



# Macedonian Studies Journal

Journal of the Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies  
Melbourne, Australia  
2014 – Vol. 1 Issue : 1

## The exodus of Macedonians in New World Countries (1880-1940)

By Anastasios Myrodis Tamis

## Ancient Macedonian: A case study

By Georgios Babiniotis

## American Diplomats and Officials on Macedonia and the Macedonian Question during the 1940s

By Charalampos Minasidis

## Twenty years from the Journey Home Twenty years Museum of Byzantine Culture

By Agathoniki Tsilipakou

## Περιοδική Έκδοση Μακεδονικών Σπουδών

Έκδοση του Αυστραλιανού Ινστιτούτου Μακεδονικών Σπουδών  
Μελβούρνη, Αυστραλία  
2014 – Τόμ. 1 Τεύχος : 1

Publication Name : Macedonian Studies Journal

Publisher : Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies

Copyright © Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies  
Macedonian House  
470 Queens Parade  
Clifton Hill  
Melbourne Victoria  
Australia

Telephones of communication: 061394822467  
061394823512

Website : [www.aims.edu.au](http://www.aims.edu.au)

E-mail : [msj@academy.edu.gr](mailto:msj@academy.edu.gr)

Extradition Coordinator: ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES

Website : [www.academy.edu.gr](http://www.academy.edu.gr)

E-mail : [civitas@academy.edu.gr](mailto:civitas@academy.edu.gr)

Year : 2014

Design Issue and custody : Georgios El. Kourtalis

ISBN : 978-0-646-91943-0



*Sponsor Publisher*



**ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΤΖΙΟΛΑ**

Tziola Scientific Publications

Tel: 0030 2310213912

Fax: 0030 2310210729

Email: [info@tziola.gr](mailto:info@tziola.gr)

# Editorial

---



1 *Figure legends and symbols*

The objective of this tribune is to disseminate social sciences and humanities studies on Macedonia and the Macedonians of Hellenic ancestry and descend, hence promoting knowledge, memory and civic competence. The MSJ will provide coordinated and systematic scholarly studies drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, arts, literature, performing arts and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences.

The primary purpose of the MSJ is to encourage students and scholars of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities to research, create knowledge and publish their investigation outcomes on issues and topics concerning the area and the people where Ancient Macedonia flourished in collaboration with other Hellenic states and regions. The MSJ will also incorporate original articles, papers and treatises which depict social studies on Hellenistic, Byzantine and Modern Macedonia as a region of contemporary Hellas and the Hellenic world. In certain cases research outcomes outlining the Bulgarian geographic region of Macedonia and that of FYROM may be also published, providing that they fulfil the requirements of the Journal.

Our mission will be the promotion of diachronic inquiry on Macedonia, its institutions, people and culture, building a relation between the region, its history and civilization with the production and assessment of memory. For it is the sound administration of memory the true, direct and economic way of preserving ethnic, historical and cultural identity; it is through memory that death and darkness could be erased. Our mission also include that younger generation of students could develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world.

The Australian Institute of Macedonian Studies acknowledges the invaluable contribution of our publisher, Tziolas Publishing, in Thessaloniki for their noble generosity and support. We are also indebted to a number of scholars, including Iakovos Michailidis, Konstantinos Karnassiotis and Georgios Kourtalis, who offered innovation and sustainability to the Journal, investing their knowledge, thoughts and expertise and preparing the periodical for publication.

**Macedonian Studies Journal**

# Figure legends and symbols

---

**1** The **Derveni Papyrus** is an ancient Greek manuscript and one of the oldest known literary documents of Europe. Dated to the second half of the 5th century BC. Found in 1962 in the tomb of a noble Derveni. Complete edition (Florence, 2006) of Kouremenos, Parasoglou, Tsantsanoglou. Subsequently became the new fuller reading the first 6 columns of Italian F. Ferrari

<http://dp.chs.harvard.edu/index.php?col=1&ed=multi>

The papyrus kept at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.

Ο Πάπυρος του Δερβενίου είναι αρχαίο ελληνικό χειρόγραφο και ένα από τα αρχαιότερα γνωστά φιλολογικά έγγραφα της Ευρώπης. Χρονολογείται στο δεύτερο ήμισυ του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.. Βρέθηκε το 1962 στον τάφο ενός ευγενούς στο Δερβένι. Πλήρης έκδοση (Φλωρεντία 2006) από, Κουρεμένος, Παράσογλου, Τσαντσάνογλου. Μεταγενεστέρως έγινε νέα, πληρέστερη ανάγνωση των 6 πρώτων στηλών από τον Ιταλό F. Ferrari

<http://dp.chs.harvard.edu/index.php?col=1&ed=multi>

Ο πάπυρος φυλάσσεται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης.



# Board of Directors and Editorial Committee

---

Anastasios M. Tamis (editor), Vasilis Sarafidis (co-editor), Panagiotis Gogidis (secretary), Elias Dionysakos (I.T. expert), Kostas Hatzistavros, Helen Kalamboukas, Theophani Karabatsas, Makis Kaznaxis, Zissis Kozlakidis (I.T. expert), Panagiotis Liveriadis (Chair), Christos Mantzios (treasurer), Terry Stavridis

## ADVISORY COMMITTEE

***Africa:*** Benjamin Hendrick and Euthymios Souloyiannis (Athens Academy)

***America:*** Spyros Vryonis (California State University) and Efrosyne Gavaki (Concordia University)

***Australia:*** Anastasios M. Tamis (Chair) (University of Notre Dame Australia and AIMS), Iakovos Michailidis (co-chair) (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Konstantinos Karnassiotis (co-ordinator) (Chairman of A.I.C., Hellas), Helen Kalamboukas (Monash University and AIMS), Theophani Karabatsas (La Trobe University and AIMS), Panagiotis Gogidis (AIMS), Vasilis Sarafidis (Monash University and AIMS), Terry Stavridis (University of Notre Dame and AIMS), Arthur McDevitt

***Europe:*** Georgios Babiniotis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), Michael Bruneau, Michael Damanakis (University of Crete), George Georgis (University Cyprus), Ioannis Hassiotis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Loukianos Hassiotis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Evanthis Hatzivassiliou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), Kyriacos Hatzikyriakidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Maria Kambouris-Vamvoukou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Kostis Kokkinoftas (Studies Centre Kykkos Monastery, Cyprus), Evangelos Kofos (Former Consultant at the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Artemis Kyriacou-Xanthopoulou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Phaedon Malingoudis (Aristotle Uni

# Board of Directors and Editorial Committee

---

versity of Thessaloniki), Constantinos Ntinias (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Petros Papapolyviou (University Cyprus), Eustathios Pelagidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), Ioannis Liritzis (University of the Aegean), Despina Makropoulou (Director of the 9<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Thessaloniki), Maria Papathanassiou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), Manos Roumeliolis (University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki), Rev. Gregorios - Tilemachos Stamkopoulos (University Ecclesiastical Academy of Thessaloniki), Agathoniki Tsilipakou (Director of Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki) and Dionysios Tanis (Institute for Hellenic Studies- M. Triantafyllidis).



