of Gostivar and Tetovo forced many Macedonian Christians to move away and Albanians settled their places. Therefore the Albanian settlement proceeded deeper in the Macedonian territory moving towards Skopje, Kumanovo, Kichevo, Prilep, Bitola, Veles and Tikvesh. It is accounted that in the period from 1780 to 1840 the number of Albanians in Macedonia rose to 50,000 people that mainly came from the Albanian regions. The Albanians mostly came from Mat Luma, from the Peshkopi (*Peshkopia*) region, then from various parts of northern Albania and from South Albania, the area of Koloniya and The District of Korcha, from Golo Brdo and Elbasan.

Ali Pasha of Ioannina in the year of 1788 devastated many Walach settlements such as Moskopole, Sisan, Nikolica and Plasa so that the Walachs were also compelled to emigrate. Many of them settled the Macedonian locations such as Krushevo, Bitola, Salonica and so on. This migration brought also further demographical changes of some Macedonian regions.

5.2 Islamization

The second factor responsible for the demographical changes in Macedonia was the Islamization process. The process of expanding Islam

among the Christians started in XV century and it was most emphasized in the XVI century. Unequal social and economical status of the Christians in relations to the Muslims and their second grade civil status were the main reasons for the acceptance of the new religion. The inequality reflected in payments of higher taxes, lack of rights to be included into the state and into the military system of the Empire, veto on use of armies, lack of rights to witness in courts against Muslims and so on. For these reasons the conversion into Islam was the only way to avoid the discrimination and to reach the status of an equal member of the society. The process of Islamic conversion was strongly felt in the cities, where the concentration of the Muslim population was larger compared with the rural areas. Outstanding ex-feudal lords, craftsmen and traders were among the first that started the conversion into Islam all in order to maintain their positions in the cities. It was a guarantee that their property and positions in the cities would remain intact. Various Islamic religious institutions in the cities, which were the places where from Islam was being promulgated, played a significant role in the process of Islamization over the Christian population. Also the fact that the first step towards the Islamization was made by the affiliates of the old feudal class was a factor that made other Christians from the ordinary city's *reaya* to do the same. Moreover, the poor citizens in the Islamization process could see the only way out of the poverty was by embracing Islam. The rate of Islamization in the cities and the villages is reflected with the fact that in the second half of the XVI century 1/4 to 1/3 of the Muslim population was Islamized Christians. The typical characteristic of the urban Islamization was that the religious conversion was intended as an ethnic conversion, too. Actually the converted citizens, due to their permanent contacts with the numerous Muslims and to the strong social control, were constrained by not only converting their religion but also to accept at the same time the language, the attitudes as well as the lifestyle of their new religion. In that way by changing their religious identity they gradually were changing their ethnical identity, too.

The Islamization of the Christian peasants was at a considerably lower level. It is shown by the fact that in the XVI century only 3% of the rural Muslim population previously belonged to the Christian community. Besides the economical reasons, the Dervish group of Bektashis played also an important role in the promulgation process of Islam. Their beliefs, that contained plenty of elements of the Christian and pagan faith of the Balkan peoples, facilitated the religious conversion of the Christian people. Holy Christian sites were usually chosen as places for construc-

tion of their *tekkes* so that with time those places became holy for both religions. This was the case with the Haydar Baba Teke close to Make-donski Brod, which rose up at a place that according to some beliefs the monastery of St. Nicolas was initially. It can be assumed that some affiliates of the Medieval Christian heretic movements, such as Bogomils, joined the Dervish ranks, as heretic groups whose faith was not in accordance with the official Islam.

At the end, talking about the process of Islamization of the Christians, it is worth mentioning that the process itself was not a systematical-ly and deliberately carried out process by the state. The infiltration of Islam among the Christians was mainly done by the inhabiting of one or more Muslim families on a Christian settlement or otherwise converting the religion of some eminent and respectable Christian family into Islam. In this context there is an indicative example, in the case of the village of Zhirovnitsa in the Reka's region. Actually, in the period from 1536 to 1539 the village was almost completely populated by Christians with only 3 Muslim families. The impressive fact is that according to the census result from 1583 the number of the Muslim families was up to 69 and the name of the first registered Muslim was Mustapha Zhupan. The medieval Christian title, *zhupan*, contained in the name of this person indicates to the assumption that he might have been the village leader or a person of great authority among the rural population of that area and the Islamization over him definitely strongly influenced the other Christians to accept Islam.

Of course, the use of force by the local potentates or by the representatives of the local authority as the method for Islamization cannot be excluded. There are many examples such as those of Georgi Kratovski from 1515 and of Zlata Meglenska from 1794 that were publicly executed because of the fact that they had refused to accept Islam and that later were canonized and proclaimed Saints by the Christian orthodox church. There were also some remarks found in the protocols of the *kadis* from Salonica and Veria, which witness the presence of abduction and violent compulsion of Christian wives and girls to convert to Islam. It is assumed that mass conversion to Islam on the territory of Macedonia is marked in the period of the XVII and XVIII century when the instability of the central authority increased which intensified the movements and banditry from various bandit groups, which were coming from the neighboring Albanian regions. The Islamization in the region of Debar could be closely related to this violence. The second zone in Macedonia that was affected by mass Islamization in the XVII century was the area of the Rodope

Mountains in the southeastern part of Macedonia. In 1669, the most powerful Ottoman troops, preparing for the war against Venice on the Island of Crete, were passing through this region. This had direct influence upon the Christians that were living in these areas to embrace the Muslim faith.

6. Social structure of the population

The citizens of the Ottoman state considering their social position and function generally were divided into two classes: military class, *asker* and ordinary subordinates, *reaya*. The members of the *asker* were citizens of high administrative positions as members of the armed forces or as a part of the religious, educational and administrative authority of the state, so called *ulema*. There belonged also the high representatives of the Christian society such as Patriarchs and other Church dignitaries and officials. Subordinates or ordinary people, *reaya*, were ranked below them and was composed of by the majority of the population regardless of their religious affiliation. The members of this class, Muslims and non-Muslims, had to pay taxes and had different limitations regarding their lifestyle. Actually, they were working, producing and paying taxes in order to provide the high living standard of the members of the military class, *asker*, that were united in one privileged class. This class division of the Ottoman state was strictly abided and the transfer from lower to the upper class was almost impossible, save exceptional cases.

However, considering the strong theocratic character of the Ottoman state where Islam has been prioritized and privileged, the social status of an individual in this society was strongly determined by its religious affiliation. Non-Muslims had clearly defined position in the society and they were not equal to Muslims in the eyes of the law. Non-Muslims paid higher taxes and were not allowed to work in the state administration or the army. The state officials, commanders of the armed forces, land owners were all members of the Muslim corps. Naturally the religious inequality of the non-Muslims had a negative impact on their social status. However, some local church resources by the XV century proved that the Christian population used to have its own rich class in the early period of the Ottoman rule. In some records from Matka monastery near the city of Skopje the family Toshnik from Skopje is mentioned and in the region of Kratovo the names of the families Bojkich and Pepich are also mentioned for the period of the XV and XVI century. In later resources this old Christian aristocratic class cannot be found, but representatives of the

higher Christian social strata remained officials of the Ohrid Archbishopric (archbishops, metropolitans, bishops). It was the only feudal institution from the pre-ottoman period that continued to exist within the new political structural framework. Besides the devastating loss of many churches, monasteries and deprivation of the property, the Ohrid Archbishopric remained one of the largest feudal landowners.

The members of the Christian *reaya* with special status, who were implementing various activities in favor of the state or were considered as an auxiliary military corpus, were made part of the richer Christians, too. Reciprocally for their services, they were freed from payment of different taxes and most often from the so-called additional taxes of the state that made their economical status more favorable. The Christian artisans and merchandisers who were living in larger cities can be also included into this group. The urban *reaya* regardless of their religious affiliation led a better and safer life compared with the life of the *reaya* members from the rural areas. The feudal dependency was less felt especially in larger cities. Having developed the craft industry, the cities were offering great professional opportunities and they also had fewer obligations to the state.

Poor people, beggars, servants and slaves without considering their religious affiliation were placed on the bottom rung of the social scale. These people in order to survive were forced to accept the hardest or the lowest paid jobs otherwise they were begging and having their free meals in various church institutions. In the so-called *imaret*, the soup kitchens in the larger cities, were regularly serving free meals for the poor people.

7. Decline of the Empire and changes in the timarli-sipahi system

The rule of the sultan Suleyman I (1520-1566) is considered as a zenith of the power of the Ottoman's Empire. The fact that its territory spread over and consolidated its positions on three continents counting a population of over 20 million inhabitants made the Empire one of the most powerful states of the World, but at the same time the first symptoms of its decline also appeared. The first signs of that process came out with the Suleyman's campaign failure to Vienna and his death in 1566. From all of the 13 sultans that ruled within the period of 1566 to 1718 only two of them Murad IV (1623-1640) and Mustapha II (1695-1703) were capable to rule. Selim II (1566-1574) was a notorious alcoholic, his son Murad III (1574-1595) strangled his 5 brothers and spent 20 years in his

harem leaving behind 103 children; Mehmed III (1595-1603) in order to ensure his rule he eliminated 19 brothers. On the other side, the whole XVII century was full with wars that often were led on both fronts, the European and the Asian. The Kandiyar War (1645-1669) ended reaching its objective. The island of Crete was conquered but with lots of human and material losses. From the several wars that in the second half of the XVII century were led on the European ground against Poland, Russia and Austria, the hardest consequences for the Empire marked the war with Austria. The campaign to Vienna that started glamorously in 1683, ended catastrophically with the peace agreement in Karlovci in 1699. With this peace agreement the Empire underwent and suffered the greatest territorial losses in its history. The main political history of the Ottoman Empire during the next, XVIII century, took place on the battlefields, too. The Austrians were again its main enemy, then Russia and Iran. From all wars during this century Russia appeared to be the leader of the anti-Ottoman policy and in XIX it played the main role in the support to the Balkan Orthodox Christians' battle for the liberation from the Ottoman domination.

Political and military crisis of the Empire was followed and strengthened by the deep changes that affected the timarli-sipahi system as well. The basic reason for the changes were the gradual disruption of the immovable property character of the *timar* as well as the more often transfer of the same property to the ownership of persons who were not members of the sipahi rank. Even more often many aristocrats, merchants and officials using bribe and fabricating documents were becoming the owners of the sipahi's land. They were also avoiding the military service which was an obligation when in possession of that land. During wars deputies replaced them who were often not well trained for wars and were not appropriately armed as well. The withdrawal of the *timars* by fabricating *berats* of the legal owners contributed to the destruction of the small timarli-sipahi structure and was a further threat to the whole timarli-sipahi system. The sipahis numbered 87,000 during the period of Suleyman I rule, this was reduced to 45,000 in 1609. At the same time with the purpose of empowering the military capacity more *janissaries* were recruited and placed in different garrisons throughout the country. However, it was the fact that the *janissaries* were not any more disciplined or a fanatic army such as the beginning of their creation. Their formations more often filled by persons that were not recruited by *devshirme* and in the cities where they were positioned they were even more rarely doing

their military duties and started occupying themselves with trade, usury, crafts, transforming themselves into influential political force.

The appearance of the new form of feudal property, so called *chiftlik*, was one of the results of this crisis in the timarli-sipahi system. The creation of *chiftlik* was enabled with the reaya's rights to convey, sell, grant or inherit the proper land under special conditions. In this way the land of the reaya became a subject of the market and so emerged the opportunity for the land to come into the possession of persons who were not farmers. The owners of this reaya's land appeared to be members of the feudal class and the army. Step by step by acquisition and fusion of small-sized lands the people were becoming fief-holders – *chiftlik sahib* and the peasants who were working on that land were called *chiftchi*. Actually the *chiftlik sahib* was a third person infiltrated between the reaya and sipahi and acquired the right of owning the peasant's land. Deprived of their own land, the peasants besides the taxes that they had to pay to the sipahi also had to give a part to the *chiftlik sahib*. In Macedonia the process of usurpation of the state reaya's land can be followed from the end of the XVI century and until the end of the following century the *chiftliks* became the dominant form of landowning. In the next period this process became even stronger which contributed to the whole domination of the *chiftlik* system in the Empire and in the XIX century the *timarli-sipahi* system was completely abolished. The resistance of the sipahis as well as the attempts of the central administration to stop the expansion of the chiftlik system was absolutely ineffective.

The crisis in the Ottoman society and in the *timarli-sipahi* system was strongly felt by the peasants. Due to the deficit in the treasury the central administration intensified the economical pressure towards the reaya by increasing the amount and the number of the taxes. The details that the *haraj* and the additional taxes which were in the range of 50-70 *akches* or 40-60 until 1582 is an illustration of the increase in taxes and by the end of the XVI century the amount increased to 240 or 300 *akches*. The pressure towards the reaya was more strongly felt in the period of wars. Then the sales of the agricultural products increased but the prices lowered and this was valid also for those free of tax charges people. Local potentates, who sometimes collected the *haraj* twice a year, often used this situation. The money loans that were inevitable for peasants in order to fulfill their tax obligations were a demonstration of another way of extreme exploitation. The guarantee for the loan was the land and it appeared to be one of the modes used to confiscate the land from the peasants who were not always capable to pay back the high-interest loan.

Sometimes the peasants were not able to give back the loan and therefore they were forced to leave the land. Such is the case of the Ohrid casa when in 1606 the people were fleeing from their houses in order to avoid exaggerated interest payments that were charged by the usurer. The *reaya*'s refugees most often went to the cities, which in the following centuries due to this migration were progressively increasing the number of their Christian citizens.

8. The period of anarchy and banditry

The transformation of the feudal relations within the Ottoman Empire marked deeply the derangement of the classical social structure of the Ottoman state. The Empire was more often defeated in the fights with the modern European troops, loosing its territories with every new peace agreement and becoming more and more economically and politically dependant on the Western European countries. Internally, the situation was becoming even worse and more complicated due to the self will of the empowered local feudal lords. Their power was so increased that some of them were in possession of their own army and led an independent policy from the Istanbul administration. The central administration was not able to control the extensive process of the *chiftlik* system that contributed to the growing dissatisfaction of the *sipahis* as well as of the *janissaries* and the *reaya*. The state led by incapable sultans started being affected by the anarchy and chaos losing control over its territory.

The anarchic situation in the Empire was also reflected in Macedonia. At the beginning of the XVIII century in the northwestern parts the consequences of the Austro-Turkish war (1683-1699) were still felt. A large portion of the population which during the battles against the Ottoman army were fighting on the Ottoman side left their homes. A lot of villages were devastated and the land remained untilled. In 1704 the monk Jerotij Rachanin crossing Ovche Pole wrote: "... and we came to the 13th lodge in Gorobintse (Ovche Pole)...Here, from one place we managed to count 14 large churches made in white stones ...and now they are all desolated...". On the other side, plenty of banditry groups were crossing over the territory of Macedonia and in the same period they were collaborating with the state officials. These banditry groups, mostly Albanians, composed of around several hundred people caused serious damage in the western and central parts of Macedonia. They attacked travelers, caravans, monasteries, while also entering the cities and villages robbing

and killing people without remorse. Their power and courage was so huge that they often attacked big cities as well. It is known that in 1711 around 1000 bandits from Mat (Albania) supported by the *mutesellim* of Ohrid, attacked Bitola several times. These bandits were often accompanied by *martolos* who actually had to provide peace and fight against the bandits. One of them was the apostate *martolosbashi* Hibetulah, who had been terrorizing for six years the region of Florina, Edessa, Kastoria, Bitola and Prilep and was murdered in 1771 by the additional troops sent by the central authority. After his death the soldiers from his military formations continued to maltreat the people in Bitola region. The intensity of these bandit actions is also proven by the fact that in 1778 the Rila Monastery was set on fire, and in 1780 Albanian bandits from the district of Kolonya robbed the Monastery Slepche near Bitola. The measures undertaken by the central administration were inefficient and they could not stop the expansion of the terror, violence, banditry and the general lack of safety on the territory of Macedonia.

Thanks to these banditry groups that also played the role of mercenaries on the territory of Macedonia, a few feudal lords managed to obtain independency on the territory of Macedonia in the XVIII century. The property of the family Abdil-aga Shabenderoglu expanded on the regions of Dojran, Petrich and Melnik while the families of Ali-bey and Ismail-bey obtained the independent status at the region of Serres. Six thousand Albanian mercenaries supported their rule. The territory around Ohrid, Debar and Skopje ruled the feudal lord apostate Kara Mahmud Pasha Bushatlija from Skadar, the area of Tetovo, Gostivar and Kichevo was under control of the so-called “pashas from Tetovo” and Ohrid was ruled by Dzeladin-bey. One of the most influential apostates among the feudal lords on the Balkan at that period of time was Ali Pasha from Ioannina whose rule covered the whole southwestern part of Macedonia with the headquarter in Ioannina. In 1788 he burglarized and destroyed more Wallach settlements in Epirus among which was also the city of Moskopole (Voskopojë), whose citizens fleeing from his throngs settled the region of Bitola, Krushevo and Salonica. Much later in the third decade of the XIX century the central Ottoman administration managed to put under proper control this situation liquidating some of these potentates.

The anarchic state in Macedonia was further compounded by the presence of the so-called *krdzalis* or forest bandits that were hiding in the mountains. They spread over the Balkan Peninsula after the war that was led by the Ottoman Empire against Austria and Russia in the period from 1787 to 1792. They had their shelters on the following mountains: Shara,

Skopska Crna Gora, Rhodopes, Ograzhden and Plachkovitsa. These groups, composed mainly of war deserters, were well armed and numerous, which sometimes reached as many as 7,000 people. The targets of their attacks were villages, cities, monasteries and all those places where there could have been some riches confiscated. In 1792 a group of around 2,000 *krdzalis* from the area of Debar burglarized the Prilep *kaza* and then the cities of Veles and Shtip. In Struga's Church codex of St. George there is a record, which proves that around 3,000 *krdzalis* came to Struga together with the armed forces of the local *ayans* causing immense damages. Such anarchic situation in the Ottoman State continued during the first decades of the XIX century until the reformatory processes of the state did not calm the situation to some extent.

9. The resistance against the Ottoman authority

The process of the internal social changes as well as the external defeats, which were faced on the battlefields during many wars began the erosion of the Ottoman feudal system. These were the reasons for the increased exploitation of the *reaya* and the deterioration of their situation especially that of the Christians. This caused a reaction by the Christians and they started opposing the increasingly heavy duties towards the direct feudal master and towards the state. The resistance was characterized by two evident tendencies. The first one was towards the social character and was directed against the exaggerated exploitation and the tyranny while the other one was expressed to some extent to the liberation aspiration of the oppressed.

The resistance to the economical exploitation was mainly expressed through non-armed opposition that occurred in different ways and forms. Abandoning of the land and moving to other land parcels, the transformation of the ploughed land into vineyards and truck farms or yards, hiding during the censuses or during the periods of collecting taxes, avoiding tax payments (and many others) were the most common resistance forms. In 1655, the court in Bitola made a resolution to free the peasants from the villages of Ostrec, Kichevo, Skochivir and Trnovo from the tax payments for a three-year period only with the scope of bringing them back to their abandoned homes. In order to decrease the economical pressure the peasants also used to send complaints and requests constantly to the high authority organs, most of all complaining about the behavior of the local feudal lords. These complaints sometimes developed into mu-

tiny especially in cases when the representatives of the state did not undertake any protection measure. An example of such strong resistance was the Mariovo–Prilep unrest that broke out in the autumn of 1564/65 when the Christians complained about the Voyvoda of the vezier Mustapha Pasha's *khass*, (Prilep and Mariovo belonged to that *khass*), that he was charging and collecting extremely huge fines in opposition to the *Sharia*. The court did not take into consideration the peasants' arguments and by the other side the Voyvoda accused them that they had not been paying the taxes for a two-year period and requested immediate payments of the unpaid taxes. After that nearly 1000 peasants armed with wood and stones gathered in front of the court building attempting to break into the court. However because of the fact that there were numerous Muslims in the city the mutiny was soothed in a short period of time. The same happened again in the next year, in 1565/66. The unrest of this kind were of local character which were more often from the second half of the XVI century on and particularly were taking place in Western Macedonia.

One of the most common and the oldest forms of armed resistance against the Ottoman authorities was the so-called *hayduk* movement. This social phenomenon from the XV-XVI century with typical characteristics of road banditry inherited from the medieval period, had nothing to do with the organized resistance against the authority. Turning the Christians land into *chiftliks* helped the *hayduk* movement to become a more organized form of social movement. The first attacks to the *sipahis* land and *chiftliks* by organized groups of Christians were registered in historical records at the end of the XVI century. Nevertheless, this movement was mostly spontaneous and often was considered as banditry and it was one of the most resistance forms with the longest duration. The hayduks, organized in company of 20-30 people, were active in the period from May to November, i.e. from St. George to St. Demetrios Day, when they could have provided strongholds in the mountains. During the winter period they found shelters to their *yataks* and also to the monasteries. The *hayduks* actions were mostly focused on attacking the feudal lords' properties as well as murdering of the landowners, setting on fire the *chiftliks*, robbing and killing the livestock, and so on. The caravans and tax collectors who were being unexpectedly attacked were also another target of their attacks. The measures of the Ottoman authority against the hayduks were fierce and cruel but despite of that, they could not have stopped them. Caught *hayduks* were often condemned to death and in better cases were given life sentences to work all their life as galley rowers. The *hayduk* movement was particularly intensified during the wars of the Ottoman

Empire with the European states. During the Austro-Turkish War (1683-1699), in southeastern Macedonia, the *hayduk* voyvoda Karposh created a territory that was outside the range of the Ottoman state's control. In the XIX century the movement of the *hayduks* entered its last phase and became a part of the armed struggle for the national liberation. The liberation struggles of the Balkan people during the XIX and XX century were closely related to the *hayduk* movement whose social form was gradually replaced by national political ideology.

The Macedonian population took part in the armed struggles against the Ottoman authority from their earliest period. In the second half of the XV century they actively participated in the Skender-bey uprising. The uprising started in 1443 and covered the part of the Macedonian territory in the area of Debar. One of the most significant rebels' strongholds was Svetigrad (Kodzadzik) in Debarska Zhupa. Several important battles between rebels and the Ottoman Army took place on the territory of Macedonia. This uprising, in which Albanian, Slovenian and Walach orthodox population fought together against Ottomans, was finally suppressed in 1478. After its suppression many of the Albanian Christians and a smaller part of the Slovenian population emigrated to southern Italy, Calabria and Sicily.

One of the largest armed rebellions on the territory of Macedonia in the classical Ottoman period was the Karposh uprising. The uprising was initiated in October 1689 in northeastern Macedonia. The uprising was led by the head-*hayduk* Karposh and it was called by his name. Karposh was a head of a large *hayduk* company operating on the mountain of Dospat, as well as in the surrounding areas of Nish, Vranje, Leskovac and Pirot. For a short period of time he was also *martolosbashi*, in charge of fighting against the *hayduks* and was appointed to do this by the Ottoman authority, which wanted to obtain his loyalty. During the Austro-Turkish War (1683-1699), in October 1689, when the Austrian troops were marching progressively on the territory of Macedonia he actually started the uprising against the Ottomans in the area of Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka. Besides the success of the Austrian troops in that war, the difficult economical and social situation of the Christians was another reason for breaking out of the uprising. During the uprising in a short period of time a territory was created, which was used to crowd out the Ottoman authority. The main stronghold of this territory was Kriva Palanka and in November the Ottoman army had completed their final attack against the Austrians as well as against the rebels of Karposh. The *serasker* Kodza Mahmud Pasha and Selim Giray the *khan* of the Crimean Tatars

led these troops. Between the 24th and 28th of November the superior troops of the powerful Selim Giray at the beginning without a fight managed to conquer Kriva Palanka which had been desolate and set on fire by the rebels. After that, at the newly constructed stronghold near Kumanovo they defeated the rebels and captured Karposh as well. There from Selim Giray with his army headed towards Skopje where he entered without a fight because the Austrian troops previously had set the city on fire and left the place. Crimean Tatars encamped in Skopsko Pole and proceeded towards Tetovo, Veles and Mariovo. The uprising was suppressed and Karposh at the beginning of December 1689 was executed in Skopje by order of Selim Giray. The Karposh uprising was the first more significant attempt of the Macedonian Christian population to oppose the Ottoman authority. Until XIX century in Macedonia there was no other more serious resistance or mutiny attempt.

During this Austro-Turkish War the Austrian Emperor Leopold I in 1690 sent several appeals to the Christians on the Balkans to start in mass joining the Austrian army. The appeals to all Balkan people were offered protection against the powerful Empire. On April 26, the Austrian Sovereign sent a separate letter for protection referring only to *Gens Macedonica*. However, the aim of these appeals to mobilize the Christians in the Austrian army was not achieved and they did not have some serious influence on the attitude of the Balkan Christians.

10. Ohrid Archbishopric

With the conquest of the Ottoman Empire the Ohrid Archbishopric had suffered a great material loss having taken huge properties and having transformed many of the churches into mosques among which the cathedral St. Sophia, and the old St. Klement's Temple – the church of St. Panteleimon in Ohrid. Nevertheless it continued with its functioning as the only medieval institution in Macedonia that overcame the conquest. Adapting to the newly created political situation the Archbishopric managed to preserve its privileged and autonomous status in the new state where almost all ecumenical orthodox on the Balkans led by the Patriarch of Constantinople were involved. Of course, it was a result of the tolerant policy of the Ottoman Empire towards this institution as a leader of the dominant Christians on the recently conquered territories and towards the peaceful attitude of its leaders regarding the conquerors. At the beginning of the XV, as a result of the benevolence of the central Ottoman admini-

stration that was conflicted with Byzantium, the Ohrid Archbishopric jurisdiction was expanded over Walach and Moldavia as well as over some parts of the Serbian Church. In that century, the so-called Italian Eparchy consisted of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, Malta and Dalmatia, although temporarily, the Ohrid Archbishopric was also included.

The borders of the Ohrid Archbishopric were constantly changing and basically depended on the attitude of the authority at the time. Although its borders were steadily restrained and its autonomous rights were reduced to nine permanent metropolitans as well as five Episcopacies its constitutional elements remained: Metropolis of Kastoria, Pelagonia, Bitola, Strumitsa, Korcha-Elbasan, Berat, Edessa, Durrës, Grebena and Sisan and Episcopacies of Debar and Kitchëvo, Veles, Prespa, Meglen and Gora – Mokra.

Internally, the Ohrid Archbishopric used to have its own organisational structure through which all the activities were carried out. The centre remained the City of Ohrid. Located there was the head office of the Archbishop and the Synod as main administrative and legislative bodies of the Ohrid Archbishopric. It was managed by the Archbishop who could have been judged and replaced by the Synod. He was in charge of the church and was responsible for the peace among the Orthodox Christians in front of the Ottoman authorities.

The Archbishopric was divided into eparchies and all eparchial archpriests were members of the Synod. The Metropolitan of Kastoria was the first on the throne and the deputy of the Archbishop of Ohrid. Eparchial archpriests used to have a great deal of rights related to the management with their eparchies. They could have appointed their deputies- archpriest's and appointed parish clerks, and in the monasteries they appointed and dismissed the hegumens. In that way the hierarchy was lowered to the lowest rank clerk (church) staff.

For major decisions an archpriest's council was convened, as well as a popular-council at which, besides the clerical collar members participated, the lay (laymen) people also participated as well as outstanding Ohrid citizens. The Ohrid Archbishopric had its own canon law courts where the conflicts among the Christian worshippers were solved independently from the Ottoman laws. In fact, the Christian community has been establishing relationships and communication with the state administration exactly through the archpriest's representatives enjoying at the same time high autonomy and independence as far as their internal affairs and civil rights were concerned. That way the Ohrid Archbishopric was considered as an institution that enabled the functioning of the *Millet* sys-

tem on the territory of Macedonia (ar. Millet- people, community) which was already established throughout the entire Ottoman Empire. The crucial meaning of the *Millet* system was expressed through providing the right of the non-Muslim communities to arrange and run their internal issues related to their religion and other civil issues such as marriages, divorces, heritages, education and so on. The communal representatives of the non-Muslim communities were in charge of the proper functioning of this autonomy taking responsibility in front of the Ottoman administration for the peace and order, as well as the abiding of the laws and regulations by the members of their communities. Immediately after the defeat of Constantinople three main millets were enacted as follows: Rum (Rome) – the Orthodox Millet; the Ermeni Millet and the Jehudi (Jewish) Millet. All Orthodox Christians from the Balkans were part of the Rum Millet led by the Constantinople Patriarch.

The Ohrid Archbishopric suffered the first remarkable territorial losses during the Ottoman rule actually in the period linked with the restoration of the Patriarchate of Pech in 1557. In that period the northern Macedonian territories became under jurisdiction of the restored Serbian Patriarchy. Simultaneously, the pressure of the Constantinople Patriarchy towards the autonomy of the Ohrid Archbishopric was increasing. Considering this political wave the Patriarchy with the passing of time from the heart of the high clerical members, two parties emerged: the autochthon party and the party of the Constantinople Patriarch. The main struggle between these two parties was concerning the election of the Archbishop. Strengthened by the strong support of the *phanariotes* from Istanbul the party of the Patriarch was constantly obtaining the positions of the high clergy of the Archbishopric. The Greek language was more and more present during the liturgies, in the schools and in the church records. In May 1763 the Constantinople Patriarchy under the strong pressure from the *phanariotes*, tried to insert its own representative on the throne in Ohrid, the monk Ananij. Although the Patriarchy provided for him a *berat* from the Sultan, he was rejected by the Archbishopric and expelled from Ohrid. The Synod was chosen as its Archbishop the Metropolitan from Pelagonia, and Slav by origin, Arsenij. This act was the last success of the adherents to the idea for the autonomous Archbishopric. After a series of intrigues and slanders from the Constantinople Patriarchy, which had been presenting the Archbishopric as an instrument of Austria and Rome, in January 1767 this was eventually abolished. The Archbishop Arsenij was forced to submit “voluntarily” his resignation, to recognise the Constantinople Patriarchy and to affiliate all the eparchies to it. This was all

confirmed by the Sultan's decree, which legally recognized the abolishment of the Archbishopric and the affiliation of the Ohrid eparchies to the Patriarchy.

The Ohrid Archbishopric played an important role in the process of preservation of the religious and cultural identity of the Orthodox Christians on the whole Balkan Peninsula, as well as in the process of literacy expansion among the population. Although the highest clergy was Greek, its low clergy, priests and monks were of Macedonian Slavic origin and they were exactly the persons responsible for the relationship between the faithful and the church. This low clergy in churches and monasteries contributed not only in preservation of the Orthodox religion but also of the ethnical identity of the Macedonian population, turning the Ohrid Archbishopric into a base of the orthodoxy.

11. The culture and the lifestyle

The Ottoman conquest affected radically the cultural and the lifestyle of many places. The way of living all of a sudden was dramatically replaced by another one. The victory of the Ottoman Empire over the ex-Christian states on the Balkans caused a "cultural shock" affecting all Balkan people. The whole system of the Christians spiritual (holy) values suffered an extremely strong shock. In all spheres such changes set in that by their intensity could be compared with the changes that appeared in this area with the arrival and the settlement of the Slavs.

The culture on the territory of Macedonia during the classical Ottoman period might be divided into rural-Christian culture and urban-Muslim culture. The Macedonian villages remained prevalently Christian and the development of the Orthodox spiritual culture continued there. This culture has been in an unbreakable connection with the rural monasteries and churches, which skipped the destiny of the urban Christian temples that mostly had been ruined or devastated. The rural Christian temples used to be the only cultural places for the Christian population. The Monastery of Lesnovo near Kratovo, Mateiche and St. Prohor Pchinski near Kumanovo, Slepche in the area of Demir Hisar, Treskavec near Prilep, Prechista in Kichevo, Jovan Bigorski in Debar area and many other monasteries that were in possession of numerous Slavic manuscripts have continued with the tradition of transcription and multiplication of the liturgical, philosophical, educational and canon church books. In that period some clerics or holy men emerged that marked a significant literary

work such as: Dimitar Kratovski (XV century), Jovan Kratovski (XVI century) from the literary center in Kratovo, Vladislav Gramatik (XV century) in Mateiche Monastery, Demetrios Cantacuzenos (XV century) and Vasarion (Varlaam) Debarski (XVI century) in Slepche Monastery who left behind many adherents. All these activities, the transcriptional, educational, literary and cultural activities were carried out simultaneously and were interacting among each other until XIX century when new literary tendencies gradually started becoming dominant. In XVI century there was a bookshop in Skopje owned by Kara Triphun, which played an important role in the expansion process of this kind of philosophical church literature. It is due to mention that the monasteries at Mount Athos (Holy Mountain) that represented the main center for recruitment of monks, who were then working in the churches and monasteries on the Balkans, continued with their work, too.

At the end of the XVI century and especially in the XVII and XVIII century in Macedonia there came a period in which various anthologies were being translated, called “damaskins” by the name of the Byzantine literate Damaskin Studit (XVI century). In these translations in Slavic language, or Church Slavic there were elements from the folk slang, especially in the syntax and in the morphology. In this context it is extremely important the translation of the Damaskin Studit’s *homolies* from Greek language. This was done by the bishop from Pelagonia, Gregorios, in the second half of the XVI century. Besides that, several significant monuments of the Slavic literacy in Macedonia were created such as: Klement’s gramota, *Pismovnik* from Slepche (an encyclopedia like book), *Macedonian damaskin* from XVI century, *Tikvesh collection of papers* from XVI-XVII century, *Trescavec kodica* (XVII-XVIII century) and others. In the monastery cells the hagiographical works on medieval saints created in the pre ottoman period continued to exist.

A part of the orthodox Christian motives were reflected in the folk epic poetry. It was created during the whole period of the Ottoman rule and left the deepest traces in the people’s memory. Among the most popular heroes from the folk epic poems as fighters against the Ottomans were mentioned: Kral Marko, Bolen Doichin, Momchilo Voivode, Sekula detence, Gruica detence and others. Later, other epic poems were created about many *hayduk* leaders. On the other hand, the character of Itar Pejo, the counterpart of muslim folk hero Nasraddin Hodza, took a particular place in the oral folk prose works. Itar Pejo was an illiterate peasant whose personality reflected the folk wisdom, resourcefulness and astuteness.

The monasteries were the places where the first schools started working. At that time they were teaching priests but during the XVII and in particular during the XVIII century the process of construction of so called “city church schools” was started usually located near the churches themselves. Such schools were opened in Veles, Skopje and Prilep. There is a record from 1783 in Prilep about the existence of the teacher Risto Dumbalovski’s school, which also proved to exist many years later in 1823.

The Macedonian churches from the period of the Ottoman rule were of modest size and they were being constructed usually in the villages. They used to be simple equilateral buildings on a rectangular base. They were often constructed using rough stones. Rarely were there churches constructed by bricks and stones like in the case of the Church St. George in the village of Banjani, Skopje district (1549). In the period from XV to XVIII century many churches were built, mainly in the villages or within the property of the already existing monasteries, such as St. Voznesenie (Ascension) in Leskoec village (1426), Uspenie Bogorodichno, in the village of Velestovo - Ohrid district (1444), St. Bogorodica in the village of Varosh - Prilep district (1438), St. Nikola in the village of Trnovo - the area of Kriva Planka (1505), St. Petar and Pavle in the village of Zrze - Prilep area (1535), St. Arhangel in the village of Neprosh-teno - Tetovo area (1569), St. Nikola in the village of Oreovec - Kichevo district (1602), St. Jovan Bogoslov, in the village of Slepche (1617), the church of the monastery St. Jovan Bigorski (1713) and many others. The decoration in these churches was pretty modest and was presented in shallow relief interlaced motifs with geometrical ornaments, styled motifs of plants and animals. Frescoes and icons on wood iconostasis were also some of the decoration elements of these churches. The icon painters remained faithful to the old way of expression and continued to work imitating the works from the older pre Ottoman period. In this period the Macedonian painting were being developed in several centers and the most significant were in the Ohrid and Prespa region, such as the monasteries Treskavec and Zrze in Prilep district, or Monasteries in Slepche and Lesnovo and so on. As constructors of the churches appeared associated *kititors* – peasants and rarely some individuals.

The Islamic culture, brought by the invaders, was contemporarily developing in Macedonia. Macedonian cities were the centers of the Islamic culture. The medieval Christian city with city-walls gradually disappeared and it was replaced by the settlements of open type and with an oriental look. Within these settlements construction was dense with sepa-

rated small quarters - *mahala* for the Muslim and Christian population respectively. The Bazaar (market place) was also developed as a labor or trade zone with plenty of grouped shops and a variety of crafts. This culture left particularly evident traces in the field of architecture. Numerous sacral and religious buildings used for different purposes were constructed in almost all larger Macedonian cities. Mosques, mezdzids, turbes (tombs) and tekkes were all constructed in honor of Allah and the new faith, while inns, caravan-sarays, hamams were built for more rational and practical reasons. They all represented separate ensembles, functionally grouped into the urban nucleus of the cities. The most eminent mosques built in Macedonia are the following: Sultan Murad Mosque (1436), The Mosque of Ishak - bey or so called Aladza Mosque (1438), Isa - bey's Mosque (1475), Mustapha Pasha's Mosque (1492) in Skopje, Isak - bey's Mosque (1508), Yeni Mosque (1558) in Bitola. The profane architecture from the following constructions was distinguished as the most imposing: Kapan-an, Suli-an (XIV century), Kurshumli-an (XVII century), Daut Pasha's hamam (1484) and so on. These compositions even nowadays are the proof of the extraordinary architectonical solutions and of their important role in the everyday life of the Muslims.

Islamic literary work used to have an emphasized religious character. The education process was initially performed within the *mektebs* and *medreses* (primary and secondary Muslim religious schools). Even in XV century there were two *medreses* in Skopje, among which the Ishak - bey Medrese, one of the oldest and the most outstanding *medreses* on the Balkan Peninsula. Besides the religious studies, the eastern languages, Islamic law, philosophy, mathematics and other subjects were also taught in these schools. The dervish's tekkes, were also centers for literacy and education. In the earliest period within the mosques, medreses, and tekkes oriental libraries were created. The Ishak - bey Library is considered as the oldest one, founded in the year 1445, and the richest one was the library within the Isa - bey medrese in Skopje. The literary fund was basically of religious context.

Due to the developed education, the first Islamic literature workers and literati appeared in the cities dealing with poetry and prose. Only in Skopje could be found several distinguished literati such as Atai Uskubi, Isa Chelebi, Veysi (Veysel) Efendi and others. The greatest fame was reached by Isa Chelebi who was also working as a teacher in the *medreses* in Skopje, Bursa, Edirne, as well as in the most famous *Sahn Medrese* in Istanbul. One of his writings was dedicated to Skopje. Among the Ottoman poets from Bitola the most famous were: Haveri, Zuhuri, Chelebi,

Vahii, Katip Hasan, while in Tetovo the most distinguished poets were Sudzudi and Tului.

Besides the poets, there were other famous educated people that were living and working as teachers in the *medreses* or as *kadis* in most of the Macedonian cities. Such a person was Ahmed Isamudin Tashkopruzade (1495-1554) who was one of the first encyclopedia writers. In 1529 he became appointed as a professor in the *Ishak - bey Medrese* in Skopje, where he worked for many years as a *kadi* as well.

The Jewish people that settled in Macedonia developed their own culture within the framework of the Ottoman society. They also established their own educational institutions, which taught theology, astronomy, philosophy and mathematics. The primary schools as well as the schools for older students worked within the synagogues where the children were obtaining literacy and where the Talmud was read. All these institutions used to have their own libraries. The most important Jewish spiritual center in Macedonia was Salonica. Don Juda Benevista, one of the most educated and the richest Jew in that time used to work in this city. He was the establisher of a big library and the Talmud Academy in Salonica, which became the cultural center of the Macedonian Jews. In 1555, the reputed doctor, one of the personal doctors of the Pope Julius III and a medicine professor in Ferrara and Ancona, Juan Rodriguez de Kastel de Branko, came to Salonica, too. The presence of the Jewish people on the territory of Macedonia made enormous contribution to the development of the Macedonian culture in general. According to the Ottoman travel writer, Hadzi Kalfa, in the first half of the XVII century there were 200 teachers in the Jewish High School in Salonica teaching more than 1000 students.

As far as the way of living is concerned it is due to mention that the urban lifestyle was particularly specific. Besides the influence of the dominant, in the Turkish version, oriental culture, a specific material and spiritual culture was born in the cities in which the already existing old tradition was mixed and mutually joined the culture and tradition of the newcomers. Regardless the context of religious and ethnical differences as well as of severe law regulations related to the ways of dressing, wearing weapons etc., in which the privileged were always members of the ruling faith, all Sultan's subordinates, using all the city life conditions offered, were interacting among each other creating that way a syncretistic civilization which with the passing of time fitted all ethnical and religious groups. However, besides the constant mixing and everyday communication the citizens managed to preserve and maintain their own cultural au-

tonomy such as their customs, habits, languages etc. within the framework of this syncretic culture. The members of different religious groups, Christians, Muslims and Jewish used to live in different parts of the city and used to have their own spiritual leaders. The priests, imams and the rabbis were representing their own flock in front of the state authorities. The cases of more remarkable getting closer by the members of these groups, except for official purposes, entailed condemnments that could culminate into exclusion from the community. The different ethnic or religious groups in the city maintained their own language by domestic use and by using it in everyday life. Although the Turkish language was absolutely dominant, the languages of all those people who were living or had a longer stay in some cities were clearly heard on the streets of the city bazaars. All merchandisers, local or foreign, stock resellers, money exchangers and even the porters and manual workers (amals) used to know at least something of the languages of the people with whom they were mostly collaborating. This way of life however enabled the subordinated communities, above all the Christians and the Jews, to preserve their own autonomy and to develop their own material and spiritual culture.

MACEDONIA IN THE XIX CENTURY

1. Decay of the Ottoman feudal system in Macedonia and the birth of the new capitalistic system

The process of decay of the Ottoman military and feudal system that had started in the past period and that contributed to the decreasing of the power of the Ottoman Empire continued developing in the XIX century too. Although these were slowly developing processes they were unstoppable and were leading toward the definitive fall of the Empire. The intensified attempts that were made for modernization of the system through reformations with a purpose to spare the already aged state only postponed its decomposition.

The *sipahis* structure in the Ottoman Empire was economically and politically dominant through a long period of its history. The increasing of its economical and political power caused the appearance of a secession tendency of the different layer of its complex structure (army, court, bureaucracy and generally in the strong state apparatus) to separate from the central authority and to become independent. The powerful dignitaries such as Ali-Pasha from Janina, the Pashas from Tetovo and Skopje, the Beys from Debar and some others, declared themselves independent rulers and with an intention to become rich in a short period of time they were desolating the places through Macedonia. It used to be a period about which one contemporary wrote that almost all European Turkey had been a “terrible sight of anarchy, mutinies, and barbaric actions. Banditry groups-krdzalii are attacking the cities and the villages ...and commit unseen bestial acts”.

The Sultans tried to overcome this serious crisis situation by implementing some reforms and by the use of force. Initially the Sultan, Selim II (1789-1807), decided to abolish the sipahis structure as a military

formation, to liquidate the janissary corps and to introduce modern military forces following the model of the European countries as an example. His successor Mehmed II, and after him also Abdul Medxit, managed to disband the *janissary* corps and their auxiliary institutions and in great extent the other institutions of the old regime. This had opened the door to the affirmation processes of the reforms that would be accepted later. So doing some social, economical and class changes it was expected the military and economical capacity of the Empire and the central authority to be strengthened. In Macedonia, the replacement of the old *spiahis* structure with a new one was basically done through the formation of the *ciflic* system.

The establishment of the *ciflic* system intended complete expropriation of the peasants so that they were becoming more and more subjects of exploitation and were constantly being impoverished. The major part of the peasants, field workers, was overloaded with enormous taxes and duties towards the *ciflic sajbija-s* and the state. The situation was even worse for the other category of peasants, which were on the second place considering their number, the so-called *cifligar-s* and it was not significantly better nor for the free peasants, who were living on their own land.

The implemented reforms contributed to the formation of the new economic system, based on market-driven goods production activities, which caused the formation of modern capitalistic class and new capitalistic society within the Empire.

The migration in rural – urban direction, the activities taken for eradication of the anarchy and the proclamation of the new reforms aiming at the liquidation of the *timar* and *sipahi* system, as well as the bringing of an act called *Hatt-i Sarif* of *Gulhane* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber) in 1839, were stimulating the fast development of the urban economy and had a positive impact on the whole state development. *Hatt-i Sarif* of *Gulhane* was providing equality for all citizens in the eyes of the Laws, regardless their religion or ethnicity, total guarantee for the life and property of all Sultan's citizens, subjects. In February 1856, during the well-known Crimean War, *Hatt-ı Hümayun* Imperial Edict, Imperial Reform Edict or Rescript of Reform) was brought into being, an act that provided more equality for all citizens in the state regarding their rights and duties and proclaimed absolutely the most possible liberties. With the implementation of these changes it was expected that the Turkish state would have converted into a modern, west European like model of a state type.

The newly created relations contributed to the intensification of the exportation-oriented production and were strongly in favor of the leather craft and the exportation oriented trade. So, there were determined market days in almost all Macedonian cities and in some of them such as Prilep, Ser, Nevrokop were organized fairs, too.

Along with the industrial development of the country the new bourgeois class was appearing, which was very diverse in Macedonia.

However, regardless of the occurrence of the new social and economical relations, the distribution of domination, its power and influence remained almost unaffected. The political authority in Macedonia was still exclusively in the hands of the Muslims while the religious and educational power remained in the hands of the Ecumenical Greek Patriarchy. Due to this fact the Macedonian element was hardly involved in the economical as well as in the social life, although it was dominant by number in the country. Some important social rights that should have been regularly obtained by the rule of the Sheriat, and which were then sanctioned and extended by the Sultan's reforms, Macedonian citizens had to try to obtain them only through a persistent struggle.

2. The struggle for the People's Church and education

The formation or separation of the municipalities from the patriarchic structured system as basically self-administered institutions within the Turkish society, the opening of schools in the native language, the introduction of the Church Slavonic Language in the churches instead of Greek, the publishing of books in Macedonian "dialect" and so on, represent the basic concept of the so called church struggles of the Macedonian citizens for the national differentiation or even emancipation from the Greeks, as an initial breakthrough of the Macedonian idea for a separate national entity within the Slavic world.