*"Aetolos, Akarnanas, Makedonas ejusdem linguae homines"*  
(T. Livius)

# Table of Contents

---

<i>Ancient Macedonian: A case study</i>	1
GEORGIOS BABINIOTIS, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and president of the Phil-Educational Society of Athens. Hellas	
<i>TRANSGRESSING LIMITS</i>	11
<i>Alexander the Great's chase of the Impossible</i>	
SPYROS SYROPOULOS, Associate Professor of Ancient Greek Literature, Department of Mediterranean Studies, University of the Aegean. Hellas	
<i>The work of Claudius Ptolemy, as the epitome of the Macedonian Legacy in History, and of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Science and Civilization</i>	19
PANAGIOTIS PAPASPIROU, Ph.D. Candidate, Section of Astrophysics, Astronomy and Mechanics, Faculty of Physics, National and Capodistrian University of Athens. Hellas	
XENOPHON MOUSSAS, Professor in Space Physics, Director of the Astronomical Observatory of the University of Athens, Director of Astrophysics Laboratory, Section of Astrophysics, Astronomy and Mechanics, Faculty of Physics, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Hellas	
<i>The exodus of Macedonians in New World Countries (1880-1940)</i>	31
ANASTASIOS MYRODIS TAMIS, Professor in Sociolinguistics and the History of Greek Migration and Settlement, School of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Notre Dame. Australia	
<i>Twenty years from the Journey Home. Twenty years Museum of Byzantine Culture</i>	51
AGATHONIKI TSILIPAKOU, Ph.D. Archaeologist, Director of Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki. Hellas	
<i>American Diplomats and Officials on Macedonia and the Macedonian Question during the 1940s</i>	77
CHARALAMPOS MINASIDIS, School of History & Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Hellas	
<i>Policy and War in the Post-War Balkans. Germany and the Greco-Yugoslavian Issue at the beginning of the 1950s</i>	99
STRATOS N. DORDANAS, Lecturer in History, Department of Balkan, Slavic & Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia. Hellas	
<i>Cinema and Propaganda: An aspect of Bulgarian-Yugoslavian relations in the shadow of the Macedonian Question</i>	107
VASSILIOS S. DIMITRIADIS, Ph.D. candidate, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Hellas	

## *Supplement of the Journal*

<i>Letter about Macedonia, by Professor of Archaeology Stephen G. Miller</i>	119
<i>The bronze portable sundial from Philippi</i>	123
<i>Award of Oecumenic Hellenism</i>	125
ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES	



Άγιος Δημήτριος ο Μυροβλύτης - Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας.  
Επάργυρο εγκόλπιο - φυλακτό (7,1x7,1 εκ.), 19ος αι

Saint Demetrius the myrrh-gusher - Abbey Simon Stone.  
Silver plated medallion - Amulet (7,1 x7, 1 cm), 19th century

## Ancient Macedonian: A case study

GEORGIOS BABINIOTIS, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
and president of the Phil-Educational Society of Athens. Hellas  
Email: [president2@ARSAKEIO.GR](mailto:president2@ARSAKEIO.GR)

### Summary:

*The Macedonian dialect of Greek is known to us through limited written evidence of 100 common nouns and 250 proper nouns. Because of this fact, Macedonian Greek has been preserved only through evidence coming from scholars (lexicographers, grammarians, annotators), especially by scholars concerned with "linguistic curiosities" (what the Greeks called «γλῶσσαι»), i.e. dialectal words or grammatical forms, deviating from official dialects, especially from Attic Greek. The dialect has never been used as an official written language of the Macedonian State; it was a regional oral dialect. The Macedonian language was early replaced in written and oral use with Attic for political reasons. Hence, this Greek dialect has been continuously used in Macedonia from ancient years till today. This has always been known all over the world as the Macedonian language. It was only since 1944 that the Bulgaroserbian Slavic of FYROM started to be used with the pseudonymous name "Macedonian language", a name which has created the confusion in nomenclature.*

### Ancient Greek Language

It is very important to emphasize that what we call "Ancient Greek", classical Greek included, was not a common Greek language but a number of dialect groups (διάλεκτοι) and local dialects (ιδιώματα) of the Greek language, broadly or locally spoken and used as official languages for each City-State. Texts from the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C. till the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. all over Greece show that only dialects (Greek dialects of course, but not common Greek) were spoken and written in Greece, till Alexander the Great. What is unique and worth to be mentioned is that even literature (tragedies, comedies, poetry, prose) was written and performed in dialects, which differed according to the type of literature. There were used, so to say, "literary dialects". The dialectal differentiation of Greek was mainly due to the political system of City-State (each City-State used its own dialect in official documents) and was due also to practical difficulties in communication because of the geographical structure of Greece.

The Greeks used four (4) major dialects to speak and write Greek: *Attic, Ionic, Achaean* and *Doric*. It was only in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. that a common Greek language was established, the so-called *Alexandrian Koine*, based on Attic dialect, with elements of Ionic dialect, and some specific lexical items from Achaean and Doric dialects (like Doric



λοχαγός, Achaeae βροτός, Achaeae ὄνυμα instead of ὄνομα in words like συνώνυμος, ἐπώνυμος etc.).

Alexandrian *Koine* was used till the 4<sup>th</sup> or —according to others—till the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Then, the so-called *Atticistic Greek*, an imitation of classical Attic Greek, actually a scholar language, formed and used since the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. was established in written speech and was upgraded to official language by the Byzantine emperor Justinian [527-265]. Common people, of course, continued speaking a more simple form of Greek, the development of Greek *Koine*, which was to constitute later the so-called δημοτική γλώσσα.

One of the *ancient* Greek dialects spoken in Northern Greece, in Macedonia, was *Macedonian Greek*, a Greek dialect belonging —as I argue— to the Doric dialects or, according to other scholars, being a part of Achaeae dialects group.

### **Macedonian Greek**

For reasons which will be explained, oral —I emphasize oral— Macedonian Greek is known to us through limited written evidence: only 350 words (100 common nouns and 250 proper nouns). No texts. The crucial question is *why?* The answer is that Macedonian dialect has never been used as official written language of Macedonian State. That simple! Macedonian dialect was used only as oral language and, *mutatis mutandis*, could be compared to the dialects used today in Greece (what people speak, for instance, in Crete or in Mani or in Trikala or in Corfu or in Tsakonia or in Siatista): that is to say, dialects which are spoken but not written, especially in official documents.

Because of this fact, Macedonian Greek has been preserved only through evidence coming from scholars (lexicographers, grammarians, annotators), especially by scholars concerned with “*linguistic curiosities*” (what the Greeks called «γλῶσσα»), i.e. dialectal words or grammatical forms, deviating from official dialects, especially from Attic Greek.

It is important to clarify, however, that what we miss is oral dialect evidence, not evidence of the official state language, of documents (inscriptions, decrees, texts etc.). There are thousands of such documents of the official written Macedonian Greek, which was the classical Attic dialect. It was this dialect which was early established as official language of Macedonian State by King Philipp, Alexander’s father. That happened, of course, due to the high political and cultural prestige that Attic dialect had among ancient Greek dialects and, mainly, due to the political aspirations inside and outside Greece that king Philipp had.

### **On the Greekness of Ancient Macedonian**

Everybody, familiar with Greek language, will easily recognize as Greek ancient Macedonian words like:

(a) *Common nouns*:

ἀγκάλις “ἄχθος. καὶ δρέπανον Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχιος] (“sickle” from its resemblance with the form of embrace [ἀγκάλη])

<u>ἄγχαρμον</u>	«άνωφερῇ τὴν αἰχμήν, <b>κάγχαρμον</b> · τὸ τὴν λόγχην ἄνω ἔχειν» [Ἡσύχ.] (<ἄνα χάρμαν<ἄνω χάρμην “pick up the lance”)
<u>ἄκρουνοί</u>	«ὄροι· ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων» [Ἡσύχ.] (<ἄκρα “boundaries”)
<u>ἀμαλή</u>	«ἀμαλή· ἢ ἀπαλή. ἢ δὲ λέξις Μακεδόνων» [Μέγα Ἑτυμ.] (“soft”)
<u>ἄργελλα</u>	«οἶκημα Μακεδονικόν, ὅπερ θερμαίνοντες λούονται» [Σούδα] (“a construction made of [ἄργιλλος] clay»)
<u>ἀργίπους</u>	«ἀετός· Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (“swift-footed, eagle”)
<u>ἄρκον</u>	«ἄρκον· σχολήν. Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (= ἀργός inactive)
<u>κάραβος</u>	«ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἡ πύλη» [Ἡσύχ.] (“gate”)
<u>κεβαλά</u>	[Μέγα Ἑτυμ.] (“head”)
<u>κοράσιον</u>	Σχολιαστής Ὁμήρου «εἰ δὲ τρέποιτο τὸ <b>ἡ</b> εἰς <b>α</b> παρὰ Δωριεῦσι διὰ τοῦ <b>α</b> <i>πρυνάσιον, κορυφάσιον</i> . Οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ <i>κοράσιον</i> , ὃ μᾶλλον ἐστὶ Μακεδονικόν» (“girl”)
<u>νικάτωρ</u>	[Πολύβιος] (“victorious, unconquerable, invincible”)
<u>παραός</u>	«ἀετός· Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (<παρώως /παρώς “grey-red” color for eagle)
<u>πέλιος</u>	[Στράβων] «ὅτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ Μολοττοὺς τὰς γρᾶϊας <i>πελίας</i> καὶ τοὺς γέροντας <i>πελίους</i> ὀνομάζουσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι» (“old man, ambassador, deputy”)
<u>πεζαίτερος</u>	(“infantry-men”)
<u>χάρων</u>	«ὃ λέων κατὰ Μακεδόνας» [Σχολ. Λυκόφρ.] (“lion”)

(b) *Proper nouns:*

Ἀέροπος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλκέτας, Ἀμύντας, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀργαῖος, Ἀρριδαῖος, Ἀρχέλαος, Ἀταλάντη, Γυγαία, Εὐρυδίκη, Εὐρυνόη, Εὐρώπη, Κάρανος, Κάσανδρος, Κλεοπάτρα, Κοινός, Κρατερός, Μελέαγρος, Μενέλαος, Ὀρέστης, Πανσανίας, Περδίκκας, Πολυπέρχων, Πτολεμαῖος, Στρατονίκη, Σωσθένης, Φίλα, Φίλιππος.

• It is remarkable that in the linguistic feeling, the experience, the knowledge and the awareness of Ancient Greeks all over Greece, especially those concerned with the language, Macedonian dialect was considered and frequently referred to as one of the Greek dialects, spoken by the Greeks.

**Hesychios**, a Greek lexicographer of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., has collected the so-called *γλῶσσαι* (“queer”, rare, or unknown in meaning or form words from Greek dialects) and has written comments on them. Examples:

<u>ἀκόντιον</u>	δοράτιον, μικράλόγχη· Μακεδόνες· ῥάχιν δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος μέρος Ἀγριανῶν Αἰολεῖς. (“small glance”)
<u>ἄσπιλος</u>	<u>χείμαρος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων</u> . (“torrent – goat”)
<u>γώπας</u>	<u>κολοιούς· Μακεδόνες</u> . (“magpie” [a kind of bird])
<u>Ζειρήνη</u>	<u>Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ</u> .
<u>κάραβος</u>	ἔδεσμα, ὥς φασιν, ὠπτημένον ἐπ’ ἀνθρώκων· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν <u>Μακεδόνων</u> ἡ <u>πύλη</u> · καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς <u>ξηροῖς ξύλοις σκωλήκια</u> · καὶ τὸ <u>θαλάττιον ζῶον</u> . (“shrimp – gate”)

**ματτύης** ἡ μὲν φωνὴ Μακεδονική, ὄρνις· καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ζωμοῦ αὐτοῦ λάχανα περιφερόμενα. [Ἀθήναιος : «*ματτύην* ὠνόμαζον πᾶν τὸ πολυτελὲς ἔδεσμα [...] εἴτε ἰχθὺς εἴη, εἴτε ὄρνις, εἴτε λάχανον, εἴτε ἱερεῖον, εἴτε πεμμάτιον»] (“gourmet food”)

- Macedonian is only one among Greek dialects, from which Hesychios collects his *γλῶσσαι*, with no special distinction or differentiation from the other dialects. Examples :

**ἄβαгна·** ῥόδα **Μακεδόνες.**  
**ἀβάθων·** διδάσκαλος Κύπριοι  
**ἀβελιακόν·** ἡλιακὸν Παμφύλιοι  
**ἀβρανίδας·** κροκωτοὺς Λάκωνες.  
**ἀβρεμής·** ἀβλεπής Κύπριοι καὶ Θετταλοί.  
**ἀβροῦτες·** ὀφρῦς **Μακεδόνες.**  
**ἀβώρ·** ἡ ὡς Λάκωνες

- According to **Herodotus**, the renowned Greek historian, “the father of history” (5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), the Greek Dorians lived in the region of Mountain Pindos and their original name was *Macedonians* and it was only later that they came to Peloponnese :

«Τὸ Δωρικόν, πολυπλάνητον κάρτα ... οἷκε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ... ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη».

- The same historian states that the Spartans and Corinthians as well as the citizens of Sicyon, of Epidaurus and of Troizen were a Dorian and Macedonian «ἔθνος»  
 «Δωρικὸν καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες».

- More characteristic is the epigram about a girl named Κοπρία:

«Οὔνομα μὲν [δηλ. Κοπρία] Μακέταις ἐπιχώριον· οὐνε καμεμφθῆ μηδὲ ἐνί· Κοπρίαν μ' ὠνόμασαν γενέται».

She apologizes that her name is ill-sounding (it comes from the word κόπρος which means “dung”, “manure”) but she explains that it is a name used by Macedonians (Μακέται as well as Μακεδνοί are parallel ancient forms for Μακεδόνες). Therefore she asks that nobody blames her for it; after all, it were her parents who gave her that name !

- In the well-known etymological dictionary of 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. under the title *Μέγα Ἑτυμολογικόν* (*Etymologicum Magnum*) the unknown lexicographer (rather a compiler of ancient information) refers to the etymology of the goddess name Ἀφροδίτη (Venus). He argues that Ἀφροδίτη comes from Ἀβροδίατη «delicately fed”. What is worth here to highlight is that the grammarian spontaneously uses Macedonian dialect to explain phonetically the name of Ἀφροδίτη. He argues that the name derives from ἀβροδίατη, and in order to justify the presence of -β- instead of -φ- that occurs in Ἀφροδίτη, he calls to Macedonian in which β occurs instead of φ. I quote:



«Ο δὲ Δίδυμος παρὰ τὸ ἀβρόν τῆς διαίτης ... το β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστι· δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνας μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖ καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν βαλακρὸν καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας Βρύγας καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσήτας, βύκτας.

• Another grammarian derives etymologically the noun κεφαλή from the verb κυφῶ / κυφοῦσθαι, based on a word used by Hippocrates for head, again with β instead of φ, the word κύβητος and the corresponding word κεβλήν of Macedonian. Once again he explains that β stands for φ in this dialect :

«κεφαλή· ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκυφῶσθαι, ἡγουν κεκάμφαι [...] καὶ Ἰπποκράτης κύβητον, Μακεδόνες δὲ κεβλήν, τὸ β ἀντὶ τοῦ φ λαμβάνοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Βερενίκης· Φερενίκη γάρ ἐστιν».