In Macedonia the Greek, Vlach and Jewish elements dominated in the field of economy, especially in the field of trade. The Greek and Vlach people were in close relations with the Church, so that they had dominance in the social life too, which by its side was organized by the Greek Church and it has Greek cultural base. The literacy campaign, the way it was at that time, had a predominantly Greek character. It was initially a great deal carried out spontaneously but during the first half of the XIX century, after the liberation of Greece, it started becoming an organized character. In January 1844, in the Greek Parliament was proc-

laimed the famous Greek state policy for the creation of “The Great Greece” (so-called "megali" idea). In order to achieve that aim, Athens and Fener engaged all their forces. Their financial recourses were the Greek capital in Turkey and Greece.

The Macedonian citizens highly interested in acquiring their own economical and social positions in the country should have initiated a struggle in order to suppress the Greek and Vlach elements from their acquired dominating positions, above all, on the market. It was possible only through direct confrontation with the Greek Church, which according to the privileges that it had got by the Sultan, it ruled not only the social but in great deal the economical life of the Orthodox population of different ethnical origin. The Greek Church even before the formation of the Greek state, through a special directive, required from its subordinated institutions to spread over the Greek literacy and education among all Orthodox peoples on the Ottoman Balkan. This meant that through systematic work, the Macedonian Orthodox population as a dominant element in Macedonia was being converted into Greek. Among the first that opposed the hellenization policy of the Ecumenical Patriarchy were Dimitar Miladinov, Grigor Prlichev, Jordan Hadzi Konstantinov – Dzinot and others.

The resistance against the great Greek nationalist policy of the Patriarchy gradually transformed into a movement in which a major part of the Macedonian population took part. The main objective of the movement was to set up a proper church, education and culture. In the Turkish theocratic state, in which the Church played the key role in almost all segments of the social life, only those Christian peoples who had their own Church recognized by the Sultan could create proper cultural and educational life. In fact, the Ecumenical Church in the XIX century was transformed into a Greek nationalistic institution. The basic request of the Macedonian Anti-Patriarchic Movement was the restoration of the Ohrid Archbishopric, which was abolished in 1767. Because such a request was not to be fulfilled, Kukush citizens during 1859 broke up the relationship with the Patriarchy and recognized the Roman Pope as their own spiritual leader and created a union with the Catholic Church. By doing so they acquired the right to use the mother tongue in the church as well as at schools without changing the Orthodox dogmas in the religious service. The Kukush union and the so-called the Second Union (1873 – 1874), which had a larger size, essentially had national and political character nevertheless they were religious institutions.

The Church struggles, that at the same time were led in Bulgaria too, ended with the proclamation of the Sultan's decree (28 February 1870) for the creation of a new – Bulgarian Exarchate. Within the administrative framework of the Exarchate, besides the Bulgarian Eparchies one Macedonian Eparchy, the Eparchy of Veles, was included. The article n.10 from the Sultan's decree provided the right for some other eparchies to join the new Church but with the 2/3 of the worshippers' votes. On the base of this article the Eparchies of Skopje and Ohrid later joined the Church.

During these church struggles in Macedonia there were neither enough forces nor were there international preconditions created to resolve the church issue through the act of restoration of the Ohrid Archbishopric. The both, Macedonian districts that separate from the Patriarchy and the newly formed ones were forced to make a choice regarding their affiliation between the two churches. In order to acquire their legal status in front of the authority they were obliged to affiliate to one of the churches recognized by the state. So a part of our population remained with the Patriarchy while another part joined the Exarchate. In accordance with the Ottoman laws, which did not distinguish the meaning of the nation and the religion, in some state documentation besides the graph "Rum-Milet" (Greek people) for those who recognized the Exarchate was opened the graph "Bulgar-Milet". In that way, the some people that belonged to the same nation, and sometimes some members of the same family on the base of their religious affiliation i.e. on the base of what church they had recognized, were declared Greeks, Bulgarians or later Serbs respectively.

That means that the church issue was resolved in favor of Bulgarian national idea. One of the basic tasks of the Bulgarian Exarchate was to spread the Bulgarian national and political influence in Macedonia. The acts of opening numerous schools and churches and imposing the Bulgarian standard language (over) in schools and in the administration, introducing new and typically Bulgarian customs, attitudes, festive days and so on were representing an intention to convert those people, who had accepted the Exarchate in Macedonia, into nationally aware Bulgarians, who were supposed to be used as an argument in terms of treating Macedonia as a Bulgarian state. This was exactly the same way the Greek Church was doing through its silogosi and later the Serbian Church applied the same model.

Until the period of appearance of organized propaganda at the beginning of the XIX century in Macedonia there were just ambitions and

attempts for the development of the literacy and the culture among the Christian population, which in major part was Macedonian. The first opened schools were Greek. In the first decade of the XIX century they were still developing spontaneously and they had weak teaching staff. In Bitola for instance, in 1809 and in 1818 only one Greek school each year was registered working only with one teacher. It is due to mention that very few people among the Macedonians and the Vlachs (there were no Greeks) knew the Greek spoken or written language. After the liberation of Greece the creation of the policy of expansion was initiated and the spreading of Greek influence outside the range of the Greek Empire. Besides the Patriarchy, now the newly created state joined the Greek propaganda action with its material, political and moral capital. They were insisting by all their forces to convert into Greek, the so called by them Christian population of a “foreign language” (intending for Macedonians, Vlachs, Albanians). Considering the whole population in Macedonia the Greeks were represented with purely 8-10%.

The so called *cell-schools* were the mostly represented school types and the unique centers of the Macedonian literacy up to the middle of the XIX century. The religious education in these schools was not updated or in accordance with the current needs of that time. The recent needs caused the appearance of the new so called, *secular schools*. For the purposes of these schools the Serbian and Bulgarian teachers started to be engaged in some of the Macedonian cities as well as local teachers who accomplished their education abroad especially in Russia. The first secular schools were opened in Veles, Skopje, Prilep and Shtip.

The foreign teachers were using their own didactic material – in Serbian or Bulgarian language. However the Macedonian textbooks appeared very soon. Among the most eminent Macedonian authors of textbooks could be mentioned: Partenij Zografski, Kuzman Shapkarev, Dimitar Miladinov, Ghorgi Pulevski and others. The appearance of the Macedonian textbooks was severely opposed by Bulgarian propaganda, mainly managed by their centers, the Constantinople library and the Macedonian and Bulgarian Group of Constantinople. With the aim to eliminate the use of the Macedonian textbooks in the schools the bearer of the Bulgarian propaganda was distributing their own Bulgarian textbooks free of charge. But despite of all this, the Macedonian citizens in a great number preferred the Macedonian textbooks as more comprehensive for children, although they had to pay for them.

Simultaneously with the development of the Macedonian people's education activity the literature and art appeared and developed. The au-

thors' interest was mainly focused on collecting and publishing of the people's ethnical heritage. The most successful and the most fruitful activity in this field marked basically the same people that were known as authors of the textbooks. However to this group should be added Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinovski, Marko Cepenkov, Grigor Prlichev and some others whose names are deeply traced in the memory of the Macedonian people because of their achievements. Konstantin Miladinov for instance published the Collection of papers with Macedonian folk songs, Grigor Prlichev after he had received the award from the University of Athens for his poem "O Armatolos" developed a significant activity while Cepenkov was collecting and protecting of memory wiping the great deal of the inherited people's narrative tradition (traditional narrations).

It is known that the process of separation of the Macedonian population from the general Christian Orthodox mass, i.e. from the Hellenism started under the sign of the Slavic. The Macedonian awakers initiated his struggle against the educational and cultural domination of the Fanariotes emphasizing his Slavic origin. All reformers were proud of their Slavic origin. Also the people's schools and people's language were often called Slavic, too.

Another well-known fact is that the Miladinovci brothers and some their contemporaries of their time were self-called "Slavic Bulgarians" or "Bulgarians". The objective scientific thought however provided evidence that the term "Bulgarian" was not a bearer of the concept that reflects the conscience about national affiliation and i.e it did not reflect the national affiliation consciousness. Shapkarev wrote: "In that time, no one could even think about something similar, nor Miladinov, the people's Bulgarian progressive, nor it was somehow possible at this time and place ...". The Bulgarian publicist Atanas Shopov claimed that: "...there was not a national awakening in Macedonia up to the Russian – Turkish War (1877-1878)...". "Among the Macedonian Bulgarians national self-knowledge was almost absent and the religion played an important role which at the same time represented the ethnicity of the Macedonians", claimed Shopov.

Living in such a period when the Christian solidarity, and later Slavic solidarity on a great scale were the essential elements that were connecting our people with the other Slavic peoples on the Balkan and in a wider context, the Collection of papers by the Miladinovci brothers was published in Zagreb, 1861, entitled "Bulgarian folk songs". Previously, the Miladinovi brothers wrote that they had Macedonian songs for publishing: "...and I have also a lot of Macedonian songs, that I would like to

publish them slightly later...”, wrote K. Miladinov in a letter dated January 8, 1859.

Before the Collection of papers was printed, K. Miladinov asked a favor from his university colleague from Moscow, the Bulgarian folklorist Vasil Cholakov, to give him around 100 Bulgarian songs, just in order, as Cholakov wrote himself “to be able to put his work the title “Bulgarian folk songs”. Is it not proof that Konstantin could tell the difference between the Macedonians and the Bulgarian songs? His insisting that the Collection should contain a determined number of Bulgarian songs as a condition if he liked the title “Bulgarian” to be put, is only a fact that confirms the well affirmed opinion that many Macedonian intellectuals were very cautious when naming “Macedonian” because of the successful Greek propaganda, which through fabrications, and with the help of some “hellenophiles”, managed to impose the use of “Greek” instead of, for example “the Bulgarian “. It is more than clear then why the Macedonian intellectuals were insisting on the use of “Bulgarian” if you take into consideration the fact that “Bulgarian”, was considered as Slavic, although many Macedonians because of the ethnonym Tatars, referring to the genesis of Bulgarians, negated their Slavic origin.

In the period when the Exarchate was created Macedonia had remarkably developed its own education and culture. It was also significantly liberated from the influence by the Greek Church and culture and at that time it was strongly combating the Bulgarian propaganda, which by its side was insisting on imposing its, above all, national influence over the social life in Macedonia. The intensive publishing activity of the textbooks in Macedonian “dialect” and their use in the Macedonian schools were the most obvious expression and testimony of the autochthonous Macedonian national awakening, which was self-asserting through the use of their own language in the schools and through developing proper self-administered institutions (organs) in the field of the social life. The first attack on the Exarchate after it had appeared on the political and religious scene were directed exactly towards its system for exploitation and integration within the national propaganda activity of all institutions that carried out activity nonconforming with their propaganda program for making conscious Bulgarians in Macedonia. Although it succeeded in that way, the resistance against that policy of the Exarchate appeared and relatively quickly would integrate with the general liberation effort called Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

3. Liberation struggles in the second half of the XIX century

The attempts of the Turkish Government through the implementation of reforms to minimize the contradictions between the ruling class and the terrorized and the oppressed peoples on the Balkan Peninsula failed to reach the expected results. The disagreements were growing and at the end they transformed into uprisings of the underprivileged peoples against the Osmanli's rule. The first armed signal was given in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the summer 1875 that actually launched the Great Eastern Crisis, which ended with major changes on the Balkan Peninsula and wider.

The fighting quickly spread almost over whole Peninsula – in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia... In Macedonia, the process of creation of secret committees started and the preparation activities for the battles were also initiated. On the 29th of May 1876 the Razlovacko Uprising led by Dimitar Pop Georgiev and the village priest Stojan. After the initial victories of the insurgents the asker managed to quash the resistance. Before that, at the beginning of May, something had happened in Macedonia that loudly resounded in Europe.

The massacre of the French and German Consul, Zill Mülen and Henry Abbott, done by a group of fanatical Muslims when the both European delegates were attempting to help the liberation of a young girl, Stefania from Bogdanci, who was brought to Salonica in order to be converted into Islam and to marry a Bay of Salonica, caused astonishment among the people through the whole of Macedonia and disbelief in Europe. The arrived Turkish and European war ships and 5,000 sailors protected the peace in Salonica. By the contribution of the revolutionary bustle and especially the tragic events in Salonica actually Macedonia got a status of a seriously crisis area that put on risk the peace in the Region.

The crisis situation reached its peak after the arrival of the news regarding the Bulgarian rebellion (from the 20th of April to the 2nd of May 1876) and the power with which it was suppressed. So the possibility of a military intervention from Europe was becoming more and more real so that the ruling circles in Constantinople were becoming more aware about the problems. The Sultan was declared as the most responsible person for this situation. The Muslim extremists that were supported by the Young Turks led by Mithad Pasha actually dethroned Abdul Azis and Murad V came on the throne. Three months later Murad V was also removed so that the throne belonged to Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909) and under his rule the Empire finished the decay process and eventually crumbled.

The changes that occurred in Constantinople had nothing to do with the amelioration of the situation in the Balkans. On the contrary, upon a suggestion by the British Government the famous Constantinople Conference of the Great Forces was held when quite radical reforms were prepared, whose implementation should have improved the situation in the critical areas and would have prevented larger conflicts. The Conference started on the 23rd of December 1876 in presence of Turkish delegates. The same day it was publicly announced that a Constitution was brought into force in the Empire and that the state system would change from Absolutistic into a Constitutional Monarchy. With this, actually it was certain that the reforms proposed by the Great Forces had been useless, because the whole state would have been reformed in accordance with the Constitution “gifted” by the Sultan. Despite all this, the dispute about the proposed reforms continued till January 20, 1877 when it was concluded that the Conference ended failing to reach its results. There were no other means for peaceful ending of the crisis. So this task belonged to the war to do this.

On the 24th of April 1877 Russia announced a war to the Ottoman Empire. Serbia and Montenegro also took part in the war against the Turkey. A great number of volunteers joined the way. A significant number of those volunteers were from Macedonia. After the fierce battles of oscillating success and enormous human loss on the both sides the Turkish Army was defeated. The war ended with the truce signed in Adrianopol on the 31st of January 1878 and with the Treaty of San Stefano from the 3rd of March the same year. With this Treaty the autonomous Bulgarian State was created, and the districts of Vranje, Korcha as well as entire Macedonia were added within its borders. No one was satisfied with this border definition of the constituted state, except Russia and Bulgaria. Under pressure of the Great Forces, the Congress of Berlin (the 13th of June to the 13th of July 1878) was held on which the Treaty of San Stefano was considerably revised. Bulgaria was divided into two parts: on the territory from Danube to the Old Mountain the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria was created while from southern Bulgaria – the autonomous area Eastern Rumelia was created. Macedonia remained under the rule of the Sultan. Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were declared as independent states while Bosnia and Herzegovina was decided on occupation from Austro-Hungary. Tessalia and Ioannina (Epirus) were given to Greece and the Great Britain took the Island of Cyprus. Also the article n. 23 was dedicated to Macedonia and it provided implementation of some reforms but it has never been accomplished.

The decades after the Congress of Berlin represented a new stage in the development of Macedonia and the Macedonian people. The general situation of the Christian population had deteriorated as a result of the following: the decay of the economy and the increase of the exploitation by the owners of the means of production and by the state, which had several priorities, in particular, to settle thousands of Madziri that had moved to Macedonia; who were fleeing from the territories that Turkey had lost in the wars; to stick to the decisions of the Congress of Berlin and also maintaining of the numerous army and the bureaucratic apparatus.

Great dissatisfaction occurred among our people and as a consequence they started organizing the revolutionary activities i.e. the resistance which was mainly of spontaneous character was transformed into organized liberation struggle.

The first more serious armed liberation attempt was marked with the Kresna Uprising. The initiative for armed actions in Macedonia was born in Bulgaria. According to the initiators, these actions should have represented a resistance of the population to the unsatisfactory decisions about Bulgaria brought at the Congress of Berlin. On this purpose, the so-called or “Beneficial Committees” under the name “Unity” were formed and were being managed by the Committees of Sofia and Dzumaya. The beginning of the uprising was planned to be carried out by inserting in Macedonia the military troops from Bulgaria, which would have a task to involve a part of the local population in the battles. The first two military troops led by the Head of the Kozaks, Kalmikov and L. Vojtkевич, from Poland, while attempting to breakthrough in Macedonia (at the end of September 1878) were broken up by the Turkish asker. It became clear that the rebellion could not be initiated by foreign intervention. Soon after, the local revolutionary forces started being active. At Kresna gorge several troops joined together and headed by the Voyvoda, Stojan Karastoilov, on the 5th of October (the 17th of October) 1878 attacked the local Turkish *asker* and captured it. This marked the beginning of the Kresna Uprising. The Committee of Gorna Dzumaya immediately after this victory received the following letter from D. Berovski:” We, Macedonian insurgents, keep following our cause. Tonight we led an 18-hour battle with two herds of regular Turkish army. We suffered loses like one person killed and three people wounded while 9 Turkish soldiers are killed, 11 are wounded and 119 soldiers and 2 officers are captured...”.

After this success at Kresna many villages were liberated and the free territory was created. Here was formed the first revolutionary Steering Committee – “The Headquarters of the Macedonian insurgents”,

headed by D. Pop Geoprgiev- Berovski, with Sojan Karastoilov as a First Voyvoda while Kalmikov, who took part in the battles with his troop, was called an ataman of the insurgents.

The Kresna Uprising is the first more serious and larger mass Macedonian National-Revolutionary Liberation and Nation-building Manifestation in the XIX century. Regarding the Uprising objectives its leadership came into sharp conflicts with the leading staff from Sofia. "The Headquarters of the Macedonian insurgents" thought that the general objective of the Uprising should have been the liberation of Macedonia while the Committee of Sofia was insisting on launching an armed murmur as a protest against the resolution of Berlin, which provided Macedonia to be "cut off" from Bulgaria as accorded with the Treaty of San Stefano.

Basically this was the reason for the conflict between the leadership of the Macedonian uprising (the internal) and those who wanted to direct and manage the actions from Bulgaria (the external). The Committee's factors from Bulgaria, and one of them was the eminent Metropolitan Nathaniel, decided to take over the leadership of the Uprising through various intrigues and murders. Berovski was arrested and the Voyvoda Stojan was wickedly murdered, new leadership was formed but the split that was caused in the insurgents' context and the hostile behavior of the Bulgarian Committees towards the liberation character of the movement as well as some other serious causes had an enormous impact on the negative outcome of the uprising so that it was suppressed in May 1879.

Taking into consideration the main and the direct participants in the battles as well as their objectives that were directly supposed to be reached, the Kresna Uprising was a Macedonian uprising. It could be also seen in the documents that were brought by the leadership (Macedonian Rebellious Committee) related to the organization of the liberated territory. For instance such a document was the Regulations that contained 211 articles in which all issues that were supposed to be solved with the uprising were covered. With the Regulations the following issues were affected: nation-building, national, social, military, economical, and political issues and actually that was completely everything that might have been encountered while living in a free, organized state. "We rose up as fighters for the freedom, and with our blood that was shed...we serve the Macedonian Army of Alexander the Macedonian for the liberation under the motto: Freedom or death!" is the quotation that stands among the rest in the short Preface of the document containing the Regulations.

However even after the suppression of the Kresna Uprising, the battles did not stop. In southwestern Macedonia, in the region of Kichevo and Prilep up to the region between Bitola and Ohrid an attempt was made for an organization and armament with the purpose to resist the great self-willed acts of the Authorities and the terror that was made by different outlawry banditry groups, so called Kachack bands. This revolutionary conspiratorial network lasted from the end of 1878 to the spring 1881 when it was revealed and fiercely destroyed by the authorities. At the end there was a trial on which just few of the 700 arrested were condemned and the rest of them were liberated.

In the meantime, a serious armed movement appeared in southern Macedonia. As a result of its activities, the people's Parliament formed a temporary government in Macedonia on the 2nd of June, 1880 on Gramos Mountain. The Protocol, which was signed by the 32 members who were present at the assembly as representatives from almost all over Macedonia, provided the basic requirements of the action organizers. Namely, the creation of unity of the people was required and the country and they also insisted on giving Macedonian character to the struggle that should have been inspired strictly by the Macedonian interests and rights. These were the attempts of the Macedonian Liberation Movement through appeals and also through threats directed towards the Great Forces to procure fulfillment of the *Art. n. 23* of the Berlin's Agreement so that the requirements exposed in the Protocol for the rights and the organization of Macedonia could have been included in it.

Nearly at the same time with the formation of the temporary Government, eight Voyvoda -s as representatives of the 1800 former Macedonian warriors created the so-called Macedonian League in Bulgaria headed by the General Headquarters as a Temporary Administration of Macedonia. The League launched the motto: "Freedom for Macedonia or death!". The Temporary Administration prepared a proper Constitution for the future organization of Macedonia, which contained 103 articles. The Constitution provided autonomy for Macedonia that would have been a vassal region composed of Macedonian ethnic territories headed by a general – Governor. The League was a military organization and had a task to organize an uprising in Macedonia in order to reach its objective. For the purpose of a regular course of the battles it also prepared separate Military Instructions for the organization of the Macedonian Army within the autonomous Macedonian state. On the 29th of June 1880, the General Headquarters sent a Manifest from Pirin, which actually was an appeal to the Macedonian people to general uprising if the Great Forces did not ac-

cept the proposed Constitution. With the help of the Manifest, the League established a link with the representative of the temporary Government, Leonidas Vulgaris. Both sides reached an agreement to join the forces in the struggle for the liberation of Macedonia but the situation on the international scene was not favorable any more for the accomplishment of an over-ambitious plan such as a general Macedonian uprising.

In the spring 1881 the numerous revolutionary and liberation actions were stopped by the revealing and the destruction of the conspiratorial network in western Macedonia and it is believed that this marked the end of the revolutionary crisis in Macedonia after which the relative peace set in that lasted approximately 15 years, till the appearance of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization in the '90s of the XIX century. All events that happened in the period of the Great Easter Crisis (1875-1881) confirm the fact that the Macedonian people started a complex and continuing struggle for liberation, i.e. the struggle for creation of its own state through which it could have reached the political and national emancipation. By other side this would have meant the fulfillment of the nation-building open aspiration of the Macedonian Liberation Movement that was born and was growing and asserting as a historic and autochthonous phenomenon despite the enormous obstacles and strong resistance that it was encountering mainly the cause of the already formed neighboring countries with ready organizational platforms and concrete program activities for their propaganda. The "basic" program requirement of their ambitions was articulated as an "inalienable right for national unification". The concept of "national unification" after the Congress of Berlin developed into a mental framework and became a life style attribute in all three Macedonian neighboring countries. They were fabricating and creating their own "theories" that would have served them for articulation of their right to be in possession of Macedonia, evoking the history, ethnology (various statistics), religion, anthropology. The Slavic character and the similarities within the language of the majority population in Macedonia were being emphasized as one of the relevant arguments as a proof for the Bulgarian or the Serbian character of Macedonia; further on, the ferman or the Decree for establishment of the Exarchate was pointing out, which actually was not defining the Bulgarian national borders in Macedonia; it was also quoted the Conference of Constantinople although it had not include the ethnical criteria in the definition process of the border framework that should have been a base for the implementation of the reforms and did not sanction the proposed reforms. The Serbs were evoking the history regarding their Czar (Emperor) Du-

shan while the Greeks since they were not in a situation to underline some close gender relations with the Macedonian population, declared Macedonia as a proper part, mainly on grounds of some “historical rights”, considering Macedonia as an ancient heritage, and they were not even slightly worried about the fact that in the period of their ethnic ancestors, both Macedonia and the Macedonians were considered as a barbaric country and barbaric people, i.e. were considered as foreigners and enemy of the Hellens. However taking into consideration the affiliation of the people to the Orthodox Church, the Greek propaganda deduced its own “right” to have pretensions to the people and the territory on which they were living. The Orthodox Church up to the middle of the XIX century, in a situation of absolute lack of some other option, was recognized by all Orthodox peoples – Macedonians, Vlachs, Albanians. This Church, by right of the historical circumstances, had been headed by the hierarchy of Greek origin – the fact that was used for Hellenic assimilation of a significant part of these peoples, especially from the most southern regions as of right. The number of these peoples had not been absolutely small.

4. The affirmation of the Macedonian national identity after the events at Kresna

In the years after the Congress in Berlin the growth of that Macedonian generation started which by right of the historical circumstances, would be predestinated to take part and to lead the last and the decisive revolutionary struggles of the Macedonian people for freedom as well as to protect the unity of the country. This was the period in which the armed actions were almost still but also a period in which the historical processes that were happening on the territory of Macedonia were actually creating the fundamental political hypothesis that conditioned the continuation of the liberation struggles that had been interrupted in 1881.

Exactly in this period, due to the competitive character of the religious and educational propaganda, Macedonia “enriched” with numerous intelligence, something that no one could have predicted till then. Of course the intelligence was created for the needs of those who had happened to be its creators. However regardless of the plans, wishes and expectations of the Exarch or of the Patriarch, the great majority of this intelligence remained Macedonian and placed itself at disposal of the proper people – in service of its ambitions and aspirations for freedom.

With the destructive and assimilatory actions of the foreign propaganda the resistance against them was growing and the Macedonian national idea was paving its own path concurrently. Being born at the initial period of the renaissance, it would be present in various forms, especially in the form of resistance against the bearer of the Bulgarian (and the Greek) policy for domination in the spiritual and social spheres of the Christians in Macedonia. This resistance intensified considerably after the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate that was created by the Sultan (1870). With the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate the Bulgarian propaganda forces acquired the right to administrate and to give directions to the spiritual life of that part of the Macedonian Christians that had recognized its Church authority, giving it priority as Slavic over the Greek Patriarchy.

As far as there were not favorable circumstances for the restoration of the Ohrid Archbishopric as Macedonian Church, the national and spiritual idea was put in a situation to make its own breakthrough and to develop under extremely hard conditions. In the Sheriat ruled Turkey the national activity was a right and a privilege of only those Church and propaganda institutions, such as the Exarchate and the Patriarchy, which had been acknowledged by the so called Subleme Port. On the other hand, these institutions *de facto* became organs of the external forces (the states) and were working in favor of their interests. As a matter of fact, these two churches that were working for the benefits of Bulgaria and Greece, impeded a legal, Macedonian national and spiritual activity in the country while the revolutionary struggle, which by its character was considered as a national liberation action because of the utilized means of action (for the autonomy and statehood), naturally was not accepted, and was constrained to work illegally. Due to all this it was in fierce conflict with the Ottoman authority. The struggle for national liberation in the first place was directed against the Ottoman domination and then against those forces that were disintegrating the people and were declaring it as proper, fabricating arguments in order to defend their separation and reigning policy for Macedonia.

The Macedonian Liberation cause, characterized as a national and political by its ambitions, was constrained by the right of objective circumstances initially to be promoted abroad and by some foreigners, who were staying in Macedonia previously and who drew the arguments for their points of view directly from the field.

The period of slightly more than five years, before the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization was formed (1893) had been particularly

rich with events of extreme relevance for the growth of the Macedonian National Movement. In this period in front of the whole Balkan as well as the wider scientific and political audience publicly was exposed the truth about the Macedonians as a separate Slavic entity by the eminent Bulgarian, Petar D. Draganov, who was a famous Russian scientist – slavist, linguist, demographer. He exposed its assertion that Macedonians are separate Slavic people that caused tempestuous reactions among the interested scientific and political circles in Bulgaria and Serbia. Some Russian scientific workers joined the discussion that was developed on this issue, too.

The Austrian, Carl Hron in its book “The nationality of the Macedonian Slavs” (1890) would underline: “Through my own studies ... I came to the conclusion that Macedonians, are a separate nation by its history as well as by its own language”.

It means that the Macedonian problem as a national issue had already been exposed in front of the European scientific circles and particular interest and turbulences were raised in Bulgaria and Serbia.

In Bulgaria concretely in circumstances of reduced democratic freedoms, the Macedonian emigration (in the period of Stambolov) was set in motion and at the beginning it provoked discussion about the destiny of Macedonia. Nearly at the same time when Draganov’s points of view were fiercely disputed in the newspaper “Makedonija” (in property) of K. Shahov an interesting discussion appeared regarding the future of Macedonia. In this newspaper various ideas, proposals, polemics and burst of emotions related to the Macedonian patriotism appeared, but at the same time regret about the San Stefano’s Bulgaria. It means that the questions about the liberation of Macedonia and about the means of its achievement were put up.

From the media that were obvious bearers of the Bulgarian annexation policy towards Macedonia could illustrate better the real intentions and ambitions of the patriotically oriented Macedonian intelligence then for instance from the newspaper “Macedonia”. For example, the newspaper “Southwestern Bulgaria” was seeding poison against all opponents of its policy – that of Macedonia to become the southwestern province of the Bulgarian Principality. That’s why it was mentioning in a negative connotation all those forces that were objectively affirming the Macedonian national cause, which hardly paved its way through many obstacles. The governmental newspaper “Svoboda”, which followed with extreme attention all Macedonian public or secret liberation manifestations, evidently

applied this tactic and articulated them to the public as anti Bulgarian activities.

In this period of public national manifestations and actions, public debates and polemics related to the liberation of Macedonia, many secret and public Macedonian associations appeared in Bulgaria among which, as one of the most significant, was the *Youth Macedonian Literary Group* (1891) issuing its own newspaper "Loza". The Group was formed by pupils and students that were unsatisfied of the Exarchate's schools. That was the reason why they escaped from Macedonia to Serbia (1888-1889) and then dissatisfied also from the Serbian Authorities and having no other choice they moved to Sofia.

The young "Grapevine" ("Loza") supporters, as wrote by Misirkov, wanted to "separate the interests of the Macedonians and Bulgarians through introduction and standardization of one of the Macedonian dialects as Macedonian Literary Language for all Macedonians". The fact those "Loza" supporters started being active under the "Bulgarian mask" was not efficient and could not blind the adversaries because in their activity context the Macedonian national essence was easily recognizable. They were mentioning Macedonia as their "own fatherland", that was launching appeals for help and protection of the neighbors' pretensions and with this it was clear that they were asking for the release from the Bulgarians too. The Group, proclaimed as hostile, was prohibited by the regime in June 1892. Many of its members participated in the process of formation and establishment of the Internal Organization and the most outstanding among them was Petar Pop Arsov.

A bit later, the National Youth Associations were formed also in Serbia. During the 1893 the association "Vardar" was formed and later in 1902 the Macedonian Club was formed, which was issuing its own weekly newspaper "Balkan Herald" ("Balkanski glasnik"). In all these years it was the first informatory organ in which the Macedonian national activists managed to define and expose publicly their own national and political program for solution of the Macedonian national problem.

The biggest national manifestation, inside Macedonia, in the years immediately before the formation of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization was the movement for the Church independence in Macedonia in the Eparchy of Skopje. The church independence was supposed to be achieved through the restoration of the Ohrid Archbishopric. The Metropolitan of the Exarchate, Teodosij Gologanov (Teodosij from Skopje) headed the movement. He established contacts with like-minded people and took measures for substitution of the established apparatus of the Ex-

archate by its own as well as measures for suppression of the Bulgarian language etc. The whole policy implemented by Teodosij was leading towards achieving the Church independence and not only of the Skopje's Eparchy but of the whole Macedonia. He tried to achieve his goal through the union with the Pope. In December 1891 he personally met in Skopje the delegate of the Roman Church in Constantinople, Bonetti, and he presented him the joining conditions.

Getting the solution for the Church issue according to the plan and requirements of Teodosij were exposed to Bonetti, was actually an intention to resolve the Macedonian national issue. Such a policy and activity of the Metropolitan Teodosij caused bitterness not only among the members of the Exarchate and the Patriarchy but also among the Serbian propagators. The Exarch with the help of the Turkish authority managed to expulse the bishop from Skopje and with this, the serious historical attempt for Macedonia with the help of the Roman Church to thread its way towards its national liberation, was impeded once again. It became obvious that everything that was happening in the country, especially unscrupulous interfering of the neighbors in the Macedonian affairs and the way in which the Turkish policy was being implemented, which quite successfully was applying the well-known tactic "divide and rule", was leading only toward one outcome – the partition and robbery of Macedonia.

5. The formation of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization

All conversation and polemics, led about the ethnicity of the Macedonians, then the formation of societies with programs of national liberation activity, or establishment and determination of the attitude towards the foreign propaganda as well as the analysis of the consequences of their activity for Macedonia lasted continuously for several years. This was an inspiration for the historical need to start a struggle with a concrete revolutionary action which by its side could have been implemented only through the formation of the necessary leading organization. So, the several year national and political movement was crowned with the formation of that leading revolutionary force that would set up its tasks to work on the canalizing of the liberation ambitions of the enslaved Macedonian strata and their organization, integration and preparation through revolution, to reach the final objective. The economical and social estimations for the possibility to achieve revolutionary changes in Macedonia

had been prepared. The matured economical and political crisis were accompanied by a larger differentiation and aggravated social disagreements, which were more and more getting the national and religious character due to the difference in the religious and ethnical affiliation between the oppressed and the oppressor. In the conscious of the Macedonian oppressed masses the entire injustice, exploitation and corruption of the state apparatus were associated with the political and national injustice. That means that all the troubles in the cognition of the oppressed were associated to the fact that the country was under the Ottoman rule. It was believed that the liberation from that rule was absolutely necessary for the national and political liberation and since the beginning it was believed that the Ottomans would be the crucial adversaries in that struggle.

And it really happened that way. Except the public debating about the Macedonian liberation issue and how it could be achieved, some intellectuals focused their attention on the same problem but having slightly different approach. They were doing this with a conspiratorial air, determined to take concrete actions. Dame Gruev, Petar Pop Arsov, Pere Toshhev and some other intellectuals had come to the idea for formation of an organization much earlier. According to previous evidence, for the formation of the Secret Organization (except the conversation led between Delchev and Shahov in Sofia) several concrete discussions were being held during 1892 in Prilep, and at the end of the following year (1893) at the meeting held on the 23rd of December in Salonica, the leading core was formed and composed of: Dame Gruev, Petar Pop Arsov, Dr. Hristo Tatarchev, Andon Dimitrov and Hristo Batandziev. On the 5th of January 1894 the second meeting was held, with the same persons, at which was discussed the objective, the name and the normative acts of the organization that they were forming. According to Hristo Tatarchev, the Organization was named the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO) while on the base of some conserved press releases the leadership was given the name of the "*Macedonian Central Revolutionary Committee*". The task to write a draft Constitution was given to P. P. Arsov. At the next meetings these six persons adopted the necessary documents and in accordance with them the Central Committee was formed with H. Tatarchev as a President and D. Gruev as a Secretary/Cashier.

The original documents of these meetings are not preserved. But from the personal memories of the participants and from the Constitutions that were preserved, nevertheless not dated, is obvious that the objective of the struggle was to achieve the political autonomy of Macedonia exclusively through revolution.

The necessity for extension of the Organization was a stimulus for the convocation of a Consultancy meeting in a wider content of eminent members of the movement at which assessment of the previous work was supposed to be made and the next steps be adopted for further action. The consultancy meeting was held on the 15th of August 1894 and around 15 outstanding activists were present at it. The important decisions were brought for the development of the Organization – about the formation of its structure, the ways of funding, carrying out propaganda activities etc. The significant role of the teachers was also emphasized on the scene of the liberation struggle and it was pointed out the need of their independence from the Exarchate and of their direct connection with the Organization. They also thought that the municipalities should be connected with the Organization and that both with the teachers should directly served the Organization. The activities for structuring and intensified development of the Organization started immediately after the meeting in Resen when the conditions were also prepared for its enlargement.

The persons that were forming the Organization and were managing with it were mainly traders and the intelligence representatives. Almost all distinguished leaders that were building up the Organization and who sacrificed themselves for its objectives belonged to the progressive Macedonian intelligence and were representing the ambitions of the smallholder's strata as well as of the Macedonian oppressed and degraded peasantry.

Slightly later, the same year, Goce Delchev joined the Organization (1872-1903), whose organizational and leadership role made him a legendary person within the Macedonian National Liberation Movement from the Ilinden - period. He was building his ideological and political profile constantly during his education, in his place of birth Kukush, in Salonica and in Sofia. After he had been expelled from the military school in Sofia because of some political incident, in November 1894 Goce Delchev came back to Macedonia and started working as a teacher in the village named New Village (near Shtip) where he met Dame Gruev, who was a teacher in the city. The Organization was well formed in Shtip. So Delchev joined its orders and together with Gruev continued their revolutionary odyssey and until the end of their lives they remained at the top of the Organization's leading structure, acting mostly separated than together.

The two year activity of G. Delchev's in Shtip was generally known by its role in terms of enlargement of the Organization through inclusion of the Macedonian villages in its orders. By the inclusion of the

villages in the Organization the social structure of its membership significantly changed and the Organization, which was of mostly urban character, transformed into a mass organization in which dominated the rural element.

In the period in which Delchev and Gruev were staying in Shtip, as a matter of fact, the city became a main center of the whole Organization while the Central Committee in Salonica held only a formal status of a Central Headquarters.

The preparations for the revolution in Macedonia started when the social and political life in the country was in a chaotic situation, caused by the propaganda of the neighboring countries. The whole situation was cautiously monitored by the numerous representatives of the Great Forces, who receiving the information at first hand by the Ottoman authority organs, agents and Consuls of the interested neighboring countries in Macedonia and by their Governments, were not in a position to have a real and right image of the objectives and tasks of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement and wider of Macedonia, of the Macedonian population and its ethnical composition, of the ambitions of the Macedonian people etc. So being misinformed, they were misinforming their Governments, too and the negative impact on the policy building relative to Macedonia of these forces was inevitable.

The personal researches and data collection made by some consuls were resulting in more objective and more suitable information than those received from the agents that were directly involved in the Macedonian issue. After a several year personal research, the French Vice-Consul in Bitola, Ledu, sent a thorough report (January 1898) to his Minister of Foreign Affairs in which he exposed exceptionally interesting information about the Bitola's vilayet, covering exactly the period when the Organization was completing its first steps towards its development. He sent, as he had explained in his writing, "an attachment in the form of a draft table in which he put his estimations regarding the population composition (Christian and Muslim)...the estimations are as objective as the specific circumstances in this region allow them to be, without considering the controversial theories about races and nationalities created by the fantasy of those that have pretensions to this region. That's why, the languages, habits and customs of these people might serve as a base for situation comprehension as far as it is possible".

The Ottoman statistics were considered by Ledu as unreliable. They were not giving more exact data than "those that were created for the need of their cause, made by a separate and not always scrupulous

part, and which by their side were characterized with an exceptional confusion which was present also in all spheres of life Macedonia.” The Vice Consul, personally through researches prepared an ethnographic study. Later, during his further research, he was encountering always more difficulties due to the mixture of the population as a result of the previous propaganda activities, when a lot of people, especially in the big cities, including also the intellectuals were not in a situation to define the nationality of their own families.

Bitola, Ledu wrote, “became a center acknowledged as a core of the shameless intrigues on which are based the adversaries’ propaganda of the small neighboring countries”. “At first place I should underline,” he added, “that the political aspirations in this region are not based on the languages, nor on the customs of the population, but on the individual feelings that are mainly built on the material interests and personal calculation of every single man, and eventually I would like to turn the focus on the fact that it is extremely difficult to find people morally degraded in such a rate like the Christian Macedonians (greedy, dishonest etc.). This basically should be put on the account of their low economical status and of the existence of the current derogatory regime, which at the same time is often very brutal. People suffer a lot living in a region where there is absence of security and justice”.

“When the “Bulgarian schism” appeared”, continues Ledu, “actually the real separatist propaganda started, which successively created the “vicious current partitions” that completed the process of “demoralization of these ill-fated populations” “.

Ledu called the propagandas, “Parties”. Only the Greek and the Bulgarian Party had their own real meaning. The Greek party, composed of “Greek, Vlach, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Serbian” elements, were superior in its number and the Bulgarian Party composed of “Slavic Exarchists” was the second one (1898).

A half of the whole population in Macedonia used to be Macedonian – Christian. This means that a major part of the Macedonian territory was inhabited by a compact, homogenous population that was a precondition for the organization of a liberation and revolutionary movement and for the constitution of a state. This fact was an argumentative dement of the vicious standpoints of some individuals that the country ethnically was so mixed (“Macedonian salad”) so that it allegedly appeared as an obstacle for achieving autonomy and for creation of an authoritative political regime. As a result of the affiliation of the Macedonian people to the both main churches – the Greek and the Bulgarian Church as well as the

theocratic character of Turkey, their naming as Greeks i.e. Bulgarian was accepted in an uncritical manner (literally), although it was also publicly confessed that the religious affiliation could not be a criterion of nationality definition. Moreover, all were witnesses of often changing and transfer of whole families and even whole villages from one church to the other. These transfers automatically caused the change of their “national” name.

6. The formation of the Macedonian Committee in Bulgaria and its first actions

The Macedonian Committee in Bulgaria appeared with a role of a Steering Committee of the organized Macedonian emigration, whose policy formally was confirmed at the annual congresses of the brotherhoods. The Macedonian Committee was elected at the first congress of the Macedonian societies, held on the 19th of March 1895 in Sofia. A bit later, Stambolov submitted his resignation and after that, in May the same year, the emigration organized mass meetings at which through resolutions and other actions, euphorically and loudly made it clear to all European audience that the liberation struggle of Macedonia had started. With the appeals to the Bulgarian government and to the governments of the other Balkan countries as well as to the countries of the Great Forces and at the end with “taking general measures dictated by the conditions in the country” i.e. with the use of weapons should have been created a crisis and a climate for intervention of the Great Forces in favor of the requirements of the Macedonian Committee for autonomy of Macedonia deriving from the article n.23 of the Congress in Berlin. However, almost all the emigration’s actions, which were taken during the period from 1894 to 1895, brought as consequence the discredit of the autochthonous struggle for autonomy which was led by the leadership of its own Organization and that the Macedonian people started in its own country exactly in that period. The congress telegraphic message that was sent to the Russian Emperor (Czar) Nikolaj II, to the Count Ignatiev – the creator of Bulgaria of San Stefano, especially to the Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand, who was appointed a “Supreme Head of the Bulgarian people”, also the propaganda against Ottoman Empire with which Stambolov until then used to have a very good relationship, as well as the patron’s attitude of Bulgaria towards “the brother slave” in Macedonia that was gradually constructing and curing among all the subjects within the Principality starting from the

Prince, were all facts that were clearly demonstrating that the Macedonian liberation issue which was created in Bulgaria after its liberation, started growing to new and dangerous dimensions in the political life in the country, the fact that would have negative impact on the liberation efforts of the recently created Internal Revolutionary Organization in Macedonia.

The first Congress of the emigration, the formation of the Macedonian Committee and the organization of its first actions made the official announcement of an essentially anti-Macedonian policy of the Committees in Bulgaria that was led on the behalf of the Macedonian emigration but also by the name of Macedonia. This policy got an extreme manifestation since the beginning, with the insertion of the Bulgarian troops in Macedonia at the end of June 1895. After the initiative of Stoilov, the Prime Minister of the Bulgarian government, Boris Sarafov together with other officers and in collaboration with T. Kitanchev, the President of the Macedonian Committee, organized and transferred four troops in Macedonia, which had a task to initiate an uprising in Macedonia. Only the fourth military unit headed by Sarafov managed to conquest Melnik and to accomplish a successful “patriotic deed”. The other troops were defeated and broken by the Ottoman forces and deported in Bulgaria.

These provoked armed actions which marked the beginning of the armed interference of the Balkan countries in Macedonian affairs and resounded loudly in Turkey and in Europe. Bulgaria got use of them and through causing pressure on Constantinople, Bulgaria succeeded to gain privileges for its propaganda in Macedonia and to gain the recognition of the Prince by Russia. The attitude of Greece and Serbia towards the armed incursion was extremely negative while the sharp reaction of the Central Committee of the Internal Organization was expressed through a protest letter sent to the Macedonian Committee with a categorical request and warning that “the Organization will be pitiless towards all those ...that without its consent will make armed incursion in its territory”.

The loud noise made in Bulgaria in the period from 1894 to 1895 together with the armed intervention on the Macedonian territory had a fatal impact on the further growth of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement and even on the destiny of Macedonia.

7. The Macedonian Revolutionary Organization after the Congress in Salonica (1896)

The Organization's Congress in Salonica was held in March 1896, slightly more than 2 years after its formation. But considering its significance it was called an "assembly" by G. Petrov "that somehow had the status of constitutional meeting". The Salonica Organization dates from that period when the Central Committee was recognized. The need of Constitution and of a Regulation book was also emphasized there. Tatarchev regarding this meeting stated that it had "constitutional and legislative character".

The most distinguished leaders of the Organization took part at the Congress. All the problems that were encountered by the Organization were covered in the developed discussion and a decision was brought about for adopting the Constitution and the Regulation Book as basic documents of the future ideological activity of the Movement.

The Constitution and the Regulation Book were written in 1897 and were published immediately after the formation of the "*Outlandish branch of the Organization*" in Bulgaria. G. Petrov and G. Delchev, who used to be also the first behind-boarders representatives of the Organization, prepared the documents. The documents in a perfectly clear way ranged over the objective of the Organization and the means that would be used for its achievement. The Constitution of the Organization was supposed to resolve the purely Macedonian tasks. It provided the formation of the Macedonian organization, which was supposed to be in possession of the whole oppressed population, which by its side through a common struggle should have obtained political autonomy of Macedonia.

The testimonies of G. Petrov and Dr. Tatarchev lead to the conclusion that on the Congress in Salonica the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (the first name of this organization according Tatarchev) officially was sanctioned, together with the Macedonian ideology and propaganda, whose final objective had been the liberation of the country. In the Constitution, in the Regulations Book as well as in the revolutionary literature that appeared later and in the official name of the Organization (TMORO), the Macedonian name exclusively and strongly appeared everywhere. The Macedonian patriotism and the independence of the Organization were directly and on purpose emphasized in its propaganda. Legally, the Organization was divided on seven districts. Later the district status was gained by the following cities: Salonica, Bitola, Skopje, Strumica and Serres plus Adrianopol

The Constitution arranged by P. P. Arsov and that should have been adopted on one of the first meetings of the six founders of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, it is supposed that it contained the

basic principles (objective, means etc) necessary for the mobilization of the people and for the functioning of the Central Committee. This derives from the fact that otherwise it would not be possible to explain the fact that even on the Consultancy meeting in Resen (August 1894) a lot of significant decisions were brought about the development of the Organization and they were not included (present) in the first Constitution.