• Most important is the fact that the famous grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, the author of «Περὶ συντάξεως» (whose nickname was «δύσκολος»), in his explanation of the formation of Homeric nouns ending in -α instead of -ης (νεφεληγερέτα instead of νεφεληγερέτης, ἰππότα instead of ἰππότης etc.) he argues that this noun formation comes either from Macedonian or from Thessalian dialect. This means that the famous grammarian felt that Macedonian was a very old Greek dialect, which could be used to explain even some peculiar Homeric forms:

«ἡ κλητικὴ ἀντ' εὐθειῶν παραλαμβάνεται κατὰ Μακεδονικὸν ἢ Θεσσαλικὸν ἔθος, ὡς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιστῶσαντο».

### Against the genuine character of Ancient Macedonian

Two main linguistic arguments were used in the past against the genuine Greek character of Ancient Macedonian:

- (i) The occurrence of the sounds β, γ, δ instead of φ, θ, χ :

Βίλιππος instead of Φίλιππος

Βερενίκη instead of Φερενίκη

κεβαλά instead of κεφαλά

- (ii) The great number of loan words in Macedonian.

In terms of these two linguistic data it has been argued in the past by a very small number of linguists that Macedonian was a separate “mixed language”, a mixture of Greek with Illyrian and Thracian.

- (iii) Regarding the first argument, the consonants written with β/δ/γ/ were not pronounced as b d g (voiced stops) but as v đ ɣ (voiced spirants or fricatives), just like as they are pronounced in Modern Greek, going back to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. This means that this phonological pattern anticipated what was later generalized in all Greek. As v đ ɣ could easily interchange with the phonetically similar sounds f/ θ/ χ/ (they were both spirants or fricatives), to which they had very early

changed the originally *p/h/t/h/k/h/* consonants of this dialect (the so-called aspirate stops).

This means that in Ancient Macedonian Greek there has taken place very early a phonological development (named *spirantisation* or *devoicing*) which was generalized later in Greek, being the most prolific characteristic of Greek consonantism in the transition from Ancient Greek to *Koine* Greek and to Modern Greek. This has been my theoretical explanation of the issue, published in a paper under the title "*Mediae question in Ancient Macedonian Greek reconsidered*", (to honour Oswald Szemerényi), an explanation which has been almost generally accepted for the phonological structure of Ancient Macedonian.

Thus, far from being a non-Greek feature, this phonological development ( $\beta/ \delta/ \gamma/$  to be pronounced as  $v \text{ } \text{d}g$ , and  $\varphi/ \theta/ \chi/$  as  $f/ \theta/ \chi/$ ) proves to be an early systemic tendency of Greek towards a more symmetrical consonantal system, which came to be the overall characteristic of the phonological system of Greek since the time of *Koine* Greek. This change was so early achieved in Macedonian dialect, because —as we said— it was only orally used and major changes were not "blocked" by the conventional and conservative character of written language.

As to the second argument, regarding the loan-words from neighboring languages (Illyrian and Thracian), there is no reason to deny it as this is a frequent and common fact among neighboring peoples, especially at that region and in that time. This is a usual case which in no way consists an argument for "*a mixed language*" or for "*a distortion*" of the character of Greek language.

#### **Ancient Macedonian dialect: Achaean or Doric?**

There has been a long discussion among linguists as to which dialectal group Macedonian dialect belongs to. There have been three views:

- (i) **The Aeolean (Achaean) view.** It was mainly argued by the German linguist Otto Hoffmann (1906), the one who first proved that Ancient Macedonian is pure Greek. According to this view, Macedonian shares more linguistic features to be found in Northern Achaean, the so-called *Aeolian group*, to which there belong also ancient Thessalian, Boeotian and Lesbian dialects
- (ii) **The Doric view.** This view was mainly argued by I. Kalleris (1954) (According to it, Ancient Macedonian dialect should be classified within the group of Doric or the Northwestern group, together with Epirotic, Phocian (Delphic), Locrian and Eolian.
- (iii) **The mixed or "Aeolodorian" view.** That was actually the view of the famous Greek linguist George Hadzidakis (1896). According to him Ancient Macedonian (together with Pamphylian dialect in Minor Asia) could make up a dialectal group within Northwestern (that is within Doric group), as a kind of "a sub-group".

On the basis of new linguistic arguments I have argued since 1988 (Tamis, 1992) on the occasion of the *1<sup>st</sup> International Congress Of Macedonian Studies*, organized at La Trobe University by Prof. Anastasios Tamis, that *“The Macedonian dialect, although it is presented with certain elements which are considered Achaean, has crucial Doric characteristics or, more precisely, belongs to the northwestern Greek dialects. The arguments in favor of this position are primarily based on the phonological and less on the grammatical structure of the Macedonian dialect and constitute, in my opinion, strong evidence regarding the Doric character of this dialect.”* Let me mention, by the way, that in a very recent book of 2012, published in Greece by the *Centre for Greek Language*, entitled *“Ancient Macedonia : Language, History, Culture”*, Professor Julian Mendez Dosuna (University of Barcelona) has come to the same result, after having considered all aspects of research conducted on the Ancient Macedonian dialect.

**(i) Phonological level.** What I have proved is that a number of characteristic features of the Achaean dialects, which would lead to classify Ancient Macedonian to the Achaean or Aeolic dialects group, are not found in Macedonian:

Maced. *δράμις* “a kind of bread”, but Achaean *\*δρόμις*  
Maced. *δάρυλλος* “oak”, but Achaean *\*δόρυλλος*  
Maced. *κο(μ)μάραι* “shrimps”, but Achaean *\*κομμόραι*  
Maced. *Κράτερος* (proper name), but Achaean *\*Κρότερος*  
Maced. *ζέρεθρον* (<*δέρεθρον*) “abyss”, but Achaean *βέρεθρον*  
Maced. *αἰδῶσσα* “hall”, but Achaean *αἴθοισα*, Att. *αἴθουσα*

**(ii) Grammatical level.** In contrast, on grammatical level a number of characteristics of Macedonian are to be found mainly in Doric dialects:

*κεβαλά, λακεδάμα – ψευδάνωρ, κοράσιον, νικάτωρ*

*(τοῦ) Πανσανία, Ἀμύντα, Περδίκκα* (genitive)

*(τῶν) πελιγᾶν (= πελιγῶν)* (genitive plural)

*ἡμεροδρόμας (= ἡμεροδρόμος), βουκεφάλας (=βουκέφαλος)* (-ας formation instead of -ος)

**(iii) Lexical level.** Regarding the lexical level (the words of Macedonian dialect) Kalleris argues: *“It is enough to take a look at [...] the number of words found in each one of these [Macedonian and Doric] to realize that most of these words are common to Macedonian and to the Doric dialects in the broader sense (i.e. the main Doric and the northwestern), while few of them are common to Macedonian and the Aeolian dialects. This is something which allows us to come to the conclusion that Macedonian was closely related to the dialects of the first group (the Doric), but it also presents certain similarities to the Aeolian dialects”.*

**Conclusion.** On all levels (phonological, grammatical and lexical) common structural features of Macedonian and Doric lead us to classify Macedonian within the Doric, especially the Northwestern group of Doric dialects.

**The linguistic truth for the pseudonymous “Macedonian language” of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)**

I call to your attention now; read the following sentence:

*Da vi go pretstavamsina mi Blazeta ... Mu ja dador na Petrataknigata ... Go razbivaliperacot*

Does anybody who knows Greek, would recognize these phrases as Greek or as anything to do with Macedonian Greek spoken in Macedonia, in Northern Greece for centuries? Yet this token of language is precisely the one which is called “*Macedonian language*” by the leadership and the people of FYROM since 1944, when this district (which was known from 1918 as “*Vardaska Banovina*”) was renamed by Tito to “*Macedonia*”. It is evident that only a completely distinctive name like *Skopja* would be suitable to denote the identity of this recent entity. As the only reason for FYROM to call their country *Macedonia* is the geographical position of this recent state, another possibility —which has been proposed by some scholars— would be a composite name like “*Slavomacedonia*” or “*Vardar Macedonia*”, which would respond to both the historical truth and geographic reality, if in this way coincidence and identification with the established name of Greek Macedonia could be avoided in practice, which I personally doubt. That FYROM, however, insists on the name “*Macedonia*” is only a provocation and an evident intention to confuse the name of Greek Macedonia with the very recent (since 1944) name of FYROM, a fact that can only serve political aspirations.

What about the “*Macedonian language*” of FYROM? Does it have any relation to ancient or modern Macedonian Greek? As it is clear from the examples illustrated above, it has nothing to do with the language spoken in Greek Macedonia. The language spoken in FYROM is a mixture of Slavic language, based on Bulgarian and artificially adjusted to Serbian. The real name of FYROM’s language —coming from its origin and its structure— would be *Bulgaroserbian* or *Serbobulgarian* or *Neoslavic* or *Slavic of Skopia*. It was Bulgarian which was spoken at this area, before this geographical region came to consist a part of Yugoslav Federation, governed by Tito. And it was the Bulgarians who always claimed that this territory belongs to them and who blamed FYROM’s government inventing an artificial Serbian language by substituting Bulgarian words and structural elements with Serbian, so that this language does not look like Bulgarian. And it was the Bulgarians who used to call this artificial language “*kolisefskian Serbian*” (after the name of the first prime-minister of Skopia, of Lazar Kolisefki).

All these agree with what great linguists teach about the Slavic language of FYROM. **Vitore Pisani**, one of the most famous Italian linguists, has written that “*In reality the term ‘Macedonian language’ is a product of an essentially political origin*”. Also the French Slavologist **Andre Vaillant** highlights that “*the name Bugari is in reality the national name of the Slavs of ‘Macedonia’ [he means FYROM], which indicates that the Slavs of this region accepted the name that the Serbians gave to them*”. He also argues that the Slavic spoken in Skopia goes back to Old Slavic and belongs to the Bulgarian dialects. Finally, **Heinz Wendt**, a German linguist, referring to Slavic languages, says “*Bulgarian and Macedonian, due to their*

*outstanding structural particularities, should be considered as a separate Slavic group and be distinguished from all other Slavic languages”.*

## Conclusion

From what has been said they are evident, I hope, two things:

- (i) Ancient Macedonian dialect, which was spoken in Greek Macedonia was a pure Greek dialect used for oral communication, a Greek dialect classified within the Doric, esp. the Northwestern group of Greek dialects. It was early replaced in written and oral use with Attic for political reasons. This Greek dialect has been continuously used in Greek Macedonia from ancient years till today. This has always been known all over the world as the Macedonian language. It was only since 1944 that the Bulgaroserbian Slavic of FYROM started to be used with the fictitious name *“Macedonian language”*, a name which has created the confusion described above.
- (ii) Equally disorienting is the fictitious name of FYROM as *“Macedonia”*, based on a geographical definition of this new Yugoslav state, which intentionally —for political reasons— used a national name causing confusion with the preexisting for more than 25 centuries name of Greek Macedonia. The fact that the political leaders of FYROM constantly refer to Philipp and Alexander the Great as their predecessors convinces that it is not a mere historical misinterpretation but a striking case of *“stolen history”*; the very name of the Greek Macedonia and the name of the Greek Macedonian language were adopted to denote a country and a language which have nothing to do with Greek Macedonia.

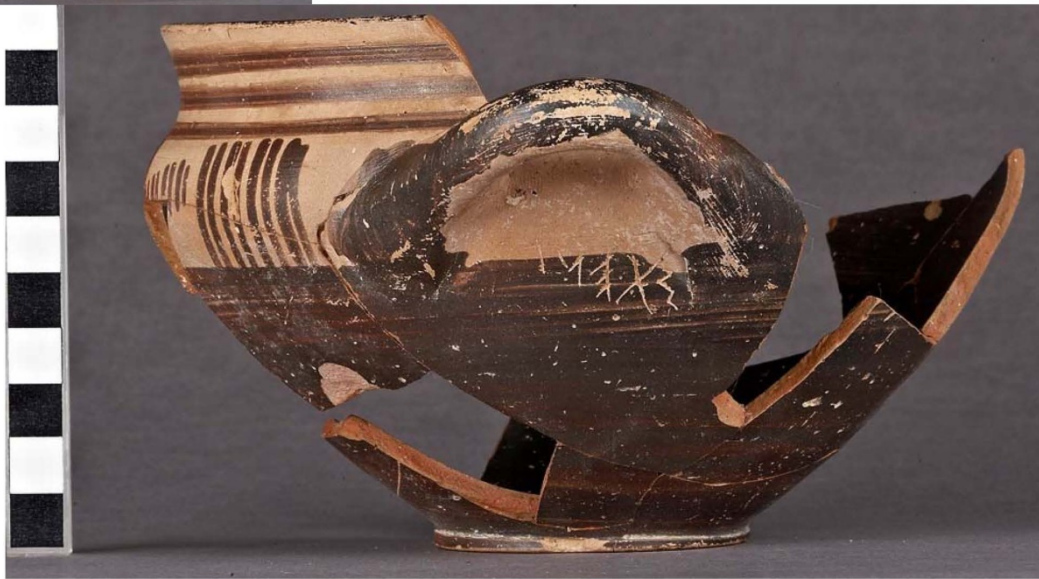
## Bibliography:

- G. Babiniotis (1992), “The Macedonian Language” in A. M. Tamis (ed.) *Macedonian Hellenism*, River Seine Press, Melbourne.
- Julian Mendez Dosuna (2012), *Ancient Macedonia : Language, History, Culture*, Centre for Greek Language, Athens
- G. Hatzidakis (1896), *Du Caractère hellénique des anciens Macédoniens*, Athens.
- O. Hoffmann (1906), *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Gottingen
- I. Kalleris (1954), “Les Anciens Macedoniens” in *Etude linguistique et historique*, 2 volumes I, II [1974]).
- Γ. Δ. Μπαμπινιώτης (ed.) (1992), *Η Γλώσσα της Μακεδονίας. Η Αρχαία Μακεδονική και η Ψευδώνυμη Γλώσσα των Σκοπίων*, Ολκός, Αθήνα.
- Γ.Δ. Μπαμπινιώτης (1989), «Η θέση της Μακεδονικής στις Αρχαίες Ελληνικές Διαλέκτους», *Γλωσσολογία*, τ. 7-8, σσ. 53-69, Αθήνα.