That means it was more than a coincidence the statement of G. Petrov that the Congress in Salonica was actually an “Assembly” and Tatarchev’s statement that it had “constitutional and legislative character”. It also means that the Organization was developing faster than it was actually in a situation to set up the legal framework. “Liberty” and “autonomy” were only 2 single words but it seemed that were sufficiently motivating to attract the great majority of the oppressed Macedonian people who were mass-joining the movement without any convictions, but also without thinking about the risks that might have appeared by joining the Movement. Soon after, they referred to the organization asking for weapons: “Where is your weapon? Give us the rifles!”

8. Secret Macedonian Adrianople Revolutionary Organization (TMORO) and the neighbors

The appearance and the fast expansion of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (MRO) caused great interest among the governmental circles of the neighboring countries, especially in Bulgaria as well as among the bearers of their religious and educational institutions in Macedonia. The reason for that was the fact that on the same territory, which was the subject of their pretensions and that they declared it as proper, a new, Macedonian Revolutionary factor appeared, which was a product of the local social and economical conditions. The ambitions of that new Macedonian Revolutionary factor were dictated by the Macedonian people’s historical need for freedom and not by the pretensions of the neighbors to the partitions and usurpation of foreign territory. These reasons created the base of the conflicts that would emerge between MRO and the bearers of the external (foreign) interests. Actually even before the formation of the MRO a great part of the Macedonian intelligence had already been in conflict with the Exarchate, which aggressively and systematically was putting under its own rule the traditional self-administrative rights that Macedonian people used to enjoy in the past. And it was not accidental that a great deal of that intelligence became one

of the first affiliates in the MRO orders, continuing the struggle against the Exarchate, but this time from different positions.

The Exarchistic circles who were mainly composed of people that came from Bulgaria (teachers, officials, etc) in collaboration with the Bulgarian Government and the Supreme Committee and in order to combat the MRO formed the so-called Secret Bulgarian Revolutionary Brotherhood in Turkey. The Headquarters were in Salonica and Ivan Garvanov was appointed the Head of the Brotherhood.

The attempt of the Brotherhood to expand its influence in Macedonia only through an ideological platform that essentially was of Great-Bulgarian nationalist character and directed against MRO, could not have reached the projected results. On the contrary, in front of the threads of the Organization that the Fraternity would be liquidated, Garvanov with the help of the Supremist factors, managed to reach the “reconciliation” with the Central Committee in Salonica, to disband his structure and to make some of the leaders from that structure members of the Organization’s leadership. Garvanov himself became member of the Local Committee in Salonica. It was an act of betrayal above all addressed to Tatarchev and Hadzi Nikolov, which had a fatal impact on the Organization’s interests. In September 1899 the brotherhood stopped existing and soon after the well-known process of break-in and arrests carried out by the Central Committee Garvanov in January 1891 became a President of the new Central Committee. Actually he became at the heading position of the Committee in an irregular way and immediately started giving directions to the Organization towards a premature uprising.

The fast growth of the revolutionary movement actualized the need of armament of the population as fast as possible. The problem however was quiet complex. They came up to the question where they could find the weapons? Exactly this problem made the leadership to require help from the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria and even directly from the Bulgarian government. Was it not that Bulgarian, Serbs and Greeks were also asking for help and manage to get it by their neighbors in the past? The attempt however to receive weapons from Bulgaria revealed the extremely antagonistic interests between the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement and the Bulgarian state. During this attempt to get help from the Bulgarian state the leadership of the Internal Organization (G. Delchev, G. Petrov, J. Sandanski, D. Gruev...) definitely discovered and understood the whole truth of the already defined policy of the Bulgarian state (whose servant was also the Supreme Committee) towards the Macedonian liberation cause. And that policy briefly referred to the follow-

ing: the uprising that was in preparation by the Internal Organization in no case could have been an act that would contribute to the creation of the Macedonian autonomous state, the Internal Organization should have prepared the people for an uprising and in a certain moment, when the Bulgarian army would initiate the war actions against Turkey this organization should have helped the Bulgarian Army.

The leadership of the Organization was constrained to bring the only right conclusion: The Bulgarian Government did not desire the armament of the people. It did not like to help an Organization, which was independent and with a program opposite to the interests of the Bulgarian state. The government thought that the Bulgarian state itself should be the one that would “liberate” Macedonia. By the expression “liberation of Macedonia” the annexation of its territory to Bulgaria was meant and not gaining political autonomy through revolution, in the name of which should have been organized and carried out the armament of the Macedonian people. This was the main reason for the conflict that soon after the formation of the Internal Organization emerged between its leadership and Bulgarian authorities and it was often turning into an armed conflict with the Supreme Committee headed by the “demobilized” officers of the Bulgarian Army and the Prince as a Supreme Commander.

The MRO in order to maintain its independence which was the only condition for liberation and unity of Macedonia, it decided to provide finances independently and to purchase weapons in Greece, in Macedonia or in Bulgaria. The kidnapping of Miss Stone and demanding a ransom was done namely, on that purpose.

The other two neighboring countries had also a hostile attitude towards the MRO. They were not hiding their attitude but objectively they were not in a position to manifest rudely their policies and to interfere in the affairs of the revolutionary movement as it was made by Bulgaria. They were cautiously following the events that were happening in Macedonia and jealously reacted on the “points” that Bulgaria was attaining, utilizing the emigration for interfering in the Macedonian affairs and especially in the affairs of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement. They were making particular efforts, by the use of the provocative actions of the Supreme Committee, to compromise the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization proclaiming it as Bulgarian, stating that it allegedly was leading the struggle only for the benefits of the Great-Bulgarian chauvinist interests, in a few words, through fabrication of the facts they were making everything that could somehow contest the Macedonian Re-

volutionary Organization and its Macedonian liberation character presenting it as an instrument of the Bulgarian policy in Macedonia.

Preparing the people for the uprising, the organization simultaneously was creating its own state within the framework of the Ottoman Empire. Among the first organs, as a basic condition for the creation of the other organs of the state, the armed forces of the uprising i.e. its own Army was formed, so-called Chetnik institute (The institute of the troops). Its formation and structuring contributed a lot to the fast spreading of the movement almost through the whole country, including nearly the whole Macedonian (exarchistic and patriarchic) population as well as a great deal of the Vlach population.

Much of the success relative to the formation of the Organization's Armed Forces can be credited to Goce Delchev's. The role of the troops in terms of raising the revolutionary spirit among the Macedonian oppressed and humiliated masses was enormous. They became the fundamental bearers of the revolutionary propaganda, executors of all significant tasks of the competent leadership, quite efficient protectors of the people's interests and in a word, they became the main Force of the revolution and quite successful performers of its program tasks. After the formation of the troops, the "secret police forces, punitive police forces and the most important institution – the justice institute or department were also formed. The secret post service and courier service too were arranged and the correspondence code regulations were prescribed – password, the ink type and so on.

The Internal Organization took part in almost all spheres of the social and private life of the Macedonian people, in order, through various approaches to make it easier above all the difficult economical situation of the population. Within this charity framework the economical policy of the Organization was created with the fundamental task among the other things, to fight against the ciflic system and the self-willed activities of the ciflic sajbija and to protect the peasantry. The Organization launched the slogan: "Give the land to the farmers" and was insisting on the control of the unlimited raid on the rural and urban population by the greedy rich people in the cities-chorbadzhii and the usurers, who through high rates of interests were permanently sustaining the economical slavery over them.

Through all these political, educational and economical measures taken by the Organization the people learnt how to gradually erode the Turkish authority and how to fight against the landowners. They also learnt how to implement an independent administration and what the modalities to become their own ruler had to be applied. The people were

also learning how to use various revolutionary instruments and were self-preparing, through an Uprising, eventually to attain their own statehood and freedom.

9. The Ilinden Uprising

The Macedonian intelligence that was heading the liberation movement, despite the existence of complex conditions in the country, managed to turn the Organization into a serious political factor capable to organize an Uprising that by its side would surprise many people and would also strongly preoccupy the neighboring pretenders to the Macedonian country. About the organization and way it was completed in an interview of Himli Pasha for the Parisian "Le matin" (from November 27, 1904), he stated: "A secret organization has been created for more that 8 years which has its own branches not only in all major cities but also in the villages...The lack of success regarding their capturing and punishment of its members is due to the fact that they have support by the intelligence all over the country where they it has its own domination...The fanatical insurgents are represented in a range of 10% to 15%. Unfortunately, this small minority is made of wise and educated people who are inflicting themselves by the use of terrorist instruments". This partially but in some way objective admission regarding the autochthonous character of the Organization seems to be the only, at least until now, identified case in which an objective assessment was given by a such a competent and high Ottoman official about a serious issue such as this ten year preparation activity and attempts for liberation of Macedonia.

The development of the Revolutionary Movement in Macedonia, considering the formation, enlarging and spreading of the Organization, the ideological growth and armament of its membership, (in a few words, encountering lots of difficulties and obstacles often acts of break-in and other problems), the implementation of the successful preparation activities of the Macedonian people for uprising (whose success in a great part should be put on the account of the several Macedonian socialists such as N. Karev, Vele Markov, N. Rusinski and others included in the Organization) were simultaneously accompanied by the permanent conflicts that movement was encountering with the Turkish authority and the organs of the neighboring propaganda above all with the organs of the Bulgarian

state represented by the Supreme Committee. The Bulgarian government was trying to inflict itself as a supreme leading factor upon the Macedonian movement through the Supreme Committee in all possible ways. Some times it was done in a friendly ingratiating manner offering material support, sometimes through armed confrontations and sly murders of eminent members of the Internal Organization or by occupying borderland regions transforming them into a proper basis for further penetration into the inner parts of the country. However, the only objective of all these actions was to subordinate or to eliminate the Organization.

Verbal conflicts between the Internal Organization and the Macedonian i.e. Supreme Committee that started immediately after the formation of the Committee in March 1895, were of a permanent and mainly ideological and political character but in its essence they were of a national character. The situation aggravated and turned into an open and quite wide spread armed conflict after 1901, when Stojan Mihajlovski and the General I. Conchev, on the request and with the help of the Bulgarian Prince, became a leading person of the Supreme Committee.

The favorable conditions for such development of the events were actually created after the so-called Salonica break in January 1901, when almost all members of the Central Committee were arrested, and when I. Garvanov, who was a proven adherent of the Organization and who used to be a President of the so-called Revolutionary Fraternity, was appointed as a Head of the Organization. In a period when Garvanov was a president of the fraternity he was trying to put the leadership of the Macedonian Movement under control of the Supreme Committee (that means under Bulgarian government's control) by the use of various, even not always allowed mechanisms.

With the appointing as a Head of the Central Committee he actually kept the promise that he had given to Conchev – he managed to remove G. Delchev and G. Petrov from the Outlandish branch of the Organization and he appointed Dimitar Stefanov and Tushe Delivanov as new delegates. Despite this G. Delchev and G. Petrov remained to be the most influential persons and pilasters of the Organization, a support for all patriotic staff in the struggle against the policy of the Supreme Committee so called, “supremists”. Conchev did not benefit at all with this change and Garvanov was not in a position to lead him any more.

Mihajlovski and Conchev, as executors of the state tasks, should have caused mutiny in Macedonia with a purpose to destroy the Internal Organization from the revolutionary and political aspect, to take over the

initiative and to portray Bulgaria in Europe as a key factor in the process of the crisis resolution in Macedonia.

The preparations that were carrying out in Bulgaria for an armed rebellion in Macedonia constrained the Sublime Port to take some counter measures in order to avoid being overtaken by the events. It required by the Great Forces to put a strong pressure to bear on the Bulgarian Government in order to disband the Macedonian Committees and from March 1902 it started sending military forces in Macedonia in particular in the Bulgarian border regions.

While the troops that were sent in Macedonia by the Supreme Commands were chasing and sending back by the forces of the Organization, a propaganda struggle against the preparations of the Supreme Committee forces for the military intervention in Macedonia was being led in Bulgaria by the Organization, too, through the newspaper “Dawn”, “Justice” and particularly the newspaper “The Action” (“Delo”) portraying publicly the policy and the action of the Supreme Committee forces as an adversary pretense against Macedonia that they allegedly wanted to liberate it. But there were no ways that could have made the Prince and the Minister of Defense and General Conchev give up the idea of implementation of their plan, to cause bloodshed and cause burned out places in Macedonia, giving them the name – “Uprising”.

The “uprising” started in Gorna Dzumaja on the 23rd of September, 1902 and with some breaks it lasted until the middle of November. There were not around 400 soldiers of the troops (“chetnici”) as it stated until recently, but around 2,500 sub-officers and soldiers from the reserve team of the Bulgarian Army and a huge number of officers sent in Macedonia. It was a force that merited respect and whose transfer across the borders was actually impossible without the support and help of the state structures. From the local Macedonian population around 350 peasants were participating in these actions.

The Ottoman Army, well-trained and prepared on time, defeated the Army of Conchev, leaving behind lots of human losses, burnt and desolated villages at the conflict regions, as well as a refugee mass of around 2,000 people that was sheltered across the borders. Thanks to the strong resistance of the Organization against the invasion of the Supreme Committee Forces this provocation was localized and the consequences were limited.

The uprising that was on the initiative of the Supreme Committee caused great interest in Europe and among the diplomatic circles of the Great Forces, which piled on the reformist pressure that should have li-

mitted the Macedonian crisis before it started escalating. However it was more than clear to anyone that the “uprising” had been organized in Bulgaria while the Macedonian uprising was still to come.

The Ottoman government by its side utilized the Bulgarian invasion and announced that its interests in Macedonian “vilayet-s” were seriously endangered and continued reinforcing its garrisons that actually was the beginning of the “war” against the Internal Organization and against the Macedonian population as its fundamental base, with an intention to impede the forthcoming uprising.

After the “supremist uprising” the crisis in Macedonia aggravated. The Supreme Committee forces kept appealing for a new and “bigger uprising”. Vienna and Petrograd moved their forces and took some actions to calm down the situation and to maintain the agreed *status quo* situation of 1897. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Lamsdorf visited Bulgaria and Serbia in order to suggest to them to keep the calm. Then the well-known February’s Reforms followed (1903) and they were a complete failure.

After the “uprising” at Gorna Dzumaja, the Central Committee of the Organization turned against it too, so that a switch of the opinion happened among a part of the leadership headed by Garvanov regarding the arising of so-called “big uprising”. A great contribution to the successful organizing towards uprising had H. Tatarchev and H. Matov, who were the new delegates of the Outlandish branch of the Organization. As far as they arrived in Sofia at the end of 1902 they put up the question about “conciliation” of the Internal Organization and the Supreme Committee, accepting the initiative of Garvanov for a new uprising, which should have been led together with the “supremists” (Supreme Committee forces). For the solution of this fateful problem Tatarchev got in touch with the Prime Minister of the Bulgarian Government.

Aiming to obtain a legal status of the decision about the uprising the Congress at Salonica was convoked by Garvanov (3 - 4 January 1903) at which 17 “delegates” were present, mainly of secondary consideration, most of them legal and occasional participants in the movement. Without serious opinion diversity, by the use of lies and falsehoods during the discussion Garvanov managed to achieve the consent for the spring uprising. The proposal for the uprising was sent to Sofia for the purpose of the opinion sounding. The majority of the eminent activists of the Organization who were supporters of G. Delchev categorically rejected the proposal while the minority of the activist who shared the opinion with Tatarchev

and Matov accepted it. But, in the meantime the new information arrived that the Congress in Salonica had already decided on the Uprising.

The attempts to annihilate the Salonica resolution through direct action in the field in Macedonia failed. Goce Delchev, the person of indisputable authority that perhaps could have made a turnabout in people's opinion, tragically lost his life (Banica, May 4, 1903), when previously at the meeting with D. Gruev he had got his "last strike". Dame Gruev, told him that he was on Garvanov's side as far as this fateful issue for the history of Macedonia was concerned. D. Gruev did his "last strike" to Macedonia too when, at the Local Congress in Bitola held in the period of 2-7 May 1903 in the village of Smilevo, he stood on Sarafov's side supporting the idea for an uprising. It is also worth mentioning that every single thinking person should have known that under the internal as well as international circumstances of that time the uprising would have been fiercely suppressed and that it would have been destined to be an absolute failure.

In the meantime, those who supported the idea for an uprising and for the creation of the pre uprising climate were unexpectedly caught by an event known as the Salonica bombings of 1903 (on the 28th of April) followed through rancorous terror actions by the Turkish *asker* in Salonica, Bitola, Veles and other places.

On the Congress at Smilevo the members of the General Headquarters of the Uprising was elected (D. Gruev, B. Sarafov, A. Lozanchev) and it was decided that the uprising should have started on the 20th of July 1903 (Ilinden – the 2nd of August according to the new calendar). Although the date determined for the uprising was a top secret the Sublime Port managed to reveal the date of the uprising and informed the government of the Great Forces about that event giving the uprising actions the name of "banditry devastating actions". That means that the population received the first information about the Uprising by the Turkish authorities. The information contained the following: "Bulgarian revolutionary banditry groups sets on fire Turkish villages, kills and commits massacres upon captured soldiers and innocent Muslim population" which means that almost all spiteful acts that were carried out by the Turkish *asker* and *bashibozouks* (irregulars) were put on the account of the insurgents. The same or the similar information was served by Athens, adding that the "banditry troops" were killing Greeks. All that wrong information, that vicious propaganda, which was translated into diplomatic reports, was sent to the governments of the Great Forces to those who were making decisions about the Macedonian crisis. Many newspapers

also spread the wrong information. The Austrian Consul in Bitola, August Kral, was one of the rear witnesses that manifested a special interests and virtue to send to the proper government right information about the happenings in his region, about the Organization and the Uprising. He wrote that, “Here (distinguishing the Uprising organized by Conchev) we could really talk about an uprising, the first one in Macedonia, that should be seriously considered...It is an outburst of dissatisfaction of an entire nation..., it is an appeal for help by a deeply oppressed population which is fighting for freedom and for a decent life...The uprising here is almost general and it affects almost all the Slavic part of the vilayet...As far as the activities of the uprising in the vilayet of Bitola are concerned the worse falsehoods are spread around the world. However, the love for the truth and not the partiality towards the Christians ...makes me, although thoroughly in opposition of the standpoints released by the press, but with great pleasure, to conclude that the actions of the insurgents were humane and loyal while the actions of the Turks were barbaric, cruel, Asiatic...The fact that the first do not catch their adversaries through gloves is in the domain of the revolution...”.

“The uprising in the country...is a much profound issue that it is considered”, wrote the distinguished Greek researcher Corbashogly (in his report from March 27, 1904). Regarding the dramatic event in Krushevo he added that “The collaboration of the Orthodox Greeks – Patriarchist), as we were convinced by the Metropolitan of Pelagonia, with the troops was based on a brotherly liberation spirit”.

The uprising spread over the major parts of Macedonia but it was the most organized and the most dynamic in the District of Bitola. They were determined to ruin everything that symbolized the hateful authority, but also to conquest territories and to destroy the current authority replacing it by a new, revolutionary authority. The most concrete expression of this policy was registered during the liberation of Krushevo on the 3rd of August, 1903 and in the process of establishment of the revolutionary authority, through equal participation of all “nationalities”. In this case, the religious communities were treated as nationalities: the Patriarchic (composed in major part of Vlachs and a certain number of Macedonians and orthodox Albanians), the Exarchistic (composed of Macedonians) and Vlach (composed of so-called romanophile, i.e. nationalists as they were regularly called by their affiliates). On the base of the affiliation to the church community in accordance to the regulations in the country the national affiliation was also determined (Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians). The new temporary authority of the so-called Krushevo Republic was

formed from these three religious and propaganda communities. The new authority was consisted of the basic organs of a regularized administrative community – Parliament (60 delegates) and Executive Body (Executive Council) made by 6 members responsible for (in charge of) the six most relevant sectors. The responsibility for the defense of the freedom remained to the leadership of Highland Headquarters that was managing the battles for the liberation of the city, headed by Nikola Karev, who was elected on the Congress in Smilevo.

Soon after the liberation of the city, aiming to conciliate or to neutralize the Muslim population of the area, the leadership sent the well-known Manifest in which the objectives of the revolutions and the will for common life in liberated Macedonia had been exposed.

Besides Krushevo, other towns were liberated in the district such as Klisura (near Kostur) and Neveska (near Lerin).

Considering the achievements due to the enthusiasm of the participants, the dimension and the dynamism of the activities, the region of Kostur was the first place in competition with all regions that took part in the Uprising. In the Region of Bitola with an exception of Prilep all other parts participated in the Uprising.

Other districts in Macedonia started the Uprising, too, but due to the fact that they were insufficiently prepared and for some other reasons, the results of the uprising were remarkably weaker. Considering these participating districts Adrianopol was an exception to some extent.

9.1 The suppression of the Uprising

The first task of the Sublime Port during the suppression of the Uprising was to take over Krushevo. The action was well organized and Bahtiyar Pasha with great forces aimed at the city. There were battles all over the city but considering the intensity and fieriness, besides the battle at Sliva, the battle at Mechkin Kamen overcame all the battles ever led on the territory of Macedonia during 1903. The battle itself is an epopee and that's why it is profoundly traced in the consciousness of our people, as a symbol of its heroism and self-sacrifice. The leading role in the battle belongs to the great hero and main Voyvoda, Pitu Guli. After the battle at Mechkin Kamen, Krushevo was eventually defeated on the 13th of August.

The general campaign against the Uprising in the District of Bitola started on the 25th of August and lasted about 2 months. The short lasting and fierce confrontation between the slave and the master ended with hard

consequences of the whole life of the Macedonian people, because this war was not only against the armed forces of the Organization but also against the entire Macedonian population.

During the Uprising almost 16 areas with 200 inhabited places suffered losses, 12,400 houses were burnt, or 71,000 people lost their homes and 30,000 people left their birth places. Over 8,800 people, mostly rural, were killed.

The Ilinden Uprising was a Macedonian uprising. It was the rebellion of the Macedonian people and wider, of the majority of the Christian population no matter what Church it was praying, what schools it was attending and what (nationality) name beard. "We have a Slavic uprising in Macedonia" Ion Dragumus excitedly informed his father in Athens..."The whole Slavophone (writer's note, "Macedonian") population follow the direction of the Committee – both the Orthodox (writer's note, "patriarchist") and schismatic (writer's note, "egzarhist") and mostly on a volunteer base..."

The Ilinden Uprising and the consequences of it resounded loudly in Europe and America. The standpoint of the neighboring countries regarding the Uprising was negative and hostile. The governmental circles in Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, interested exclusively in occupying and partition of Macedonia, could have been satisfied only with the suppression of the Uprising. The Great Forces instead, which were interested in maintaining the status quo position on the Balkan Peninsula, approved and were actually expecting the suppression of the Uprising. Austro-Hungary and Russia required from the Turkish government to establish peace and order in the country and that signified giving a right to Turkey to use force accordingly to the needs and the Ottomans knew how too use the force. Great Britain and France as well as Italy to some extent had different points of view regarding the happenings in Macedonia. The Count Lansdown thought that Europe should not have stayed indifferent any more as far as the events in Macedonia were concerned. He suggested taking measures that would end the "disgraceful" situation in Macedonia. The results of that policy were the so called Mirtsshteg reforms, created and proclaimed by the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Emperor in October 1903, with the consent of the other great forces.

The great self-sacrifice of the rebelled people, then the fierceness of the Turkish authorities applied for the suppression of the Uprising aroused sympathy and sorrow among the European and American public. Therefore various Macedonian Committees were formed that were spreading around the truth about Macedonia and were collecting help for

the suffering population. The eminent persons such as Leo Tolstoy, Anatole France, Victor Bernard and others participated in these actions. The help was arriving from various European countries and from America but the help from the British has a special place in the historical memory of the Macedonian people. It seemed like the whole British society took part in the action for the salvation of the people who stayed homeless. The Secretary of the Aid Committee, Henry Noel Brailsford, together with his wife, arrived in Bitola in October 1903 in order to manage the aid distribution action. The Balkan Committee continued sending aid during the whole of 1904.

The Ilinden Uprising and everything that came as a follow up contributed to the creation of the new and qualitatively different political situation in Macedonia. The Uprising actually put an end to an era of the history of Macedonia and also of the history of the Ottoman Empire and initiated a new one. It signed the final stage of the decaying process of the Ottoman state and announced its disappearing from the Balkan Peninsula. The Ilinden tragic events caused the first more serious interfering of the Great Forces in the internal affairs of the Empire after the Congress in Berlin.

The National Liberation struggle in the period of Ilinden represents a turning point in the historical process of the development of the Macedonian national awareness. Proclaiming the principle of autonomy as an aim by itself, mobilizing the masses by the name of that principle, taking care and constantly defending the autochthonous and autonomous character of the Organization, and in a few words, leading the struggle on all fronts, against all opponents of the Macedonian peculiarity, heading the people in an armed uprising for obtaining a proper statehood, the MRO objectively contributed to the development and reinforcement of the awareness of the people regarding the Macedonian expanse as a separate enclosed territory which is a property of a separate nation, and its fatherland with a celebrated past. It was also emphasized the specificity that only through a self-sacrifice the Macedonian people now and here where it had been existing for centuries should have provided liberty and created normal living conditions attaining autonomy or its own state!

9.2 Macedonia after the Ilinden Uprising

In his book “On Macedonian matters”, Krste Petkov Misirkov with arguments proves and defends the existence of the Macedonian na-

tion and emphasizes the requirement for affirmation and use of the Macedonian language as a standard language of the Macedonian people. The book appears at the end of 1903 in Sofia. The reaction of the opponents of independent Macedonia to the book was fierce and hostile. The book was confiscated and destroyed and the author was brutally attacked so that he was forced to flee in Russia. Nevertheless, several copies of the book were distributed and spared so that in 1945 it was actually used as a base in the process of recognition and legalization of the Macedonian language and orthography.

The appearing of the book "On Macedonian matters" by K. P. Mirskov, just by itself represented a separate chapter in our history. If we exclude this event, the period after the suppression of the Ilinden Uprising could be characterized by three other major events that happened simultaneously but considering their content they had been only apparently disconnected. These three events that marked the following historical period of Macedonia were as follows: The Mirtsshteg reforms that were supported by the Great Forces; the so-called armed propaganda, led by the three neighboring countries and the destiny or the future of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement supported by the TMORO-The Secret Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization.

The reforms were related to the territories of the three Macedonian vilayets and they should have been implemented by the Turkish authorities, headed by the main inspector, Hilmi Pasha and with the assistance of the European experts. The aim was through reforming the administration, *gendarmeries*, the financial sector and so on to establish order within the state administration that would contribute to the amelioration of the situation and would have been achieved through the previous agreement that of keeping the status quo situation in the Turkish Balkan. The Turkish government was not interested in successful implementation of the reforms, while the Organization considering them as incomplete and insufficient had a negative approach towards them. The successful implementation of the reforms was not acceptable by the neighboring countries either. Nevertheless the MRO did not accept the reforms their implementation however was not being impeded by it.

The Ilinden Uprising resounded loudly in particular in the neighboring monarchies. They could not believe that the Macedonian Organization and the Macedonian people were prepared and capable of doing such immense deeds. They were quite disturbed by the Uprising and it caused reversal of their policy towards Macedonia. Their new policy concept was mainly based on the following principles: increased aggressive-

ness against the Macedonian revolutionary action, use of weapons against the revolutionary forces and in general against their propaganda, (on the path to) partition Macedonia and (on the path to) causing a war.

Various troops, organized, equipped and led by officers, whose action was behind the mask of “protection of their own population from the terror” of the Macedonian revolutionaries and opponents, were being sent to Macedonia as a support to the propaganda carried out by the church and by the schools in charge of keeping the old positions in the country but also with a task to contribute to the creation of the new positions in the field. Taking into consideration the terror applied and the use of the brutal instruments the most distinguished ones were the Greek troops (andarti) managed by Athens. The Macedonian and the Vlach population was the population that suffered the most because of the fact that they participated in the Uprising and disobeyed the Greek Church and propaganda.

The conflict among the Greek, Serbs and Supremist military units on the territory of Macedonia and the fierce clashes with the civil population caused chaos in the life of the whole Christian population. The emigration especially of the male adult population in America as well as in neighboring countries and outside Macedonia within the territory of the Empire started intensively.

Simultaneously, the MRO was desperately trying to consolidate its orders. The turbulences were of such a character that they affected both, all the segments of its functioning and its existence as an organized revolutionary force.

Soon after the Uprising the leading structures of the Organization initiated a serious activity of consultation and analysis in order to get as much as possible objective assessment regarding the substantial events that had happened in Macedonia and to develop points of view regarding the future steps of the Ilinden revolution. The initial discussions started at the end of 1903 but the first larger meeting in the presence of the most competent leading persons was held in Sofia, in January 1904. Despite the presence of the delegates of the Outlandish branch of the Organization, Dr. H. Tatarchev and H. Matov there were also numerous distinguished regional leaders, then J. Sandanski, B. Sarafov, D. Hadzhi Dimov and some others. Since the beginning of their discussions the two points of view and tendencies emerged which had been present within the leadership even before the Uprising. The consultancy namely ended with differentiation of two factions among the leadership of the Organization, which later became well known as “the right-wing faction” headed by H.

Matov and Tatarchev and “the left-wing faction” headed by the members of Serres District and supported by many other distinguished revolutionaries from different parts of Macedonia. The “right-wing faction” insisted on maintaining the existing leadership of the Organization while the “left-wing faction” required essential changes in its leading structure, its decentralization and democratization, in terms of creating somehow a protection from the repetition of the old mistakes and for better implementation of the revolutionary tasks. At the meeting the Directive for the future activity of the Organization was adopted which actually resulted in a program platform of the left-winged forces. The thorough conversations and discussions led to the general cognition that the reconstruction and consolidation of the Organization could be achieved only through holding congresses in each district as the most acceptable democratic form for the solution of the problems and for the election of the leadership. The first such congress was held by the Regional Organization of the District of Bitola so called “Congress of Prilep” in May 1904 on which were present G. Petrov, D. Gruev, P. Toshev and many other famous leaders that remained in the district. Sharp disagreement emerged from the discussion. The disagreement regarded the question if the Organization should keep the existing structure as suggested by D. Gruev or to be decentralized and democratized as suggested by G. Petrov and P. Toshev. This polarization of opinions became more evident and was spreading over, affecting the congresses that were being held in the other districts too in the following period until August, 1905 when the Congress of Serres was held as the last one in the series before the General Congress of the Organization scheduled for October that year. In the meantime regional meetings were being held too, so that almost all parts of the Organization had a possibility to expose their opinions regarding the tragic happenings of 1903 and to develop their position in regard of the future course of the National Liberation Struggle.

The Congress of the Organization, which was held in Rila Monastery, started in October 1905 and terminated at the end of the month. Five items were on the agenda and they covered the most important problems related to the functioning and the activity of the Organization. The most important item on the agenda was concerning the structure and the leadership of the Organization. Nearly 20 days discussions were being led. On this item actually the first disagreement appeared between the two already created factions, the “moderate conservative” or right – wing faction and “radical reformatory” left – wing faction as called by H. Siljanov. The outstanding representatives of the first one were H. Matov and Dr. H. Ta-

tarchev (their participation was not allowed on the Congress) and their ideas were represented and advocated by their like-minded persons present at the congress and B. Sarafov, while H. Dimov, G. Petrov, P. Toshchev, J. Sandanski and others were representing the other faction.

At the request of the Congress, General Conchev had to disband his "supremist" organization while B. Sarafov who had received an amount of money from the Serbian Government as a favor in return for the permission given to the Serbian troops to enter in Macedonia was severely deplored. Considering this as well as the chaos that he created with his troops in the country he was sentenced to death on probation.

The winning policy of the Rilla's Congress was that of the majority faction i.e. the "left-wing" faction, which was expressing the will of the Revolutionary Macedonia. The "right-wing" faction was not strong or brave enough to resist openly against some decisions without discovering completely itself as a bearer of the foreign interests. But soon after the Congress the "right-wing" faction consolidated its orders (arrays) ready to attack in terms of annihilation of the adopted decisions and directions of the Rila Congress. Above all it considered them as "anti Bulgarian" and that's why it was decided by all means to impede their implementation. The "right-wing" faction moved decisively against the majority without hiding its pro-Bulgarian orientation proclaiming the Organization itself as Bulgarian, standing on opinion that the Organization activity should also protect the interests of Bulgaria. The opponents from the "left-wing" were proclaimed as a "faction". The "left-winged" were named "internationalistic, socialistic, Marxistic and anarchistic" etc. and all this was aimed to compromise them almost as betrayers and to characterize them as incapable of leading the activity of the Organization. Learning on the Bulgarian state structures and finances it started a campaign against the Rila Congress and against the "left-wing" faction so that through revealing the date for the next coming General Congress, and skipping all form of making decisions in a legal and democratic way, through organizing their own meetings it self-declamed a majority and with this act it seceded from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) and constituted in a separate organization. "After they had negated the principles of the Organization they split off and created another organization – not revolutionary any more, but acting in favor of the Bulgarian national propaganda", this was concluded in the first letter from the revolutionaries from Serres, which had been written upon the assassination of B. Sarafov and I. Garvanov organized by the Sandanist (supporters of J. Sandanski)

The insisting of the “right-winged” to be recognized as a successor of the historical Internal Organization and to eliminate the “left-wing” as a legal and decisive factor of the revolutionary movement was a reason for great conflicts and uncertainties. The victory could have been only achieved through expulsion of the forces that appeared to be uncompromising opponents of their pro “supermists” policy from the leading structures of the Organization and it referred especially to the delegates from the District of Serres and Strumica, headed by J. Sandanski. So they prepared a conspiracy against Sandanski (an attack from ambush at Rashina and the defeat of the conspiring troop that was sent), which was discovered on time. B. Sarafov and I. Garvanov were accused for the conspiracy so that they were condemned to death and liquidated by T. Panica (November 28, 1907 in Sofia). This event was a strong strike and defeat of the “right-winked”.

All dissonances and conflicts accelerated the definitive disintegration of the IMRO (VMRO), which was sanctioned on the Kustendil meeting (called Congress), convoked by H. Matov and his like-minded people in March 1908. This signed the beginning of a new era of the Macedonian National and Revolutionary Liberation Movement.

10. Young Turk Revolution (1908)

The so called Young Turk Movement appeared on the political scene in the ‘70s of the XIX century when the new social forces appeared within the Ottoman Empire – the bourgeois. The aim of the movement was above all to maintain the integrity of the Empire, through implementation of reforms of democratic character that should not have made any essential change within the social and economical sector of the country, but that would have improved in some extent the life of the population and moderate the serious existing crisis. The incapacity of the bourgeois was the reason why this movement was headed by the intelligence, i.e. the military intelligence – the officers.

The first Young Turk Organization appeared in 1889 in Istanbul, under the name “Unity and Progress”. It also established its own center outside the Empire, in Paris, which used to have branches in some other cities in Europe, too.

The Ilinden Uprising, Mirtsshteg reforms and the armed conflicts in Macedonia were the events that were particularly worrying and drew the attention of the Young Turks. They believed that everything that was

happening in Macedonia, especially the Mirtsshteg reforms were seriously under-mining the Turkish authority in European Turkey. This was the reason why the focus of the Young Turk activity was put on Macedonia. Here actually the Young Turk Uprising began, with the Third Army Corps (the Headquarters in Salonica). It started on the 3rd of July 1908 and the information was that the Sultan had founded the Constitution of 1876, arrived in Salonica just on the 24th of July. From this day on the period of the social system called “freedom” (“hurriet”) was established in Turkey.

The victory over the absolutism was admiringly accepted in Macedonia. The twinning between the argued Christian and Muslims due to the propaganda activities started and the messages containing brothers love, harmony, equality could have been heard everywhere in the country. The prisoners were let free and the expelled got back home. The troops of the agitators that were sowing fair through Macedonia, through legal procedure disbanded. Some workers from the Macedonian cities also joined the movement so that they brought up their class requirements.

The new government was established in Istanbul but there were no representatives from the Young Turk Party. Salonica, where the headquarters of Central Committee “Unity and Progress” was located, remained still the center of the Young Turks. Simultaneously with some changes, mainly in the administrative sphere, the Young Turks carried out the Parliamentary elections and managed to gain absolute ascendancy. Its President became Ahmed Riza Bey, who was also President of the party “Unity and Progress”.

Meanwhile the opposing forces, where the clerical and reactionary forces prevailed, succeeded to consolidate its orders and to begin a counter-campaign. On the 13th of April 1909 they succeeded to take over the authority in Istanbul and to push out the Young Turks from their positions. But against the reaction in Istanbul the Balkan provinces arose, primarily the army and the population in Macedonia. In a fast procedure organized forces, such as the forces of the Third Salonica Corps accompanied by numerous volunteers, from whom around 1,200 were Macedonians, headed by J. Sandanski as well as the Albanian volunteers moved towards Istanbul. After a three-day period of fierce battles the putsch rebels were defeated and the social system reestablished. On the 27th of April the People’s Assembly dethroned Abdul Hamid II and appointed his brother Mehmed Reshad V. After this victory, the era of the Young Turks rule in the Empire started. The quality of their rule definitively depended on the salvation or the fall of the state.

The period after April 1909 was characterized by the dynamic political life in which the social forces in Macedonia, utilizing the new conditions of life started, they organizing themselves in order to continue their old activity but by the other name to continue their old activity, which was still in force. In this context the Young Turks did not change anything. They left the Patriarchy and the Exarchate to keep functioning with all their privileges that they previously had had. The probationer liberties enabled the propaganda to organize themselves into various clubs (Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian) and other kind of associations and to participate with their own delegates in the Parliament, but from all these opportunities the poor and oppressed masses did not have any benefits. They were expecting land, work, bread, but the Young Turks did not plan to start resolving the essential social issues nor did they want to make the majority of the people in Macedonia their loyal alliances and faithful protector of the Revolution and the state.

In the Macedonian revolutionary movement the old problems and divisions were still present. The “right-winged” only formally accepted the constitutional reforms and under the new conditions it continued to implement the Great-Bulgarian nationalist and annexation oriented policy in Macedonia. The new social system in Turkey “huriet” was really accepted only by the “left-winged”, headed by the people around Sandanski. The “left-winged” created the People’s Federative Party (NFP), whose program provided the implementation of the radical economical and political reforms that should have satisfied the majority of the oppressed and impoverished population and to bring it closer to the Young Turk Revolution. This should have reinforced the victory of the Revolution and should have saved the Empire from the almost certain fall.

The fundamental requirement of the People’s Federative Party was the re-systematization of Turkey and people’s self-administration that would ensure a national equality to all ethnical communities and minorities in Turkey. The starting point was the fact that this was the only way in which the Macedonian people would have acquired their national rights and would have secured the territorial integrity while the Empire would have achieved its democratic growth and survival.

The implementation of such reforms to a remarkable extent signified the change of the system that was not acceptable by the Young Turks and it did not also match with the interests of the neighboring monarchies. They preferred a “sick” and weak Turkey then a reformed and the European like state.

After the suppression of the counter-revolution of 1909 the Young Turks, feeling dominant instead of continuing with the implementation of the reforms that were eagerly expected by all people and especially by the Macedonian population and that way to strengthen their positions, they took completely other direction. Finding excuses that it was necessary to ensure the safety of the country they brought into force various laws, which transformed the violence over the population that admiringly accepted their victory into a ruling system. The Law against the troops (chetti) and the Law for the colonization of Macedonia whose application caused an immense dissatisfaction among the Christian population were among the most popular. The actions for disarmament and the attempts for colonization of Macedonia with the Muslim population remained in the memory of the Macedonian people as the most brutal “achievement” from the Young Turk legislation. A major part of the benefits gained in July 1908 was completely destroyed by the Young Turks themselves nearly by 1910. That was the reason for the aggravation of the relationship between the Turkish authorities and J. Sandanski, who, nevertheless was one of the Christians in Macedonia, he was the person who contributed significantly to the struggle against the absolutism of the Sultan’s rule and the best friends of the Young Turks.

When the principles of the “hurriet” were abandoned in the Empire and the previous system got back to significant extent, the Young Turks created the base for the three Balkan neighboring countries to join their forces and to fulfill their long – time expected moment for a “national unification” by the means of war through appropriation of Macedonian land. The plan of the Young Turks was that with the elimination of absolutism but without radical reforms in the economical and social system (agrarian reform and others) would manage to gain the sympathy from the oppressed and dissatisfied masses in Macedonia and wider on the Balkan Peninsula and that could save the state from its fall resulted as unreal.

MACEDONIA IN THE PERIOD FROM THE BALKAN WARS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD WAR II IN THE BALKAN (1912–1941)

1. The struggle of the Macedonian people for liberation and creation of an autonomous state – as one of the reasons for the beginning of the Balkan Wars

The first Balkan war had consequences of many ways, among which two of them are particularly important. The first one is internal while the other one is of international character.

The reasons for internal character actually represent a splice of many problems generated by the Ottoman social and political system as well as by the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character of the Empire. The first and the main reason was a long-lasting and painful decay of the Ottoman feudalism, its incapacity for modification and adaptation on the needs for development and modernization of the time, especially in the field of industry, the resolution of the ownership relations in the field of agriculture, i.e. the agrarian issue, the decay of the agricultural production, the increased dependence of the state on the food and industrial products exportation, the bad and corrupted state administration, the pon-

derous and non-military apparatus, the state obligations towards the strategic capital etc.

Another important reason for the decay of the Ottoman Empire derived from the numerous controversies in the sphere of international relations and the incapacity of the state to solve them. Despite of the skillfully organized administrative and territorial organization of the state that disabled the territorial grouping of different nations within its territory authority could not have stopped the national unification of some peoples nor to suppress their ambitions for liberation and creation of their own states. This phenomenon was being present during the whole XIX century when also some of the neighboring countries of Macedonia had been created, such as: Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. The uprisings of the oppressed nations on the whole vast territory of the Ottoman Empire, among which was also the Macedonian nation at the beginning of the XX century, testify this phenomenon.

An important place as far as the understanding of the reasons for the Balkan Wars belongs to the ambitions of the Macedonian people for its own liberation and for the creation of its own autonomous state. The aspiration of the Macedonian people towards the liberty in international context on the Balkan and wider in Europe would be synthesized in the metaphor about the unsolved Macedonian national issue. Within this slogan were placed national aspirations of the Macedonian people but also the interests of the neighboring Balkan states formulated in the unsolved Balkan issue. Exactly this contradiction between the ambitions of the Macedonian people for a sole and undivided Macedonia and the ambitions of the neighboring countries to possess the whole or parts of Macedonia would be one of the key factors that after the Berlin's Congress (1878) would lead to conflict and would bring the Balkan Wars (1912-1913).

2. The Balkan Wars and the destiny of Macedonia

The negotiations for the borders from the neighboring “tribes” – Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks in Macedonia immediately after the Congress of Berlin (1878) developed in one of the most important political objectives in which the interests of the three already established states in the Balkans were interweaving. The negotiations about the partition of Macedonia, despite with various intensity and with often breaks, was initiated between Serbia and Greece.

At the end of the XIX century emerged the idea for creation of the Balkan League. Then (1878) was concluded the first agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria for the partition of Macedonia into spheres of domination. From then to the moment of signing the agreement between Bulgaria and Serbia or within the period of the whole 15 years (1878 - 1912) although with periodical breaks the conversations for the definition of the interests of the both countries in Macedonia were being led. The conversations that brought to the definite signing of the agreement between the allies started in October 1911 and ended on the 13th of March, 1912. Actually then the agreement of friendship and Alliance was signed between the Bulgarian Empire and the Kingdom of Serbia. However, at the same time with this agreement, which was of public character, in Sofia on the 29th of April 1912 was signed another Secret Annex. In the Article N.2 from the Annex were demarcated the borders of Macedonia without mentioning its name. Among the rest of all in the Annex was mentioned that in a case that this unnamed but territorially demarcated geographical area, “because of the common interests of Bulgarians and Serbs, or due to some other reasons ... happened not to be organized in one separate autonomous area” the borders were predetermined and it was divided between these two countries”. That means that exactly the territory of Macedonia, whose borders – without mentioning its name – were precisely marked, and which was precisely divided in a case that both sides could not reach an agreement for its organization as an autonomous area, metaphorically had been marked as “litigious and non-litigious” so that for its alleged marking off was agreed to refer to the Russian Emperor to arbitrate.

The agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria actually was a basis of the Balkan Alliance so that later Montenegro and Greece joined it too. They signed bilateral agreements but in these documents there was not a single word that could indicate some territorial problems.

The first Balkan war started on the 18th of October 1912 with the attack of Montenegro on the Ottoman Empire. It also marked the beginning of the six-year long war in the Balkan, from 1912 to 1918. During this war Macedonia was one of the main battlefields.

The first Balkan war from the technical point of view lasted a month and a half. With this ended a century long agony of the Ottoman feudalism and Ottoman Empire. The fall of the Ottoman Empire actually entailed the disintegration of the ethno-political unity of Macedonia. The most important battles of the First Balkan War happened on the territory of Macedonia (near Kumanovo and Bakarno Gumno, then near Bitola) as well as on the Thrace Front. The Serbian Army reached Lerin and Gevge-

lija and occupied the major part of Vardar Macedonia and almost the whole of Albania. The Bulgarian troops occupied the eastern Macedonia along the line Gorna Dzumaja (current Blagoevgrad) – Stip – Gevgelija – Kukush – Cavala – and large part of Thrace. The rest of the Macedonian territory including Lerin was occupied by Greece. The Bulgarian and Greek troops entered Salonica at the same time but the Ottoman command center surrendered the city to the Greeks.

On the 4th of December 1912 a truce was called. The peace negotiations started on the 16th of December 1912 in London. The main factors of the peace negotiations were the ambassadors of the Great European forces, such as: Russia, England, France, Austro-Hungary, Germany and Italy. The negotiations were held in a tense atmosphere especially when on the 27th of November 1912 a decision was brought so that Serbia withdrew from Albania. After that the negotiations were stopped because of the renewed conflict between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire but they continued on the 17th of April 1913 and on the 30th of May 1913 the Peace Agreement between the Balkan Allies and the Ottoman Empire was signed.

The signed Peace Agreement in London between the belligerent sides did not resolve the situation of the conquered territories, i.e. it did not mark off the territories among the countries-members of the Balkan Alliance. They were left on their own to solve this problem. This was actually the reason for the Second Balkan War.