περίπου 700 π.Χ. σε σκύφο από  
τον Θερμαϊκό Κόλπο επί τα λαιά  
όνομα συντομογραφημένο



*vacat* Σχενι() *vacat* (= <Χσ>ενι())

Photo from ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES

CONFERENCE : ALEXANDER, THE GREEK COSMOS - SYSTEM AND CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL SOCIETY

*The inscriptions of ca. 700 BC from Methone in Pieria, Macedonia*

YANNIS Z. TZIFOPOULOS, Professor of Greek and Epigraphy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Hellas

*Οι Επιγραφές του 700 περ. π.Χ. από την Μεθώνη Πιερίας στη Μακεδονία*

ΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ Ζ. ΤΖΙΦΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Καθηγητής Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας και Επιγραφικής, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Ελλάς

Photo. 19: *Methone I*- *Μεθώνη I*, 369-370 no. 22

# TRANSGRESSING LIMITS

## Alexander the Great's chase of the Impossible

SPYROS SYROPOULOS, Associate Professor of Ancient Greek Literature  
Department of Mediterranean Studies,  
University of the Aegean. Hellas  
E-mail: [siropoulos@rhodes.aegean.gr](mailto:siropoulos@rhodes.aegean.gr)

The exceptional is not always easy to define. In the era of limitless scientific possibilities and technological advantages, of which we are part, achievement in any field seems at least provisional. For the inquisitive mind and the restless desire to excel, there are today the means to assist the process of fulfilling one's ambitions. Therefore, it might be hard to fathom the uniqueness of the circumstances that informed the achievements and the magnitude of a personality as Great as Alexander the Third of the royal dynasty of Argeadai, the heir of Philip the Second of Macedonia.

Alexander's birth in 356 B.C. was the third good news Philip II had heard that year. His chariot had just won at the Olympic Games and his second-in-command, Parmenio, had defeated the neighboring Illyrioi, who had always questioned the borders of the realm that Philip had established with much difficulty. Parmenio's victory meant for Philip the securing of his state, at least geographically. His victory at Olympia not only meant that Philip was undisputedly Greek, but that he also surpassed in excellence many of his compatriots. This, combined with the good news of an heir for the throne of Pella, meant that Philip could now lead the Greeks to a Panhellenic war against Persia. It also meant for some, that this newborn child would be thrice invincible.<sup>1</sup> No one could have predicted the course that history would run and the way things would turn for Philip and his son.

Alexander's whole life course has been a tribute to the exceptional, as if he had dedicated himself to the service of the impossible – or rather, the surpassing of what others considered impossible. It is partly due to the lack of contemporary source material for his reign and partly due to the enigmatic nature of his personality that he is established as one of the most fascinating personages in the history of mankind.<sup>2</sup> His intentions, regarding politics and new-world ethics have fascinated researchers from a long time ago. C. A. Robinson, Jr.,

---

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 3: . Φιλίππῳ δ' ἄρτι Ποτεΐδαιαν ἡρηκότι τρεῖς ἤκον ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὺς ἡττῆσθαι μάχῃ μεγάλῃ διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπίασιν ἵππῳ κέλῃτι νενικηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐφ' οἷς ἡδόμενον ὥς εἰκὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάντεις ἐπῆραν, ἀποφαινόμενοι τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγεννημένον ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the introduction of Earl I. McQueen to Spyros D. Syropoulos, *The Goat's Skin. The Other Side of Alexander the Great's Power*, (in Greek: *To Δέρμα του Τράγου. Το άλλο πρόσωπο της εξουσίας του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου*).d. Herodotus, Thessaloniki 2003, p. 13.

stressed this, stating that “examining Alexander's attitude toward the oecumene or “inhabited world,” the one thing in his entire life which doubtless has the greatest fascination and value for our mid-twentieth century society. We must ask ourselves, what was Alexander's motive in ordering his deification, what plans of world conquest did he have, what was his constitutional relationship to Greeks and barbarians, and what, especially perhaps, were his feelings toward race and race mixture and the idea that the world is one?”<sup>3</sup>

His achievements were, indeed, so illustrious, that conscious propaganda regarding his exceptional origins was undertaken by various people, perhaps without little personal gain for themselves. Thus his earliest biographers, garmented the account of the future emperor's birth by the manifestation of impressive physical phenomena, such as lightings, thunderstorms and the inexplicable collapse of temples in distant places, which meant the collapse of the Persian Empire:

Ἐγεννήθη δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἱσταμένου μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῶον καλοῦσιν, ἔκτη, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνεπρήσθη νεῶς· ὃ γ' Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκεν ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι τὴν πυρκαϊάν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμενον· εἰκότως γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νεῶν, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβοντες ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τὸν νεῶν πάθος ἡγούμενοι πάθους ἐτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διέθεον, τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι καὶ βοῶντες ἅτην ἅμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκένοι.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander showed from an early start the innate desire to prove himself in any circumstances rendered impossible. Alexander's father was a fine huntsman and horseman – a notion reinforced by the archaeological excavations at Vergina that unearthed the ritual killing of horses in a pyre believed to be the funeral pyre of Philip II. Thus, Demochares from Thessaly, wishing to placate Philip offered him a fine, yet unbroken in, steed, for the great sum of 13 talents. To the king's disappointment, no man could ride the horse. No man, but Alexander, that is. The sixteen-year old heir of the throne realized that the horse was agitated by its own shadow cast on the ground. Alexander turned its head against the sun and mounted the steed to everyone's surprise. “This kingdom is too small for you”, exclaimed Philip in admiration, “you must search for another”.<sup>5</sup> Alexander made sure he obeyed the paternal advice. It is said, that his only concern, while still an heir to the throne, was that his father's achievements would leave little things for him to do, few places for him to conquer. Little could he have known that he was soon to lead the expedition against Persia – an expedition that was devised by Philip himself long ago.

Only his untimely death by a mysterious assassination put a halt to Philip's plan of invading Persia. For many Greeks, it was presented as an avenging war, to punish the Persians for the burning of the temples in the invasion of 480 B.C. For others, it was the only way to eliminate the ever-present threat from the East. However, this war was dictated by the

---

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, C. H. Jr., “Alexander the Great and the Oecumene”, *Hesperia Supplements*, Vol. 8. Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear (1949), pp. 299-304, 299.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 3.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 6.

---



need to subterfuge internal political strife, caused mainly by economical dead-ends at the end of the classical period in Greece.<sup>6</sup> The expedition was a unifying process for the Greek cities, albeit not a political panacea, as it was to be proved soon.

Putting aside the obvious, that is liberation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor and revenge for the Greek losses during the Persian war, more than a century and a half earlier<sup>7</sup>, Alexander's motives are a mystery to all<sup>8</sup>. «There is no way of knowing the extent of Alexander's ambition when he crossed to Asia in 334 BC, but it is a good guess that it was not modest. Back of him, at the end of the fifth century, lay the amazing fact that 10.000 and more Greeks had been able to march with Xenophon and the young Cyrus to the very gates of Babylon and, though defeated, return alive. Earlier in Alexander's own century, the Spartan King Agesilaus, had enjoyed considerable success in Asia Minor, and, of course, Philip, Alexander's father had been ready to march against the Persian empire at the time of his murder (336 B.C.).<sup>9</sup>

Accomplishments of predecessors seemed only to spur him on. For Alexander, such an expedition was the chance to transgress the geographical limits of his country and seek glory by attempting feats that no man, or indeed, god, had achieved before. The latter is evident in an account by Quintus Curtius Rufus: in the autumn of 333 BC, the Macedonian army's encountered the Persian forces under the command of King Darius III himself at a mountain pass at Issus in northwestern Syria. 30,000 Greeks again formed a sizable addition to the Darius' army as elite fighters and were positioned directly against the Macedonian phalanx. Describing the atmosphere before a battle, the Roman historian Curtius explained how Alexander raised the morale of the Macedonians, Greeks, Illyrians, and Thracians in his army, one at the time:

“Riding to the front line he (Alexander) named the soldiers and they responded from spot to spot where they were lined up. The Macedonians, who had won so many battles in Europe and set off to invade Asia ... got encouragement from him - he reminded them of their permanent values. They were the world's liberators and one day they would pass the frontiers set by Hercules and Father Liber. They would subdue all races on Earth. Bactria and India would become Macedonian provinces.”<sup>10</sup>

Darius's army greatly outnumbered the Macedonians, but the Battle of Issus ended in a big victory for Alexander. Tens of thousands of Persians, Greeks, and other Asiatic soldiers

---

<sup>6</sup> S. Syropoulos, *Τα μετά τον Αλέξανδρο. Οι φυγόκεντρες δυνάμεις των ελληνιστικών βασιλείων*, ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ 2005 (*The things after Alexander. The centrifugal potencies of the Hellenistic Kingdoms, 323-381 BC*), pp. 74-75.

<sup>7</sup> Arrian, II, 25, 3.

<sup>8</sup> His intentions were definitely not to bind the newly liberated cities of Asia Minor to the Corinthian League, to which he presided as general. Instead of doing that he declared them as free and independent allies of him. Cf. Flower, M., “Alexander the Great and Panhellenism”, in Bosworth A. B. & Baynham, E. J. (edd.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford, OUP 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson, C. A. Jr., “The Extraordinary Ideas of Alexander the Great”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (Jan. 1957) 326-244, 327.

<sup>10</sup> Q. Curtius Rufus 3.10.4-10.

were killed and king Darius fled in panic before the Macedonian phalanx, abandoning his mother, wife, and children behind. Alexander treated them with the respect out of consideration for their royalty.<sup>11</sup>

One particular episode from the vast collection of anecdotes that surround him is his meeting with the cynic philosopher Diogenes the Dog (*Kyn* in Greek), who preached that happiness is attained by satisfying only one's natural needs and by satisfying them in the cheapest and easiest way. Alexander was fond of philosophy, his interest cultivated by his teacher, Aristotle. It is also a fact that philosophers, such as Anaxarchus, accompanied him to the depths of Asia. When Alexander visited Athens, he wished to be acquainted with the famous Diogenes, who lived in extreme poverty and rejecting all conventions. He stood in front of him and asked him what he could do for him. Diogenes, unfazed, asked Alexander to move aside, for he was blocking the sun, in which he was basking. Impressed by his attitude, Alexander declared that were he not Alexander, he would have wanted to be Diogenes.<sup>12</sup> This is the declaration of Alexander's wish to differ by reaching the edge. Diogenes represented the ultimate abandonment, whereas Alexander served the other extreme, the ultimate motivation. In any case, Aristotle's tutoring was not enough to manipulate Alexander's independent spirit. It is known that Aristotle was an advocate of a certain natural selection of people<sup>13</sup>. He had advised Alexander to treat the "barbarians" of the East, as if they were animals. Alexander did not adhere to his tutor's advice.<sup>14</sup> Not only he respected the nations he conquered, but also he allowed Persian nobles to be part of his military and administrative system, something that would have been otherwise impossible.<sup>15</sup>

Phenomenal difficulties seemed only to spur him forward. In the spring of 334 B.C., he had reached the river Granicus, after a successful and relatively untroubled march through hostile territory. The Persian army was lined along the high bank of the river and Alexander would have to cross it vertically, against enemies who had the apparent advantage as they stood on higher ground. The experienced general Parmenio, Philip's and Alexander's second-in-command, advised the young king to avoid the crossing of the Granicus, at least until the following morning. "I cannot do that", answered Alexander, saying that "if the Hellespont did not deter me, a little ditch will not stop me". He spurred his horse and jumped first into the water<sup>16</sup>. The result of the battle was a vital victory for Alexander, who escaped death only by the intervention of his friend Cleitus, who intercepted an enemy lance with his own body. This attitude is indicative of his whole course. Alexander always fought in

---

<sup>11</sup> Murison, C. L., "Darius III and the battle of Issus", *Historia* 21 (1972) 399-423.

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 14. Cf. Laërtius, *Diogenes* (1972) [1925]. "Διογένης". *Βίοι καὶ γνώμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκίμησάντων* [*Lives of eminent philosophers*]. Volume 2. translated by Robert Drew Hicks (Loeb Classical Library ed.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

<sup>13</sup> For example, he does not reject the idea of slavery and the fact that some people were meant to be slaves. Aristotle, *Politics* VII, 1328b and 1330a. Just like Plato, he thought that "barbarians" are slaves by nature (Aristotle, *Politics* I, 1252b).

<sup>14</sup> Merlan, P., "Isocrates, Aristotle and Alexander the Great", *Historia* 3 (1954) 60-81.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the appointment of satrapies to Persians, Arrian I, 23, 7; II, 4,2. Also, Badian, E., "The administration of the Empire", *G&R* 1964) 192-205; Griffith, G. T., "Alexander the Great and an experiment in government", *PCPA* 190 (1964) 23-39; Cartledge, P., *Alexander the Great. The Hunt for a New Past*, 2004 (here utilized the Greek edition, by Livanis editions, 2005) pp. 243-244

<sup>16</sup> Hammond, N.G.L., "The battle at the Granicus river", *JHS* 100 (1980) 73-88.

the first ranks, often running the risk of being fatally injured. It was his generals' biggest fear. If Alexander was killed, not only the expedition would fail, but also internal strife would break up in the Macedonian royal court once again, just like the bloody period that followed Philip's death. Alexander had not married and had not left a legal heir to the throne before he departed from Macedonia. The success of the expedition and the political stability of Macedonia depended upon this fearless, almost reckless young leader, who never held back when danger was present. And he seems often to have done the impossible. Until his death, his army had marched 18.000 km in 8,5 years. To lead and sustain an army on hostile ground is not easy, especially back then. But Alexander did it. First, he changed the very image of his army. Heavy and dysfunctional carriages were abolished. The armour became lighter and every man carried his own provisions and weaponry. This was an idea of Philip, who had tried it to invade his neighboring mountainous regions, but it had never been tested in such an extent. Alexander made sure he created a whole system of secure military posts, to secure provisions and reinforcements as he moved along. He also studied carefully the climate and the weather conditions of each unknown region before he marched, so that he always could anticipate the size of the crop that the locals could spare to sustain his army, as he was passing through. His military genius enabled him to lead a formidable army to a distance that was never covered by a single army before – the noted failure being that of the mercenary army of Xehophon.