It was not accidental at all that in the agreement for the partnership among the members of the Balkan Alliance it was not agreed how and in what manner would be organized and implemented the territorial division in a case of victory. Upon this issue during the peace negotiations with the Ottoman Empire the discussions were also led at the same time between Greece and Serbia in terms of their positions on the territory of Macedonia and about creation of their own alliance. The objective was both countries to force Bulgaria to renounce a part of its conquered territories. The problem engraved when Serbia on the account of its compulsory withdrawal from Albania asked for an adequate territorial compensation. Bulgaria not only did not think of renouncing part of its conquered Macedonian territory but it also considered that it was high time to solve this problem with Macedonia once and forever in its own favor, through military conflict with its rivals. Convinced in its own estimation that it would be the winner from the battle against the allied Serbia and Greece, Bulgaria, on the 29th of June 1913, ordered its troops to attack the forces of Serbia and Greece. This way actually the Second Balkan War started.

Ten days later on the 10th and on the 14th of July, Romania and the Ottoman Empire entered into the war against Bulgaria. Bulgaria was defeated and it capitulated.

During the Second Balkan War after the outburst of mutual rage and intolerance, the weapon and the hater devastated the region. All this was left on the neck of the Macedonian people. An example of this was the battles at the river Bregalnica and in Ovce Pole as well as the pitiless destruction of the cities of Kukus, Dojran, Gevgelija and Strumica. About the attitude of the foreign armies on the territory of Macedonia, their fierceness and hatred is best testified by the information from the Carnegie commission and they are only in regards of the part of Aegean Macedonia. Nearly 170 villages and 16,000 houses were destroyed, burnt etc. Under the pressure of the Greek military and para-military formations more than 100,000 people were forced to leave their homes.

After the capitulation of Bulgaria, the Peace Conference was held in Bucharest in the period from the 28th of July to the 10th of August 1913. On the 10th of August was signed the peace agreement between the belligerent sides, in the history known as Bucharest Agreement. This agreement for almost 100 years was perceived by the Macedonian people like a synonym of ethnical and territorial (dividing into quarters) torment of Macedonia. It was a tragic ending related to the wholeness of Macedonia but also to the relationships among the Balkan peoples. It was an end of the aspirations for partition of Macedonia or for complete overruling, which started after the Congress of Berlin (1878). Considering objectively the situation, in all combination of discussions led about the destiny of Macedonia and Macedonian people, there was not an alternative for the aspiration of the Macedonian people to create its own Macedonian state just like its neighbors did.

However, the signing of the Peace agreement of Bucharest did not mean the end of the military conflicts in the Balkan and especially in Macedonia. Namely, on the 29th of July 1914 Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia and this was the beginning of the World War I. The war represented the conflict between the two confronted blocks of the Great Forces in Europe. England and Russia belonged to one block and after 1915 Italy joined their group while later the same was done by Japan and USA. The other block, the central one, was composed of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy (up to 1915) and the same year Bulgaria and Turkey joined them. The crucial thing of the conflict between these two blocks was around the control over the world's maritime roads (lines). It

was also required the new division of the colonies and the forces from the central block, headed by Germany, particularly insisted on this.

Long negotiations were being led regarding the association of Bulgaria with one or the other block. The final outcome of these negotiations or the decision Bulgaria to affiliate the Central Block was due to the estimation that the Alliance with this block “would make a guarantee for Macedonia”.

The Bulgarian attack on Serbia in the autumn 1915 actually represented the involvement of Bulgaria into the First World War. In a short period of time its army managed to occupy the territory of Vardar Macedonia and reached the border between Greece and Serbia demarcated with the Agreement of Bucharest. With slight movements in the south towards Lerin or in the north in the direction of Bitola within the three-year period it would represent the Macedonian Front line of the two belligerent blocks. At the end of the war, around one million and two hundred thousand soldiers were positioned on the both sides of the front. During the period of three years the territory of Macedonia was a target of devastations. The cities of Doiran, Bitola, Voden, Lerin, Enidze Vardar, Gumendze and Kostur every single day were targets of the cannons' fire. Many villages were also destroyed or burnt or simply wiped from the ground's face for good.

The turning point of the First World War actually happened exactly on the Macedonian Front. Here the forces of the Entente at the second half of 1918 started a great campaign against the allied forces of the Central Block. Bulgaria was defeated and on the 17th of September 1918 it capitulated. After that, sequentially capitulated also Turkey, Austro-Hungary and at least at the beginning of November, Germany capitulated, too. This represented the end of the World War I and it was at the same time the end of the six-year warfare on the territory of Macedonia (1912 – 1918)

3. Macedonian people at a crossroad during the period of the wars (1912-1918) and after that

A calm analytical review of everything that was happening to the Macedonian people from the period of the Young Turk Revolution and the period of the Balkan Wars to the end of the World War I and after it brings about many questions. The first one and exclusively important is the question: How was it possible that after the bloody suppression of the

Ilinden uprising and the fierce repressions over devastated villages after it, actually during the first months after the Young Turk Revolution in Macedonia, to be created an atmosphere of conciliation, which was unseen before, among the Macedonian people and the people belonging to other ethnical communities and confessions. The conciliation actually seduced almost all structures of the Macedonian liberation movement and created an atmosphere of faith that the period of peace and tranquility was coming as well as the period in which the aspirations for creation of autonomous Macedonia within the framework of the democratized and decentralized Ottoman Empire might be achieved. Therefore, another question emerges or how it was possible, only two years after that conciliation, the situation typical for the period before the Young Turk Revolution to be brought back so that it brought about many disappointments and the people were actually forced to ask for kind of help in military action of the neighbors against the Ottoman Empire. What is more peculiar is the fact that this request was identical by both parts, the forces of the national liberation movement that were in relation with the political interests of the neighboring countries as well as by the forces of Jane Sandanski and some others who firmly believed and honestly were acting in direction of preserving the compactness of Macedonia within the framework of the democratized Ottoman Empire. They clearly distinguished the fact that any other political option opposite to that one would bring to disintegration and denationalization of Macedonia as well as to the assimilation of the Macedonian people.

There were significant reasons for such development of the events. Among them mostly mentioned were: the law against political parties, Ottomanization of the non-Turk population, the law against the press etc. They were surely really important for the increasing of the tension between the Macedonian people and the regime of the Young Turks. But objectively the above-mentioned arguments and some other acts were not of primary significance. The experience from the Young Turk Revolution and from the events that followed it demonstrate something different: the unimplemented processes for transformation of the social development, the necessity for transformation of the ownership relations (as in the field of agriculture), the underdeveloped economical situation and the dependence of the country actually are ranked as most significant for that course of the events. The cumbersome and unproductive state administration and military system, the slowing down of the democratization processes, the spiky inter-ethnic relations, the secessionism, the aggravation of the international relations, the strong resistance from the oppo-

nents regarding the changes, the fear from the fall of the state and so on had also their own impact on the situation. On the other side, the oppressed and exploited people, especially the Macedonian people had no time to waste. They requested a quick improvement of the situation, which was far behind the situation of the free neighboring peoples. All this and many other remnants of the previous system in the everyday life such as the corruption, the betrayals, inequality and so on were additional reasons for the active change from the positive political atmosphere of support to the Young Turk regime to the creation of an atmosphere full with rage and hostility and conciseness for the need of changing the situation regardless what might have happened after that.

Exactly because of that in the last years of the Ottoman rule, among the Macedonian people emerged the dilemma of where they should direct, how to achieve and with whom they were supposed to act. Regarding those segments of the Macedonian population that were under chauvinistic propaganda there were not problems in that context. They completely disposed themselves to the needs of the troops of their mentors. In order to gain the sympathies from the suspicious the faithless people they spread over the information that with signing of the alliance agreement, Serbia and Bulgaria would also oblige themselves to create the autonomous Macedonia on the liberated territory of Macedonia. This lie has a facilitating effect in terms of attracting the part of the Macedonian liberation movement that were firmly determined not to give up the idea for creation of autonomous Macedonia. It was the case of Jane Sandanski. He and his affiliates swallowed the whole story hook, line and sinker and joined the Bulgarian army in the battles against the Ottoman Empire. Despite the fact that Sandanski and its troops entered into the war as an independent factor its position was by no means different from that of the "partisan units", which were headed by Alexandar Protogerov and Petar Darvingov and were under the command of the Bulgarian Army.

Around 2,000 Macedonian solders were active on the territory of Macedonia and they were of great support to the Bulgarian troops. These units actually liberated the cities of Melnik, Bansko, Nevreokop, Krushevo, Lerin, Gumendze, Veles and Ohrid and here they formed local administration units that were functional till the arrival of the allied troops. Unfortunately, the triumphs of the Macedonian solders were exclusively, if we could say so, of technical character. They were not carried out under the Macedonian insignia nor they were bearer of the Macedonian political objectives in compliance with the Ilinden uprising. In this context, the troops of Jane Sandanski represented an exception. Actually in Macedo-

nia the Macedonian soldiers were fighting within the “partisan units” without bearing the name. In Thrace, where a respectable number of Macedonian soldiers had been sent, they were fighting under the name of “Macedonian – Adrianople voluntaries”.

Mainly, declaratively, the Macedonian soldiers during the First Balkan War were acting in compliance with two different program objectives. The first one was defined by the Central Committee of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) in December 1912 – and it contained “the entire and undivided Macedonia to be preserved for the Bulgarian people” and the second one, which was much more emotional than realistic, was articulated in the struggle of J. Sandanski for an autonomous Macedonia.

The Balkan Wars especially the period between the First and the Second Balkan War caused complete confusion among the members of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement. This state continued to the end of the World War I. Realistically, the Macedonia Revolutionary Movement with all its divided structures participated in the wars serving the achievement of the Bulgarian aspiration towards Macedonia. Naturally it does not mean that there were not resistance, protests, petitions and in one word, actions from some groups that were against the division of Macedonia and were supporting the idea for “its organization as an independent autonomous unit in the Balkan”. Such an action was the attempt carried out by the group of Chupovski in Salonica, Skopje and Veles, says Martulkov, in the winter of 1912/13.

The leaders of this group were chased away. Far away from the Balkan, on the 1st of March 1913 the group of Chupovski sent a memorandum to the Conference of the Ambassadors in London in which was required Macedonian state to be created with all its political, cultural and religious attributes on the liberated territory of Macedonia.

Closely before the beginning of the Second Balkan War, the Macedonian colony in Petrograd, on the 7th of June 1913 sent a Memorandum to the governments and to the social opinion of the allied Balkan states containing clear program determination towards the creation of the Macedonian state. However, considering the fact that all this had been exposed publicly but far away from Macedonia and as a request by a group of Macedonian intellectuals it did not resound at all.

Jane Sandanski manifested the most courageous behavior, when toasting at the celebration of the Bulgarian Army in Salonica he demonstrated openly and without fear his espousals to obtain the autonomy of Macedonia. But this ended as an incident only that more that certainly

increased the rage against the Jane's espousals for autonomous Macedonia and later by order of Ferdinand he was killed on the 21st of April 1915.

During the Balkan Wars Macedonia was tremendously devastated and disfigured. The Second Balkan War, although short-lasting, left behind undeletable traces such as desolation, ruins and exile of around ten thousands people in emigration.

The seeded illusions and rage that characterized the Balkan Wars were reasons for the both uprisings: The Tikvesh Uprising, which was raised in the period between the two Balkan Wars and the Ohrid Uprising that happened after the agreement of Bucharest had been signed. Their suppression was done in an absolutely bestial way.

However, despite the destruction and burning of the material goods of the people and the destruction of their lives something that inflicted a particularly heavy strike to the Macedonian liberation movement people was the lost of self-assertion, as well as the lost of faith in proper capacity to be able to gain better conditions of life by one side and by the other side it was the ideological disfiguration of the proper national liberation struggle. The defeat from the Balkan Wars caused almost total capitulation of all ideological structures. Some segments from the left-wing intellectuals adapted and harmonized their points of view regarding the liberation objectives of the Macedonian people with the objectives of the Bulgarian state. An example of this represents the inclusion of the eminent Macedonian intellectuals and creative brains of the Macedonian liberation movement into the administrative apparatus of the Bulgarian occupying state administration (Ghorce Petrov, Dimitar Vlahov etc). Even a more characteristic example is the dramatic development of the events related to Krste Petkov Misirkov, who publicly during the Balkan Wars was articulating the state, cultural and national objectives of the Macedonian liberation struggle. But at the same time, intimately, and in his letters that he was sending to the distinguished persons from the Russian cultural and scientific world he actually demonstrated a kind of hesitation as far as the solution of the Macedonian issue was concerned.

Nevertheless how much strange and incomprehensive it might resound today it is not the first nor the last time when the policy and science had changed their standpoints in the periods of dramatic processes that come along the constitution of some national subject as in the case of the Macedonia or during processes of deep social, political and economical changes. These phenomena have been always present and they are still present nowadays.

Beside the confirmed different ideological structures within the Macedonian liberation movement, mainly related to the Bulgarian policy in Macedonia, during the month of June 1917, at the Conference of Corfu, where it was discussed about the unification of the Yugoslav nations, for the first time the Macedonian question was exposed. More concrete discussions were led about Macedonia in July 1918 at the plenary session of the Yugoslav Council. The discussion coincided with the announcement of a declaration by group of Macedonian intellectuals, who were headed by Gligor Hadzi Taskovich and required Macedonia to be included into the Declaration of Corfu so that the Yugoslav Council would have accepted Macedonians as proper members but outside of the Serbian borders. The declaration states that Macedonians as a Yugoslav tribe express solidarity with the other Yugoslav ambitions and that they accept the unity with the other Yugoslav peoples as well as the democratic administration system of the future community that would be ruled by the Karagor-gevich Dynasty.

4. The end of the wars – the new stage in the development of the Macedonian people’s struggle for liberation and state constitution

On the 29th of September 1918 in Salonica, Bulgaria signed an unconditional capitulation in front of the Entente Forces. It was the end of the World War I on the territory of Macedonia. At the same time it represented the end of the six-year period of destruction of the material and human capital of Macedonia.

The tough reality after the capitulation of Bulgaria imposed to the Macedonian national liberation movement and to the Macedonian people numerous and almost unsolvable problems of economical, demographical and political character. Despite the awful devastations of the Macedonian villages and towns and the enormous human loses, suffered without any reason and for foreign interest, another phenomenon appeared in Macedonia, that of an exile of a flow of refugees who were trying to survive. Most of the refugees headed towards Bulgaria. According to the data of the Carnegie commission basically due to the Balkan Wars and other devastations around 50,000 people fled from Macedonia to Bulgaria. The emigration from Macedonia to Bulgaria continued into the period during the World War I (1914-1918) and also after it. The last thing refers to the Aegean part of Macedonia and it was a result of the so –called “Convention of voluntary exchange of population between Greece and Bulgaria”,

which was signed on the 29th of September 1919. On the basis of that Convention Greece from the Aegean part of Macedonia expelled around 33,000 Macedonians in Bulgaria. Unfortunately, with the agreement for the regulation of the property problems of the “voluntary” chased Macedonians, the Bulgarian state sold to the Greeks not only their villages, houses and land but also their churches and graves.

The objective statistical information shows that in the first 30 years of the XX century around 100,000 refugees from Macedonia tried to spare their lives in Bulgaria. They settled in around 1,600 settlements in the country. The settlement was a difficult and painful process. Actually the refugee mass was composed of nearly 75% poor peasants and farmers. They were coming to Bulgaria with absolutely no means of life and were exposed to various illnesses and epidemics.

The end of the wars and the following events after the wars imposed to the Macedonian national liberation movement several questions, such as: where and what way should be followed; what objectives and with what means the struggle for liberation of Macedonia should continue. The situation was extremely dramatic. At the Peace Conference in Bucharest (August 1913), the Macedonian liberation movement was excluded from the discussions. Macedonia was treated as a piece of land in the Balkan that rivals were arguing about how it should be divided and who was going to take which part of that land. At the end of the World War I, Macedonian subjective forces were encountering with another peace conference and this time it was in Paris. The question was imposed: How to avoid the Bucharest resolutions and how to expose the aspirations of the Macedonians, how to inform the world that their guilt during the past wars lies in the fact that their homeland was named Macedonia and that this land was a target of the ruling interest of the neighboring states. By its side the situation in Europe waiting for the peace conference in Paris was drastically different from the situation before the Conference of Bucharest. First of all, after the wars it was absolutely clear that Europe together with the Balkan was not any more what they used to be before the Balkan Wars and the World War. In a part of Europe, in Russia, during the autumn 1917, the great October Revolution happened. Lenin addressed to the exhausted peoples with an appeal for peace. The American president, Woodrow Wilson, who espoused the principles of respecting personal and collective human rights, objectively supported him. In attendance of the incoming Peace Conference at Paris but also due to the political situation in Bulgaria and the situation of more than ten thousands Macedonian refugees the expectations was warmed and it encouraged and

stimulated the actions for liberation and defense of the proper, Macedonian rights for living. However, once again were created two Macedonian project's profiles. The standpoints of the both antagonistically positioned groups regarding the future of Macedonia emerged. On one side it was the left-winged democratic orientation that was organized under the unique organization called Temporary representations of the Former Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization while the other group, the right wing, was led by the so-called "Executive Committee of the Macedonian Brotherhood in Bulgaria" headed by Todor Alexandrov and Alexandar Protogerov, closely related to the factors of power in Bulgaria.

Both factions, each with its own projection of the Macedonian future, participated at the peace conference in Paris. The temporary representation of the IMRO sent the Archimandrite Pop Hristov as its delegates at the Conference in Paris. On the 10th of April in 1919 he addressed a Memorandum to the President of the Peace Conference, George Clemenceau, and to the Prime Minister of the British government, Lloyd George. With this act he made an appeal for the autonomy of Macedonia and required on "the behalf of Macedonia and not of Bulgaria or as Bulgarian to expose the request of the Macedonian people". By its side, the right wing faction during its first presentation at the Peace conference in Paris required "Macedonia, undivided and as a whole to be attached to Bulgaria". Becoming aware of its political stupidity, the *Outlandish branch of IMRO* headed by Todor Alexandrov and Alexandar Protogerov, on the behalf of the Macedonian Bulgarians sent another Memorandum in which they required autonomy for Macedonia. On the 19th of January 1917 the Peace Conference in Paris was also addressed by the Macedonian emigration in Istanbul, which required Macedonia to be organized as an autonomous political unit upon the example of Switzerland.

Among the numerous request addressed to the Peace Conference in Paris particular attention drew the appeal by the General Council of the Macedonian emigration in Switzerland addressed to the world's public (June, 1919). It was one of the rare documents in which in a clear and precise way it was defended the Macedonian people's right of national self-determination, based generally on the consciousness of the existence of separate cultural and national subjectivity. The essential context of this thorough appeal was consisted of the following:

"We, the Macedonians, require this inviolable right (writer's note-the right of self-determination and independence) to be respected as far as Macedonia is concerned. The Macedonian people is in possession of the necessary and needed capacity for self-administration because it is not an

amorphous mass nor unconscious community as many interested in it writers would like to convince us. On the contrary, under this apparent chaos the spiritual unity is hidden founded on tight psychological relations such as: constant and mass revolutions, common troubles and pains under the same yoke. One of the main links of this spiritual unity is exactly this sublime self-sacrifice of the Macedonian people masses for independence of its country which has been creating heroes, apostles and martyrs for all the times in Macedonia.”

Anyway, the requests sent from various Macedonian associations and from the both political factions of the Macedonian national liberation movement to the Peace Conference in Paris on the bottom line resulted in no resonance. The division of Macedonia in Bucharest considering some slight modifications was sanctioned. Under pressure of France and of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not succeed neither the good-willed attempts by some delegations such as the Italian, British and so on for the Macedonians in Greece and in the Yugoslav Kingdom to obtain minority rights.

Actually in Bucharest as well as in Paris the Macedonian people did not have a right to defend its interests. The debates in some of the bodies of the Peace Conference in Paris related to the Macedonian issue were led without the presence of Macedonian delegates and they failed to reach any result.

The struggle for the affirmation of the proper cultural and national individuality, which was clearly and concretely formulated in the appeal of the General Council of the Macedonian Emigration in Switzerland, was still to be processed into an action. Actually it happened in the period between the two great world wars.

5. Macedonia after the Peace Conference in Paris

On the 27th of November 1919 in Neuilly at the river Sena was concluded the Peace Agreement among the allied forces and the Bulgaria. With this agreement the decisions of the Bucharest Peace Agreement of 1913 were sanctioned, with which Macedonia was partitioned among Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. The Bucharest Peace Agreement sustained slight corrections and mainly regarding the territory of the southeastern Macedonia. Strumica and its surroundings were taken from Bulgaria and were annexed to the newly formed Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (SCS). With this correction without taking into consideration

some insignificant changes of the borders with Albania near Debar and with the Monastery St. Naum, Macedonia divided again was found in the following situation:

- the largest part of the territory or around 35,169 km² belonged to Greece;
- 25,774 km² belonged to the Kingdom of SCS;
- 6,798 km² belonged to Bulgaria
- Only a small part of the territory of Macedonia remained within the borders of Albanian state.

In this way the wholeness of Macedonia that within its geographical borders, which mainly correspond to the ethnographical borders and spread over the territory of 67,741 km², was actually broken. With this its economical and national compactness were also broken and the normal demographical, social, economical, cultural and national development of the Macedonian people was also disabled.

The Macedonian people came under the rule of three different Balkan states of different economical and social development, of various cultural and historical traditions, which were economically underdeveloped, exhausted and with heavy traumas from the six-year wars (1912-1918) as well as from another war between Greece and the Turkey (1919-1922). All three states were suffocating in the difficult social and political problems. This was a period when the Balkan and Europe after the October Revolution hit by a strong revolutionary wave.

Just from the very beginning of their rule over the determined parts of Macedonia the foreign authorities defined its objectives for fast and efficient denationalization and assimilation of the Macedonian people. For that purpose, Greece and Serbia introduced some draconian measures with which all manifestations of Macedonian linguistic and ethnical character as well as all contacts among Macedonians from various parts of the country were forbidden and persecuted.

6. The situation of the Macedonians under the rule of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians/The Kingdom of Yugoslavia

The changes of the demographic characteristics of the population were one of the things that drew most of the Greek's and Yugoslav's attention in the process of implementation of the policy of denationalization and assimilation. In the Yugoslav Kingdom there was intention to accom-

plish this objective through colonization of population from the other part of Yugoslavia. In Macedonia they were settled in the parts of strategic meaning. The objective was to be controlled the movement of the Macedonian population as well as to achieve successful influence over the process of its Serbization. The whole activity of the state administrative institutions of Yugoslavia in Vardar Macedonia was submitted to the accomplishment of this objective. In the field of economy the labor of the peasants was a subject of cruel taxes and fines, there were not investments for economic development, the development of the road infrastructure and so on.

The educational policy was particularly submitted to the assimilating objectives. Except the primary education that was to some extent organized almost no attention was paid to the secondary education while secondary vocational education did not exist at all. As far as the higher education was concerned there was only the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje as a clone of Belgrade's University. The educational program was exclusively focused on the accomplishment of the intention to be created Serbian consciousness among the young generations. The lessons were held exclusively in Serbian language and prevalently by the teachers brought from other parts of the country. The teaching staff of Macedonian origin in a cycling manner was being transferred in Serbia and Montenegro.

From the beginning of 1921 and with the introduction of the exceptional regulation, so-called "Notification" ("Obznana") to the 6th of January 1929 in Vardar Macedonia actually was established and was in force the military regime. An enormous number of security forces, most of all gendarmeries, were allocated and concentrated in the country. At all more significant sites in the country gendarmerie stations were built. Besides the gendarmeries and the army there were lots of para-military formations such as that of Jovan Babunski and some others. At some places in determined regions all kinds of movements of the people were forbidden from the sunrise to the sunset time. There was pitiless terror all over. Mass judicial cases were organized and in this context the trial after the assassination of one Serbian general in Shtip, the trial against a group of students in Skopje (1928), then in Resen as well as number of political murders represent a typical example.

Regarding the situation that was typical for this part of Macedonia the following facts are the best testimonies. In 1924 the authority of Ljuba Davidovich amnestied 18,000 prisoners. From the period of establishment of the Serbian rule over Macedonia to 1930 there were 50,000 persons

accused of political acts. In a ten-year period 1,400 political murders were committed and 14 villages were burnt by the gendarmeries and the counter-bands. A paradigm of the terrorism represents the attack on the village of Garvan near Radovish on the 3rd of March 1923, which was performed by the order of the zupan, Dobrica Matkovich. In that attack 28 peasants were killed.

Regardless of the complexity of the denationalization and assimilation policy for whose implementation were engaged all segments of the Serbian political, educational, para-military, economical system, the aspiration failed to reach its goal. The application of mass terror, huge concentration of army, gendarmeries and other para-military forces, the prohibition of any kind of non-governmental political activity represents the best testimony of that. But this was not typical only for Vardar Macedonia. The same was happening in the other non-Serbian parts of the Yugoslav Kingdom. That's why at the beginning of 1929 the regime of the exceptional regulation that had been brought in 1921 was replaced by the well-known Dictature of the Sixth of January. With it all political activities in the country were forbidden. With the declaration of the Dictatorship of the Sixth of January (1929), all previous forms of denationalization and assimilation disappeared from the political scene. It does not mean that the policy was abandoned. Actually it was replaced in the practice with the attempt to achieve its goals but in a hidden form through the pro-Yugoslav and cosmopolitan context. New societies and associations were formed under new names and without national marks. But the practice of persecution and translocation of the Macedonian teachers in other parts of the Yugoslav Kingdom continued. Not only the teaching staff but also the Macedonian intellectuals that were not numerous as well as writers, publicists, persons with acquired higher education who manifested courage and managed to find a way to assert the cultural heritage of the Macedonian people were persecuted and sent to other parts of the country. This was the case of the members of the magazine "Luc" reduction then of the intellectuals of Macedonian National Movement (MANAPO) etc.

7. The situation of the Macedonians under the rule of Greece

The Greek denationalization and assimilation policy directed towards the Macedonian people of the Aegean part of Macedonia immediately after its annexation to the Greek state actually represented a con-

tinuation of its century long Greek practice. In the past before the annexation of this part of Macedonia to Greece the Greek Church, the education and the aggressive activity of the Greek military units used to be the instruments for implementation of that Greek policy. Until the beginning of the Balkan wars Greece was doing this within the framework of the Ottoman state but despite of the high ranged tolerance by the authorities its policy could not have reached its targets. During the six-year period of wars the Greek denationalization policy was being implemented by the use of weapons and through devastations of the territory. After the annexation of the Aegean part of Macedonia to Greece or after the World War I with the predetermined strategic goal for total Hellenization of the country the Greek policy in Macedonia was not changed at all. It was changed only the intensity of that assimilation and policy for disfiguration of the Macedonian people that was enabled by the Greek position gained exactly with the annexation of this part of Macedonian towards its territory and by its situation after the defeat in the war against Turkey. Realistically, the Greek defeat from the Turks and the deportation of the non-Greek Orthodox population from Turkey to Greece enabled Greece to implement radical transformation of the ethnical composition in the Aegean part of Macedonia. Actually the most important thing for the Greek state policy was to disfigure completely the Macedonian character of the country in as much as possible more efficient way. The first step taken in this direction was the change of the names (toponyms) of the inhabited places, villages, rivers, mountains giving them Greek names. Actually we can talk about cultural genocide in the field of toponymy for the purpose of elimination of everything in the appropriated part of Macedonia that was reminding or might have reminded that it was not Greek country and that actually it belonged to other people. The act, which was brought on the 10th of October 1919 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Greece, demonstrates how much it was urgent for Greece to give to this part of Macedonia a Greek image and Greek context. It was done in the period when the Peace Conference in Paris was still in course. Most probably it was the first official act with which actually started the campaign for changing of the names of the populated places which bore Slavic or Turkish signatures. It seems that because of the war against Turkey this campaign for a certain period of time or until 1926 was stopped. On the 21st of October 1926 in the "Official Gazette of Greece" n.332 was announced the Law of obligatory change of the names of all settled places in the Aegean part of Macedonia. How systematically this measure was implemented is demonstrated by the fact that in a period of 10 years from 1918 to 1928 the names of

1.497 inhabited places were changed. This process of disfiguration of wiping out everything that bore Macedonian-Slavic signature, the names of the rivers, mountains, local toponyms lasted until nowadays. Besides the changes of the geographical places the Greek state particular attention paid on the demographical changes of the population. The fact that Macedonian people even after the devastations and persecutions remained to live in their grandparents' homes was not acceptable for Greece. So the process of its persecution and deportation continued even after the Peace Conference. However, radical changes in the demographical characteristics of the Aegean part of Macedonia happened after the Greek defeat in the war against Turkey. In that time Turkey deported around 1,500,000 Christian population from its territory. More then 500,000 from these refugees settled the Aegean part of Macedonia and they somehow even today represent the iron fist of the Great –Greek nationalism. Nonetheless, and despite all violent methods that the Greek state was applying against the Macedonian people, relatively great number of it still remained to live there. Considering the fact that the Greece negates the existence of that Macedonian population since then the Greek authorities have not ever announced the statistical report of the exact number of that Macedonian minority. However, because its existence could not be hidden and despite of all this, Greece was absolutely intending to minimize it. In 1926 it was claimed that there were 77,000 Macedonians in Greece. Around this number up to 1934 in Greece there was certain unity. Certain deflection from this number appeared with the information in the Annual of the Greek Statistic Office when in 1934 there were announced the data of the Census from 1928. According to this information 81,984 persons lived in the Aegean part of Macedonia speaking the “Macedonian language” and 16775 were “speaking the Bulgarian language”. The quoted number with slight deflections matches with the data published in the Great Greek Encyclopedia where it is stated that foreign elements in Macedonia that still did not acquire Greek national awareness are estimated as: “around 80,000 slavophones and most of them live in western and central Macedonia – in the area around Voden, Kozani, Lerin and Kostur while smaller number of them live in eastern Macedonia (in the area near Serres, Drama and Demir Hisar).”

Different from the Greek figures, except in the data of the Greek Communist Party (from 1935), the number of the Macedonians in the foreign statistical reports was regularly higher then those by the Greek. Actually in the period when the existence of this population could not be further negated, there was an intention by the Greek authorities to

represented this population in as minimal number as possible. So in accordance with the information of the Italian diplomatic representatives around 140,000 – 150,000 “Slavomacedonians” were living in the Aegean part of Macedonia in 1927. In the content of an interpellation answer of January 1925 in the People’s Assembly of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians after World War I in the Aegean part of Macedonia remained to live “250,000 of our nationals”. According to Vladimir Rumenov, on the base of the official acts of the Mixed Greek-Bulgarian Emigration Commission and of the information by the Chief Directorate for settlement of the refugee from the Aegean part of Macedonia still under the Greek authority remained 206,435 Macedonian. Considering the information reported by the Greek Communist Party in 1935 in Greece the number of the “Slavomacedonian population” was estimated from 240,000 to 280,000 persons. It is believed that at the beginning of the World War II in the Aegean part of Macedonia under the Greek authority were living around 250,000 to 300,000 Macedonians.

The relatively elevated number of the Macedonians that was living in Greece, almost 20% of the total population, is demonstrated by the care of the Greek state for the development of the education. The Greek authority hoped that through education of the younger generations, would succeed to eliminate everything that might nourish the individual and collective memory of a nation, its independence, history, culture, customs and traditions that were being created having lived for centuries in these areas. The objective was in the primary education to be affected as much as possible bigger number of pupils. Although the economical situation of the state was not satisfactory, the state was insisting to provide finances to spread over the scholastic network. In the information by the Ambassador of the Kingdom of SCS from London (1926) it was said that during the visit of the Dictator Pangalos to Lerin he gave 14 million drachmas for the construction of 80 schools prevalently in the settlements inhabited by the Macedonian population. In the comment regarding the information of the Ambassador it was said: “The whole of this plan of work clearly demonstrates the intention of the Greek authority as quick as possible to erase the issue related to the Slavic minority from the right side of the river Vardar”.

The terror was particularly considered within the policy of the Greek state regarding the quick denationalization and assimilation of the Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia. Besides the repression carried out by the state administrative organs, the teaching staff, the Greek priests and so on numerous para-military formations were also

formed with a task to terrorize the Macedonians especially the rural population. Among various organizations of this type the following names remained traced deep in the memory of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia: “The Greek-Macedonian fist” (formed on the 27th of January 1926); National Youth organization (well-known under the abbreviation -EEE); “Pavlos Melas”; The National League of Greece known under the name of “ Steel Helms” and others.

A paradigm for the terrorist actions of these and other similar organizations represents the edict by the “The Greek-Macedonian fist” of January 27, 1926 in which it was ordered the Greek language to be spoken in all public places, at restaurants, during the trade negotiations, at meetings, during meals, weddings and the required information from the state administrative institutions to be formulated in Greek. All those that would not act in compliance with this order would be declared traitors and they would be most severely sentenced.

The army was also using similar instruments. It was mentioned in the report of January 25, 1932 related to the accomplished inspection in the village of Armensko by an infantry lieutenant.

Considering everything, the Greek terror towards Macedonians in the Aegean part of Macedonia was characterized with tremendous xenophobia. The writings of various foreigners that were visiting Greece or more precisely the Aegean part of Macedonia are the best proof of the Greek attitude towards Macedonians. “The Greeks, wrote an English publicists of 1928, not only hound all the alive Slavs, that are sometimes called “Bulgarophones” and sometimes “Slavophones”, but also all passed away Slavs whose graves are found all over Macedonia. They do not let them even die in peace because they wipe out the titles written on the crosses in Slavonic letters, take the bones out of the graves and burn them”.

N. Kondos, the journalist from the newspaper “Rizospastis”, who visited this part of Macedonia in November 1932, excellently illustrated these Greek methods of terror performed in the western part of Aegean Macedonia. In the resume of the information that he had been given then and there, he wrote: “in the past the current days Macedonia which is under Greek authority was reigned by the bands, andartes and comitadzies (komiti) and the peasants in order to save their lives were forced to change their determination. To the comitadzies they were presenting themselves as Bulgarians and in front of the andartes they were Greeks. Today they are forced to declare the authenticity to the Greek affiliation

every single hour. Otherwise the whip that was never demobilized accedes to action”.

As far as implementation of the terror is concerned various measures appeared. The objective was to affect all the segments of the social life all for the purpose of a more effective implementation of the assimilation policy. The approach was fierce and aggressive. It eliminated everything that was an obstacle or might have been an obstacle to the quick implementation of the Hellenization process. The administrative apparatus was being constantly purified from the persons of Greek origin who might have somehow acted protectively towards the Macedonian minority. These people were most often declared as corrupted people.

Particular attention was paid to the education and the teachers' behavior. Those who were supposed to have “suspicious national awareness” were being dislocated in the interior of Greece or were being simply dismissed as unsuitable. The native priests were being also removed and replaced by priests that had been brought from Greece.

Regardless of the facts that the repression policy was being continuously implemented towards the Macedonian national minority in the period between the two world wars and that the existence of the Macedonian minority, which was living under the Greek authority, was officially negated the achieved results of the assimilation process were under the expectations. The Macedonian language was preserved and was still a basic means of communication in the economical activities as well as in the everyday communication among the people especially in the western part of Aegean Macedonia.

8. The situation of the Macedonians under the rule of Bulgaria

After the Peace Conference in Paris as previously mentioned the Pirin Macedonia with around 6,758 km² of territory and with a population of around 150,000 people became under the Bulgaria authority. In this part of Macedonia the situation of the people was not essentially different from the situation of people in the other two parts. As a whole, in all three parts of Macedonia regardless the partition, for a long time after the regulation of the Ottoman feudalism remained still in force. The changes hardly made their way. The corruption, the violence, political pressure and exploitations were still ruling. Particularly difficult was the constant raids that were carried out by the IMRO of Vancho Mihajlov and Alexandar Protogerov. In this context the letter of Protogerov, which was written in

August, 1926 and was addressed to Ivan Mihajlov is more than proof. In this letter Protogerov informed about the citizens' complaints and requests addressed to the government to be helped in terms of being protected from the organization that was terrorizing, robbing and imposing them taxes that were much higher than the taxes imposed by the government itself". He suggested in the letter the Organization to undertake some measures to reduce the revolt of the citizens.

Pirin Macedonia was under the totalitarian regime of the Bulgarian Prime Minister Alexandar Ljapchev. On the 10th of October 1927 it was declared military situation related to the activity of the Organization headed by Mihajlov. The close functional relation between Ivan Mihajlov and the Bulgarian government was confirmed by his words at the seventh Congress of IMRO:" The leading principle for us was and still remains: we need a base that should stay as longer as possible provided, with no warfare with anyone. So we took care to avoid the misunderstandings with the authority. We did not flee from it but we answered regularly every single invitation to arrange the problems, being aware of the fact that we are in necessity for this and not the governmental bodies."

Upon the protest of foreign diplomats against the terrorist activities of the IMRO the Bulgarian government negated even the existence of such an organization.

After the prohibition of the activities of IMRO (in May 1934), in June the Central Committee of the IMRO announced an information that by right of the congress resolutions of 1931 its structures on the Bulgarian territory would disband and in that context it recalled them to become loyal to the country. The created situation on the territory of Bulgaria automatically stopped to represent an activity object of the IMRO.

Objectively, the situation of the Macedonian people in the Pirin part of Macedonia which was under the Bulgarian authority as previously mentioned did not differ from the situation of the Macedonians, who were living on the territory under the Greek authority and the Kingdom of SCS.

But the situation of the Macedonian emigration of the refugees, who during the period of the wars as well as after that in attempt to save their lives from the harassers, murderers, humiliators saw their salvation on the territory of Bulgaria is something that gave particular mark to the situation of the Macedonians from Pirin Macedonia. Macedonian refugee mass of over then 100,000 people was concentrated in Bulgaria.

Besides the banished refugee mass, mainly the rural mass, in Bulgaria after the wars arrived the major part of the personnel of the Macedonian liberation movement that was still alive and had been active before

the wars as well as in the period of the wars. Practically, in the both part of Macedonia, the Aegean and Pirin part, the national liberation movement inflicted a hard strike. It remained without its leading structure and without its active personnel. Under existing conditions the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria together with the escaped members of the leadership in the period of some 10 to 15 years after the wars or more precisely between 1920 and 1935 managed to impose themselves as dominant factor in the programmed political addressing of the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people under the newly created circumstances.

The Macedonian emigration founding itself outside its natural habitat it was subjected on the state and political interests of the new living country and exposed to hard social conditions of life during the process of association and adaptation on the new living environment. In this context its political and revolutionary activity regardless its ideo-political determination, bore the name of the country in which the activity was carried out. That's why, both within the borders of the Bulgarian state as well as outside Bulgaria its activity was treated as a deed of the "Macedonian Bulgarians". Actually it was perceived as a problem of the unsolved Macedonian national issue that in fact meant unsolved national issue of the "Bulgarians in Macedonia". This misstatement or disinformation would cause many problems in the process of cultural and national self-determination of the Macedonian people's identity, whose influence would drag out through its historical itinerary.

Another relevant moment of far reaching consequences was the fact that the transformation of the old, or the pre war period forms of the Macedonian Liberation Movement's Organization while it was adapting on the new geo-political position of Macedonia, was happening in the period when the new ideo-political changes of global character such as the communism in Russia that came along after the October Revolution (1917) and the fascism in Italy when Mussolini had acquired the authority, were stepping forward. The hard economical situation, the political instability and the international isolation of Bulgaria were additional elements that completed the situation. This diapason of elements had direct impact on the positions of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria as well as respectively on the forces of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement in the orders of the emigration but also in the other two parts of the divided Macedonia.

In fact, although the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria soon after the wars was perceived as leading factor of the Macedonian national

liberation movement in general, considering the fact that it was cut off from its native environment and that it found itself in different country with proper state policy, with the passing of time it integrated into the existing political and state administrative structures of the Bulgarian state. This means that it melted with the interests of the Bulgarian state and with the policy of the determinate political party. It also meant that the leading positions of the emigration in Bulgaria in the national liberation movement of the Macedonian people were under control of the Bulgarian national and state interests.

9. The Macedonian National Liberation Movement challenged by the new situation

The wars and the division of Macedonia moved the Macedonian national and revolutionary movement away from its natural milieu and created two new backgrounds and two new centers: the first one is external, moved away from the natural setting of the Macedonian people, among the emigration in Bulgaria and the second one, in the divided parts of Macedonia. The first one, immediately after the wars was filled with ambitions to gain the domination as far as the leadership of the movement was concerned. The time of its action was limited by the natural processes. The second one, concentrated in its natural milieu considering the reality of the divided and enslaved Macedonia was adapting to the new circumstances.

Independently of the mentioned turbulences on which the Macedonian liberation movement had been exposed in the period after the wars it did not lose its Macedonian national orientation. Moreover, it would make strong influence and passing through dramatic phases it would manage to stabilize itself and become a factor of defense and affirmation of the national marks, cultural and national identity of the Macedonian people. The village was the bearer of this process that provided its stability in all three parts of Macedonia. Actually the fact that the villages used to be closed and protected from the foreign linguistic influences they managed to provide continuity of the Macedonian people's culture, language and customs as well as of the Ilinden uprising's ideas for liberation and constitution of Macedonia as autonomous state in the Balkan, under protection of one or more big states.

Actually by the right of the logics the village in this concrete situation became a symbol of the resistance against the foreign national, cul-

tural and linguistic penetration in its own habitat. It opposed with its own centuries-old tradition, customs and language so that became itself an assimilator of those that had been sent to assimilate or of the bigger minority groups that happened to live in its majority setting. The Greek refugees that settled after the Greek-Turk war are a typical example in these terms. They accepted the Macedonia language of the Macedonian peasants as a means of communication and it was used for trade as well as in everyday communication in terms of establishing good neighborly relations. The Macedonian language broke through the judicial acts in which the purchasing contracts were regulated. For instance, in the property purchase contracts concluded between Greek and Macedonian contractors which were being authorized by the Greek Courts in Voden and Lerin the language of the Macedonian contractor- seller was denominated: "Macedonian linguistic idiom" or "Macedonian" or "Local Slavophonic idiom". The Australian scientist Loring M. Danford, stated that exactly then, a great part of the population that previously had considered itself as local Macedonians in both regional and ethnic context, started considering itself as "Slavo Macedonians" or "Macedonians" in a national context. In this period is characteristic that more and more Slavs started calling their language by the name "Macedonian" that in the past they used to call it simply "our language" or "the old language".

It is due to be mentioned that this phenomenon was not characteristic only for the Aegean part of Macedonia. The same things were happening in Vardar Macedonia that was under Serbian authority. Therefore the methods of the Greek and Serbian authorities in terms of putting an end of this situation were identical or similar. But in both states the expected results were hardly to come. On the contrary, despite of the regime the Macedonia language continued to spread over the areas in which the Macedonian people were in the majority. Exactly the repressions against the linguistic and cultural rights of the Macedonian people in both Aegean and Vardar Macedonia would draw the attention of the international factor above all of England and arose an initiative in front of the People's League in Geneva during 1924/25 and again in 1927/28 to be given limited cultural autonomy in the field of primary education (from the first to the fourth class) and regarding the use of the local Macedonian language into the Church. The result of this intervention of the People's League in Geneva by the insistence of England was the publishing of the speller of Macedonian language called the abecedary for the needs of the children from the Aegean part of Macedonia.

But stronger the resistance of the Macedonian village and Macedonian intelligence against the Greek assimilation policy was more aggressive was the state's approach towards the use of various terrorist instruments to wipe out the Macedonian language. It became clear that if they had not managed to eradicate the Macedonian language they would not have managed to reach effective hellenization over the great Macedonian minority. The repression against the Macedonian language and name was elevated on the level of consensus within the Greek state policy regardless the political orientation of the government in authority, dictatorship or democratic government. An illustrative example in this context represents the period of Metaxas in Greece after the 4th of August 1936. During the period of the Metaxas' dictatorship in the country had been established an atmosphere of insupportable xenophobia towards everything that was Slavic, Macedonian. The Greek chronicles of that time confirmed that the main concern of the government of that time was to prohibit severely the use of the Macedonian "dialect on the street, in the restaurants, while trading or generally in any similar situation". The main objective of this policy was "at least to make the new generation understand that they live in Greece and that the Greek language is not a scholastic subject that is taught at school as a foreign language". In western Macedonia were formed adult-schools for "slavophones" and "turkophones". In these schools the following subjects were taught: reading, writing and history and they were attended by woman from 15 – 45 years of age and men up to 50. The Macedonian language and the Cyrillic letters were being pushed out of all areas where they had been present. In the churches the old Slavonic inscriptions were being erased, the liturgical service was performed exclusively in Greek language although the population did not understand it.

Well as a matter of fact the supreme cynicism was the instrument that the Greek state was using in order to accomplish the assimilation over the Macedonian population. It is pure cultural and national genocide all for the purpose of disfiguration of the Macedonian Slavic profile in global terms. On the 15th of July 1937 in the "Greek state newspaper" was announced a Decree in which the use of the Slavic names of villages and cities were forbidden in public and private communication.

It is due to be mentioned that the state cannibalism that was harassing everything that was Macedonian sometimes caused indignation even in the regime's press. Vangel Ajanovski – Oce in his book "Aegean storms" transmitted a part of a written communication in Voden, published in the newspaper "Acropolis" which was related to the regime's

measures against the slavophonic language. In the article was quoted the following critical suggestion by the newspaper: "All these have to be implemented through a well-planned action, without ups and downs, following a strict and detailed plan and without making noise around regarding what has been done and achieved. Simply, the Greek words have to be heard here and not some Macedonian dialect to be spoken by the population, so that the foreigners and visitors get an impression that here, even after 25 years, the Greek administration failed to enable the population to speak the language of the state".

There was not a dilemma in the public whether the use of the Macedonian language by the Macedonians that were living in Greece should be eradicated or not. The fact that there were some reactions by individuals regarding this it is important to emphasize that they were related to the way in which it would be implemented. A close friend of Metaxas, Godzomanis, testifies how strong that pressure was. He had courage in front of the Dictator to expose in written form his personal disagreements with the authority's operations: "to be addressed insulting words, he wrote, for instance, to an elderly man and woman or to be deported to police stations just because they do not speak Greek well is something that could not be justified as a system. This responsibility of the history and of the state regarding one reality, in the concrete case is transferred to one innocent individual....The practicing of such measures by one state administrative organ is considered vicious and hostile and it compromises the state in the eyes of the citizen and the citizen started hating it. In any case this practice cannot be interpreted as a method of the Greek language teaching."

And exactly this hate towards the methods of the Greek assimilation policy remained deeply in the memory of the Macedonian people and is transmitted from generation to generation. Here is one example from thousands of them, which was registered in the resolution text of a protest meeting organized by the refugees from the Aegean part of Macedonia: "The terrorist groups by giving castor oil to everyone who speaks the Macedonian language will remain forever present in the memory of the Macedonian people from Aegean Macedonia".

The negation, harassment, eradication of the Macedonian language were the practices, which had been applying for more than two centuries by the neighboring Balkan countries with their aspirations to acquire the rule over Macedonia and to demonstrate that the people who live in it is exclusively theirs. But except partial results, the existence of the current Macedonian Literature Language is best proof that their attempts were defeated. The Macedonian village is mostly "responsible" for

this victory, its quiet, still and dramatic struggle to preserve the language and the customs as a proof of its centuries-long existence in these Macedonian expanses and to leave in heritage to the incoming generations. The Macedonian village resisted to all kind of pressures over its language, customs and folklore. The Greek arrogance with participation of all Greek state administrative institutions and the enormous refugee mass of Asia Minor that had changed the national character of the Aegean part of Macedonia did not succeed to accomplish its intention.

Regarding the fact that the Macedonian language was a bastion of the Macedonian ethno-cultural identity and it was considered as the most important relevant element that had to be extinguished or otherwise the expected results of the chauvinistic propagandas would not have been achieved is superbly manifested in the synchronized attacks of Bulgaria and Serbia against the abecedary dedicated to the Macedonian children that were living in the Aegean part of Macedonia (1925) and later against the initiative of the Balkan committee in London in front of the People's League (1928). The case repeated during 1937 when the magazine of a group of Macedonian intellectuals from Skopje, "Luch" was issued for the first time in the Macedonian language.

For the Serbian regime the issuing of "Luch" in Macedonian was aiming towards the following: "the people of south Serbia deliberately to give up its Serbian mainstream and name, to be proved the existence of some separate language, particular culture in the past and its distinctiveness". This event was perceived by the Great Serbianism as a direct threat for the Serbian interests in Macedonia. In Bulgaria, "Luch" was considered as far-reaching menace to the Bulgarian interests in Macedonia. In one analysis related to the publishing of the texts written in the Macedonian language in this magazine and its impact on the future course of the Bulgarian propaganda in Macedonia, was emphasized: "The road of the dialects even treated in that way, might reach the Slavic Macedonian nation or our national disintegration and separation. These is the only reason why the Serbs today look differently on the new nationality that is coming to the world and swallow the existence of magazine in Macedonian dialect (writer's note -it is not true that they swallowed it), such as the magazine "Luch" that is published in Skopje. Here is something that we do not hide: the Macedonian dialects represent a double-edged-sword. If the Serbs are going to make a benefit of them depends on many conditions. The Macedonian dialects in this context and in this way treated like it is done in Yugoslavia not only they will not have their place in Bulgaria but

they represent for it reactionary means of national decay directed by Belgrade”

It is absolutely certain that the transformation of the Macedonian language as a means of communication in the villages, at the street, at the markets, at home and used in the everyday communication for the purpose of mutual understanding and agreeing into a means of written expression in the field of literature or in the prosaic, dramatic and poetry books, in the field of politics and publicist activity despite of living under foreign authority was an expression of increased national awareness – the thoughts and the feelings to be expressed in its own language. In simple words the language is the function of the consciousness related to the proper existence.

10. The political forces of the National Liberation Movement in the period after the wars

Quite naturally, everything that was happening in the Macedonian national liberation movement in the period after the wars (1912-1919), in the next two decades after the Peace Conference in Paris basically represented a follow-up of what had been happening within the movement in the period after the Ilinden Uprising. That means that without regards to the changes that were brought by the time and further more regardless the dramatics of the events that happened, the ideological and program structuring of the Macedonian national liberation movement's forces that had started after the Ilinden Uprising continued after World War I. And this fact merited to be emphasized because it was done under circumstances in which Macedonia was divided and ruled by three states, i.e. under radically changed geopolitical circumstances. It simply explains the autonomy of the Macedonian liberation movement and of its programmed political objectives. Of course, this conclusion does not refer that the continued activity of the Macedonian national liberation movement kept going on smoothly and without encountering obstacles.

First of all, in the period before the Balkan wars Macedonia represented a single ethnical and political unity. Its forces and the headquarters of the liberation movement were based on this fact. After that with the partition of Macedonia and after that huge refugee mass fleeing from Macedonia had concentrated in Bulgaria where at the same time a major part of the activist members of the movement arrived in Bulgaria too, the situation changed. Due to this fact in the period after the wars and

in a period of 20 years, the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria became the basis of the Macedonian liberation movement. Exactly this Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria took upon itself the transfer from Macedonia previous ideological and political programmed polarization that had been typical for the period before the Balkan Wars. It is obvious that we do not talk about mechanical transfer of the ideas from one into another time. We talk about the general frameworks of the both program orientations of the liberation movement, that of the left-winged and the right wing one. Under new after war circumstances both factions of the liberation movement were under the influence of the new world ideologies, the communism and the fascism. Because of this, the position of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, the forms of its organizational linkage and action as a basis of the national revolutionary and cultural and political activities under the new post-belligerent conditions caused particular interest taking in consideration the further development of the national liberation movement. Actually the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria even in the period of its appearance had a significant role in the process of program objectives definition of the national liberation movement in the country. Considering this, the establishment of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria, the way in which it established links with the new living setting and its growth into significant political factor were aspects that caused great interest. However, it became a factor that acquired relevant positions in the period between the World War I and World War II and this left deep traces in the development process of the national liberation movement.

As far as it was known the basic form of the linkage of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria was the brotherhood. It was generally formed on the principle of the birthplace i.e. according to the village where the refugees of Macedonia were coming from. Most often as a manifestation of tradition and continuity, the refugees were giving their new settlements the name identical as the name of the village that they were coming from.

The number of the Macedonian emigration's brotherhoods in Bulgaria depended on the intensity of the new refugee arrivals. That number mostly increased in the period of the wars (1912-1919). According to some information in November 1918 the number of the brotherhoods was 22 while 10 years later (1930) the brotherhoods reached the number of 200. However, one part of the Macedonian emigration, mainly veterans from the Ilinden Uprising, was organized in so called societies of the Ilinden organization. Of course, the number of the brotherhood and the societies of the Ilinden Organization, in principle did not determine their posi-

tion as far as the development of the liberation movement of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria was concerned. Actually, the number of the brotherhoods' members was no more than 3-4 % of the total number of members of the Macedonian emigration. Nevertheless it did not minimize their position within the Bulgarian state. On the contrary, due to the Bulgarian aspirations towards the Macedonian territory, the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria assumed the right to talk on the behalf of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria both in the country and abroad but it was also talking about the situation of the compatriots in Macedonia. This was the reason of the enormous importance of the brotherhoods or of their central committees – the National and the Executive committee regarding the development and the management of the Macedonian national liberation movement of the Macedonian people among the members of the emigration and wider. Actually the major part of the Macedonian emigration to Bulgaria at the very beginning of its appearance gradually and systematically was being transformed into an instrument of the Bulgarian policy for the development of the Macedonian national liberation movement. The events related to the uprising at Kresna (the autumn 1878) are an example that prove this. Actually the formation of the Supreme Committee (1895) during the period of the Ferdinand's rule is due to be mentioned as far as it insisted on putting under proper control the Internal Macedonian-Adrianople revolutionary organization and the preparations for the uprising that had been in preparation.

A careful observation of the political action of the Executive and The national Committee of the Macedonian brotherhoods during the Peace Conference in Paris (1919) as well as of the situation that was created after that within the emigration in a quite argumentative way demonstrates that the leadership of the Macedonian emigration as a matter of fact represented the organizational diversity of the Supreme Committee that was adapted on the new circumstances after the World War I. Therefore, nevertheless the number of members of the brotherhoods was not higher than 3-4% of the total numbers of the emigrants the struggle to overpower them and above all their central leadership during all the period of their existence (from 1918 to 1934) was fierce. Both factions within the emigration, i.e. the right-wing and the left-wing, were fighting to have under their control the leadership of the brotherhood, respective of the emigration.

The conflict for the absolute domination over the bodies of the brotherhoods was particularly fierce in the period from 1919 to 1925. The essence of this conflict, identically as in the period before the Balkan

wars, was of program and political character. The basic problem was the unification issue of Macedonia. Formally, all participants in this conflict were focused on the realization of the idea for an autonomous Macedonia. Exactly due to its engagements for the autonomy of Macedonia the old-new IMRO, under the role of Todor Alexandrov and Ivan Mihaljov got the epithet “autonomist”. However, the problem was not in the term but in the content and in the objectives that were involved in that term. Actually, the question in terms of what kind of autonomy were supporting both political streams within the national liberation movement was closely related to the question that was risen immediately after the military conflicts had ended and it was articulated as follows: whose the Macedonian national issue is, whom this issue belong to and how it can be solved?

As a matter of fact, it was not a new question. Its presence had been also registered in the period before and after the Ilinden uprising. However after World War I and after the division of Macedonia it became remarkably sharp. Same as in the period before the wars, too but this time antagonistic standpoints appeared in the period after the wars. This time the question was not addressed to the Macedonian people in Macedonia but to the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria.

The political faction close to the Executive committee of the brotherhoods supported the standpoint that the Macedonian problem was actually the problem of Bulgaria and that’s why the Bulgarian state should have been in charge of its resolution. On the other side the second faction within the emigration believed that the Macedonian national issue was exclusively a Macedonian problem related to the liberation and unification of Macedonia and to the creation of an autonomous Macedonian state that should be founded on the equality among all peoples that were living in it. Its objective should be present in the Macedonian people’s consciousness; the sense of appurtenance to the “common nation” should be built among the people regardless of the ethnical affiliation; to be encouraged all those people that instead of using the name “Bulgarian” use the name “Macedonian”.

The antagonism between these two political streams regarding this essential question related to the further development of the liberation struggle of the Macedonian people transformed into a serious conflict that led to a split within the right-wing. Namely, at the Second Congress of the brotherhoods 63 delegates left the meeting. A year after on the 4th of December 1921, 27 brotherhoods organized their own Congress at which the new “Macedonian emigration federative organization” (MEFO) was formed. Its objective was: an “Autonomous Macedonia within its geo-

graphical and economical borders in which following the example of Switzerland all peoples that settled the country would have equal religious, national, civil and political rights”.

The formation of MEFO as new political subject in the national revolutionary movement was an expression of the deep political and ideological crisis that the movement was passing through after the defeats in the past period. The crisis was a result of the internal realignments searching for the right way of continuing the liberation movement under the new circumstances. The deepening of the crisis was also a consequence of the influence of certain nationalistic circles in Bulgaria. They considered particularly important to keep the Macedonian emigration under control. For that purpose they immediately after the defeat of Bulgaria initiated the renewal of the Internal Macedonian Adrianople Revolutionary Organization. But it was not a current issue any more to renew the old “Internal Macedonian Adrianople Revolutionary Organization” but to create a new Macedonian “revolutionary” organization whose center was supposed to be in Bulgaria while its activity was supposed to be carried out in Macedonia, above all in Vardar Macedonia. With the assistance of the Military League in Bulgaria, Todor Alexandrov was appointed as Head of this old-new organization that was denominated identically omitting only “Adrianople” from its name. The news about the constitution of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO) was announced on the 11th of June 1920.

The re-constitution of the IMRO led by Todor Alexandrov did not stop the process of stratification within the right wing. On the contrary, due to the fact that it reappeared and the new tasks that were delegated, what means to struggle for the old concepts of the supremists within the new reality led to the formation of MEFO and to the sharpening of the relations between both organizations so that it grew into an armed conflict. The consequences of the conflict with the MEFO inflicted a particularly hard strike to Vardar Macedonia. In the period between 1919 and 1924, military units from Bulgaria carried out 64 entering into this part of Macedonia. In the conflict among the MEFO, the IMRO and the Serbian authority agencies over 500 people were killed, several hundreds were detained and maltreated and a few tens were sentenced.

Although from this conflict IMRO of Todor Alexandrov gained the victory it did not succeed to impose its program objectives on the Macedonian struggle. The issue related to the struggle for an autonomous Macedonia, liberated from the influence of the Bulgarian policy continued to be the source of further disagreements and conflicts. Todor Alex-

androv did not manage to build a consistent program regarding the objectives of the Macedonian people's struggle. For instance, in the Directive of the Central Committee of IMRO from the 11th of June 1920, when the organization was formed, was stated that its main objective was "the liberty of Macedonia, in a form of autonomy or independence within its ethnographical and economical borders". Nevertheless in that same directive was required federal status for the Vardar Macedonia within the framework of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, while regarding the Aegean part of Macedonia the objective was set to be stopped the emigration of the people and to be acquired in some extent certain rights in the field of local self-administration, freedom in terms of linguistic, religious and some other context". The Declaration did not provide anything for Pirin Macedonia. Most probably, Todor Alexandrov was exposed to severe criticism addressed to the obvious inconsistency regarding the set objectives of the struggle for the "liberty of Macedonia" so that 17 days later, as nothing happened, he announced a new program platform in which he declared as follows: "the struggle for the liberation of Macedonia will continue until we acquire autonomous administration for all three parts of Macedonia"!

Todor Alexandrov was often changing the program objectives of his autonomists IMRO. The biggest step forward and surprise in this context he made with the establishment of some relations with the USSR and the Cominform. The documents that were brought by the Central Committee of the IMRO in April 1924 represented an almost unbelievable act of Todor Alexandrov. Radical news in these acts is the conclusion that the objectives of the struggle of the Macedonian people in terms of the liberation and unification of Macedonia might have been accomplished within the framework of one Balkan federation and by the support of the USSR. Under the influence of the USSR he accepted the almost unacceptable proposal – to stop the fierce conflict against the MEFO and both organizations to unite themselves into a sole organization that would have represented the unification of the Macedonian liberation movement's forces. This act of Todor Alexandrov, who was known as a fierce opponent of the left-wing was aiming towards putting an end to the factionalism.

This orientation reached its peak with the Manifest of May signed on the 6th of May 1924. In the Manifest, among the rest, the following was concluded: "Macedonia today is again enslaved and divided among the three Balkan states: Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece" and was added that none of them was thinking about the possibility of "self-determination of

the Macedonian people in autonomous political unit nor to give the Macedonians the right that will provide their cultural development as national minority”.

Although after the publishing of the Manifest in the newspaper “Balkan Federation” Todor Alexandrov having been scared for his life declared it as a “communist fiction“, the fact that he had approved the signing of the Manifest was of extraordinary importance. It demonstrates that Alexandrov had clearly distinguished that IMRO could have endured at the political scene in the Macedonian national liberation movement of only its objectives had corresponded with the primary ambitions of the Macedonian people. Todor Alexandrov paid his signature on the Manifest of May with his life. But he was not the only one. His assassination was depicted as a communist deed and his successor Ivan Mihajlov becoming a head of the IMRO and in agreement with the nationalistic circles in Bulgaria benefited from this and committed a massacre over the ideological members of the left-wing in Pirin Macedonia and wider in Bulgaria. With the program that Ivan Mihajlov had committed over the left-wing of the Macedonian national liberation movement he inflicted a hard strike to the unification process of the movement’s forces not only within the emigration in Bulgaria but also all over Macedonia. However, this massacre or the unprecedented terror of Ivan Mihajlov did not succeed to break the moral of the Macedonians in Bulgaria. He, Ivan Mihajlov as well as Todor Alexandrov organizing the so-called Great Meeting in Gorna Dzumaja (Blagoevgrad) in February 1933, honestly motivated or not is another question to be answered, but similarly motivated as Alexandrov, tried to break the chain of the Bulgarian policy in favor of the political aspirations of the Macedonian emigration of Bulgaria. But the history repeated and this time, the same as 10 years ago as in case of Alexandrov, his attempt was brutally disabled by the Bulgarian state administrative bodies. The truth is that he did not pay with his life as Alexandrov had done. He was simply expelled from Bulgaria and the activity of IMRO of all its factions and other organizations that were under its control were banned (May 19, 1934).

The situation that affected Macedonia and the Macedonians after the end of the Peace Conference in Paris created confusion and restructuring within the emigration campus but also in the divided part of the country. It was a merit of the relevant Bulgarian political forces, both the left-wing and right-wing. The ideal for Great Bulgaria was deeply nested in all political structures in Bulgaria. It continued to exist even after the defeats from the wars. In order to achieve this ideal both social and political

blocks in the Bulgarian society, the left-wing and the right-wing, largely was benefiting from the situation of the Macedonian national liberation movement after the wars and in particular of the presence of the numerous Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. The nationalistic forces in Bulgaria formed the autonomists IMRO of Todor Alexandrov and Ivan Mihajlov. The left-wing in Bulgaria headed by the Bulgarian Communist Party insisted to accomplish its political interests in the Macedonian national liberation movement through creation of obedient political structures. The disintegration of the former “United Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization” and the creation of the disfigured “Communist Union of Emigrant”, the interfering of the Macedonian left-wing in the September Uprising in 1923 risen by the Bulgarian Communist Party are all examples that illustrated the above mentioned.

In a word, the Bulgarian Communist Party as well as the right-wing systematically engaged themselves to transform the Macedonian liberation movement into the instrument of its class, national and political strategy. It insisted to achieve this not only within the emigration in Bulgaria but also wider in Vardar and Aegean Macedonia by the use of its influence in the Communists International and in its branch the Balkan Communist Federation.

This interference of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the activity of the Macedonian liberation movement’s left-wing caused, as Dimitar Vlahov said, “resistance and mistrust towards the Bulgarian Party of the ‘narrow’” by the supporters from Serres and by Ghorce Petrov and respectively towards Dimo Hadzi Dimov. The same happened in Vardar Macedonia. Here the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party collided with the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia regarding the character and the objectives of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement. The dilemma was if it still should be based on the name and the objectives of the IMRO or should a new organization be created that would include the social interests of the village.

While insisting to become an arbiter in the definition process of the objectives of the left-wing forces of the Macedonian national liberation movement, after the failure of the both basic fractions, IMRO and MEFO, to unite and after the assassination of Todor Alexandrov, the Bulgarian Communist Party providing the support of the Balkan Communist Federation which was based on the Manifest of May, during the whole of that year was attempting to unite the disintegrated forces of the Macedonian left-wing in a sole organization under the name of IMRO. This way the IMRO (United) was created in October 1925. During that period eve-

ryone that used to have points of view different to those of the Bulgarian Communist Party was a subject of severe criticism. So, Gheorgi Dimitrov on the behalf of the Presidency of the Balkan Communist Federation in his letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the 16th of November 1924 sharply criticized Panko Brashnarov and Rizo Rizov accusing them that they had “insisted to create a new Macedonian organization or national Bolshevik party in Macedonia”. “They have, he said, to popularize the Manifest from the 6th of May of this year. No new Macedonian organization will be formed or any national Bolshevik party”, was categorical Gheorgi Dimitrov. But the idea for creation of a “new Macedonian organization”, according to the testimonies of Vasil Kolarov, derived from some Russian circles of the Communist International. He was claiming that in that period in the Communists International or in the Balkan Communist Federation there was a debate regarding the future of the Macedonian liberation movement that lasted up to 1929. There was a proposal IMRO in Macedonia to be replaced by the Peasants (Agrarian) Party. In that debate prevailed the opinion of the Bulgarian Communist Party that the struggle of the left-wing forces of the Macedonian liberation movement should continue under the name of IMRO with the addition “united”, of course, under control of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Actually, the BCP was insisting on creation of the left-wing fraction as an antipode of the autonomist IMRO. It actually happened with the creation of IMRO (United) in October 1925 in Vienna. The question is what were the reasons for the collision of the Macedonian communists with the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Balkan Communist Federation or respectively of Gheorgi Dimitrov with the Bulgarian Communist Party?

A direct answer of this question would be: The right of the Macedonian people of its own language and culture, of its own identity.

Namely, in the resolution of “the activity and the unification of the Macedonian national revolutionary movement” that had been brought at one of the regional conference of the Macedonian communist, most probably held in the autumn 1925, the Macedonian and usurers were criticized that not only they did not struggle for the independence of Macedonia but they also did not struggle for the most fundamental cultural and political rights of the Macedonian people, such as the right of the Macedonian language in the schools, literature, newspapers, the right of the name and of organization of the Macedonian people in Yugoslavia.” With other words, the Macedonian communists under the form of criticism towards the incapacity of the Macedonian bourgeoisie to acquire these rights they ac-

tually engaged in the affirmation of the Macedonian cultural and national identity that was against the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party at that time. This and some other disagreements between the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Regional Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Macedonia led to the suspension of the last one and with this the communist movement in Vardar Macedonia entered into deep crisis that lasted until 1940. As a matter of fact, the Bulgarian Communist Party as far as the Macedonian national and cultural self-determination was concerned, for all that period between World Wars I and II was insisting to keep the control over the activity of the left-wing forces of the Macedonian national liberation movement in Bulgarian as well as in the divided parts of Macedonia. An example of this was the accepted platforms of the Constitutive Conference of IMRO (United) in 1925. The defined program objectives at this constitutive assembly related to the national identity of the Macedonian people are a step backwards compared with the position it had in the Manifest of May. In this context, after 1928 the situation started changing as a result of the most present expressions of the national feelings.

IMRO (United) is the first Macedonia political organization that adapted its organizational structure to the reality of the divided Macedonia. Separate regional leaderships were created for all three parts of Macedonia and they were subordinated to the Central Committee of IMRO (United).

The foundation and the activity of the IMRO (United) in the divided parts of Macedonia were differently implemented, depending on the concrete situation of each part respectively. For example, in Vardar Macedonia, IMRO (United) was being active in the period between 1926 and 1929; in Pirin Macedonia and within the emigration in the period between 1929 and 1936 when actually started the process of disbanding of its organizations; in the Aegean part of Macedonia it actually did not start functioning at all. The reasons for its marginalization were founded in the fact that it did not manage to adapt itself to the situation of the country in which the feeling of national appurtenance was strengthening more and more along with this intensified the requirements for affirmation of the Macedonian language. As far as its activity is concerned, in Pirin Macedonia and among the emigration in Bulgaria, it was related to the process of strengthening of the Macedonian national self-identification. The weak side of the activity of IMRO (United) in Bulgaria was the doctrinal phraseology dominated by the schematic rhetoric regarding the Macedonian nation, language and culture. Exactly this, in the propaganda of

IMRO (United) to liberate itself from the schematic phraseology, to engage for its concretization in the spirit of the requirements of the Macedonian emigration and also to adapt to the increasing tendency of the national feelings in the whole of Macedonia was one of the reasons why the Communists International in January 1934 brought the appropriate resolution. Namely, in this resolution, which actually was published in April 1934 in the newspaper “The Macedonian deed” (“Makedonsko delo”) as a resolution of the Central Committee of IMRO (United), was suggested that the organization (IMRO united) should engage itself for the introduction of the Macedonian language in education and publishing activity and for the affirmation of the Macedonian nation.

However, it seems that the suggestion for concretization of the propaganda of IMRO (United) with the current requirements did not match with the interests of some circles within the Bulgarian Communist Party. That’s why a year after the adoption of the above mentioned resolution at the Fifth Congress of the Cominform, as Vlahov said, it was suspended, and with its suspension the IMRO (United) as an organized form of acting of the left forces in the Macedonian national liberation movement was also disbanded. Nevertheless, it is due to mention that regardless the tough interference of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the policy of the IMRO (United) and the fraction struggles in it, the IMRO (United) and its activity in Pirin Macedonia, among the emigration in Bulgaria, in USA and in Canada created a space for the appearance of the intellectual and organized publicist activity and for cultural activity of Macedonian cultural and national context. Its activity however gave its own contribution in the process of strengthening of the Macedonian national consciousness. The Macedonian literary circle that was formed in the autumn 1938, the publishing of prose and poetry works, composing of artistic and musical works all based on Macedonian national motifs were all typical expressions of that need. It is important to mention that the Macedonian Literary Circle was organized three years after the disbanding of IMRO (United) and two years after the break of every organized activity related to it. The appearance of the Literary Circle and the publicist works that appeared in the period before World War II is clear evidence of the increased Macedonian national self-action. By its side, a great number of Macedonian intellectuals and idealistic-strugglers such as: Simon Kavrakirov, Hristo Trajkov, Hristo Horlev, Bozidar Mitrev, Anton Jugov, Vasil Ivanovski, Asen Charakchiev, Hristo Kalajdziev, Mitko Zafirovski, Gheorgi Abadziev, Angel Dinev, Kosta Veselinov, Mihail Smatrakalev,

Kiril Nikolov, Keraca Visulcheva and others appeared from the orders of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria and the IMRO (United).

The partition of Macedonia as it was previously mentioned objectively opened the process of separation of the Macedonian national liberation movement into the different parts of the divided country. However, despite these conditions, although weakened, it had never given up its objective – to liberate and unite Macedonia and to organize it in an autonomous state in the Balkan. So that, it definitely started adapting on that reality within the framework of the circumstances in which it was being active. In the period between 1920 and 1930 that process was not that visible. It was a period in which the veterans of the liberation movement were still active, the period of hard and painful transformation often with tragic consequences. The changes started being noticed 10 years later when the new, young generation appeared on the political scene, which was relatively liberated from the ballast of the past, the generation that could not have been accused for the past, of being someone's agents, or enemies of the state.

The changes that affected the emigration in Bulgaria and had started at the beginning of the thirties achieved its final form at the end of the decade. What is more important is that the weapon was not any more in the focus of the struggle but it was the written words, literature, poetry, paintings, music, the theatrical argumentation of the natural rights and ambitions of one nation for cultural and national self-determination.

After the thirties of the XX century it was particularly noticeable in Vardar Macedonia within the framework of the Yugoslav Kingdom. Therefore, in 1932 the formation of a high-school literary group marked this process. The organization later was transformed into a political organization called "Macedonian youth revolutionary organization-MMOR."

The following were its objectives were known as: the admission of the national individuality, absolute freedom, the right of proper schools implementing the education in Macedonian, its own officials and courts, the Macedonians Yugoslavia to be recognized as an equal nation the same as Serbs, Croats and Slovenians.

After 1930 the Student's Movement appeared on the political scene in Vardar Macedonia. Form the orders of the Macedonian students the well known student's organization was formed, called the "Macedonian national movement" („Makedonski naroden pokret“-) – MANAPO. It was a deed of the Macedonian students in Zagreb where they had more space for action. They were affirmed in public with its cultural and artistic association named "Vardar". Starting on the 2nd of July 1936 the male choir of

the association was organizing a tour in the cities of Vardar Macedonia. They had their performance in several cities: Kumanovo, Skopje, Veles, Prilep and Kochani. The program of the concerts was exclusively composed of Macedonian folk songs. Wherever they performed they were causing outbursts of national emotions. Having been afraid that this wave of Macedonian national self-expression might have been spared over the authority prohibited their performances in the other cities of Vardar Macedonia.

In Zagreb, the association started publishing its own newspaper in Macedonian. The newspaper was named "Vardar" and only one edition was issued. After the publishing of the first edition (the 30th of March 1937) the authority forbade it.

MANAPO extended its organization among the Macedonian students in Belgrade and in Skopje. The political objectives of MANAPO were defined at the meeting in Ohrid held on the 28th of August 1936. They contained as follows:

"We, the Macedonians, as a separate nation join the struggle united in the independent national movement under the following principles:

1. MANAPO is an independent and sole political, economical, national and cultural movement that could be joined by anyone regardless of its nationality, religion or sex and that agrees with the following principles:

2. The recognition of Macedonia as a historical unit and the Macedonian people as a separate nation;

3. It should represent a separate unit within the Federative Yugoslavia;

4. MANAPO is based on legal national democratic principles in its struggle for liberation and peace;

The objective of MANAPO was to affirm its activity among the people through political action. For this purpose in Prilep and Prespa during the 1936 under the form of the independent list an attempt was made to participate in the local elections. In 1938 in coalition with the allied opposition, and above all with the People's Agrarian Party of Dr. Dragoljub Jovanovich, MANAPO managed to participate in the parliamentary elections. Not having political opportunity for an independent participation in the elections MANAPO supported the candidatures of the Allied opposition. The election results that were achieved by the Allied opposition in Macedonia demonstrated the popularity of MANAPO and pointed out that without its support no one could have counted on greater success in Vardar Macedonia. In this moment the interests of MANAPO coin-

cided with the interests of the opposition Agrarian Party of Jovan Jovanovich – Pizhon in Serbia.

During the period of the electoral campaign led in 1939 at the pre electoral meetings in Veles, Prilep, Bitola, and Ohrid, besides the orators of the Agrarian Party of Pizhon the representatives of MANAPO also had their speeches. Their speeches were in Macedonian and were focused on the struggle for recognition of the Macedonian national identity, for the right of self-determination, for free use of the name Macedonian for all Macedonians, for the federal administration system of Yugoslavia. Such performances of the delegates of MANAPO were often widely accepted by the people in Macedonia. “They were encouraging MANAPO and intensified its national action”.

The Macedonian national activity of MANAPO and of the other intellectual circles in that period reflected upon different segments of the Macedonian social life. June, 1937, the day when the magazine “LUC” was published, represented an important date from that period. It was being issued until May 20, 1938 when the authority forbade it. Totally 7 editions were published and there were articles in Serbian and Macedonian language.

Briefly, the objective of the editing was psychologically to move energy of the Macedonian people in order to let it free for action in terms of “overcoming all obstacles of that time”.

Another important date from the period of affirmation of the Macedonian national and cultural identity was the day when the pioneer of the Macedonian contemporary poetry, the verse book “White dawns” (Beli mugri) by Kosta Racin (1939) was issued in Samobor, Croatia. It was small but epistolary poetry book that had an enormous impact on the rising up of the national consciousness of the Macedonian people.

The increased and publicly manifested national cognition of the population in Vardar Macedonia under Serbian authority caused discomfort and fear in Serbia. The article written by the famous Serbian archeologist, Nikola Vulich, with the specific title: “Southern Serbia or Macedonia” in the newspaper “The Times” (Vreme) from Belgrade represented a reflection of this phenomenon in Serbia. In this article the name Macedonia for Vardar Macedonia was negated as well as the right of its people to be called Macedonians. This Vulich’s article caused fierce reactions in Vardar Macedonia. Similar reactions were noticed among the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. Particularly sharp was the reaction of the Macedonian students in Zagreb, which supported by the Croatian colleagues managed to stop Vulich to give a lecture on the 2nd of December

to the students of Zagreb. In direct contact with him they forced him to accept a debate related to the sustainability of the statements exposed in the newspaper "Time".

The debate was held in Zagreb on the 3rd of December 1939. Five persons participated in the debate by the side of the Macedonians led by Kosta Racin and on the Serbian side there were Nikola Vulich and Jovan Radonjich. The debate was long and severe. Macedonian representatives took the chance to reject in public the thesis of Vulich and to defend the right of the Macedonian people to exist, equally to the right of the other neighboring peoples.

The collision with the thesis of Vulich, i.e. with the Great Serbian ideology at the end of the 1939 represented the peak of an absolutely successful march of the Macedonian people for cultural, national and political affirmation as national subject within the framework of the Yugoslav Kingdom. In the period before the beginning of the antifascist and national liberation struggle that was considered as a great step forward. It is due to be emphasized that what was done by the Macedonian intellectuals from Vardar Macedonia matched with the activity of the Macedonian Literary Circle in Bulgaria. That is a proof that the struggle of the Macedonian people in the divided Macedonia was permanently nourished with the ideas of the Ilinden Uprising and despite of the fact that any kind of contacts among the divided parts were absolutely forbidden the same ambitions were heard by them.

The historical leap of the Macedonian cultural and political thought became represented by MANAPO as a national student's movement. However, the coming of the World War II in the Balkan and the necessity for participation in it on the side of the antifascist forces brought up the question about the creation of a political party with its own ideological and organizational program. MANAPO as a general people's movement exhausted its possibilities. As a new, contemporary political subject, the Communist Party in Macedonia appeared as a part of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The platform of the CPY in Macedonia was defined on the basis of the historical ambitions of the Macedonian people for liberation and independence. They were incorporated into the declaration of the CPY (in the spring 1939) titled: "Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Macedonian national issue". The fundamental point of this declaration was as follows: "The Macedonians represent a separate nation in the Balkan, they are not Greek, nor Serbs or Bulgarians" and without an absolute

freedom of the Macedonian people “the consolidation of Yugoslavia could not be imagined”.

Intensive political and organizational spreading of the Communist Party in Macedonia was registered since the beginning of the autumn 1939 and especially at the first half of the 1940. Local party organizations were created in many places. On the 2nd of September 1940 on the mountain Vodno near Skopje the Regional Conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Macedonia was held. In the resolution brought at the Conference the direct tasks of the party’s organization in Macedonia were determined. In these tasks on the first place was the need to be created a “general Macedonian national revolutionary front” as a part of the general struggle of the Yugoslav proletariat”. The essential point of the Resolution was that “only the alliance of the workers in Yugoslavia can put an end to the Serbian imperialism and bring liberty to all peoples”.

The year 1940 in Vardar Macedonia was characterized by mass demonstrations in Prilep and Ohrid on the occasion of the anniversary of the Ilinden Uprising. The Ilinden demonstrations were an expression of the increased and strong Macedonian national movement.

The analysis of the political life in Vardar Macedonia during 1940 and especially at the second half of the year demonstrates that the Macedonian party’s organization became a dominant factor in the development of the Macedonian national liberation movement. But at the same time considering its behavior it was registered a tendency for monopolization of the social life, which was expressed in the attempts to discipline the cultural authors. The characteristic example in this context was the boycott of Kosta Racin, the author of the “White dawns” and one of the fierce opponents of the great Serbian thesis in the debate with Nikola Vulich. That resolution caused serious confusion in the intellectual circles close to the national movement in Macedonia. Those people that embraced the “White dawns” as an emanation of the Macedonian spirit now were found in front of a great dilemma in terms of what should be their attitude towards the author and towards his work. The question was if the work should be separated from the author or vice versa and if it was at all possible? This was the serious spot in the political capital of the Party.

The Macedonian national liberation movement in the three parts of the divided Macedonia at the end of the fourth decade of the XX century and immediately before the World War II on the Balkan entered in the new higher phase of its development. It was a period in which all three parts of Macedonia, Vardar, Aegean and Pirin, regardless of their division and the lack of the political and organizational connection among the re-

volutionary forces of the Macedonian people but thanks to the previous struggles, the tradition and created historical and national consciousness, the process of affirmation of the Macedonian national and political individuality expressed in form of defense of the right of autonomy of the Macedonian people affected almost all strata. In all three parts of Macedonia the current issue was the struggle for the admission of the national identity of the Macedonians, the struggle for affirmation of the Macedonian language and for the revealing of its own historical being. It was a period in which it was emphasized the necessity for an organized and conceptualized effort for affirmation of the cultural heritage of the Macedonian people and for development of the contemporary Macedonian culture.

MACEDONIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1941 – 1945)

1. The Second World War on the Balkan Peninsula

World War II was the result of numerous contradictions and antagonisms between the winning and the defeated forces during World War I. The Italian fascism and the German National Socialism created a fertile ideological background based on revision and revenge in order to bring closer the defeated countries during World War I. On that basis Germany, Italy and Japan created an alliance called the Threepartite Pact and through the force-based policy expressed their wish for a new division of the spheres of influence or even dominance.

World War II began with the Germans' attack on Poland on the 1st of September 1939.

Bulgaria joined the Threepartite Pact on 1 March 1940 and immediately after that on the 2nd of March the entry of the 12th German Army from Romania across the Danube River into Bulgaria began. In a seven

day period 680,000 German soldiers were placed along the southern borders of Bulgaria toward Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The Government of Yugoslavia signed a protocol joining Yugoslavia to the Threepartite Pact on the 25th of March in Vienna. After the demonstrations of March 27, 1941 organized in Belgrade, Skopje and other Yugoslav cities by the pro western oriented Serbian political parties and after the state strike, the Pact with Germany was canceled and new pro English government was formed led by the General Dusan Simovich. On the 5th of April 1941 the new government signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for non-attack.

2. The April War from 1941 and the division of Macedonia

Shortly after these events Hitler decided to destroy Yugoslavia as a military force and as a country too, because it became an unstable factor as far as the forthcoming actions were concerned such as operation “Marita” (the attack on Greece) and operation “Barbarossa” (the attack on the Soviet Union). The plan was to attack Yugoslavia and Greece simultaneously with the co-action of the Italian and Hungarian forces as direct participants, while the Roman and Bulgarian forces had the task to ensure the operations against the potential Soviet and Turkish intervention.

After the entry of the German forces into Macedonia on the 6th of April 1941 in the regions of Stracin and Strumica fierce battles were led in which the Yugoslav Army tried to stop the fast breakthrough of the German forces. The Yugoslav Air Forces, stationed in Skopje and Kumanovo, attempted to oppose the German Air Force but they failed and were destroyed. On the 10th of April, the German forces occupied Macedonia.

On the 17th of April 1941, the Yugoslav Army signed the unconditional surrender in Belgrade. After the capitulation, in accordance with the decision for the annihilation of Yugoslavia as a state, its territory was divided among Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria.

When the defined borders were decided, all in favor of the need of the German forces to attack the Soviet Union, Hitler required Bulgaria to occupy Macedonia within the previously defined borders, spreading along the borderline Piroto-Vranje-Skopje and further on along the Vardar valley to the border with Greece.

The breakthrough of the Italian forces in Macedonia, its approach to Ohrid and its suburbs, as well as Hitler’s request were sufficiently strong reasons for Bulgaria to break up the diplomatic relations with Yu-

goslavia on April 15, 1941. On April 18, 1941 the Bulgarian Army entered on the territory of Macedonia. The Bulgarian forces on the part of the Vardar Macedonia were breaking through in three directions: in directions of Kriva Palanka, Berovo and Strumica. The Bulgarian Army entered on the territory of Thrace and the Aegean part of Macedonia, from the west bank of the river Marica to the river Struma on the 19th of April, 1941. However, in order to satisfy the German interests, considering the military and the political situation in global context as well as the events on the Balkan Peninsula, Hitler, in the directive N.29, which referred to the occupation of Greece, divided the Aegean part of Macedonia. According to the directive, Northern Greece or Aegean part of Macedonia was divided into three occupation zones: Italian, German and Bulgarian. The Italian zone spread to the Lerin - Katerina line. The German zone was the largest and spread over the richest part, on west of the Katerina –Lerin line and on east to the river Struma. The Bulgarian's occupied the area from the river Struma to the river Mesta. Each of the occupiers prepared a defense plan for "their own" zone but the supreme command of the 12th German Army, situated in Athens and headed by the Field Marshal List was in charge of the control and the command over all zones.

The entry line of the Bulgarian Army on the territory of Yugoslavia was demarcated in the Wehrmacht Supreme Command plan brought into being on April 27, 1941.

3. Establishment of the occupying authority in Macedonia

The Bulgarian Army entered on the territory of Macedonia on April 18, 1941 and immediately started establishing their own authority on the occupied area within the military defined borders by the Germans. The process of establishing the occupying system was implemented in three phases. The first phase started with the entry of the military forces and with the establishment of the military regime. It was simultaneously established with the forward entering of the troops, initially in the cities and smaller populated places and then in the major communication points. During the second phase the police authority was established by the use of different measures such as: imposing curfews, movement limitations and severe movement control, issuing new identification documents, displacement of the population, arrests, severe censorship and terror and spiteful acts were applied in case of disobedience. Along with these activities the Bulgarian authorities were piling on the pressure by preparing

psychological propaganda. During the third phase, which could be called the phase of establishing civil or administrative authority, the economical activities and different social sectors were revitalized such as education, health, church, culture, information, finances and other segments of the social life.

The organization and the functioning of the Bulgarian occupying system in Macedonia at the same time implied taking over the natural, historical, cultural and all other resources on the Macedonian territory and they also started with the assimilation and denationalization of the Macedonian people. The Bulgarian authority had previously prepared proper forces for such "liberation" which in short period of time and without greater efforts initially managed to set military, judicial, and legislative authority and later they also established the administrative and the political authority including the jurisdiction of the Church. The life and the way of functioning of the Bulgarian authority should have been identical as those in Bulgaria.

On the Italian occupying area the military and police authority lasted up to July 1941. The period from April to July 1941 actually is considered as an interregnum. The ex authority of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia left the territory and the new authority was still not appointed. Because of that the Italian military bodies imposed to the ex Yugoslav Municipality Courts and Administrative officials to continue doing their job but conditioned by the loyalty to the Italian military authority and the collaboration with the Italian command centers. With Mussolini's Decree the military authorities, or the command centers organized and established civil and judicial authority in the Municipalities. According to this Decree and to the Military Law, on the territory occupied by the Italian forces, civil commissaries appointed by the Supreme Command should have performed the civil authority. The civil commissaries could have employed or dismissed officials on the needs-based requirements or on the orders of the Supreme Command. Actually they were in charge of the public order and security and responsible for the implementation of the activities of the occupying forces in terms of maintaining the occupying system. In July 1941, with the Decree issued by the Royal Representative of Italy in Albania, Francesco Jacomini, the occupied part of Macedonia by the Italian forces was annexed to Albania and "Great Albania" was created in accordance with the League of Prizren.

4. The Bulgarian Action Committee

After the entry of the German forces the ruling system of the Yugoslav Kingdom failed and followed the period of anarchy i.e. political interregnum. With the arrival of the German forces in Macedonia, Macedonian emigrants from Bulgaria, which were oriented pro-Bulgarian, founded the Bulgarian Central Action Committee in the middle of April 1941 in Skopje. Immediately after that in the major cities, they created another 25 local Bulgarian Action Committees. The idea about the formation of the Bulgarian Committees in Macedonia derived from Stefan Stefanov and Vasil Hadzi Kimov who considered that in the circumstances created by the occupation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria might not participate in the war. In that situation their aim was implementation of the concept of autonomous Macedonia under the Bulgarian protectorate or alternatively, in case of obstacles, they should have organized actions, demonstrations, petitions and other manifestations in favor of the idea to annex Macedonia to Bulgaria. But the Bulgarian government after it had established its occupying authority on July 7, 1941 brought a decision to discharge the Bulgarian Committees and to ban their activity.

Besides the activities of the Bulgarian Committees the adherents of Ivan Mihajlov continued the collaboration with the Bulgarian government and some of them were collaborating not only with the German occupying command centers but with Ivan Mihajlov as well who was staying in Zagreb in that period. That way, the collaborators with the occupying forces separated into two groups. In the first group, among the most eminent, belonged Dimitar Chkatrov, Spiro Kitanchev, Dimitar Ghuzelov and others, while Vasil Hadzi Kimov, Stefan Stefanov, Kiril Drangov, Boris Ogenov and others belonged in the second group. Both fractions used to have Bulgarian nationality determination and on that basis were carrying out the collaboration with the Bulgarian government. Both of the factions supported the idea of the Bulgarian character of the Macedonian people but deferred about the belonging of the future state.

The first faction had foreseen the future of autonomous and independent Macedonian state under the protectorate of the Third Reich. The state had to have a Bulgarian character and it's official language to be Bulgarian.

The second faction supported the idea of the unification of Macedonia in the frames of the Bulgarian state. Although both of the factions tried to impose their attitudes upon the Bulgarian occupation authorities, they were disappointed from the behavior of the Bulgarian state which wanted to use them only for its own occupational aims.

Also their ideas, except for a minor group of Macedonian people, were not accepted for the people, who for a short time foresaw the occupational role of the Bulgarians in Macedonia and their aim for assimilation and denationalization.

The group whose members were Dimitar Chkatrov and Dimitar Ghuzelov was composed mostly of local intellectuals. After the breakthrough of the German occupying army this group separated into another two smaller fractions. The first one wanted Macedonia to be annexed to Bulgaria and the second group to which D. Chkartov, D. Ghuzelov, S. Kitinchev and others were affiliated required Macedonia to be decelerated as an autonomous or independent Macedonian state under direct protectorate of the Third Reich.

5. Arms struggle in Macedonia from 1941 to 1945

5.1 Political and military preparations of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) for the struggle against the occupiers

In February 1940 in Skopje, Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (RC CPY) had a conference in Macedonia in which the current and insufficiently active Regional Committee (RC) was adjourned and a new temporary, regional presidency was elected, constituted of Metodija Shatorov-Sharlo as a Secretary with Pero Ivanovski – Tikvar, Orce Nikolov, Koce Stojanovski – Metalec and Dobrivoje Vidich as members. The new Regional Committee was a link for all other party organizations and provided the necessary leadership unity. After the accomplishment of the situation analysis, the Regional Committee took measures to reinforce its activity. The leadership affirmed the struggle for national and social liberation and started issuing declarations, publishing flyers and newspapers that were mainly distributed among the Macedonian intelligence as well as among workers.

In June 1940, the Communist Party in Macedonia formulated the basic elements of its national program. The Regional Conference of the Communist Party in Macedonia, held on September 8, 1940 on the mountain Vodno near Skopje, and was particularly focused on the Macedonian national issue. At this Conference the Resolution of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in Macedonia was brought relating to the objectives of the National Liberation Movement of Macedonian people. A new Regional Committee was elected and it consisted of nine members

and six delegates for the Fifth State Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

On that Fifth Regional Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held in the period from 19 to 23 October, 1940, in Dubrava, near Zagreb, Shatorov represented the political standpoints regarding the national liberation and unification of the Macedonian people. Because of these political views Shatorov was a subject of severe critics and as his views had seemed “to veer away from the national issue concept and the issue regarding the colonists.”

In January 1941, the extended Plenum of the Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia reached the conclusion that the final objectives of the Macedonian people’s struggle are “total liberation and equity”. Nevertheless this was not anywhere distinctly recorded that at that meeting the fundamentals of the national unifying state-building program of the Macedonian Liberation Movements were set and the objectives of the national Liberation and Antifascist struggle of the Macedonian People were defined.

Taking into consideration the general conditions as well as the situation in the whole Macedonia, Metodij Shatorov, as a Secretary of the Communist Party, tried to transform the part of Vardar Macedonia into Piedmont for integration and creation of an autonomous Macedonian state. Due to the fact that almost all Balkan Communist Parties referring to the Macedonian national issue expressed great-power or imperialistic interests, Shatorov mostly trusted the Cominform and its General Secretary Gheorgi Dimitrov. Considering this fact, at the beginning of May in 1941 Metodij Shatorov went to Sofia following the directives of the Cominform and the message from the telegram of G. Dimitrov to Tito, and established contacts with the Bulgarian Worker’s Party (BWP) which also strictly followed the decisions of the Cominform. In that period the name of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Macedonia was changed into the “Regional Committee of the Worker’s Party of Macedonia”

During May of 1941 under the leadership of Metodij Shatorov Sharlo more organized parties on the territory structured military training initially regarding use of weapons. On June 2, 1941 a group of young people created a diversion in which a German transport airplane of the type “JU-52” was hit and destroyed. Immediately after that a German truck was also put on fire in the city. On June 12, 1941 after an agitation action in the village Gorni Disan – near Kavadarci, the Bulgarian soldiers murdered Dime Pop Atanasov. He was the first victim of the Macedonian

national liberation movement during the struggle against the Bulgarian occupying forces.

After the attack on the Soviet Union, the Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia, around the end of June 1941, formed a Military Commission, which was supposed to deal with military issues. The Military Commission of the Regional Committee contemporarily was in charge of dealing with the military issues of the Local Committee in Skopje. In concrete terms, it has the following responsibilities: collecting of weapons, munitions, explosive material, and other military equipment; providing information regarding the movements of the occupying forces and the railway timetable; organization of diversions; training about the use of weapons and other means of diversion etc.

With the intensification of the diversions and complete implementation of the preparative activities, the military commission of the Regional Committee and the Local Committee of Skopje brought a decision to withdraw the specialized groups for diversions from their base along the river Vardar on the Vodno Mountain. With the fusion of these groups the Skopje Partisan Unit was formed on the 22nd of August 1941. At the end of August under the Military Commission order, this Partisan Unit carried out its first action attacking the Pyrotechnical Center in Hanrievo (Ghorche Petrov) which was a German warehouse for captured weapons from the Yugoslav Army in Vardar Macedonia.

The formation of the local military commissions, of the Regional Military Headquarters and of the military bases, especially after the first diversions and after the formation of the partisan units, created a beneficial situation for formation of wider military organization. The collaboration was established with the local headquarters of the Aegean and Pirin part of Macedonia too. In this context the Local Headquarters from Bitola was collaborating with the Headquarters of Lerin while Strumica's Headquarters was collaborating with the Military Headquarters of Gorna Dzumaja. Actually, the Local Organizations of the Macedonian National Liberation Movement implemented the preparation activities for the armed struggle and continued the activities related to the integration program.

On the 24th of July 1941, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia held a meeting regarding the situation in the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Macedonia. At that meeting M. Shatorov was accused for "antiparty and counter-revolutionary acting", after which a decision was made about his dismissal of his duty as Secretary of the Regional Committee and about his expulsion from the Party. The Central Committee of the CPY appointed

Dragan Pavlovich as its own delegate in the Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia. At the beginning of August in 1941 Dragan Pavlovich and Lazar Kolishevski arrived in Macedonia and Pavlovich had a task to dismiss the current committee and to form a new one that was to be led by Kolishevski.

Due to the fact that CPY had already started the armed struggle against Germany's and other occupying forces, that used to have a very practical meaning for the struggle of the Soviet Union, the Cominform made a decision that the party organization in the part of the Vardar Macedonia became under direction of the CPY for "practical reasons". That means that after the attack of Germany on the Soviet Union, Stalin recognized again the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and that enabled Tito to integrate the revolutionary forces in one front. On the 4th of September in 1941, a new Regional Committee of the CPY for Macedonia was formed consisting of Bane Andreev, Lazar Kolishevski, Borcka Taleski, Mara Naceva and Blagoj Jankov – Mucheto, and a bit later Vera Aceva became a member also of this Committee. On the 24th of September in 1941, the new Regional Committee made an operational decision. The Regional Military Headquarters in Macedonia was formed on the 26th of September 1941 whose members were Lazar Kolishevski, Cvetko Uzunovski, Mirche Acev, Strasho Pindzur and Mihailo Apostolski. The Macedonian Military Headquarters continued the preparation activities for the armed struggle and for creation of the partisan's formations. The military organization was adequate of the party organization. On the 24th of September 1941, the Regional Committee held a meeting on which operational decisions were brought. At that meeting the Regional Military Headquarters decided to intensify the process of activation of the partisan units. For that purpose, the terrains of Kozjak, Skopska Crna Gora, Karadzica, Babuna, Pelister, or near Skopje, Kumanovo, Prilep, Veles, Bitola, and in western Macedonia the areas of Debarca and Mavrovo were declared as the most suitable. Then besides the formation of the Skopje's Partisan Unit, at the beginning of October two more units were formed, those of Prilep and Kumanovo as well as many diversion groups. In accordance with the October decisions of the Regional Committee and of the Regional Military Headquarters, on the 11th of October 1941 a Prilep's Partisan Unit attacked the police station and the prison building. At the same time the Kumanovo's Partisan Unit took other actions.

At the beginning of October 1941, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Worker's Party sent Bojan B'lgarianov as its own representa-

tive in Vardar Macedonia, with a scope to control the leadership of the Macedonian Liberation Movement and to impose the pro Bulgarian idea on it. In the early November days a Bureau of the Regional Committee was formed which was constituted of four members and among the other members Mirche Acev and Kuzman Josifovski were included as well. In the middle of December 1941 Orce Nikolov and Trajko Boshkovski were also co-opted. During 1941 in the period of constitution of the Macedonia military and political leadership while the Macedonian Liberation Movement was strengthening, The Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarian Worker's Party through their representatives Pavlovich and B'lgarianov were making efforts to put into practice the Yugoslav and Bulgarian political line, that reflected as one of the largest obstacles in the organization and consolidation process of the Macedonian anti fascist and national liberation movement.

The initial intensification regarding the organization of the armed struggle in Macedonia, expressed through the carrying out of various diversion actions and the creation of new partisan units, slowed down a little bit, during the autumn 1941. At the end of the year, under the directive of the Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia the partisan units were disbanded.

5.2 Intensification of the arm struggle

At the end of December 1941 the leadership of the National Liberation Movement in Vardar Macedonia was in a very difficult situation. The Regional Military Headquarters and the partisan units were disbanded; the Regional Committee was polarized between two separate groups, the links with the Central Committee of the CPY were not working, and the Bulgarian occupier strengthened the measures and started an enforced mobilization process of the Macedonian population in the Bulgarian occupying army. On the 26th and the 27th of December a meeting of the Regional Committee was held at which the act of the Partisan Units' disbanding was criticized and some changes within the Regional Military Headquarters were made so that the new people such as Mihailo Apostolski (as a commander), Trajko Boshkovski (as a political commissioner), Strasho Pindzur (as a commander assistant), Borko Taleski and Cvetko Uzunovski (as members) were included. At the same meeting the Regional Committee brought a decision for holding regional party consultation. This consultation was held on the 7th of January 1942 in Skopje and it is well known by the name of January consultation. Not all mem-

bers of the Regional Committee's Plenum were convoked for the consultation and the convocations were without an included agenda. The only information included in the convocations was that the invited persons "would deal with the issue of mobilization and the soldiers who were sent on home-leave." Bane Andreev led the consultation, and many military and political items were put on the agenda.

At the beginning of 1942 the Regional Military Headquarters brought several conclusions of strategic character and that influenced the further development of the armed struggle. In order to be implemented on the field, the Regional Military Headquarters formed its own Military Operational Headquarters with Pero Ivanovski as a commander, Trajko Boshkovski and Kiro Krstevski, both as members. In the middle of April 1942, the Military Operation Headquarters of Skopje started operating in the field. Due to the fact that the Bulgarian police caught the Commander of the Operational Headquarters of Skopje, it did not manage to meet the partisan units. During the spring in 1941 a directive was sent for the creation of several partisan groups, which would have played the role of nuclei for new partisan unit formation. Simultaneously with the new partisan, the new political leadership of the National Liberation Movement units was formed too.

The Regional Military Headquarters, at the meeting held in Skopje in the middle of March in 1942, analyzed the actions of the first partisan units and concluded that it was necessary to make some changes as far as the organization and armed struggle tactic were concerned. Beside that some other inferences were drawn at that meeting too, such as:

- The partisan units to be put under direct command of the Regional Military Headquarters;
- The newly formed partisan units to be composed of 2-3 troops;
- The supply of food, clothes, weapons and equipment to be completed by carrying out the actions directed against the enemy or directly from the villages;
- As far as the territorial maneuvers of the military units were concerned it was said that they were not supposed to be strictly related to the local places but should have had a wider territorial range. The units that were supposed to act on the territory under Bulgarian occupation were being recommended to move on the territory under Italian occupation in case they met hard situations.

At the end of May 1942, at the request of the Local Committees and other Local Organizations, the existing Regional Committee was changed and a provisional Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia

was formed. Cvetko Uzunovski, Mara Naceva, Mirche Acev, Cvetan Dimov and Ljupcho Arsov were members of the new temporary Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia. With the constitution of the new leadership of the National Liberation Movement the situation was overcome so that the formation process of the new partisan unit started, the armed struggle strengthened and the preparation activities for the constitution of the Supreme Headquarters of the Macedonian Army were going on, too.

In the middle of June in 1942 the provisional Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia reorganized and renamed the Regional Military Headquarters. It was renamed the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Units for National Liberation of Macedonia (SHQ of the PUNLM). The Supreme Headquarters was constituted of: Mihailo Apostolski – a commander; Cvetko Uzunovski, Mirche Acev, Strasho Pindzur and Ljupcho Arsov – members. The SHQ of the PUNLM decided to restore the Military Operational Headquarters as a separate body of the Supreme Headquarters. The Operational Headquarters was composed of Trajko Boshkovski – a commander, Stiv Naumov – a political commissioner and Kiro Krstevski – supply (logistic) officer. During 1942 another nine partisan units were created, all of different sizes.

After that the temporary Regional Committee had been formed and the Regional Military Headquarters had been renamed into Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Units for National Liberation of Macedonia different measures were taken for the creation of better conditions for the intensification of the armed struggle. The temporary Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia and the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Units for National Liberation in Macedonia made a big step forward when they actually put into the focus of interest the issue for the interconnection of the partisan units and the integration of the Macedonians from all parts of Macedonia in the Macedonian People's Struggle as conditions for a synergic consolidation of the Macedonian forces. Another large step forward was made by putting into the focus of interest the issue for the creation of a unique Macedonian front for national liberation. This act was particularly efficient as far as further development of the armed struggle was concerned. In this context the temporary Regional Committee and the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Units for the National Liberation of Macedonia ordered to the Local Committees in Bitola and Strumica to establish a relationship and collaboration firstly with the Organization of the Greek Communist Party in Lerin and the Organization of the Bulga-

rian Worker's Party in Petrich and then through them with the National Liberation Movement in the Aegean and Pirin part of Macedonia.

During 1942 the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia was developing through several phases:

The first phase initiated with the April's formation of the new military units and lasted to July 1942. In that period the political agitation was increasing and the military organization was going on, but in the areas of Skopje, Veles, Prilep, Bitola, Krushevo and Resen the Military Units went on the field and carried out armed actions.

The second phase lasted from July to the autumn 1942. In this period The Supreme Headquarters strengthened and some members of the Regional Committee Headquarters went to the field in order to transmit the directive for the intensification of the armed struggle as well as to give support to the Local Military Headquarters and other political organizations.

The third phase started in the autumn 1942, when the Supreme Headquarters took measures for reorganization and more autonomy of the Partisan Units. During this phase the military units were supposed to carry out some military action on the railway and travel communication lines, to interrupt the telephone lines, to make diversions in the mines used by the occupiers. For these purposes the military units expanded the range of movement behind that of strictly native or local character. In that way the Partisan Units covered the major part of the territory, the armed struggle intensified in almost all parts of the country and all basic pre-requirements for the foundation of the regular Macedonian Army were provided.

On the 25th of February 1943 Svetozar Vukmanovich-Tempo arrived in Macedonia as a delegate of the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Movement and Partisan Units of Yugoslavia. His opinion regarding the situation in Macedonia in that period, considering the existing organizational, military as well as political activities of the Macedonian communists, was that there was a clear political determination of the Macedonian people for conducting the armed struggle.

Following the concept of absolute recognition of the national rights of the peoples of Yugoslavia and with a scope the National Liberation Movement to be led by an authoritative national political body, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia was formed in Skopje, which held its first meeting on the 19th of March 1943 in Tetovo. At the same time five operational zones were defined so that five Area Committees were formed. It was also decided the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of Macedonia and Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Movement and Partisan Units in Macedonia to be moved on the territory of the western Macedonia and new Partisan Units to be formed. Besides the difficulties as far as the completion of the appointed tasks was concerned the process of leading the armed struggle couldn't have been stopped. The struggle was gradually expanding more and more covering wider territorial range.

At the first meeting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia was constituted and consisted of: Lazar Kolishevski – a Secretary; Mara Naceva – organizational Secretary; Cvetko Uzunovski, Strahil Gigov, Kuzman Josifovski and Bane Andreev – members. At the same meeting besides the political leadership, the military leadership of the Macedonian national liberation movement was also reorganized and the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisan Units for National Liberation in Macedonia was renamed the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units in Macedonia. It defined precisely the tasks for the headquarters of the operational zones.

The concept of the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia was to spread over Macedonia the sufficient number of Headquarters and Partisan Units that the further development of the armed struggle would be based on. This means that during 1943 the implementation process of the approved armed struggle development concept started.

At the meeting in Prespa, held on the 2nd of August 1943, it was agreed to organize a larger military unit, capable to act on wider territorial areas in Macedonia. These units were supposed to have better maneuver capacities in the struggle against the occupiers. At that meeting the decision was brought about the start up of the preparation activities for the convocation of the Antifascist Assembly. Here for the first time was discussed and a decision was brought to be formed the highest authority body that at the same time would be a constitutive body of the new Macedonian state. The decisions from the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia in Prespa opened a new perspective of the National Liberation Struggle. They opened the door for the formation of the regular Macedonian Army and for the constitution of the highest bodies of the people's and state authority in Macedonia.

The war successes and the increased number of new warriors created beneficial conditions for the approach to the implementation of the idea for the formation of the National Liberation Army. On the 18th of August 1943, on Slavej Mountain, the first regular Military Unit was

formed, named the battalion “Mirche Acev”. Later on the 11th of November 1943, near Slivovo the first Macedonian-Kosovian Brigade was formed. This started the creation process of a larger operative-tactical formation of the National Liberation Army. This was the way in which a larger liberated territory was being created, used by the military and the political leadership for developing wider political activity. Actually, it started establishing the authority bodies.

On the free territory of western Macedonia the political and the military leadership of the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia in the first half of October 1943 issued a document well known as a Manifest of the General Headquarters. The General Headquarters exposed there the basic principles of the National Liberation Struggle and informed about the Macedonian standpoints regarding the future Yugoslav federation. It was underlined there that the Macedonian people in the future community of the Yugoslav peoples would have had an equal status with the rest of them. This had a particular meaning because it was often speculated that the Macedonian people joined the struggle against its wish and that it fought for the renewal of the abolished Kingdom of Yugoslavia. These speculations were also presented within the Macedonian Liberation Movement’s array.

It is important to note that as far as the publishing of the General Headquarters Manifest was concerned reputable Macedonian intellectuals and anti fascists submitted a complaint regarding the Manifest in particular referring to the part that provide the pro – Yugoslav future of Macedonia. They were actually seeing the future of Macedonia as an autonomous, independent and united state or as a Balkan federal state. It was also discussed about the body that was supposed to issue the Manifest. There were also doubts and different standpoints regarding the clarity and comprehensiveness of the Macedonian people’s requests for its unification. However, with its actual content that it had at that time, The Manifest was accepted and somehow it united the participants in the liberation struggle and it was later used as a solid platform for further progress of the struggle itself. It represented a stimulus for a more open bringing up of the Macedonian national issue as well as an opportunity to emphasize the idea of absolute unification of the Macedonians as prior objectives of the Macedonian people’s struggle. The Manifest is one of the most well founded documents that have ever been addressed to the people.

In accordance with the decision of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia at Prespa to start the preparations for the convocation of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the Na-

tional Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM), at the first part of November 1943, on Karaorman Mountain near the village of Crvena Voda, where the leadership of the National Liberation Movement was staying, an Initiative Board was formed for that purpose. The Initiative Board consisted of the following members: Metodija Andonov – Chento (as a President), Strahil Gigov (as a Secretary), Mihailo Apostolski, Cvetko Uzunovski, Borko Temelkovski and Venko Markovski (as members). In April 30, 1943 this board was extended and it counted 22 members. Immediately after its formation, the Initiative Board took over some of the responsibilities of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units of Macedonia as well as of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia. With this act it took over the role of a political representative body and the highest authority body within the Macedonian state, which was in a period of its own constitution. The Initiative Board carried out remarkable activities as far as the explanations regarding the standpoints stated in the Manifest of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units in Macedonia and regarding the Antifascist Assembly were concerned as well as regarding the preparation activities for the convocation of the ASNOM.

The same year, considering the fact that on the 15th of May 1943 the Cominform self dismissed, the delegates of the Central Committee of the Balkan Communist Parties started to develop the idea for formation of a common Balkan Headquarters. On the 20th of June 1943 near Korcha a meeting was held with the representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of Albania and the Communist Party of Greece. They all supported the idea of the Balkan Headquarters and brought a resolution for its constitution. The resolution itself included: highly developed National Liberation Movements on the Balkan, permanent collaboration and implementation of common integrated actions of the National Liberation Forces in all Balkan states and it was foreseen the formation of the common Supreme Headquarters as the only Command Center of the Balkan states. The Bulgarian Worker's Party accepted all these resolutions a bit later. But at the same time the question raised if the created Supreme Headquarters was to be a general Balkan Headquarters or the Headquarters of Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece without Romania and Turkey, which means the Headquarters of the states that Macedonia was divided by. This confirmed the fact that none of the Communist Parties or the states wanted to lose its own part on the Macedonian territory. Because of that, and also on intervention of the Soviet delegates, Tito sent a message to Svetozar Vukmanovich – Tempo on the

9th of October in 1943 in which was said all the activities for the constitution of the Balkan Headquarters to be stopped.

5.3 The liberated territory during 1943

The process of creation of free territory during the National Liberation struggle in Macedonia in 1943 used to have multiple significances. Its importance can be considered from historical, political and a military aspect. The meaning of the historical aspect is signed in many proclamations, appeals, and other documents issued by the political and military leadership of the Macedonian people. In all of them, the motivations by the liberation ideas of the Ilinden Uprising and the Krushevo Republic as well as the wish for their ideals to be fulfilled after 40 years period of time were obvious. The free territory was defended with great determination as far as it was perceived as a symbol of freedom and of the statehood of the Macedonian people.

From military aspect the meaning of the free territory was enormous as well. It was a place where the leadership of the National Liberation Movement was acting, i.e. the military leadership embodied in the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the political leadership embodied in the Party, in the political and mass-political organizations were acting. The authoritative body or bodies of the people's authority actually become functional exactly on that free territory. It was possible only after the removal of the occupying forces from the territory. Their activity on the free territory that at the beginning was focused only on collecting material support, weapons and munitions was later extended with many other activities. The free territory was also an important factor for the further successful development of the struggle. The creation of the authority bodies on the free territories was particularly relevant for the area of Debar and Kichevo, which were the first liberated towns where the higher bodies of the local authority were formed. The creation process of the authority bodies was basically being implemented at the meeting that besides representing the act of formation of the bodies, the events used to have the character of propaganda.

Simultaneously, other mass-political organizations became active such as National Liberation Front (NOF), the Antifascist Women's Front (AFZ), and a youth organization, the National Liberation Youth Union (NOMS), and a Religious Regency was also formed as a core of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the beginning of the religious life.

5.4 Emphasizing of the program objectives of the liberation struggle

Simultaneously with the development of the National Liberation Struggle in Macedonia the question regarding the emphasizing of the program objectives was becoming more and more one of the current issues. It is a fact for many reasons that the emphasis of the program objectives could not have happened at the beginning of the Uprising in 1941. At that time the general appeals for the antifascist struggle were being launched while the appeals for a proper state constitution and for the unification of the Macedonian People were being made in much more hidden forms. It was probably under the influence of the common antifascist struggle with the other Yugoslav nations. The popularization of the Macedonian national issue was accompanied by the fear of being accused for Macedonian separatism. The instructors, delegates and other experts were being sent by the Yugoslav leadership in order to help but also to control this situation in Macedonia.

The comprehension of the ideas for bringing up this issue as a program request, that would mean new motivation impulse in the liberation struggle, was intensified during the second part of the 1943. The open use of the slogan for national unification should have amortized the propaganda of the opposing streams for the alleged “betrayal” of the Macedonian national interest.

5.5 The Convocation Initiative Board for the Anti-fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM)

The carrying out of the decision about the initiation of the preparation activities for the Anti-fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia as well as for the constitution of the highest state bodies required the formation of a special body in charge of the preparation activities. Such an organization was the Initiative Board, which was in charge of convocation of the Assembly.

The exact date of its constitution is not precisely confirmed but it is sure that from the second half of November 1943 it has already been active in the village of Crvena Voda on the slopes of the Karaorman Mountain. Outstanding Macedonian soldiers as well as state officials appeared as its members. The President was Metodija Andonov – Chento, the up coming President of the Anti-fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia and of the Macedonian state was a member, and

also Mihailo Apostolski, the commander of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia.

After its formation, the Initiative Board was not in charge only of the usual preparation activities of technical character but it took over several political and military functions that previously had been carried out by the General Headquarters or by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia. The Initiative Board became a political and representative body and at the same time the highest authoritative body in Macedonia. After its formation, ANOK –National Liberation Action Committee, one the general political bodies of the time was abolished because it did not have a clearly defined functions as that of the Initiative Board.

The function of the Initiative Board was much more accentuated at the beginning of 1944 when together with the General Headquarters, took part in the political explanations of the objectives of the Macedonia people's struggle. Besides that the Initiative Board took part in the constitutive activities of the local authority system, while also acting as the administrative division and defining the areas and the election criteria of the delegates for the first meeting of the Anti-fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia. The assembly prepared several appeals addressed to the Macedonian people, to several famous intellectuals in Macedonia and to the emigration in Bulgaria, asking them to join the liberation struggle and to give the required support for its absolute success, and to forget the speculation that the liberation struggle has been led with a purpose to renovate the former Yugoslavia in which one nation had the absolute domination. Further on, the Initiative Board took the responsibility to discuss with the supreme Yugoslav leadership, i.e with Josip Broz Tito about the future of Macedonia within the framework of the Yugoslav federation as well as about the standpoints of the Yugoslav leadership for unification of the Macedonian people. The Initiative Board required, the delegation formed by Metodija Andonov – Chento, Emanuel Chuchkov and Kiril Petrushev during the discussion with the head of the Yugoslav movement to confer, as it was said, "the main problem of the Macedonian struggle – the issue of the absolute unification of Macedonia". The Initiative Board also discussed the common struggle with the Macedonians that have taken part in the Anti-fascist Movements in Bulgaria and Greece.

5.6 Macedonian national issue and the Balkan states at the end of 1943

An important role played the decisions brought at the second meeting of Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), held on 29th of November 1943 in terms of the future prospective of the Yugoslav nations. The decision about the constitution of Yugoslavia stood that “the state will be constituted on the base of a federate principle providing totally equal status to the Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians and Montenegro’s people or to the people from Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina”. The decisions of the second meeting of AVNOJ, brought in circumstances of the National Liberation War, were completely acceptable for the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia, because the Macedonian people for the first time had an opportunity to continue its struggle for a constitution of its own, Macedonian state, as an equal member of the Yugoslav federation.

However, not only the Great Forces were concerned about the resolutions of AVNOJ but the Macedonian neighboring states were too. Actually, Bulgaria or the Bulgarian Communist Party was the first one that complained about these resolutions. The Party complained about the election of the Macedonians, Vladimir Poptomov and Dimitar Vlahov as members of the Anti-fascist Council for National Liberation of Yugoslavia with a function of delegates in Pirin and Aegean part of Macedonia. The Bulgarian Communist Party held the opinion that with the involvement of Macedonia as a future member of the Federal Yugoslavia the wishes and the interests of the Macedonian people were prejudiced and that this solution was made only for the reasons of the “pragmatic nationalism”. They also thought that the Macedonian people should have had the right of self-determination and that is why the Liberation Front of Bulgaria rejected the resolution of AVNOJ and with a separate declaration offered and made an appeal to the Macedonians to choose their own delegates in the People’s (National) Parliament of Bulgaria. But naturally, due to the fact that Bulgaria had been on the part of the Fascist’s Axis during the war, this Bulgarian request was anachronous and unsustainable, although it was launched with the attractive slogan of “an integral, free and independent Macedonia”. Besides that, Macedonia was leading a common struggle with the other Yugoslav peoples and it was somehow clear that its right for self-determination was exhausted.

On the other side, because of the fact that the Yugoslav peoples were participating in the war by the side of the anti-fascist coalition, Greece was not complaining about the future state structure of Yugoslavia, and the constitution of the Federate Macedonia as a new state. But

slightly later, because of the fact that Macedonians were mass-participating in the anti-fascist war and they were emphasizing their national rights, it started opposing the Macedonian national issue not only in the Aegean but also in Vardar Macedonia.

6. German-Bulgarian campaign in the first half of 1944

The German-Bulgarian Winter Campaign in the area of Kozhuf, Meglen and the Pajak Mountains started in a period when the Allied Forces broke through central Italy and were preparing to open the second front in Europe, and the campaigns on the Yugoslav battlefield were intensifying. Considering the fact that Germany was under pressure from all sides, the German Supreme Command decided to make stronger the Group of "E" armies (GAE) that were situated in southern Greece under the command of the Field Marshal Alexander Löhr. The Macedonian Army's objective was to place their own forces in the area of the main communication points along the valley of the river Vardar and to start a military action targeting mainly the railway lines. The actions of the Macedonian forces intensified the preparations and the start up of the campaign on Meglen Mountain and in the area of Kozhuf and Mariovo. The campaign started on the 5th of January 1944 and lasted to the 20th of January when the German and Bulgarian forces after several unsuccessful attempts to seize the position of the Partisans stopped pursuing them.

The Macedonian political and military leadership at the end of the German - Bulgarian Winter Campaign analyzed the carried out actions within the winter operations and brought strategic decisions. In the further actions their main objective was to intensify the battles across the whole territory of Macedonia. At the same time they insisted on reaching the part of Pirin Macedonia, to develop the collaboration with the Anti-fascist Forces in southern Serbia and to reach the common goals. When the analysis of the military and political situation was completed it was realized that the occupier would start an even fiercer campaign, and that was the reason why the Macedonian military and political leadership developed a plan for the February campaign. The main concept of the February campaign was to make a breakthrough with two action groups of a brigade size that would have political and military leadership from the highest forums. It was thought the breakthrough would be carried out with one group in the central and with another group through eastern Macedonia. The third group of a brigade size too, received an order to remain in the

area of the Kozhuf Mountain with a task to act in Tikvesh and along the right bank of the river Vardar just south of Veles. With this concept, from the political aspect, the military and political leadership had a task to intensify the battles as much as possible through the whole territory of Macedonia. The successful completion of the campaign (31 January, 1944 – 22 February, 1944) was a turning point on a military plan in favor of the military units of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units in Macedonia. After the end of the February campaign operations, a serial of significant actions of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units in Macedonia ensued, attacking critical occupying points across the whole territory of Macedonia.

On the 27th and the 28th of February 1944 at the Monastery St. Prohor Pchinski a military and political conference was held at which firstly, the military actions of the February campaign were analyzed and after that the political and military situation of the World with a particular accent on the situation of the Balkan and Yugoslavia with the focus on Macedonia were considered. Particular attention was paid to the preparation activities necessary for holding the first meeting of ASNOM.

Several free zones resulted from the successful battles in the Operational Zones in Macedonia. On the free territories new Regional and Local Command Centers and National Liberation Committees were created. Their main task was to protect the free territory but also to mobilize the population in the Macedonian Army and to form new military units, battalions and brigades.

The spring campaign against the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia in 1944 was led by the Bulgarian and German forces, some Serbian units as well as the military units from Kosovo. Taking into consideration the forces engaged, the territory that was covered and the imposed targets, the spring campaign was an operation of a strategic character.

7. The attempts of the occupiers to cause civil war in Macedonia

The Bulgarian and a little bit later on, the German occupiers of Macedonia in accordance with their ideas attempted to mobilize the local population and to form new armed forces considering them as their collaborators in the struggle against the objectives of the national Liberation Movement of the Macedonian people. By doing this the occupiers tried to cause a civil war in Macedonia. The idea for forming the counter-troops

was risen by the head of the Bitola's district Anton Kozarov. On the 22nd of August 1942, Kozarov gave an urgent and confidential order, in which he required from his area collaborators: "to form an organized armed group of 15 – 20 or more people in each municipality". Dimitar Raev, the head of Skopje's district, as well as the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gabrovski also accepted his idea. The Bulgarian government approved the formation of the armed contra-troops, (anti-partisan units), and it was one of the suppliers with weapon, equipment, food and finances. The contra-troops were acting basically within the gendarmes of the Bulgarian Police ranks as well as in the Bulgarian Army and were working for the benefits of the occupying authority. The Minister Gabrovski, on the 10th of April 1943, ordered the liquidation of the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia.

After the capitulation of Italy, Hitler showed a particular interest for the activities and the engagements of the armed formations of I. Mihajlov. Because the German forces were suffering more and more losses on the Eastern Front, and the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia was becoming fiercer, Hitler needed new forces in order to destroy the "communist disease". In November 1943, upon his invitation, I. Mihajlov went to Berlin where he received orders and instructions from the Führer to increase and to intensify the activities of the counter-troops, and then to direct them towards the Aegean part of Macedonia. At this meeting, with a purpose to destroy the National Liberation Movement and to establish peace and order, I. Mihajlov, Himmler and Hitler agreed to form one regiment composed of three battalions formed of "Aegean Bulgarians", followers of I. Mihajlov. The Bulgarian government helped by the Gestapo and the SS-police forces in the second half of 1943 formed 8 troops each of them counting 50-60 persons, and in 1944 the number increased up to 200 persons in each of them. But, this attempt, from the very beginning, was unsuccessful because the Macedonian people had already chosen the side of the Anti-Fascist coalition.

The next step was taken after the Bulgarian's capitulation (9 September 1944), the Germans calculated that considering the circumstances it would have been much useful to accomplish the idea of "Independent Macedonia" under leadership of Ivan Mihajlov. Hitler signed the order for the creation of "Independent Macedonia" on September 5, 1944. For the implementation of this idea he appointed Dr. Garben and the German Consul in Skopje, Arthur Vite. On the 6th of September 1944 Ivan Mihajlov arrived in Skopje and immediately started with the preparations related to the declaration of the "Independent Macedonia". Unfortunately,

his supporters informed him that the Macedonian state had already been created and that it was late to declare "Independent Macedonia". Depressed and deluded that he had not managed to declare the "Independent Macedonia" populated by Bulgarians, and under the protectorate of Germany, on the 7th of September 1944, in the evening hours Ivan Mihajlov left Skopje. With the failure of the idea of "Independent Macedonia" the German Military Headquarters that was politically subordinate to Dr. Hermann Neubacher became in charge of the safety of the Macedonian territory.

The attempts of the occupators to provoke conflicts among the Macedonian people (civil war) involving the Chetnic movement and to cause ethnic civil war in west Macedonia through the Albanian nationalistic organizations appeared to be unsuccessful as well.

8. The expansion of the military actions and the new military-territorial division of Macedonia during the summer of 1944

During the summer of 1944, after the Spring Offensive and particularly at the end of the counter-offensive, The National Liberation and Anti-Fascist War spread over the whole territory of Vardar Macedonia. New free territories were created and new partisan units, battalions, brigades and divisions were formed. Besides it, the military and political leadership took different activities in order to strengthen the fight and to establish a people's authority on the free territories as well as to obtain international recognition for it. While the Central Committee of the Macedonian Communist Party and the Initiative Board were mainly dealing with the convocation of the meeting of ASNOM, the General Headquarters of the Macedonian Army was preparing the activities for the final liberation of Macedonia. Due to the increasing number of soldiers, the General Headquarters of the Macedonian Army estimated that a new territorial division of Macedonia was necessary. This was made in accordance with the plan elaborated by the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia.

According to this plan, the territory of Vardar Macedonia would be divided in four operational zones. The first zone or Skopje's operational zone consisted of the areas of Skopje, Kumanovo and Veles. The second zone or Bitola's operational zone included the districts of Bitola and Gevgelija. The third zone or the Bregalnica-Strumica operational zone covered the districts of Shtip and Strumica. The fourth zone included

the districts of Debar and Kichevo. After that with the decision of the General Committee the Operational Zones Headquarters were formed. Due to the lack of adequate professional staff, the Brigades Command Centers of the brigades that were operating on the determined territory were functioning as Headquarters of the zones respectively. With the plan of the Directive N.1, two separate divisions were to be formed in each of the first three zones. At same time, the other smaller Partisan Units were supposed to be formed as a force specialized for doing smaller military hidden actions or of some specially prepared tasks against the occupying forces.

9. Macedonian unification issue during the Second World War

Nevertheless there were emotional tensions while the Macedonian unification issue was escalated, as well as Romantic elements and the irrational approach toward the realistic possibility to fulfill the dream of a united Macedonia, the Macedonian Unification issue became basic an essential moving force of the National Liberation Movement in Macedonia. That idea as well as the struggle itself, used to have a proper evolution line connected with the development line of the National Liberation Movement. The dogmatic approach to the Proletarian Internationalism in the first two-year period, the cosmopolitan approach to the national issue and many other circumstances influenced the liberation issue of Macedonia in terms of its setting down of the general framework principles. This liberation and unification issue gained a completely different perception with the beginning of the third phase of the War that means from the summer 1943 when the Anti-fascist Forces acquired remarkable advantage. The Initiative Board members for the convocation of the meeting of ASNOM particularly revised it. At the first meeting of the extended Initiative Board for the convocation of the meeting of ASNOM, which was held on the 30th of April 1944, besides the fact that various decisions and resolutions of the Second Meeting of AVNOJ were adopted as well as the decisions about the composition of the Plenum and of the Presidium of AVNOJ were brought, it was also decided that one of the delegates of the Initiative Board should have been sent to the AVNOJ meeting and to the General Headquarters in order to establish the direct collaboration with the adequate bodies of the Federal Yugoslavia and to expose the real situation in Macedonia, especially regarding the idea of its unification. After that a thorough revision of the meaning of this issue a delegation of the Initiative Board was elected which consisted of: Metodi Andonov –

Chento, Emanuel Chuchkov and Kiril Petrushev. This delegation went on the island of Vis to meet with the leadership of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia. The session of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia was held on the 24th of June 1944, and Tito with some other members of the leadership of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, were present there. Two items were on the agenda: The Initiative Board's report and the Macedonian issue. Emanuel Chuchkov, Metodi Andonov – Chento and Kiril Petrushev spoke in this order and exposed the content and the problems relative to the both items. At the end, Chento, asked how it was possible to link the Macedonians in the Aegean and Pirin Macedonia and to establish and propose a memorandum for Macedonia to be issued by the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia that should have confirmed that the Macedonian people too had been leading the struggle against the common fascist enemy simultaneously struggling for its own liberation and unification. But the question related to the creation of a collaboration link with the Aegean and Pirin Macedonia and of issuing a memorandum for Macedonia by the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia remained somehow hushed up during the discussion. In the end Tito proposed to bring decisions about the Macedonian issue laying emphasis on the fact that: “the historical ideals of the Macedonian people for unification are its own national right ... considering the situation in the neighboring countries and the agreements with the allied forces, it is premature to open the question and this could weaken the struggle against the common occupiers; in terms of fulfillment of this right it might be the best solution to keep collaborating with all National Liberation Movements; it is absolutely necessary to hold the meeting of ASNOM as soon as possible and to form a National Liberation Front”.

The analysis of the idealistic orientations for united Macedonia and of the practical steps of the National Liberation and Anti-fascist War in Vardar Macedonia confirmed the permanent existence of the Macedonian issue for the unification of the Macedonian territories. However, also the influence by other factors, such as the international opposing of the idea for united Macedonia above all by the Great Britain was present. The influence of the international factor regarding the unification of Macedonia resulted as the most decisive event in the period when actually real possibilities for the unification of Vardar and Pirin Macedonia had already been created.

10. The constitution of the Macedonian state (1944)

10.1 The election of the ASNOM delegates

The election of the delegates for the meeting of ASNOM within the Macedonian National Liberation Movement Framework was considered as an important organizational and also political question. It was important because of its legitimacy but also because of the legitimacy of the state. It was needed to make a selection of people that would be capable of giving their own real contribution in the constitution of the highest authority body and highest state body. Due to the fact that the Initiative Board was directly in charge of this issue, it made extraordinary efforts in terms of implementation of the basic determination regarding the election of the candidates. After that the Initiative Board informed the People's Councils in the places where they had been previously formed about the election procedures of the delegates.

As far as the composition of the delegates that were supposed to be elected for the Assembly is concerned, the Initiative Board insisted on persons who would above all support the idea of the formation and constitution of the Macedonian state. The exact number of the elected delegates has not been confirmed because the number is different in various historical records. But 115 delegates or exactly the same number was stated in the ASNOM's Manifest. The fact is that slightly more than a half of the delegates were present on the Assembly as a consequence of the conspiratorial conditions of traveling to the place of the meeting as well as of other obstacles that stopped some of the delegates to arrive on time. Some of the delegates used to have their own authorized persons to represent them in the meeting. The educational, social and national composition of the group of delegates was diverse.

10.2 The First Meeting of ASNOM and its Decisions

After the one-year preparation period, the First Meeting of ASNOM was held on the 2nd of August, 1944 in the Monastery St. Prohor Pchinski near Kumanovo. The meeting started in the late evening hours and lasted until the early morning hours.

The resolutions that were brought as well as other documents at the First Meeting of ASNOM might be classified into three groups. In the first group of documents belongs the Platform on which the Macedonian state was constituted; documents that were used for its constitution belong

in the second group and in the third group are the documents with which the Macedonian people together with the national minorities that were living on the territory of Macedonia were invited to join the struggle for final liberation of their own state. These are so called, proclamation documents.

10.3 Computing the Platform of ASNOM

At the opening of the session, the honor belonged to the oldest participant in the Ilinden Uprising, Panko Brashnarov associated all previous struggles of the Macedonian people with its current struggle against fascism. Although it had been a long-time wish of all generations, with his metaphorical meaning of the relationship between the river Pchinja, on whose banks the Assembly was held, and the rivers of Mesta and Bistrica, P. Brashnarov underlined the wish of the Macedonian people for its unification within the ethnical borders of Macedonia. This wish was exposed exactly in front of the convened constitutional auditorium. In his speech, the first President associated the contemporary Macedonian war with the Ilinden traditions and with traditions of the medieval state of the Csar Samoil. The mentioning of the Macedonian historical pilasters of the Liberation struggle was not missed, the Ilinden Uprising and The Republic of Krushevo.

There were two papers of the Initiative Board for the convocation of ASNOM, in which the Platform of decisions of ASNOM that should have been brought was determined. In the first paper, entitled “The struggle against the occupier”, the accent was put on the entire struggle of the Macedonian people exposed through historical retrospective, but with a special accent on the last struggle which caused the birth of the Macedonian state. On the other hand, the second paper, entitled “People’s and democratic authority – its meaning and tasks”, made an overview of the institutional bodies of the future state authority, of their characteristics and functions, but in its political part it touched some of their political characteristics too. Actually the paper explained the real need for the constitution of the Macedonian state, under that time conditions, within the framework of the Federal Yugoslavia. In the part of the paper dealing with the legislative issues, the Initiative Board marked the authoritative body, focused on their characteristics and determined their functionality and their hierarchical position in the system of the state authoritative bodies.

10.4 Constitutive acts of ASNOM

The first meeting of ASNOM brought nine legislative acts, in the form of resolutions or in other forms. The resolutions for the establishment of ASNOM as a supreme, legislative and executive people's representative body and as a highest state authoritative body of the Democratic Macedonia; Declaration of the basic right of the citizens in a Democratic Macedonia; the Resolution for recognition of the Macedonian language as an official language in the Macedonian state; the Book of regulations for the work of ASNOM; the Resolution for formation of a Legislative Commission within the Presidium of ASNOM; the Resolution for the State Committee for Occupier's Violations Assessment and violation Assessment of their collaborators; the Resolution for the resolutions, the orders and tasks approval, assigned by the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia as well as by the Initiative Board for convocation of ASNOM; the Resolution for rewards and recognitions of the National Liberation Army; the Resolution for the declaration of Ilinden – the 2nd of August to be considered as a national holiday of the Macedonian state.

All the above listed decisions do not have equal state constitutive power. In the tighter context the constitutive power was appropriated only by some of the decisions such as the Resolution for the resolutions, orders and tasks approval, assigned by the General Headquarters and by the Initiative Board for convocation of ASNOM, The resolutions for the establishment of ASNOM as a supreme, legislative and executive people's representative body and as a highest state authoritative body of the Democratic Macedonia, the Resolution for the recognition of the Macedonian language as an official language in the Macedonian state and the Resolution for the declaration of Ilinden – the 2nd of August as a national holiday of the Macedonian state. Actually, the Resolution for the resolutions, orders and tasks approval, which was brought as a consequence of the need to keep the continuance from the period of the Uprising and the resolutions for establishing of ASNOM as a supreme, legislative and executive people's representative body and as a highest state authoritative body of the Democratic Macedonia have had legislative i.e. constitutional and legal power. This constitutional and legal power derived from the fact that this was the way in which the continuity of the struggle and the state authority system in the Macedonian state were determined. With this a new stage of its constitution was indicated. So the highest state authoritative bodies were founded and basically remained unchanged during the

whole period of the Macedonian state existence. The Resolution for recognition of the Macedonian language as an official language in the Macedonian state as well as the Resolution for declaration of Ilinden – the 2nd of August as a national holiday of the Macedonian state were determined. These are the constitutional marks that every single contemporary state should have.

It should be emphasized that the Declaration of ASNOM for the basic rights of the citizens in the Democratic Macedonia had a particular constitutional as well as political and legal power. Nevertheless it was prepared in war conditions. The Declaration proclaimed the future absolute equality of the citizens in front of the laws, without regard on their national, racial, sexual or religious affiliation. With this the minorities' rights and all other civil rights were recognized in the Republic of Macedonia. The sense of this document is much larger just because of the fact that very subtle human rights were proclaimed with it. During the process of incorporation of these determinations, one of the authors of the documents, Vladimir Polezhinovski, PhD of Law Sciences from the Sorbonne University, was guided by the French Law's regulations, determined after the victory of the French Revolution.

10.5 Proclamation of the results from ASNOM

Considering the place and the meaning of the first meeting of ASNOM, it did not take part in the engagements regarding the proclamations of its results. It was obvious that without that political and operational activity the resolutions that were brought should not have had the effect that they had achieved.

For Macedonia, the first Meeting of ASNOM represented an essential and inevitable state and constitutional body. Its base was laid on the armed national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people, which was derived from the essence of the Macedonian people. The present delegates expressed the sovereign will of the entire Macedonian nation and they were obliged to do this considering the essential meaning of the struggle itself and the long-time yearnings of the Macedonian people for liberation and for creation of an independent Macedonian state. The conditions for the fulfillment of the Macedonian long-time desire were much more different and more favorable compared with those in the period at the beginning of the Uprising. All these values were incorporated in the content of ASNOM's Manifest as a specially prepared document for the proclamation of its results. The content of the Manifest was based on

three main targets: to review the achieved results, to put an end to the Anti-fascist war with the other Yugoslav peoples, to adopt the most consequential stance regarding the unification issue of the Macedonian people.

Although the last target was not achieved, it is worth mentioning that it an enormous step was made forward regarding this issue. Quoting the statement that “ASNOM proclaims in front of the whole world the justified and non-compromised request for unification of the whole Macedonian people on the base of self-determination” and sufficiently prove that this unfulfilled wish of the Macedonian people was being deeply suppressed for a long-time period. That wish in the most explicit way was expressed at the first meeting of ASNOM and the Manifest of ASNOM representing its written form. The Macedonian Leadership with good reason thought that the unification of the Macedonian people from all three parts of Macedonia would put an end to its slavery and would represent a condition for permanent peace in the Balkans.

However, the concept and the modalities for unification of all three parts of Macedonia remained not clearly defined because this issue had not been connected with the struggle for national liberation and independence of the Macedonian people but with the issue of participation of the Macedonian people from all three parts of Macedonia in the unique Antifascist Front, with the right of their unification within the new Federal Yugoslavia. But such unification was not possible because the three states in which Macedonians were living had different points of view regarding this issue.

10.6. The Presidium of ASNOM in the process of implementation of its resolutions and decisions

In accordance with the constitutive acts, the First Meeting of ASNOM elected its own bodies i.e. Presidium (Presidency) of ASNOM composed of 22 articles. Metodija Andonov – Chento, who had also been the President of ASNOM, was elected as a President of the Presidium. This fact found a justification in the conditions of war of that time. Six Committees headed by commissionaires were acting within the Presidium. They played the role of public administration bodies.

Accordingly, the legislative power and at the same time the executive power was given to the Presidium of ASNOM so that the Presidium was a key body of the authority.

The legislative function of the Presidium of ASNOM focused on three key points: further organization of the authority bodies, the revitali-

zation of industry and economy in the country and organization of the activities of public and social character.

As far as the implementation of the activities regarding the first point was concerned, the Presidium of ASNOM adopted several key documents. In this context, particular significance had the Decision for organization and work of the national liberation boards, supplemented by the instructions in which were given detailed explanations of that how these boards should be organized and what kind of activities they should undertake. The Presidium of ASNOM paid great attention on the National Liberation Boards because it considered them as a fundamental base of the state administration. It also made enormous efforts in organizing the judicial authority and on the work of the security bodies. That's why later, the Presidium formed a separate Committee for the organization of the state administration. At the same time the Presidium took in consideration the fact that these institutional bodies should have implemented the basic activities in the field, in term of backstage support to the struggle and carrying out of the political life at local level. With a purpose of achieving this objective, the territory of Macedonia was divided into several regions. The revitalization of the industry and the economy was a priority task of the Presidium of ASNOM. The Committee of People's industry and economic reconstruction, which prepared the program and the revival priority, directly dealt with these issues.

The Presidium of ASNOM also paid particular attention to the social activities. The priority of ASNOM was in the field of education and culture. It was a priority task to overcome the enormous rate of cultural regress and illiteracy that during this world war, significantly increased. In this context the first elementary schools opened but without well prepared teaching staff. Besides that the most relevant cultural institutions were also revived.

The situation in the field of health and social affairs was not better, first of all due to the appearance of contagious diseases. For that reason, initially the primary health assistance institutions were organized. The Presidium of ASNOM was also active in other fields of social life giving its contribution for its complete organization.

10.7 The response to the First Meeting of ASNOM and the implementation of its resolutions

It is understandable that the First Meeting of ASNOM received a massive response. Besides the positive reaction in Vardar Macedonia, the

Meeting also had response in all other parts in which Macedonians were living. The impressive reaction, above all, was due to the acceptability of the results related to the creation of the new Macedonian state. It should not be underestimated the role of the Presidium of ASNOM which made remarkable efforts to explain the resolutions that had been brought. Its President was acting in a very suggestible way because, nevertheless he was not a communist, he had accepted the appeal of the National Liberation Movement himself and agreed to join the Movement in order to help the process of fulfillment of the long-standing ideal – the struggle for liberation and the creation of Macedonian state.

The fact is that the largest part of the exposed remarks about the results of the First Meeting of ASNOM was related to the fact that the Macedonian state was being created only on one part of the ethnical territory of Macedonia. There were complaints that Serbs had led the war in Macedonia as well as the state creation process. Such reactions were more concentrated in the Bulgarian circles. Macedonian leadership, especially the President Metodija Andonov – Chento, had insisted in convincing the unlike-minded people that although there were some Serbs participating in the Anti-fascist war, there were also some Bulgarians and some representatives of other nationalities of Macedonia too. But, according to Chento, the Serbs that were participating in the war were not those Serbs from the period when Macedonia had been under Serbian rule who had not recognized the Macedonian nation and Macedonian state. Actually, it was necessary to dispute the converse claims that ASNOM, its resolutions and their implementation were not in function of the creation of Macedonian national state.

The Macedonian newspapers such as “Young Fighter” (“Mlad Borec”), “Macedonian Women” (“Makedonka”), “Our Chronicle” (“Nasha Hronica”) and some others took an active part in the presentation and popularization of the resolutions of the First Meeting of ASNOM.

The Meeting got also response from the Macedonians who were living in the Aegean part of Macedonia. They saw in it as an example of something similar to their way of political organizing, including the right of self-determination. The resolutions of ASNOM encouraged and stimulated the Macedonians to make the requests for their rights in Greece in a more open and more decisive way. These resolutions were also positively accepted by the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria. It was particularly evident after the 9th of September 1944 when the Imperial Bulgaria capitulated and found itself in a very invidious situation of international isolation. The First Meeting of ASNOM and the constitution of the new Ma-

cedonian state received great response in the other Yugoslav republics and in more European countries but also in the United States of America.

11. Liberation of Macedonia

Macedonia and the Vardar valley i.e. the communication line Salonica-Skopje-Belgrade were marked as significant places in the German plans during the summer 1944. For the Germans the Macedonian territory was not important only for the withdrawal of the German "E" group of army (GAE). They also carefully observed the development of the National Liberation Struggle in Macedonia. According to the estimates made by the Economical Headquarter of the South East, the armed attacks on the railway line to Greece were done by the Macedonian military formations while the Bulgarian armed force (The Fifth Army) was absolutely incapable in preventing or stopping the attacks in this region. Before the capitulation of the Fifth Bulgarian Army, the German Command center regrouped its own forces in order to eliminate the gaps on the Macedonian ground. At the end of August two divisions were transferred in Serbia. One of them stayed in Kumanovo, and other parts that became under enemy control were the garrisons in Ohrid and Bitola. In eastern Macedonia and along the Vardar valley two more divisions from the army group "E" were sent. In western Macedonia the ballistic division "Skender Bey" was consolidated and on the 8th of September 1944 the German Command Center for Macedonia was formed in Skopje, led by the General Scheuerlen, with a task to organize a defense front line on the territory of Macedonia and later to form a similar front in the region of Belgrade. With the activities of the operation named "The rats' week" which started on the 1st of September 1944, the British forces started disabling the communication railway and road lines in Macedonia. The same day The Third Brigade and the Eighth Brigade defeated one occupier's Artillery Battery and made several attacks on the railway line Veles – Skopje. On the 1st of September 1941 the Macedonian National Liberation division blocked the tunnel on the road in direction Prilep-Veles. At the same time the Fourth Brigade started the actions for wiping out the Bulgarian Occupying forces in the regions of Kochani, Shtip, and Strumica. The operation "The rats' week" in western Macedonia started on the 26th of August 1944, with the cleaning of the Kichevo –Debar valley. During that week all communication in the directions of Kichevo-Struga, Struga-Debar, Debar-Kichevo and Debar-Gostivar were completely cut off. On the 1st September the

First Macedonian Brigade liberated Kichevo. The British military missions were informed their own Headquarters about the activities and the success of the Macedonian military forces within the “The rats’ week” operation and they emphasized the combativeness and determination of the Macedonians to obtain their freedom.

On the 5th of September the British aviation forces bombarded the railway line Kichevo-Struga, on the 6th of September they attacked the bridges on south of Veles, on the 7th of September the German motorized units were attacked by them and on the 8th of September they attacked the south of Skopje. With the completion of the operation “The rats’ week” the first phase of the withdrawal of the German “E” Group of Armies from Greece ended too.

The operation “Ratweek” in accordance with the military planners ended on the 7th of September 1944. But satisfied with the activities of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia, on the 10th of September 1944, the British background military mission of Ficroy Maclean, sent a message to the mission in Macedonia in which the General Headquarters of the Alliance Forces asked for a prolongation of the “The rats’ week” operation activities with a purpose to cause hard damages to the railway lines in order to stop the withdrawal of the enemy forces from Greece and to kill as more Germans as possible. The code name of this operation was “Helium”. The priority objectives of operation “Helium” were the railway line Skopje-Veles- Bitola and the Macedonian sector on the lines of Kralevo-Skopje and Nish-Skopje. It was also required that the destruction of the vital buildings on the railway line Veles-Gevgelija. For the carrying out of the activities of this operation was brought the explosive and other war materials.

The second phase of the withdrawal of the German “E” Group of Armies lasted from the 26th to the 31st September. In that phase, as a support of the existing military units in Macedonia, the Germans sent more specialized units (engineering, infantry, and construction) strictly ordered to stop the interruption of the railway line. It was particularly required to guard the big railway bridge located on south of Gevgelija. The Macedonian Army had different approaches during the second phase of this operation. The activities were enriched with acts of sabotage. Besides that, the 42nd Division of the Macedonian Army had already been formed and the experience gained as well as the increased number of soldiers enabled the warriors to use new tactics such as small diversionary groups were setting ambushes. The diversions were created in the moment of the arrival of the train and after that, larger troops or battalions would attack, while the

people were collecting the rest of the spoils. With such a tactic, during the second phase, in less than 5 days six trains, six bridges, one tunnel, three railway stations, seven cranes for clearing the railway lines were destroyed and the roadways were damaged in over 100 places.

The third phase of the withdrawal of the German Army started at the beginning of October 1944. Due to the deterioration of the situation on the fronts, on the 4th of October 1944 Hitler ordered an unconditional withdrawal of all German formations from Greece and from southern Macedonia and defeating of the front line Skadar-Veles-Osogovo Mountain-Klisura-(Serbija)-Bela (the line was called the “blue line”). The General HQ of the Macedonian Army carefully followed the intensive movement of the German troops and carried out adequate actions. The General HQ required from all HQ and formations to intensify the attacks on communication points, to obstruct the withdrawal of the German troops toward north and to obliterate them completely. The 41st and 42nd Divisions of the Macedonian Army were engaged in that special task.

On the 26th of October the Command Center of the German “E” Group of Armies ordered the Corps Command Centers to limit the railway transport because of the often and heavy human losses. The last units of the German “E” Group of Armies finally crossed the Yugoslav-Greek border on the 1st of November 1944. The Commander in charge of the southeast personally ordered the German forces during the withdrawal to demolish all the buildings in all directions of movement without regard of their significance from the military aspect and above all to disable and destroy completely the railway line Salonica-Skopje-Kosovska Mitrovica.

On the base of the decision of Tito and Dimitrov, which was brought in Moscow, an agreement was signed on the 23rd of September 1944 in Pehchevo in which the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Army was allowed to participate in the operation activities for the liberation of Macedonia. This treaty, from the Macedonian i.e. from the Yugoslav part besides Mihailo Apostolski and Bane Andreev was also signed by Svetozar Vukmanovich – Tempo, the delegate of the Supreme HQ of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and from the Bulgarian part was signed by the General Keckarov and another three officers. At the meeting the General Pavle Ilich was also present, the chief of the staff of the General HQ of Macedonia.

The operations for the final liberation of Macedonia started in October 1944. The General HQ of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units in October 1944 became part of the Yugoslav Army and got the official name National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia. In the fi-

nal operations for the liberation of Macedonia the Macedonian Army hold the following positions: in eastern Macedonia, the Corps from the region of Bregalnica and Strumica with the 50th Division were acting in the area of Berovo-Pehchevo-Delchevo, and with the 51st Division were acting in the region of Strumica and Radovish; the 16th Corps, i.e. the Division of Kumanovo was acting in the area of Kriva Planka, Kumanovo, Bujanovac and Skopska Crna Gora; the 42nd Division was acting at the region of Skopje-Veles-Suva Gora; in the southern and the western part of Macedonia the 15th Corps was located acting with the 41st Division at the area of Pletvar-Gradsko-Kavadarci-Gevgelija, the 48th Division was located in western part of Macedonia and the 49th Division was acting in the region of Bitola and Resen.

The military action for the liberation of Macedonia started in the middle of October 1944. The whole territory of Vardar Macedonia was liberated by the 19th of November 1944. Macedonia terminated the war in possession of 33 brigades, 8 divisions and 3 corps.

12. Participation of the Macedonian Army in the liberation actions of Yugoslavia

The General HQ of the Macedonian Army, in accordance with the new formation received from the Supreme HQ of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, on the 8th of December 1944, mobilized the population which were of the age of 18 to 30, in the orders of the army and over the age of 30 the people were mobilized within the police forces. In accordance with the order from the General HQ of the Macedonian Army on the 6th of December 1944, within the 15th Macedonian Corps were included the 42nd Division and the 48th Division. Besides the mentioned military units, from the 18th of February 1945 the First and the Second Artillery Brigades were included in the 15th Corps. After that the military and political as well as material and technical preparations had been completed, the General HQ of Macedonia, in accordance with the order of the Supreme HQ of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, on the 1st of January 1945, ordered the transfer of 15th Corps units from Macedonia to Srem. This Corps completed its transfer by the 16th of December 1945, except for the First and the Second Artillery Brigades, which arrived in Srem on March 1945. After their arrival in Belgrade they were grouped in Belgrade and around Zemun. In the meantime, on the 5th of January 1945, one part of the National Liberation Army of Macedonia stationed in

Skopje and then in Shtip, openly opposed the idea of Macedonian Army's participation on the Srem's Front launching the slogan "For Salonica". The soldiers required the prolongation of the military actions for the liberation of the parts of Macedonia that were still under Bulgarian and Greek occupation. But these requests were not, at that moment, in favor of the general Yugoslav strategy and policy for the future of the Yugoslav Federations and were condemned by the political and military leadership of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia.

The numerical power of the 15th Macedonian Corps on the 21st of January 1945 was 15,400 soldiers from which 126 were women. In the additional brigade used as a supplement of the units during the war there were 4,000 people. The artillery brigades reached a number of 1,250 people. It should be added that through all that battle period in Srem and even later until the end of the war, the military contingents from Macedonia were being constantly sent there. In this way almost 25,000 people from Macedonia were sent in the final operation for the liberation of Yugoslavia. It was the most representative part of the Macedonian Army or one third of its capacity. Besides the 15th Macedonian Corps, the Macedonian Battalion "Jane Sandanski" took part in the battles of the Srem's Front. This battalion was composed of Macedonian volunteers that were living in Belgrade and its suburbs. It counted 350 soldiers.

During the liberation of Vardar Macedonia, the Macedonian National Liberation Army was considered as a respectable force. The General HQ of the Macedonian Army, which after the achieved Macedonian statehood at the First Meeting of ASNOM became the executive body of the Presidium of ASNOM, in November 1944, at its own disposal had 24 infantry, 4 artillery, three engineering, 1 cavalry and one transportation brigade. The brigades were grouped in 8 units total and they were grouped in three corps. At the end of 1944 the Macedonian National Liberation Army counted 66,000 warriors and warrant officers, in March 1945 the number increased to around 83,000 and during the summer 1945 the number reached 110,000 people. In total, during the Second World War, only in Vardar Macedonia around 24,000 people were killed.

The Macedonian leadership took fierce measures for the legalization and international admission of the gains to the Macedonian people from the National Liberation and Anti-Fascist War. In such dramatic conditions, the Macedonian people succeeded, at least on a part of its own ethnical territory, to materialize its centuries-old aspiration of the various revolutionary generations, fighters and patriots, and as a gain from the war to create and to maintain the Macedonian state.

13. Macedonian state in the period from 1944 to 1945

13.1. The First Meeting of ASNOM as a stimulus of the further growth of the National Liberation Army of Macedonia

Until the First Meeting of ASNOM, there were five Macedonian and one brigade from Kosovo and Metohis as well as five independent Partisan Units which were formed and were actually active. After the First Meeting of ASNOM, the number of active units significantly increased. In August 1944, seven brigades were formed and in September another seven and then on October 8 more brigades were formed that means that in total 22 brigades which were active within the divisions were created. Considering the fact that ANOM was the highest liberation board, and at the same time it was the highest body of the state authority, its activities for further organization of the bodies of the authority in Macedonia were always present, nevertheless, they were performed in coordination with the General HQ and the political leadership of the movement. ASNOM was also responsible for everything that was going on in relation to the struggle and to the acquisition of the political domination. Namely, the process of creation and further organization and the fortification of the people's boards continued with the unchanged intensity even after the first Meeting of ASNOM. Surely, the increased number of the military units that were created and the liberation of the new territories made their own contribution in this process. The conditions improved remarkably after the capitulation of Bulgaria because the illegal authoritative bodies in many places that had been liberated from the Bulgarian rule were legalized. In the places where they did not exist new bodies were created. In the period when the final operations for the liberation of Macedonia were led 2, 000 members from the People's boards were already active however their number as well as the intensity of their work was not equal everywhere.

At the end of 1944 the need for reorganization of the authority bodies emerged. It appeared as a result of the enormous number of National Liberation Board (3,184 with 37,870 board members). It was thought that the bodies should have been integrated into bigger units so called Regional Boards with fewer district or local National Liberation Boards.

13.2. Preparations and the Second Meeting of ASNOM

At the end of 1944, Macedonia was liberated. Exactly at the end of the year (28-30 December 1944) the Second Meeting of ASNOM was held, which was considered as another important national and political event.

The Second Meeting of ASNOM (in documents marked as the first extraordinary meeting) was a result of the previous success, but also as a result of the needs related to the projected course regarding the formation of the new state to be continued. At this meeting, through the applause of the international community in particular by the Great Forces, plenty of international admissions were received regarding what had already been completed. The Bulgarians also condemned the role of Bulgaria during the Second World War and they also supported the Macedonian plan about the creation of its own state. The Bulgarian Liberation Front also expressed its principled standpoint regarding the creation of an integrated Macedonian state. It was also supported by the Macedonian emigration. In this context the Macedonians from the Aegean and Pirin part of Macedonia were not missing, too.

It was probably necessary to talk about the common struggle of the Macedonian people with the other Yugoslav nations. But in some segments that union got an exaggerated character. Namely, during the Second Meeting of ASNOM, some delegates from the Yugoslav supreme bodies such as Edvard Kardelj, represented a thesis of a strong and centralized Yugoslav state as a guarantee for the future of Macedonia. It was a result of the voices previously spread over regarding the alleged "Macedonian separatism". Actually, it should be admitted that, at the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, there was a certain amount of euphoria in Macedonia. It was the first liberated part in the region and this verified the achieved results through the Meeting of ASNOM but it should be absolutely excluded the possibility for the presence of separatist ideas. There was a lack of pre conditions for any kind of different development of the situation so all the efforts were focused on the support to the other Yugoslav people for definite liberation of Yugoslavia. There was also an unjustified self-criticism expressed by some members of the leadership in Macedonia, estimating the Macedonian participation in the common struggle with the other Yugoslav people as insufficient, but this reaction was coming from the necessity to follow strictly the pro Yugoslav line regarding the general processes. It was also noticed that there was a presence of an unjustified anxiety, due to the belief that some alleged "reactionary forces" were active and that was why some honest people such as

businessmen and intellectuals who did not agree with the general assessment were directly bearing the brunt. The security bodies by the use of self-willed acts applied strong repression against them using their dominant position.

13.3 The activities of the Presidium of ASNOM during the first months of 1945

The position of the Presidium of ASNOM within the state administration framework during the first months of 1945 remained basically unchanged, except in the content of its activities. It kept dealing with the organization of the life in the newly liberated state.

The number of the Presidium members increased on the Second Meeting of ASNOM, from 17 to 33 members. The number of the Committees increased too. However, due to the opinions and points of view expressed, the bodies of the Federation started up an initiative for the change of work relative to the organization of the Presidium of ASNOM. Namely, the Federation required from the Presidium to form an operational body consisting of a few commissioners that would be headed by the Vice President of the Presidium. (Lazar Kolishevski). This request was quite confusing, because such a body did not exist in the Federation or in the other republics. The Presidium kept the right to bring the legislative acts, but due to the fact that its operational capacity declined, it relinquished its tasks to the Operational Body, and the Presidium itself became completely marginalized.

During the first months of 1945 hundreds of legislative acts were brought in the form of decisions, decrees or orders for regulation of various issues of general interest for the people and for the state.

The weak staff efficiency of the National Liberation Boards that initially were being elected directly could have been overcome through organizing of elections. Bringing the special act for invitation to election, the Presidium of ASNOM proclaimed the first law - based principles of the election system after the liberation of Macedonia. On that base the elections were held in the period from the 11th to the 25th of March 1945. They had enormous political significance because they were the first elections in the free state and the first direct elections too. The elected members of the Boards with great enthusiasm approached to the tasks however in many places the newly elected members of the Boards were not resistant to the bureaucratic tendencies.

13.4 Transformation of ASNOM in the People's Parliament and the election of the first Government of the Democratic Federal Macedonia

With the holding of the Third Meeting of ASNOM (14-16 April 1945) a very important historical period was concluded in Macedonia, which had started with the transformation of ASNOM in the People's Assembly of Macedonia and with the establishment of the first Government of the Democratic Federative Macedonia. Because of this, the 16th of April should be considered as a date of an end of the National Liberation and Anti-Fascist War in Macedonia (1941-1945) and after which the so-called, post-war period of development started.

The holding of the Third Meeting of ASNOM was conditioned by a series of different factors. First of all, Macedonia had already been free for several months. The period after the Second Meeting of ASNOM was full with many different activities. The Presidium of ASNOM thought that the highest state body should have verified the activities. Besides this, the question about establishment of the first Government was still open. The second factor was derived from the necessity to harmonize the organization of the single republic authority with the organization of the Federation authority. Namely, instead of the National Committee for Liberation of Yugoslavia, which during the war was functioning as a Government, on the 7th of March 1945 the Provisional Government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia was formed. The same should have been done in the republics, i.e. the process of the creation of the so-called Provincial Governments and the process of equalization of the ruling principles of the republics with those of the Federation should have started.

So, on the 16th of April 1945, on the base of the acts brought at the Third Meeting of ASNOM, the first Government of the Democratic Federal Macedonia was formed. The establishment of the Government of the DFM had deep statehood significance. It was the first Government in the history of the Macedonian nation.

Regardless its program determination related to the future of DF Macedonia within the Federal Yugoslavia, it had political as well as historical importance. As it was mentioned, in the period from the 2nd of August 1944 to the 16th of April 1945, the governmental functions were performed by the Presidium of ASNOM, which at that time had a triple role. After the 16th of April 1945 the Presidium of ASNOM continued to function as a Presidium of the People's Assembly of Macedonia, however with drastically decreased authorizations in the field of legislation. The Government of the DF Macedonia became the basic bearer and pilaster of

the state policy in Macedonia and it was the creator of the whole legislative mechanism. Of course, it was not absolutely independent because of the interventions made by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which were mainly expressed in the fusion of the functions in these bodies.

Regardless of the fact that immediately after the establishment, the Government of the DF Macedonia, accepted to adopt the centralized social system of Yugoslavia, there were still some fields in which it should have acted independently. As it was the constitutional element of the ASNOM's determination for the creation of Macedonian state, Macedonia completed the formation of its own proper system of authority bodies that were typical for a contemporary state.

14. The educational, cultural and religious life (1941–1944)

During the National Liberation and Anti-Fascist War (1941-1945), the Macedonian people including the national minorities led cultural, educational and religious life in Macedonia. It took part simultaneously with the military and political activities of the liberation struggle and was expressed in different segments of the social life among which were educational activities, cultural and the religious life. For example, in the field of education, the National Liberation Army of Macedonia was considered as a follow up of the long-age struggle of the Macedonian people for creation of their own Macedonian base of education, culture, language, art, i.e. a struggle for emancipation of the Macedonian nation. At the same time, this struggle was led against the foreign educational repressions and cultural programs present on the Macedonian territory in the period of its occupation.

Just from the beginning of the war, or from the beginning of the Uprising in 1941, the leadership of the National Liberation Army of Macedonia started developing the idea for the national sovereignty. This idea was implemented by the use of the Macedonian language in direct communication and in written documents. Various instruction books, appeals, recommendations, and similar material were written in the people's Macedonian language, which became official with the Resolution of ASNOM for introduction of the Macedonian Language as an official language in Macedonia.

Since 1943, several different departments for agitation and propaganda worked in the highest political and military bodies of the state. In this context, in the General Headquarters, services were organized and

carried out by educational and religious referents. They were taking measures in order to make the schools operational, and to implement various religious activities in the inhabited places, always within the possibilities and depending on the war conditions.

The first Macedonian schools were opened in September 1943 on the liberated territory in Western Macedonia, or more precisely in several villages where the conditions allowed. On this free territory the religious referent also organized reunion of the orthodox priests.

At the First Meeting of ASNOM the literacy and education problem of the Macedonian people was one of the most analyzed issues. It was proposed to be formed a special commission to determine the basic principles of a standard Macedonian language and to prepare the official written language as well as to prepare the speller and other elementary text-books. In the Presidium a specialized Educational Committee was formed that overtook the role of a sectoral body for education and culture.

At the beginning the scripture was also taught, but later it was excluded due to the determination for separation from the Church. Soon, different literacy courses were organized and a series of operational activities were undertaken for the organization of the education system. Just in November 1944, in most of the cities in Macedonia, a great number of high schools and vocational education schools were opened. The education system was being upgraded by the organization of a complex approach to the educational needs of the population and by the opening of the first schools in the languages of the national minorities in Macedonia.

There were a great number of cultural manifestations, too. They were performed presenting the artistic works of the participants in the war, as well as by spreading of that creativity and of other artistic values among the participants themselves. That way, during this period, the Macedonian literary works continued and successfully upgraded the thematic and esthetic values, the tradition and the continuance of the literary activity. The writers were fighting simultaneously with words and with arms, being a moral support of their own companions just in order to make them persist in the struggle for liberation. Naturally, the heading places as far as the literary works are concerned, belong to Kocho Racin, Kole Nedelkovski, Venko Markovski, but besides them many other authors emerged that enriched the literary treasure trove. To this highly appreciated literature triplet could be added the creativity of Mite Bogoevski, Aco Karamanov, Volche Naumovski, Ceko Stefanov Popivanov, who were writing in Macedonian and later came the new post-war generation literature au-

thors such as Blaze Koneski, Slavko Janevski, Vlado Malevski, Aco Shopov, Kole Chashule and others.

The leadership of the National Liberation Movement since the beginning of 1941 particular attention paid on the publishing activity. The organization of the secret printing techniques, above all, contributed to the spreading of the Macedonian language, education and culture. The first forms of publishing were the issuing of various declarations, newspapers, bulletins, and other kinds of written material.

During the war around 50 informative newspapers, bulletins and similar informative bodies appeared by different names. The most popular among them were: “Grandfather Ivan“ (“Dedo Ivan“), “People’s Voice“ (“Naroden glas“), “Young Fighter” (“Mlad borec“). The bulletin of the General HQ of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia “Ilindenski pat“ and so on. At the beginning the publishing was being implemented by the so-called “Party’s technique”, led by the Regional Committee of the CPY in Macedonia but later the activity was being done through other structures and bodies of the struggle. In this context, it is due to be mentioned the fact that almost every brigade or larger military formation of the Macedonian Army was issuing its own newspaper. From the 29th of October 1944 in the village of Gorno Vranovci started the printing of the first Macedonian newspaper, called “Nova Makedonija”, one of the symbols of the Macedonian statehood. The Women’s Anti-Fascist Association (AFZ) was issuing the newspaper named “Macedonian Women” (“Makedonka”). Another relevant activity in this field was the formation of the radio station “Free Macedonia“ “Slobodna Makedonija” which started working in Gorno Vranovci, too, on the 28th of December 1944, Radio Skopje another symbol of the Macedonian statehood, initiated its work with the first direct broadcasting. Its own contribution in terms of developing the publishing sector was marked by the Macedonian literates that were publishing their own written works in the Macedonian language in various Macedonian newspapers.

Nevertheless it was the period of war, within the framework of publishing sector, that were marked with 32 published titles of brochures, 60 declarations and information books, the booklet of the ASNOM’s documents, one collection paper of Macedonian war songs and so on. In this way it was created a fertile ground for further development of the publishing activity and for the development of the Macedonian language and culture in general.

The presence of the musical activity, as an immanent part of the everyday life and warfare, was particularly emphasized. People were spontaneously expressing their feelings, messages and the reverence to the National Liberation Movement through the songs. On the other hand, the song itself was giving its own contribution in terms of strengthening the moral consciences and the combative moral too and was treated as their integral part. That way the partisan song was born, that emerged from the tones of the musicologists or was sung in some people's motif. That's why in the Macedonian collection of partisan songs there were a lot of authentic partisan songs as well as musical works with assumed motifs. The songs were performed by solo-singers or by the partisan choirs, which appeared during 1943. In May 1944 in Lokov the ensemble named "Opereta" was formed which in a short period of time became very popular among the warriors and the population. At the second half of 1944 more ensembles were formed and the same year in the autumn in Gorno Vranovci more music writers arrived such as: Petre Bogdanov – Kochko, Todor Skalovski, Trajko Prokopiev, Vlastimir Nikolovski and some others. They contributed to the affirmation process of the Macedonian song as one of the basic inspiration resources for the struggle and for the creativity.

In a parallel way with the music art, the theatre art was also performed. On that base, the cultural and entertaining activities were carried out within the partisan circles. The cultural and entertaining performances, mostly scenic, were happening after the meetings that were thematically of a propaganda character. The first forms of theatre performances were recitals, short satirical works ("Vrapce), monodramas, one-act plays and others. The performances usually ended with folklore part, but they regularly contained some presentation of theatrical type. The theatrical troupes and ensembles derived from these activities and later the National Theatre was formed. Todor Nikolovski, Petre Prlichko and others were some of the first actors.

Nevertheless it was not led by the persons of the first pre-war generation, the art laid its bases during the war. It made direct connection with the new thematic waves, starting from the second part of 1944, i.e. with the integration of some artists in the struggle such as: Vasilie Popovich – Cico, Tomo Vladimirski, Dimo Todorovski, Nikola Martinoski, Borko Lazeski and some others. They were included in the work of Agit-prop in Gorno Vranovci or directly in the units of the National Liberation Army. Considering the fact that they did not have the necessary condi-

tions for the artistic creation the number of the art creations in that period was relatively small.

The period of artistic creativity from 1941-1945, although not very rich, is pretty typical and created a base for the future development of this artistic activity. The art works related to the National Liberation Struggle in Macedonia, sometimes created on the battlefields, in the most expressive and authentic way artistically testify and document the struggle itself. Certain narrative tendency is noticed in these works followed by a sincere artistic expression. As a consequence of lack of working material and some other pre-conditions of work, the main types were designs, mostly in pencil, prepared as illustrative material ready for printing, then works in woodcarving or linoleum carving and other similar techniques while works in aquarelle, tempera or oil paints were really rare art forms and created in small number.

However, the art activity of the artist of Macedonian origin that was found in the camps is not sufficiently studied. Only the works of Vasilie Popovich – Cico are known, who was several times in some concentration camps in Germany and used to be affirmed as an artist even in the period before the war. Famous art painters from the period of the National Liberation War are as follows: Stevan Nestorovski, Dragi Tozija, Angele Ivanoski, Lazar Lichenoski, Branko Shotra (he is not by origin Macedonian, he was only fighting in Macedonia), Tode Ivanovski, Borko Lazeski, Nikola Martinoski, Tomo Vladimovski, Niko Tozia, Risto Lozanoski, Jordan Grabuloski, Slavko Brezovski, Vangel Kodzoman and others.

AEGEAN MACEDONIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1. The occupation and separation of the Aegean part of Macedonia

The Liberation War (1941-1945) in the Aegean part of Macedonia was carried out within the framework of the Liberation and Anti-Fascist Movement in Greece. Due to this fact it can be divided into three phases: The first phase, from the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 to the 8th of November 1940, when the aggressor by the use of its absolute power managed to crowd out the Greek Army from some sectors; the second phase, from the 8th of November 1940 to the 6th of April 1941, when the strengthened Greek military units attacked the Italian forces, turned them out of the Greek territory and seized some cities in Albania (Korcha, Moskopole, Podgradec); the third phase, after the 6th of April 1941.

On the 6th of April, when the German forces had attacked Yugoslavia and Greece, in both countries the resistance was quickly overpowered and suffocated. After the occupation of Greece, the Aegean part of Macedonia was divided into three occupying zones that belonged to the

following three states: Bulgaria, Italy and Germany. The largest part or the Central and Western area from the Aegean part of Macedonia, where the majority of the population was Macedonian, remained under the rule of the quisling General Georgios Tsolakoglou. His quisling rule was particularly watchful of the Macedonian population. It created its own army, terrorized the population and was permanently collaborating with the German authority in the struggle against the Liberation Movement.

Undefined comprehension or the lack of sufficiently clear understanding of this part of Macedonia by the part of the occupying forces caused permanent tensions and pretensions against one another. Bulgaria has pretensions to the whole Macedonia, but Hitler somehow showed affection for the Greeks, with purpose to gain their support in order to accept the Government of Tsolakoglou. This was the way in which he managed to stop the Bulgarian attempts of extending their own occupying zone. The same thing was going on with Italy, which was working on expanding its self-made creation, that of “Great Albania”. On the other hand, it was a reason for reactions by the Greeks. Tsolakoglou made an apparatus for elimination of the propaganda persistence and was often manipulating with the alleged “Autonomy of the Macedonians”. Italy recognized the national identity of the Macedonians, its language and culture and disapproved the Bulgarian territorial pretensions, motivated by the fact that Bulgaria was struggling for the “Bulgarian” population in Greece.

2. The Macedonian Anti-fascist Organizations

The Macedonian Anti-Fascist Organization (MAO) during 1941 was the first Macedonian organization that existed in this part of Macedonia. It was anticipated by the relatively favorable conditions, in that year, for the expression of the political, religious and cultural interests of the Macedonians. They were accepted by the Plenum of the Greek Communist Party in January 1942 that encouraged Macedonian in the anti-fascist struggle. As a result of this, in 1943, SNOF – the Slavo - Macedonian National Liberation Front was formed at the area of Kostur and Lerin whose constitutional Assemblies were held in December 1943, when the local leadership for both of the regions were elected. SNOF managed to get massive support but only for a short period of time because the leadership of the Greek Communist Party with its nationalistic behavior required disbandment of this Front and its inclusion in the EAM – The National

Liberation Front of Greece. In the phase of disbandment of SNOF one group of Macedonian activists that did not accept that request seceded, and continued with the implementation of the ideas of SNOF. But, military actions were taken against them. In accordance with the General HQ of the National Liberation Army of Macedonia, they were forced to withdraw and to move on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, or exactly on Karaorman Mountain.

3. Macedonian military units

Military units composed of Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia were formed in July and August 1943 in several places at the region of Kostur. They were composed of activists and authoritative people. Their formation had political and national significance for the Macedonians and it is due to be mentioned that they took part in the struggle against the occupying forces for the liberation of Greece by the side of ELAS (the Greek Liberation Army). Later, during 1944, on the base of the same principles, the Macedonian Battalion of Voden and the Macedonian Battalion of Lerin and Kostur "Goce" (on the 2nd of August 1944) were formed. Their number of soldiers, which was constantly increasing, up to October 1944, reached almost 1,500 fighters.

Talking about the disbandment of the Macedonian military units the key factors are located in the political events in Greece. In Caserta, Italy, an agreement was signed between the Prime Minister Papandreou in the presence of the representative of the Great Britain, which decided ELAS to come under the command of the coalitional Government. The activities of the Macedonian units burdened the position of the Greek Communist Party, which also took part in the coalitional Government of Greece. Papandreou and the representatives of other political parties that had not been recognizing the Macedonian minority in Greece actually did not accept the participation of the special Macedonian military units in the common struggle against the occupier taking in consideration the national aspirations of the Macedonians. That is why the leadership of the Greek Communist Party decided to disband the Macedonian Battalions. However, due to the fact that they refused to obey, they were immediately attacked by the troops of ELAS and then forced to leave the territory of Greece, and position themselves in Vardar Macedonia. The withdrawn

units and the unit “Goce Delchev” from Bulgaria, on the 18th of November 1944, formed the First Aegean Attack Brigade.

4. Macedonian political organizations and the attitude of the Greek Communist Party towards the Macedonian national issue

The attempts of the Macedonian in the Aegean part of Macedonia for autonomy and independence of their National Liberation Movement were not successful. There were several reasons for that but as a key reason the fact that Macedonia had been divided. The Great Forces, in particular the Great Britain and USA, respected the Greek will that was opposing the idea for separation of Macedonia from Greece in whatever form, for the autonomy or integration of Macedonia with any Slavonic state. But the Macedonian National Movement existed, was developing and from time to time managed to impose itself as a factor. In the period of the Second World War the Communist Party of Greece, this also disapproved of the recognition of the Macedonian nation, united to the Greek Civil Parties. Sometimes, the CPG was manifesting different signs regarding their declarations related to their support of the concept for equal treatment of the Macedonian national minority in Greece, but it was often abandoning these positions being under pressure of the other Civil Parties. So, the CPG regarding the Macedonian national issue had more tactic approach than principal one. In the situations when CPG was trying with the use of arms to resolve the issue of the authority establishment in Greece it was always opening the Macedonian national issue offering to the Macedonians certain civil rights. But when it was in a situation to negotiate with the other Greek Civil Parties for achieving national unity related to the issue for the liberation of Greece, the CPG totally abandoned these positions and the respect of the given rights and moreover it was openly fighting against them. The CPG did not understand thoroughly the significance of the Macedonian political parties as well as the significance of the Macedonian military units for the struggle against the occupier and worried about the fact that it should have recognized the right of national self-determination of the Macedonian national minority in Greece.

The formation of the Macedonian political organizations and Macedonian military formations on this territory initially was tolerated due to the need of more people and places to be involved in the Anti-Fascist War. These political organizations and military units played out the role of opposing the Anti-Macedonian propaganda by each side, but they did

not succeed to impose themselves or to impose the Macedonian national issue as a factor that should be used in terms of gaining a positive outcome of the issue. Their activity was later obstructed due to the loud expression of their political standpoints. Of course, these organizations could not be blamed for the weak activity but the external factors played the key role. The basic content of the ideological and political activity and propaganda of MAO was focused towards popularization of the objectives of the liberation struggle, declaring that they were continuing the traditions of Ilinden Uprising and that way the Greek and the Bulgarian propaganda were unmasked. Due to these standpoints MAO became a large irritation to the Greek nationalistic parties (IVE, PAO, EKA) and was accused of acting as an autonomist and separatist organization. On the other hand, some Macedonian political organizations (SNOF), besides the general conditions in Greece and the existing animosity, it demonstrated proper weaknesses as well. In this context the SNOF did not even manage to institutionalize the districts of Kostur and Lerin in the only organization, and above all as a result of lack of a leading political subject and the existing mutual misunderstandings.

5. The liberation of the Aegean part of Macedonia

Because of the importance of Greece, i.e. the importance of the northern part (The Aegean part of Macedonia) the German forces imposed a pressing battle (3-22 July 1944) in order to protect the occupied territory. The German forces facing the threat to be cut off by the Alliance Forces, took measures for protection and safety of the road determined for withdrawal of their troops towards North. The important communication points for this purpose were the communication lines Kozani – Lerin – Bitola and Kozani – Berrat – Salonica. On these communication directions the units of ELAS were being destroyed. At the beginning they suffered losses but after the newly created situation they were quite consolidated. The liberation forces, or ELAS, gradually and with pressing battles managed to liberate the cities that were under German rule. The regional leadership of the CPG in Macedonia was of the opinion that the Greek reaction, with the help of the Great Britain, wanted to prevent the breakthrough of ELAS in Salonica and their conquest of the territory between the rivers of Vardar and Struma. But ELAS on the contrary did not give up of the idea for liberation of Salonica and concentrated its own forces and on the 31st of October liberated the city, and just at the beginning of

November 1944 the German forces left Northern Greece what means that the Aegean part of Macedonia was finally freed.

6. Defeat of ELAS

The armed uprising and the resistance in Greece, led by the CPG, ended with defeat because the left forces did not succeed to take over the rule so that the pre-war regime was brought back in Greece. For such development of the events during the war and after it the Great Forces resulted as a key factor.

Greece entered in the sphere of dominance of the Western Alliance Forces. The defeat of ELAS was inevitable. The Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, in accordance with the Commander of the British Military Forces, the General Scobie, ordered demobilization of ELAS. But this order was not an easy task to be implemented because the ELAS rejected its demobilization. Protest meetings were organized that required the use of weapons in order to be calmed down. The British Military Forces intervened, and in a one-month period of time armed battles were being led between them and the units of ELAS. The conflict ended with trust required by the CPG. So at the end of February 1945, ELAS was completely disarmed.

Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia were mass joining the Anti-Fascist War as a part of ELAS and made remarkable contribution to the victory over the fascism. During the war almost 3,000 Macedonians were killed and around 20,000 were constrained to leave their own homes just because they had asked for their national rights.

7. The cultural and educational benefits for the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia

The Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia, participating in the National Liberation War gained only few cultural and educational benefits. Knowing the aspirations of the Macedonians from the Aegean part of Macedonia, the leadership of the resistance in Greece, aiming to the acquisition of their support and mass-participation in the struggle, made several concessions in favor of the Macedonians. These concessions were mainly present in the field of publishing activity and some other sectors. So, at the end of 1942, the Regional Committee of CPG started is-

suing the newspaper “Prespa Voice” “Prespanski glas” in the area of Prespa near Lerin. Macedonian Anti-Fascist Organization (MAO) was issuing the newspaper “Red star” “Crvena zvezda” in the area of Voden and the Local Committee of SNOF was publishing the newspaper “Slav-macedonian Voice” “Slavjanomakedonski glas”. These and some other editions were printed in the Macedonian language.

Simultaneously with these activities the question about opening the schools in the mother tongue was raised, too. The preparations for this were made in August 1944. A special commission composed of the Macedonian speller and the textbook because it was impossible to imagine the literacy campaign without this didactic material. The speller was published in 1500 copies, which were distributed in the districts of Lerin and Kostur.

Also some teaching courses were initiated in which the Macedonian teachers took part. The participants followed the courses in Macedonian language. At the middle of October the courses’ participants became teachers themselves and started working in the schools in Lerin and Kostur. However, due to a lack of textbooks, some Greek ones were used which were later translated into Macedonian for the needs of the Macedonian children. For the affirmation of the Macedonian national culture and idea, in February 1944, in Kostur, Macedonian cultural and artistic societies and groups were formed in several Macedonian villages. On the performances the most performed was the theatrical performance by Vojdan Chernodrimski called “Macedonian bloody wedding” “Makedonska krvava svadba”. A lot of Macedonian songs were created, too, such as “Netram” for instance. But with the re-establishment of the pre-war regime from February 1945 everything that had Macedonian characteristic stopped being used.

PIRIN MACEDONIA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

1. The preparations, the beginning and the course of the Uprising

The German's attack on the USSR was a reason for the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Worker's Party (BWP) to bring a decision for beginning of the Uprising. The preparation activities were the most intense in Pirin Macedonia. It could be explained by the fact that in that part of Macedonia strong party organizations, which were supporting the policy of the BWP, were being active so they accepted the resolution for the beginning of the Uprising. The initiator of that activity was the Local Committee of the BWP for Pirin Macedonia. This organizational body took measures to protect and hide the activists that were under risk of being arrested, to create the underground movement and after that to approach the armaments. The members received tasks as well as areas on which they were supposed to be active. At the area of Razlog, the First Partisan Unit was formed and the first armed actions were carried out at the end of June 1941 and at the end of July 1941 another one was formed.

Simultaneously with the armament the Pirin Units political propaganda was also very prominent. The population, especially the young people, was gradually accepting their activity. So, on the 23rd of September, Nikola Parapunov was appointed a Secretary of the Local Committee of the BWP. Several changes within the Party leadership were made during the autumn with his help. However, during the winter the partisans were forced to withdraw to the mountains and to continue their life in a legal or in a half legal way.

The acting of the partisan's groups was burdened because of the increased vigilance of the Bulgarian police. Due to the fact that the army supply canal that was coming from the south or the so called Metaxas line was detected more activists were arrested. Among them were some activists of the Local Committee that had a remarkable impact on their activities. Some of the arrested were condemned with the death penalty and one of it was effectuated. This was a reason for other negative impacts. So certain indeterminations appeared especially within the central leadership of the BWP so that they were somehow trying to postpone the struggle until some "better period". Parapunov did not agree to this opinion and he thought some changes in the working model were needed. He used to emphasize that without participation in the Antifascistic War Macedonia and the Macedonian people would not be in a position to gain its freedom. In this context, some measures were taken in order to connect the partisan movement in Pirin Macedonia with the movement in the Aegean part of Macedonia as well as with the movement in Vardar Macedonia. In this period an action was taken in the city of Gorna Dzumaja.

2. The armed struggle during 1943

During the spring of 1943 the Antifascist movement intensified its activities in Bulgaria. The reorganization was made. Pirin Macedonia was a part of the so-called the Forth Zone. In this period the Partisan Unit of Gorna Dzumaja "Nikola Kalapchiev" was formed. After its formation the Unit undertook several significant actions. Some political activities were carried out in April 1943 and in the 1st of May 1943 was formed the so-called "Jane Sandanski" unit. The first edition of the newspaper "The Workers' Flag" ("Rabotnichko zname") part of the Worker's Party in Razlog was printed. Its military actions were limited only to the area of Razlog and partially in the districts of Nevrokop and Sveti Vrach. Before the coming of winter 1943/44 it was divided into three parts.

3. Mass joining in the Arm struggle during 1944

In 1944, because of the changes in the general war situation a certain new progress of the Uprising was noticed. The capitulations of Italy on the 8th of September 1944, as well as the forwarding of the Alliance Forces (USSR, USA and Great Britain) on the fronts were mainly the key factor for that new situation. That situation was also reflected in other countries, which were leading the Antifascist battles (such as Greece and Yugoslavia) but it was also reflected in Bulgaria. However, the “Nikola Kalapchiev” unit suffered heavy losses (the Commander Arso Pandurski and Nikola Parapunov were killed) that could not be compensated easily. New administrative bodies were formed and their Headquarters were dislocated in the area of Razlog so that the situation was relatively consolidated. The Partisan Unit of Razlog was renamed “Nikola Parapunov” and the number of partisans increased to 75. This unit made several successful actions in the area of Pirin. The actions caused fierce reaction by the Police Forces when without proceeding on the 29th of May 1944, 14 fighters were killed.

The tendency of increasing the number of the Partisan Units during 1944 as well as of the number of warriors continued. The Partisan Unit of Razlog was reorganized in three battalions, which carried out actions in Gorna Dzumaja. In 1944 other partisan units were formed in Nevrokop, Sveti Vrach and Petrich.

After a three-year period of struggle, the partisan movement in Bulgaria strengthened significantly, and received a groundswell of support, just before the 9th of September 1944. In this period it reached its peak. The Partisan Units took control over the situation in this region. On the 9th of September when the Bulgarian Empire capitulated completely, they entered in all cities with a purpose to join the process of creation of the new authority of the so-called “Fatherland Front”.

4. Attempts for unification

It should be taken into consideration that the Antifascist Movements of the Macedonians in Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia were not coordinated from one center. It was true that they were lead by the Com-

munist Parties but they all had different points of view regarding the Macedonian national issue. However, the ideas for collaboration and potential unification of the Partisan movement and the Macedonian people after the liberation emerged among the warriors. The initiatives derived from all three sides nevertheless they were not of equal intensity.

So the main contacts between the Macedonians of the Pirin part and the representatives of the Supreme Headquarter of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Units of Macedonia were established on the 10th of October 1944, excluding the delegation of the representatives of the Pirin Macedonia at the First Meeting of ASNOM (the 2nd of August 1944). The general Mijailo Apostolski and Bane Andreev were representing the Supreme Headquarter while Kiro Stojchev and Krum Radonov were delegates from Pirin Macedonia. In the next period these contacts happened more often especially after the 9th of September 1944, when they were also spontaneous and on various levels of collaboration. At the first meeting Kiro Stojchev supported the idea of unification of the Macedonian people. That wish was explicitly expressed by the delegate of the Bulgarian Government and the “Fatherland Front”, at the Second Meeting of ASNOM held in Skopje in the period from the 28th to 30th of December 1944. These standpoints of the Government of the “Fatherland Front”, made the Macedonians start believing that the unification however would be accomplished after the end of the Second World War. But after a short period of time due to the unbearable obstacles that were created the fulfillment of that ideal of the Macedonian people was again under suspension although the Macedonians really deserved it, if you take into consideration their mass participation in the war.

FEDERAL MACEDONIA IN THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION (1945 – 1991)

The period after the Third Meeting of ASNOM in 1945 until the Republic of Macedonia became an independent country in 1991 is unique and in essence the same presents an indivisible period, but from a historical-periodization aspect this period can be divided into several characteristic phases. Each phase has its individual characteristics, although, essentially, every phase is a new step towards the independence of the Republic of Macedonia. Therefore, one must bare in mind that the development of People's Republic of Macedonia (NR of Macedonia) had been greatly under the influence of the development of the Yugoslav Federation, which, at that time functioned, as a country with centralized government.

In that way, with the renaming of ASNOM into National Parliament of Democratic Federal Macedonia (DFM) and the foundation of the

first Government of DF Macedonia on April 16, 1945, begins the first phase, in other words the period of administrative-centralistic governing, a period of state socialism during which, besides the rebuilding and renovation of the country, all the activities were directed towards strengthening of the Federation and its power. Towards the following year of 1946, the Constitution of NR of Macedonia had been passed. This was the first constitutional document on the history of the Macedonian people, which was put in service of the etatization of the authority that was part of the Constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ), passed at the beginning of the same year. After using these documents for several years, the same were substituted with new constitutional documents in 1953. The new documents contained such changes that provided for the loosening of the administrative-centralistic system of governing and relations in the country. Such changes had a profoundly positive effect in comparison to the situations that were present in other countries of the so called "people democracy" in southeast Europe, but this was not enough for a more independent development of NR of Macedonia in respect to the Federation.

1. Administrative-centralistic period (1945-1953)

The administrative-centralistic period in NR of Macedonia was formed parallel with the introduction of the administrative-centralistic system in the Yugoslav Federation, because the former was put into function of strengthening of the latter one. But, there existed certain specifics and particularities. With all its weaknesses, during this period, the first "steps" of the Macedonian country were made forward, in contrast to some of the other republics which already had some sort of constitutional tradition. Here, the difficulties, which were bound to happen in this phase, had been much greater.

Namely, during the first few years after the liberation of the country, with the existing delirium from the success in the war and the constitution of the Macedonian country, with a great amount of enthusiasm, partly motivated by the aggressive party propaganda, the renovating of the country and organizing of the country's economy had begun. The technological handicap, which in turn was mostly evident in Macedonia, was substituted with manual labor and primitive means. Getting foreign capital into the country was completely impossible, because of the ideological prejudices against capitalist relations in Macedonia that were ex-

tremely hard to overcome, because the country was the most fervent conveyor of the ideals of the Federation. Such conditions prevented the possibility for taking advantage of the realistic opportunities offered by the USA through the so called Marshal's plan for reconstruction of the countries devastated in the antifascistic war.

Immediately after the liberation the changes in property relations were started with great intensity. These changes were in function of transferring private property under government rule, and the changes themselves were quite painful. Confiscation, expropriation and the agrarian reform, as means of transferring private property into government hands, were meant to conduct a change in the ownership of property, but they also contained political goals and an intention to distribute property to the former participants in the war. Namely, many of the fighters took part in the war with such motivation, and it is also a fact that such promises were given to them by the leaders in the combats. Some privileges that needed to be fulfilled were quite evident and were expected by the fighters. The changes conducted in respect of the agrarian ownership were particularly difficult. Since the existing agrarian tradition was being destroyed, land was given to fighters who neither could, nor wanted to work on the given land. Private ownership of land was limited to small portions of land that was not enough for accumulating goods, but merely for the satisfaction of basic survival needs. On the other hand, people who produced food, had to sell their products under the price policy determined by the government, which had a de-stimulating effect on production.

The changes made in the overall ownership structure, were not calculated to stimulate productivity, but to stimulate state ownership. The companies were included in the huge and bureaucratic main and general offices, which collected the revenues from the production process on the one hand, and on the other distributed budget assets to the workers. The production process and growth were planned in the framework of five-year plans following the example of the soviet "five years plan". In addition to this, it was of no relevance if the planned products were wanted on the market or not. This clearly closed any possibility for market economy, and this had its negative impact on the economic growth.

Immediately after being constituted, the Government of DFM, appealing to military successes and especially the success in the constitution of the Macedonian country as the highest historical goal achieved until then, released an act known as the Declaration of the Government of DFM. This Declaration was to a great extent a copy of the Declaration announced by Josip Broz Tito in the beginning of March, 1945. This Dec-

laration discarded some of the basic solutions that were part of the documentation from ASNOM, such as the decisions of the Declaration of ASNOM, although the former was based on the latter. Primarily, this concerned the issue of property, which in the Declaration of ASNOM was guaranteed as one of the basic human and citizens' rights. The Declaration of DFM dealt with political and ideological issues, such as the strengthening of "brotherhood and unity" between the people of Yugoslav. The Declaration was bound to serve for the creation of a solid Yugoslav Federation as a country in which Macedonia would be its member state. This was considered to be the only "right" choice to be made for the future of the Macedonian people and state. This was the reason why, from its very beginnings, the Government of DFM provided intensive support in the implementation of "hard" pro Yugoslav policy, also actively conducting the same policy on its behalf, instead of being actively engaged in improving the overall economic development of the underdeveloped federal state of Macedonia. On the contrary, the expectations were aimed towards Yugoslavia's elite. Favoritism of the administrative-centralistic model of governing of the Yugoslavia Federation, and its constituent republics, was to a great degree influenced by the general social-economic and political circumstances in Yugoslavia. In such circumstances, when it was still not clear how the public would react to the implementation of the communist regime, when certain oppositional declarations and discontent regarding the assume of the ownership of the property, as well as the solution of the national issue, still existed, the Yugoslav governing structure feared that the implementation of the new government system was brought into question. There existed a realistic fear from the restoration of the former pre-war system of the monarchist Yugoslavia. It is a known fact, that separate foreign countries, active participants in the fight against fascism, supported the restoration of capitalist relations in the new Yugoslav country. Therefore, constituting the new government in Yugoslavia and Macedonia was being conducted in a state of inviolable conditions dictated by the foreign factor. Separate foreign countries expressed their open dissatisfaction with the choice of the Soviet model as a governing system in Yugoslavia, because the basic doctrine of these countries was the fight against communism, as an evil not that different than fascism. The USA asked for a reevaluation of the bilateral agreements signed between them and the monarchy Yugoslavia, where as Great Britain was already in the process of setting up the "iron curtain" towards the East. The support that Yugoslavia was receiving from the Soviet Union was perceived by the West as an attempt by the Soviet Union to control middle and southeast Europe.

The gap of misunderstanding was increased even more, after the beginning of the Civil war in Greece in 1946, when Great Britain undertook military action to prevent the alleged “sovietization” of the country. This event was taken advantage of by the Greek side, for spreading terror and exile of the Macedonia’s from the Aegean part of Macedonia, which besides the political consequences, also brought about serious economic hardships sprung by the need to provide for the refugees. The aggressiveness of the Greek right party was also motivated by some tactless statements made by certain officials from the federation, but, also from the mood of the Macedonian liberation movement in Greece towards the newly constituted member state of the Yugoslav Federation. Because of the obvious determination to implement the communist regime in Yugoslavia, capitalist countries led a long tactful process and refused to accept the changes made in the country.

Such climate of fear was present in Macedonia, although, realistically, there was no such danger as was plotted by the existence of the alleged “Macedonian separatism”. Nevertheless, certain such separatism was shown by some groups of Albanian nationality, which were set up during the war in the system of “Bali Kombtar”, but such leftover groups bared no strength and all of them were destroyed in the course of 1945. Quite often the danger of an existing alleged “public enemy” was skillfully launched so that a strong government could be set up for a much larger control of the public. Such a policy led to repression towards those entities that expressed their discontent with the new regime. Not only that Macedonia did not elude such occurrences, but, as the most obedient member state of the Federation, these were the basis for establishing a positive climate to deal with the existing opponents.

Passing the constitutional documents was considered to be a key issue in the foundation of the administrative-centralistic government. But, as mentioned before, this was to be realized in inviolable political and economic conditions. This had to be done, because neither Yugoslavia as a federation, nor its republics, had their own acts, which would serve as a basis for their functioning as states. General regulations, were indeed passed, which stated that the law of the former monarchy, which had collapsed during WWII, would only be used if they are in no direct opposition to the new government system and the new social relations that were coming into being, but all of this was not enough. Such a rule was also accepted in the documents from ASNOM and was consistently obliged when the regulations of Macedonia were in question. But, different from some other republics, the preparations for the passing of the first constitu-

tion of NR of Macedonia were not based on some certain political platform, instead of which, first of all, it was awaited for the passing of the constitution of the Federation, and only after came the passing of the constitutions of the republics. The framework of the constitutions of the republics were determined by the constitution of the Federation, but in Macedonia, the public debate for the suggested constitutional solutions never came into being, different from some of the more developed republics, where this debate provided for more liberal solutions. Therefore, the Constitution of FNR of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of NR of Macedonia were the results of the overall ambient that were present in the country. With these documents the administrative-centralistic tendencies were constitutionally sanctioned, as well as the determinations for the constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. With the passing of these documents the deciding role of the Communist Party was of utmost importance and aside of the passing of these documents, the party maintained its further leadership. The Constitution of NR of Macedonia, although with many imperfections, being the first document of such nature in the history of the Macedonian people, was an exceptionally important document. This document verified the efforts for the foundation of the Macedonian state with the highest state act, which brought about a new quality in its government. Some of the existing issues were of purely formal nature. Many rights were constituted as government rights, but because of the existing centralized system in the Federation, this was not feasible in practice. The key government functions (such as, defense, internal and foreign affairs) belonged in the domain of the Federation, and for the remaining issues the government needed to consult the Federation authorities. This brought about the denomination of certain rights of republic jurisdiction that the republic had since 1944 until 1946, in accordance with ASNOM documents. Of course, this had a clear impact on further centralization of the government and for a gradual disregard of the solutions from ASNOM and a faster paced centralization. The main issue of the Macedonian people, immediately after the war, was the issue of unification of the people. This was even more emphasized, as a result of the unfortunate events during the civil war in Greece. The people were led towards this cause by the many calls for unification during the war. This issue was particularly of interest in the Pirin part of Macedonia. An anti-fascist movement was formed in Bulgaria, but Bulgaria was a monarchy and because of this it belonged to the Hitler coalition. This led Bulgaria to a certain inferior condition, so after establishing the government of Bulgaria on 9 September 1944, with the help of the Soviet Union, it was believed

that the unification of the Macedonian people from the three parts of Macedonia is quite near. The accomplishments of constituting the Macedonian state, as a member of the Yugoslav Federation, were widely accepted in Bulgaria, disregarding the degree of autonomy of the state. Macedonian Diaspora, and certain officials in Bulgaria, called for the implementation of the same Yugoslavian constitutional model for the government in Macedonia, i.e. for the Vardar part of Macedonia. Among other things, Bulgaria opened up towards Yugoslavia for the upcoming peace negotiations in Paris in 1946, and its releasing of the responsibility for paying war reparations, so, although formally, Bulgaria accepted some of the solutions for solving the Macedonian national issue. But, at the Paris peace conference, the Macedonian national issue was not presented as a request by the Yugoslav side, but the same was set aside as a result of Greek opposition, which resulted with the issue becoming a part of the informal context of Greek territorial pretensions towards Yugoslavia, i.e. Macedonia. Nevertheless, after the signing of the Paris peace conference in 1947, as well as the bilateral agreements between FNR of Yugoslavia and NR of Bulgaria signed in the same year on Bled, mutual collaboration was intensified, which also led to the Bulgarian recognition of the Macedonian nation, culture and history. As a part of the well-known “cultural autonomy”, in the Pirin part of Macedonia, several Macedonian schools and cultural institutions were opened. Also, the negotiations for forming a federation between the two countries were intensified, which was to include Macedonia as a part of this federation, which was presented as a long-lasting solution of the Macedonian issue, as it was requested in the Macedonian program documents - the unification of the Macedonian people. But, there was no real interest on either side, and also all that was achieved to that period was destroyed with the appearance of the dispute between Yugoslavia and the member countries of the Inform bureau.

The dispute with the Inform bureau was the key event that led to serious consequences. It was a typical product of the centralistic-etatist relations in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, but it also contributed for the further processes in the centralization of the Yugoslav Federation. This dispute arose in 1948 between Yugoslavia on the one hand, and the countries of the “people democracy” led by the Soviet Union on the other. This dispute arose in a period when in Macedonia there was evidence of achieved results in the constitution of the government, economic renewal, the production process, and the organization of the educational and cultural life, as well as the functions of social activities. The annulment of the agreements that Yugoslavia had with the countries that stayed under

the influence of the Soviet Union had a profound effect on the Macedonian economy, which was far weaker than the economies of the remaining countries. Yugoslavia, as an isolated country by the East, was facing a political crossroad. The issue of how to proceed with the building of the Yugoslav communist system of governing yet to remain different from the Soviet one became evident. In this respect, attention should be given to the fear (or the reality) of Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia, which was the instigator of some rather painful political repressions. Nevertheless, from the conflict between Josip Broz and Yugoslavia on the one side, and the Soviet Union and Stalin together with the countries that supported him on the other, there were some positive aspects after all for Yugoslavia. This presented itself as economic aid from Western countries, and on the political field in the form of movements in the democratic development of certain democratic processes, which were banned in the countries of the “people democracy”. But, for Macedonia the consequences were far more negative, because it bought to an end of the hopes for integral solution for the Macedonian national issue.

The nebulous political situation and oscillations in Yugoslavia emphasized the need for the Yugoslav society to rely on the “confidential” structure, i.e. the members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). This brought about the increase of the party, administrative, and especially of the police apparatus. Party official, were deemed as “most competent”, and therefore were assigned with the key functions in the party and in the state apparatus. To gain better control of the local authorities in Macedonia in 1949, the regional committees were renewed, after being closed in 1945. Party hegemony ideology was cemented in all aspects with the First Congress of the Communist Party of Macedonia (CPM) held in 1948, although the Congress was said to be held in order to remain on the anti-Stalinist course and to create room for a political settlement with the forces which supported him. The achievements of the People’s Liberation Front were treated with a positive, although pre-dimensional, aspect by the Congress as it was the case of the creation of the Macedonian state, and all the events that took place after that, but the Congress did not address many other questions, especially the ones referring to democracy, which remained only a formal note in the congress documentation.

Nevertheless, in a short period of time it became obvious that economic development was not possible only by means of constituting a powerful government. This was shown by the lag in the production process. In a short period of time it was realized that something needed to be done

in the domain of production relations and to provide for a higher degree of autonomy of the producers themselves and the management with their products. It was of utmost importance to begin with a process of restructuring of the massive main and head offices, which were part of the production companies. Therefore, after 1948 and during 1949 as a key issue was presented the restructuring of the production process. It became clear that the administrative-centralistic system of governing and managing was coming to its end, especially in the production domain. The limitations of such a system were preventing the overall development, especially the development of the production process. Serious political changes were not contemplated, but a step was made towards the initiation of changes in the production process, in regard to the management of the production companies and their decentralization. This resulted with a step towards the following changes in transforming state property into social property.

2. Conducting the experiment of “self-management” (1953-1970)

The labor committees started the envisioned changes in 1950 with the passing of the Basic Yugoslav law for managing with state production companies and production associations. Attempts for decentralization were made in the domain of agriculture with abandoning the concept of agrarian associations founded by the kolkhoz example in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, such reforms in the production process were felt after 1953 with the passing of the new constitutional documentation, and with the death of the dictator J.V. Stalin. Changes were also conducted in the administration and the organization of the local authorities. For example, in Macedonia the regional committees were cancelled just after a year of existence.

In the attempts for “democratization” of the CPY, at its Sixth Congress held in 1952, two main positions of action were determined: from an internal aspect - acquiring labor self-management, and on an external aspect - battle against the Stalinist movement. The CPY changed its name into Communist Alliance, and this was considered to be a serious “democratic” change, although it was a question of a literal change.

The period during which CPY was conducting its task with the highest priority, in other words “the struggle for labor self-management”, lasted for some 20 years. The envisioned transformation, which in public circles acquired the slogan “factories to the workers”, seemed quite con-

vincing at the beginning, nonetheless very realistic. But, the elected “labor” councils, which had a relatively positive role in the beginning, at least with the abandonment of the huge head offices of state monopoly, gradually became transformed into state organs for manipulation with workers’ rights in the realization of their gain. It became evident that, party, and state organs, were not prepared to easily let go of the newly formed value, and therefore they found various ways to remain in control of the allocation.

Because of all previously mentioned, there arose two currents in the CC, one of which interceded in favor of changes, and the other one for retaining of positions in the CC. The ones, who were about changing the official position of the CC and its transformation into a democratic party, were accused for anti-communism and pro-western orientation.

The introduction of municipalities as the basic societal-political communities in 1955, had a positive trend to a certain degree, in the direction of the envisioned decentralization, but some of them, especially the richer municipalities, used this position to enclose themselves in their own framework of activities. Some of the municipalities were trying to satisfy the interests of the municipality, which had an impact on the economy, because there was a struggle for every municipality to build its “own”, so called, “political” factory. The Seventh Congress of the Association of Communists, held in Ljubljana in 1957, was presented as an attempt to reform the Association. Although there was slight reservation towards self-management, the main focus of the Congress was party discipline, which was considered to be one of the basic reasons for things going astray. After all, for some reasons, mostly because of the help that Yugoslavia was getting from the USA and some other western countries, in the period from 1951 to 1957 the highest degree of development was achieved. For example, only in NR of Macedonia statistical indicators showed an increase of 17%, which was considered to be a result from “self-management” and was presented to be the right solutions for future development.

Several social and production changes and short-term reform was the road to new constitutional changes that were passed in 1963. During the phase of their passing, there was a great debate. The goal of these changes had profound political motives, and the main idea was further strengthening of the system, and that time presented as a “political system of socialist self-management”. In the more developed republics (Slovenia) the debate was directed towards obtaining greater political and production autonomy, and in the less developed ones (Macedonia) the debate was

kept in the framework of ideological “advantages” of self-management. Because of the oppositions in respect of the production development, the constitutions of 1963 did not bring about for some radical changes, just for some irrelevant modifications of the existing. In order to strengthen the socialist and communist basis of the system, the terms were changed in the constitutional documents. The word “people” was changed with the word “socialist”, and this was regarded to be a success. Instead of the term “government” the term “executive council” was introduced. The catastrophic earthquake that happened on 26 July 1963 deepened the lag of NR of Macedonia, the consequences of which, besides the unreserved aid from the Yugoslav republics and western countries, remained evident for a long period of time. During the period of the sixties and seventies, the discontent with the constitutional changes brought about the appearance of two currents: etatistic and liberal. The former one was all about stronger federalization, and the latter one for greater freedom in the development of the economic system. The lag in the development of the production and the discussions for greater democracy resulted with the expansion of nationalistic currents, especially within Kosovo. The reasons for this were not located in the areas where they existed, but quite often were found in the used phrase “lag in the socialist self-management relations”.

3. Period of political liberalism, delegation system and planned economy (1971-1991)

Since the beginning of the seventies a new phase had begun, characterized by the efforts to implement political liberalism, delegation system and planned economy (1971-1991). Naturally, these tendencies were opposed to each other, which was the reason that no success could be achieved. During this period several changes were made in the social-economic system and the political system, which led to a crisis and created the needed conditions for the independence of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the other member states of SFR of Yugoslavia.

Of course these processes did not take place overnight, but there were efforts in political and other areas to find the solution for the deep crisis in which the Yugoslav state was. The initiatives for constitutional changes became present once again. Now these were initiated by the frequent party assemblies, which served as a basis for the planning of further strategic parameters of development. What was proclaimed in the party documentation was afterwards used in the constitutional documents. They

were deemed as not satisfactory, and because of this there was an initiative for new constitutional changes in 1967, the only difference now being amendment changes. This kind of orientation was determined by the clash in the political top of Yugoslavia, which resulted with the removal of some of Serbia's officials (Aleksandar Rankovich), who were blamed for the alleged pledging for centralism and the use of a "strict method" in the governing of the Federation. The changes were also stimulated by some liberal changes that took place in Croatia, which were announced as a "spontaneous movement", (MASPOK), backed up by the ideology for independent Croatia. Macedonia did not remain immune to such tendencies, but these were not strongly expressed or they were not enough serious and that the same were underestimated by the political top of Yugoslavia.

After the amendment changes of the Constitution of the Association, at the end of 1971 there was an amendment intervention (I-LXXXI amendments) in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SR of Macedonia). These changes were ultimately integrated in the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR of Yugoslavia) and the Constitution of SR of Macedonia in 1974.

The decentralization of the Federation and greater rights of the republics were the basis of these constitutional changes. In addition to the "verified" self-management as a "permanent" determination of the Yugoslav system, the implementation of a delegate principle of selection of delegates followed, which was nominated as a "delegate system". Party congress meetings, as a result of the new spirit, started being held in the opposite order, i.e. republic Congress meetings first, followed by the Congress meeting of SKY. In essence this did not have some relevant impact on the existence of the basic principle in the domain of CC, called "democratic centralism". During Congress meetings, the topic of "struggle for socialist self-management" became inevitable, and also the association of Communists for the first time was formally promoted as a "leading and ideologically directional force" in the Constitution of SFR of Yugoslavia. In the production process, under the pressure of the market economy and an economy in which this kind of position could be maintained, a new solution was promoted known as "agreement economy". The essence of this solution was in the formation and connection of large systems of production and other companies, which would be organized into associations, which would agree what to produce and what price would they sell these products. This was outside the limits of market economy, but nevertheless it was good for the developed republics because they were dictating market prices, which in many cases were even

higher than world prices. Besides this, these republics decided which companies would produce and what products they would produce. For the undeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo, a special fund was founded, whose assets were not proportionally allocated.

4. The disintegration of SFR of Yugoslavia and the independence of the Republic of Macedonia

Towards the end of the seventies SFR of Yugoslavia was experiencing its worst economic crisis. Its disintegration was announced earlier, but it seemed as if the culminating point had been reached. Nevertheless, even from this point in time, it is still difficult to determine all the reasons and to locate the starting point of the disintegration of the SFR of Yugoslavia. It is clear that these problems did not pass by Macedonia, but on the contrary they were at full strength.

At the beginning of May 1980, when Tito, the founder of postwar Yugoslavia, passed away, although collective Presidency was implemented in the state and in the SCY, these state agencies could not manage and be successful in leading the country, which was left without its undisputed authority. Tito's name remained a synonym for the future, a unifying logo for the country, but it became more and more clear that the country was on its road to disintegration. In the summer of 1980 the economic crisis culminated with the highest inflation rate in postwar Yugoslavia of 45%. The living standard as decreasing, dissatisfaction was increasing and national intolerance increasing. After a long period of misunderstandings, pressures and discussions about which republic should suggest the next President of the Yugoslav government, at the beginning of 1989 Ante Markovich was elected President, who was from Croatian nationality. It should be noted, that Markovich through several liberal and reformist government moves brought back to a certain degree the trust with the people. His policy received unreserved support from Macedonia.

Nevertheless, the republics which were preparing for independence for a longer period of time (Slovenia and Croatia), not satisfied at all with the election of a Prime Minister, they refused his loyalty and they stopped to pay them financial obligations towards the Federation. Serbia, on the other hand, as a response to this act, made an intrusion in the balance of payments, acquiring a large sum of money from the Federation. The request for a greater war budget on behalf of YNA, which probably had secret plans for military intervention, was not approved by Ante Mar-

kovich and this was suggested as a reason for his resignation from the Prime Minister position.

The political crisis culminated in the domain between the nationalities and between the republics. Although this crisis was not strongly expressed in Macedonia as it was in Kosovo and some of the other republics, it remains as a fact that Macedonian leadership was unprepared and disoriented. Not having its own vision, it supported the requirements of Slovenia and Croatia, interchangeably, - independence, or the requirements of Serbia, maintaining of the Federation and its recomposing. The leadership of Slovenia was proposing the disbanding of the republics, and afterwards the same to be united on economic basis, whereas Serbia was not in a position to discard the Federation in order for all the Serbs to live in one state. Serbia was not able to accept the process of disbanding of the republics and as a result of the unclear status of the provinces, which were functioning almost as independent republics, based on the constitutional changes of 1974. Additional pressure was brought about by the Memorandum of SANU for the solution of the Serb national question, which some of the republics interpreted as a tendency for new Serb domination in Yugoslavia.

The final act in the disintegration of Yugoslavia was the referendum of SR of Slovenia held on 23 December 1990, where 85.5% of the population voted to step out of the Federation, and the act of independence was followed by the war of several days after which Slovenia, with international support, had no chances to remain in the Federation.

The Republic of Macedonia announced its Declaration of Independence and sovereignty on 15 January 1991, which was passed in the National Parliament of Macedonia, and the same was realized by the Referendum for Independence from 8 September 1991 and the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, which in its preamble had installed the historical aims of Ilinden and ASNOM as its highest realizations for an independent state.

INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

1. Dissolution of Yugoslavia

The dissolution of Yugoslavia was a result of deeper economic and developmental contradictions which socialism, without democracy, without the protection of human rights and without a market economy could not have been resolved. The turning point was with no doubt the 14th Congress of LCPY in January 1990. The events, disputes and the split at the 14th Party Congress had a cathartic effect on the public in Macedonia. They caused an immediate discharge of the party elite, a massive conversion and migration of the membership to the newly established parties and finally a reconsideration of the position of Macedonia in the federation.

In this respect, the media and researchers revealed unfavorable facts unknown or only partly known to the public. Historians revealed

documents on the suppression and elimination (by secret services) of non-communist groups and well-known leaders striving for Macedonian independent statehood or union before or after Liberation in 1944.

The nationalistic wave appearing at that time in Yugoslavia and particularly in Serbia, had much added to the cathartic and transforming pattern of Macedonian political public opinion. A fear of the overall Serbian predominance, whose 'trade mark' was protection of all-Yugoslav national interests, was given rich ground to grow in. The Serbian Orthodox church strengthened its claims over the jurisdiction of the autonomous Macedonian church, while strong Serbian political parties renamed the republic into South Serbia or Vardarska Banovina, a name given by the Serbs after the occupation of Macedonia in 1913. In Serbia there were even some who were deleting Macedonia from the new maps of the 're-constructed' Yugoslavia.

Generally the psychological ground had been laid for consideration of possibilities of dissociation from the federation, although a real strategy for gaining independence and sovereignty was still lacking. In the spring and summer of 1990, four fairly serious political parties were registered and gained considerable support among the electorate, together with some twenty-four smaller parties. At the first parliamentary elections, in November 1990, these parties won the 120 seats in parliament.

The parliamentary elections in 1990 produced three results, which had far-reaching effects on the early period of Macedonia's independence:

- The nationalistic parties did not win the majority in the parliament. This was the first and only such case among the former Yugoslav republics and a rare case among the East European countries at least at the first free elections.

- An expert government was established which was dependent on consensual support from civil and ethno-oriented parties.

- For the first time again, in the East European countries in transition, an ethnic minority party was included on an equal footing not only in the government but in all governmental bodies, ministries, agencies, etc. sharing the responsibility in the process of government.

On January 25, 1991, the newly-elected, multi-party Assembly, adopted a declaration on the Sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia, by which, among other things, the Republic of Macedonia was defined as a sovereign state, which, in conformity with its own interests, would decide independently about its future relations with the states.

In May-June 1991 followed another attempt of Gligorov and Izetbegovic for an “asymmetrical confederation”, which was the last attempt in a series of negotiations.

The bloody dissolution of former SFRY began at the end of June 1991 with the intervention of the YNA in Slovenia. Then followed Croatia and Bosnia. With the Dayton Peace Treaty from November 1995, Bosna and Herzegovina became a protectorate of the international community.

2. Steps toward independence

Accordingly, as a result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, for Macedonians, staying any longer in the federation would have meant taking part in conflicts which were not their own, and aligning themselves with one side of the conflict would have been to risk losing the sovereignty which had been for centuries a dream of Macedonians.

From September 8, 1991 until December 17, 1991 internally Macedonia strengthened its independence: a referendum was held and 95.1% of the citizens voted for independence; on the basis of the referendum’s results the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia adopted a declaration by which a sovereign state was constituted; on the 17th of November 1991 the new Constitution of the Republic was adopted and proclaimed; it was adopted a Declaration of the International Recognition of the Republic of Macedonia as a Sovereign and Independent State, demanding its international recognition.

On 17 December 1991, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered to the Badinter Arbitration Commission all the necessary documents for the recognition of the Republic. On the 11th of January 1992, the Badinter Commission Report positively assessed the conditions of Slovenia and Macedonia in meeting the EU criteria for recognition and recommended that the Union should recognize both countries. Having already had some questions from Greece relating to the name of the state, the Badinter Report clearly stated that ‘the name of the state does not imply any territorial claims’. The report was published on the 15th of January. A few hours later, news agencies broadcasted that the European Council had decided to recognize Slovenia and Croatia but not Macedonia, which caused shock and great disappointment in the country.

In that moment Macedonia found itself in an extremely difficult foreign and internal position. Disillusion soon replaced the euphoria of

the easy and even process of recognition. The public had been deeply convinced that the international community would this time have corrected the unjust and unfair policy towards Macedonia in the course of modern history, and that the state would be given the place that it morally deserved in the community of independent states. The leading political circles that for a year and a half had been contributing so well on both the foreign and domestic stage were also caught by surprise. The nationalistic forces immediately used the non-recognition for causing pressure in terms of inciting to conflicts and struggle since allegedly ‘nowhere was the independence won through letters and without struggle and victims’.

By exerting pressure on the Republic of Macedonia, Greece imposed an undeclared, severe commercial blockade in the autumn of 1992 and closed its border with Macedonia on February 17, 1994, with the aim of causing a great economic crisis and getting its northern neighbor “on its knees”. This coincided with the UN trade sanctions against neighboring Serbia in June the same year, which increased additionally the difficulties of the Republic of Macedonia. Since railway connections with Bulgaria and Albania did not exist and road traffic was almost inoperative, Macedonia was completely isolated. To the public, these facts seemed paradoxical: Macedonia, which did not permit the victory of the nationalist forces, which did its best to avoid conflict and war and which peacefully, legally and democratically dissociated from Yugoslavia, was *de facto* punished and deprived of normal life.

At the beginning of 1992 neither the EU nor the USA manifested particular concern about the conflicts and disputes in former Yugoslavia. Most of the earlier or similar federations and states in the process of disintegration had similar problems but they did not develop into wars or sharp conflicts. So it seemed that the issue of the recognition of Macedonia and Greece’s first demand to postpone its recognition would be soon overcome. Immediately after the EC meeting at which it recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia on the 15th of January, it was stated that the matter was only postponed for a short time to clarify some Greek reservations, but that it would need no more than a few weeks to find a solution. However, the Greek policy obviously coordinated or matched with the interests of Serbia, become more determined, more offensive and active in the EU and elsewhere. As a result of this at several EC meetings the decision to recognize Macedonia was being either postponed or made unacceptable for Greece.

Finally, in Lisbon, on the 27th of June 1992, the declaration adopted by the EC was a severe setback for Macedonia’s expectations,

stating that it would recognize it but only under a name not containing the word 'Macedonia'. The document shocked the Republic and gave a "victory" to Greece, as it went furthest in the denial of the country's independence, national identity and international position. The reaction of the public to the document even in Western Europe and the USA was unfavorable, while some observers anticipated immediate intervention from neighboring countries. This was the peak of the EU compromises with Greece, coinciding with a variety of internal controversies in the Union.

The question is what were the motives for such a Greek policy towards the Republic of Macedonia? Why did the Republic of Macedonia provoke such great emotions in Greece (more than one million people at the demonstration in Athens and Salonica? Why was it being linked to Greek security and the people were made to feel that the Greek borders were not safe?

One of the elements for the answer lies in the internal consequences from the recognition of the Macedonian state. If the Greek government recognized the state, it would have to recognize the ethnic identity of the large Macedonian population that still lives in northern Greece, to accept that Greece is not nationally homogenous, but actually a multinational country, with all the potential political consequences, as well as to accept European regulations on the treatment of minorities and the protection of their cultural rights.

3. Worldwide Recognition

Most probably the middle of 1992, the period that immediately followed the Lisbon Declaration of the European Summit on Macedonia, was a time of penultimate and critical importance both for the international community's approach towards Macedonia and for Macedonia's policy towards recognition. Two policies were put to a critical test. For Gligorov and Macedonia it was felt to be a historical test and great risk. Meanwhile several scenarios had been worked out in the neighborhood of Macedonia, taking into account the potential consequences of the Lisbon Declaration. The government took the risk of not changing the policy. The policy began to bring results. The huge Greek propaganda campaign was not effective and as a rule proved to be counterproductive.

The overall pressure on Macedonia caused by the lack of its recognition led to new threats and it had to be relieved. The dissociation of

the European Union from Greek policy and rising Greek nationalism had an impact on three important decisions:

- To hand over the dispute to the UN,
- To reconsider and change the rigid stance on the name issue from the Lisbon Declaration and
- To enable Macedonia to utilize international funds and assistance.

The decisions were embedded in the EU declaration at the summit in Edinburgh on the 12th of December 1992, on the basis of the report of the EU mediator between Greece and Macedonia, Robert O'Neil, considering also the advice of the YU-conference coordinators. In addition the EU welcomed the proposal of the UN General Secretary to send UNPROFOR troops to Macedonia with a monitoring mandate. Humanitarian assistance from most EU countries largely increased.

A real gain for the Macedonian policy was the fact that a process of recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations on an individual basis began. More and more countries declared their recognition, many of them using the constitutional name of the state - Republic of Macedonia. But the turning point in strengthening the position of the Republic was the recognition by Russia on the 5th of August 1992. The Russian decision meant a lot, demonstrating first of all a more balanced approach to the Balkan crisis, then a reconsideration of their hitherto unreserved support for Serbia and Greece. Later on, the Peoples Republic of China recognized Macedonia, like Russia, by the constitutional name and this meant not only a further relaxation of the position of the Republic of Macedonia but also a large channel of support in the UN Security Council. Despite the large and sophisticated affirmation of Macedonia as well as the influence of the powerful Greek lobbies in the USA, Canada and Australia, (strangely enough, countries with the largest Macedonian communities and emigration) the wall of isolation could not have been sustained.

International organizations, both non-governmental and governmental, began to accept Macedonia membership, many of them, again, under the constitutional name. With such a pretext "Macedonian Question" was internationalized at the end of the year-that is, directed at the global and complex mechanism of the United Nations.

4. The way to wards the United Nations

In the beginning of 1993 the Macedonian government delivered a Memorandum to the Secretary Council and to Secretary General B. Ghali. The Memorandum renewed the application for full membership, now followed by the recommendation of EU. The stance of the Greek memorandum was in complete contrast: to prevent the reception of Macedonia in the UN, to show that it would create new dangers and risks for the peace and stability in the Balkans.

It was the first time in UN history that one country had objected to the reception of another country, to require giving it a new name or to make it conditional for the reception of it. For many legal experts and UN members the case was curious and strange, but the case was created and existed. It was clear it could not have resolved either by force or by application of mere principles of ethics: it required consultation, talks and negotiations. It was also clear to Macedonia that in the course of negotiations it would not be possible to reach an agreement without some concessions, or by convincing the other side.

After difficult talks and consultations, finally on the 7th of April 1993, the Security Council recommended the General Assembly to accept the application of Macedonia, using a delicate formulation-“the state which, for the use in the Organization will temporarily be referred to as the “Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” “until the solution of the differences on the name of the state”. So Macedonia becomes unconditionally the 181st member state of the UN. At the General Assembly session, President Gligorov made a speech of gratitude and promised that Macedonia will respect the principles of the UN.

The Macedonian flag that had also been disputed by Greece was not hung on the East River. Meanwhile, apart from Greece (although Macedonia was a full member of the UN), relations with neighbors were not regulated: FR of Yugoslavia (Serbia) refused to normalize relations and to establish any diplomatic links having fully harmonized policies with Greece, and kept open the whole packet of claims (the minority issues, the border issue, etc.); Bulgaria, having recognized the state of Macedonia refused to recognize the Macedonian nation and Macedonian language, while Albania insisted on the name the “Former Yugoslav Republic” implying that Macedonia belonged to Yugoslavia so that the Albanian issue would be resolved in a “unified way”. All of the neighbors of Macedonia counted on some concessions and profits arising from the dispute and negotiations with Greece.

Realistically, most of the open issues of the foreign positions of Macedonia, in the second stage, are connected with and interdependent on

the outcome of negotiations with Greece in New York. There, instead of a quick agreement on the issue of the name of the state, the talks developed into long-lasting informative contacts on the overall positions and policies of both state.

Finally, in the first days of September 1995, by the indispensable assistance of Mr. Vens and his diplomatic-legal services a draft Interim Accord was prepared. Later, this was qualified by some as “a pearl of diplomacy”. The governments accepted the paper not without hesitation and difficulties and not without risking a fall. On September the 13th, the Foreign Ministers and the mediator signed the act in New York.

By the Interim Accord, Macedonia obliged itself to change the national flag, whose design allegedly reflected the symbols of the antique Macedonian dynasty of Philip II and whose heritage, Greek or Macedonian, was disputed. In return, Macedonia got most of its substantial demands; recognition as an independent and sovereign state, establishment of diplomatic relations, confirmations and inviolability of the existing frontier, a packet of confidence-building measures, promotion of economic cooperation and trade, cultural exchange, and even refrain of objection from the Greek side to application by or membership in international, regional or multilateral organizations. With the agreement, Macedonia did not under take an obligation for change of the name. Negotiations about the name are still ongoing.

The recognition process was accomplished on the 8th of April 1996 when Serbia signed in Belgrade the Agreement on regulation of the relations and promotion of the cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and FR of Yugoslavia. This act had a long-reaching significance for Macedonia, since Serbia was directly involved and represented an interested party to the Bucharest Treaty from 1913 on the partition of Macedonia, and also was the only member of the Former Yugoslav federation to object to the independence of Macedonia.

In breaking with the former Serbian-Greek strategy on Macedonia, Serbia went a step further. It not only returned to the conception of national statehood and identity name of Macedonians, but also recognized state continuity and the existence of Macedonia as a state back to 1944. By that act, the story of the battle for independence and sovereignty of Macedonia was almost finished. So, the question that used to be known in the end of the XIX and the whole of the XX century as the “Macedonian question” has been answered.

After 1998 Macedonia speeds up the process of privatization. The third parliamentary elections were held. The IMRO-DPMNE won. On the

30th of April 1998, the new government was elected with Ljupcho Georgievski as a Prime Minister. DPA (Democratic Party of Albanians) enters as a coalition partner.

5. Kosovo crises

However, Macedonia was again in the spot light at the beginning of 1999. In the first months of 1999 the war in Kosovo began. NATO threatens intervention. On the 24th of March 1999 the most powerful war machinery in the world attacked Yugoslavia. Macedonia had about 16,000 NATO troops on its territory during the time of the air strikes. In the two and a half months while the war crisis was going on, the Republic of Macedonia had to receive 360,000 refugees, this was between 17-18% percent of the total population. Today the largest numbers of them have returned.

In 1999 the elections for president was held. Boris Trajkovski was elected as a President.

6. On the edge of inter-ethnic war

On the 16th of February 2001 a group of Albanian extremists started a firing on the army of the Republic of Macedonia. Behind the proclaim aim for collective rights of the Albanians in Macedonia, which could be solved through the institution of the system having in mind that the Albanian parties participate in the sharing of the political power, was hidden the real aim: destabilization of the state, and if possible annexation of the north-west parts of Macedonia towards Albania or Kosovo. This little firing for only one month became a real war, when in March in Tetovo in the time when a meeting was organized by three nongovernmental organizations under the slogan "Stop for the State terrorism against the Albanians" started an armed conflict among a group of Albanian extremists, from one side, and police and army from the other side. After this waves of refugees started to leave Tetovo. At the end of the month, under the order of the Supreme commander of the security forces president Boris Trajkovski started an operation for cleaning the Albanian extremist. But the situation had not changed. In a situation when the conflict almost became an ethnic civil war, in May 2001 the Government of political unity was chosen.

In June 2001, the war actions came almost to Skopje. The village Arachinovo, 15 km. far from Skopje, was in the hands of the Albanian so called National Liberation Army (NLA) (Ushtria Çlirimtare Kombetare-UÇK). On the 24th of June the representatives of the Macedonian security forces started an operation for cleaning of the NLA fighters from Arachinovo. When a final blow was expected under the intervention of the representatives of the European Union and NATO, the action was stopped. The NLA fighters, under international protection, were pulled out from the village. Under the pressure of the International Community on the 5th of July the cease fire was signed. But this was respected only from the Macedonian side. The NLA continued with the attacks on Macedonian security forces.

7. Ohrid Agreement and the events after that

After long negotiations on the 8th of August in Ohrid the agreement was reached. On the 13th of August 2001 in Skopje the Framework Agreement was signed by the leaders of International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of the Macedonians for National Unity (IMRO-DPMNU), Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, (SDUM), Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) and Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA), the President Boris Trajkovski and international representatives.

Until the end of the year the process of the implementation of the Framework agreement started in the Constitution and the institutions of the system.

On the 15th of September 2002 the parliamentary elections were held. The coalition "Together for Macedonia" won with 60 representatives in the Parliament. On the 31st of October the new coalition Government was elected with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski. The party of the Albanians in Macedonia, Democratic Union for the Integration became a part of the Government.

The biggest statistic census operation was realized in the period the 1st to the 15th of November. According to the census total population of Macedonia was 2,022,547 from which 1,297,981 were Macedonians (64.18%), Albanians 509,083 (25.17%).

The President Boris Trajkovski died in a plane crash on the 26th of February 2004. On the presidential election of the 28th of April 2004 Branko Crvenkovski was elected as a President of the Republic of Mace-

donia. On the 1st of April 2004 the Agreement for stabilization and association between the EU and the Republic of Macedonia came into power, which was signed on the 9th of April 2001. On the 22nd of March 2004 the Application for membership in EU and NATO was handed over.

On the 5th of July 2006 the fifth parliamentary elections were held. The coalition of IMRO-DPMNU “For better Macedonia” won with 44 representatives in the Parliament. On the 27th of August the new coalition Government was elected with Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski. The Democratic party of the Albanians (DPA) became a part of the Government.

8. NATO summit in Bucharest

From the 2nd to the 4th of April 2008 the Summit of NATO was held in Bucharest. Albania, Croatia and Macedonia were the states, which had to receive invitations to be a part of NATO. Although the Republic of Macedonia fulfilled all the criteria for the membership in NATO, only Albania and Croatia received invitations. The application of the Republic of Macedonia was refused because one of the member states, member of the NATO, determines the invitations with the change of the name of the Republic of Macedonia. The negotiations for the name are still going on under the mediation of the UN. Common acceptable decision for the Republic of Greece and the Republic of Macedonia is a condition for sending an invitation for membership of the Republic of Macedonia in NATO.

Due to some obstructions, which the opposition did and the impossibility the Parliament to bring determinate laws it self-dismissed on the 12th of April 2008 create. Irregular elections were held on the 1st of June. The coalition “For better Macedonia” won with 63 representatives in the Parliament. The new Government was elected on the 26th of July with Prime Minister, Nikola Gruevski. The party of the Albanians from Macedonia, the Democratic Union for Integration became a part of the Government.

After the fall of the Berlin wall democratization processes, which took part in South-east Europe, had reflections in the change of the attitude of some Balkan states toward Macedonian minority in it.

9. Macedonian minority in the neighboring countries

The Republic of Greece, which did not recognize the Macedonian minority, was faced with the formation of the political party of the ethnic Macedonians under the name “Rainbow”. On the 8th of September 1995

they opened an office in Lerin (Florina). In its political Manifesto, “Rainbow” stands for collaboration with all democratic anti-nationalistic forces in Greece in their fight for peace and European integration. They issue the newspaper, “New dawn” (Nova zora).

In the Republic of Bulgaria, instead of the negation of the existence of the Macedonian minority, the ethnic Macedonians formed several associations. The first organization was formed in 1990 under the name United Macedonian Organization (OMO) “Ilinden”. Later on, the United Macedonian Organization “Ilinden-Party for Economic Development and integration of the people” (OMO “Ilinden-PIRIN) distinguishes with its activities. The party was registered as a political party in 1999 and took part in the local elections of the Blagoevgrad Region. In the meantime on the 29th of February 2000 the Constitutional Court of Bulgaria proclaimed the registration of OMO “Ilinden-PIRIN” as unconstitutional and was characterized as separatistic. On the 25th of November 2000 the European Court of Human Rights in Strasburg condemned the Republic of Bulgaria for suppressing the OMO “Ilinden-PIRIN”’s liberty of organizing meetings. The main aims of the organization are: protection of the human rights, “preservation of the spiritual values, traditions and culture of the population from the Pirin Mountains' area and refugees from Vardar and Aegean Macedonia settled throughout Bulgaria” and “condemnation of any form of violence, extremism and nationalism against the persons or their consciences, regardless of whether or not they are exercised by the state, the Party, a group or by individuals.”

Although the status of OMO “Ilinden-PIRIN” was not defined in April 2007 the party became an equal member of the European Freedom Alliance. They issued the newspaper, “People’s will” (“Narodna volja”)

The first organization of the ethnic Macedonians in the Republic of Albania was formed on the 3rd of April 1991 in the village Pustec. After its formation many organizations and associations of the Macedonian minority in Albania were formed. On the 24th of March 2002 in Tirana all organizations and associations of the Macedonian minority united in Community of the Macedonians in Albania. The seat of the Community is Tirana, and the symbol of the Community is Macedonian sixteen leg yellow sun on red base. The program aims of Community are as follows: introduction of the Macedonian language in the compulsory education in Elementary and Secondary schools for the Macedonian students; organization of the new census of the population with separate line for ethnical belongings in census lists; introducing the programs of Macedonian language on the state radio, television and local radio-stations for example.

At the last local elections in the Republic of Albania in 2007, for the first time in its history, Macedonians took part in it with its own political party, the Macedonian alliance for European Integration (MAEI). The Macedonians voted in a large number and they won the mayor post in the municipality of Prespa, Edmund Temelko while MAEI acquired eight posts in the municipality council. They issue the newspaper, “Prespa”.

In Kosovo, the Macedonian minority, which lives in the region of Gora, was also organized in association for the protection of the Macedonian national identity.

In Serbia the Macedonian minority was organized in associations which activity was not suppressed by the Republic of Serbia.

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