One of the reasons that he has been most accused of is his deification. Many a close friend (i.e. Philotas and Cleitus) turned against him, once he declared that he had transgressed the very limits of human nature and he was to be looked upon as a god. The divine lineage of his family lead back to very distinguished ancestors.<sup>17</sup> His father was a descendant from the line of the Argean semi-god Hercules, and his mother an offspring from the line of Neoptolemus, son of the famous Achilles. However, it seems that it was his own mother, Olympias, who instilled in him the idea of divinity when he was very young, telling him that he was the son of Zeus, not of Philip. When Alexander reached Egypt in 331 B.C., he took a long detour in order to visit the temple of Ammon, in the oasis of Sheba. Ammon was a god often identified with the Greek god Zeus. Plutarch describes how the priest of Ammon went out to greet Alexander, addressing him as “son of Zeus”, which could have been a mere slip of tongue or bad Greek accent, as the replacement of a single consonant in the Greek, changes the meaning of the phrase in “Hi, child” – a more appropriate and plausible greeting.<sup>18</sup> Of course, for Alexander it was the proof of his divinity. He immediately sent an edict to the Greek cities, ordering them to worship him as a god. Some say that he demanded from his Macedonians to kneel before him. This caused grievances and fierce accusations, as kneeling in front of mortal kings were not the custom of Macedonia. However, it seems that further proofs for his divinity were served to him. Diodorus informs us that when Alexander had asked the god whether he had indeed punished his father's murderers, he was answered that *“he who fathered him could not be murdered, since he was a god”*.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Curtis says that these divine honours were bestowed upon him, only to equal him to gods and thus inspire godly honor (10.5.33). Cf. Arrian, 7.23. 2. For negative views on his deification cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 187E, 842D and the rather sarcastic Spartan remark on his deification in *Moralia* 219 E; Hyperides, 6. 20-21; 5.31-2.

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander* 27. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Diodorus, XVII, 51. 3.

It is easy to stretch a smile hearing Alexander's self-proclaimed divinity. However, things are different when we consider the political aspects of this divinity. As a divine figure, Alexander would be easier to pass for a legitimate successor of the divine-like rulers of the Persians, who would thus tolerate easier a non-Persian King<sup>20</sup>. Irrespective of his actual belief in his divinity, Alexander was considered the reincarnation of Dionysus after his death, and he was thus worshipped in many Hellenistic kingdoms.<sup>21</sup> The fact remains that during his life only in Egypt he was proclaimed a god; Fuller believes that this would not have shocked the Greeks, since it was an axiom of Greek political theory that geniuses were above the conventional law.<sup>22</sup>

Alexander's ultimate plan seems to have been an unimaginable task: the creation of an empire with prospects of longevity and continuity. The mere size of his conquests, at the time of his death, accounts for the impressive achievement of such an empire's creation. A vast country that was his own creation stretched from the Danube to the sides of the Himalayas and the coasts of the Nile. For many modern interpreters his death revealed the impossibility of the continuity that Alexander had anticipated of his empire. Fierce revolts and endless strife amongst his successors gradually broke down into pieces the formerly unified state, proving (as in the example of the recent breaking down of former Yugoslavia) that the state was held together only thanks to the unifying effect of a central figure.<sup>23</sup> From this point of view, this is the ultimate failure of Alexander and his most notable conformation to the expected and conventional, as no man could have done the impossible and create a new world, that would go on existing after his death.

However, such a statement is partially correct. One should take into consideration two important factors. The first factor is Alexander's sudden death. Until the year 331 Alexander had managed to bring into completion only the biggest part of his military plans and he had, indeed, managed to subdue nations that informed a multifarious cultural mosaic in his new country. As for his cultural politics, he had only managed to create the basis for what was to follow. Alexander was an exceptional mind – not only a military genius, but also a gifted person of unique political perception. He had soon realized that such a vast empire was more difficult to be maintained than conquered. As long as the Macedonians felt that they were the superior governors and the Persians felt that they were the unfortunate oppressed ones, peace would never prevail in the new kingdom. So, Alexander attempted to

---

<sup>20</sup> Fredricksmeyer, F. A., "On the background of the Ruler Cult", in *Studies in Honour of C. F. Edson*, Oxford 1981.

<sup>21</sup> Badian, E., "The deification of Alexander the Great", in *Studies in Honour of C.F. Edson*, Oxford 1981; Baldson, J. P., V. D., "The divinity of Alexander", *Historia* (1950) 363-388; Edmonds, L., "The Religiosity of Alexander" *GRBS* 12 (1971) 363-392. F

<sup>22</sup> Plato, *Politics* 294A, 296 ff; Cf. Fuller, J. F. C., *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*, da Capo Press 1960 [here utilized the translation in Greek by Editions Ποιότητα & Wordsworth Editions, 2004], p. 260.

<sup>23</sup> Syropoulos, S., "The European Policy of Unity and Alexander's Policy of Omonoia". In ALEXANDER, THE GREEK COSMOS - SYSTEM AND CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL SOCIETY. Series, *Greek Thought*. Minutes from the International Symposium, 2012. Academy of Institutions and Cultures ([http://www.academy.edu.gr/files/prakt\\_alexandros/praktika\\_alexandros\\_B.pdf](http://www.academy.edu.gr/files/prakt_alexandros/praktika_alexandros_B.pdf)), Vol. B, pp. 484-493., 2013.

---

unite the Greek and Persian element of his kingdom and from them to create a new cast of rulers, or people who would rule equally in the empire<sup>24</sup>.

This sounds deceptively like the ancient echo of the model of a multicultural, global society.<sup>25</sup> It was not Alexander's plan, though, to create an ecumenical empire. Only the Greeks and Persians, the two peoples he admired, were to rule. The rest of the nations of this vast empire would be just the consisting cultural elements of the kingdom, but of lesser status. In order to achieve this, he tried techniques that were not tested before, at least not to such extent. He encouraged his men to marry local women (never the opposite, however), he established a vast number of cities, populated by mixed marriages and he created military academies, where young Persians received the best training, in order to enrich the Macedonian army and to be placed in vital military and administrative posts. To further reinforce the unifying process, he established a common monetary system based on coinage with his figure and promoted the common use of a single language based on the Attic dialect, the so-called *Hellenistic koinē* (common, popular).<sup>26</sup> He also backed up the local businessmen with financial aid, when necessary and eagerly financed expeditions for the discovery of new sources and trade routes.

This brings us to the second factor for the account of his policies' failure. Alexander's plan was, indeed, so much ahead of his times, that none of his closest associates could have shared in his vision. It was difficult for the noble Macedonian patriots who accompanied him, to envisage that they were to rule a new world side by side to the people they considered their inferiors.<sup>27</sup> Alexander never solved this problem. The saddest part is his bloody confrontation with his former second in command Parmenio, and his son Philotas<sup>28</sup>, who were executed on the grounds of alleged conspiracy.<sup>29</sup> This might have not been true, however, it is indicative of the reaction that Alexander met from his own generals, as well as his official *ephemeredographos* Callisthenes,<sup>30</sup> when they thought that he had ceased to serve the glory of Macedonia and he had turned into what they saw as "pro-Persian" politics.

However, one should notice, that after his death, the ones who thought that it was their chance to shake off the Macedonian oppression were not the nations of the East, but the

---

<sup>24</sup> Badian, E., "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind", *Historia* 7 (1958) 425-444; Mauriac du, H. M., "Alexander the Great and the Politics of Homonoia", *JHI* (1940) 104-114.

<sup>25</sup> Plutarch (*Alexander* 27, 6) reports that in Egypt Alexander was taught by the philosopher Psammon, that all mankind are under the kingship of God. Cf Plutarch *Alexander* 27.10-11. However, Plutarch further explains, that although god is father to all mankind, he makes his own only the best. Cf. Arrian VII 11, 9. Also, Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIX.

<sup>26</sup> Syropoulos (2013) op.cit. pp. 487-490.

<sup>27</sup> Badian, E., "Orientals in Alexander's army", *JHS* 85 (1965) 160-161; Bosworth, A. B., "Alexander and the Iranians", *JHS* 100 (1980) 1-21.

<sup>28</sup> Cauer, F., "Philotas, Kleitos, Kallisthenes", *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Spplbd. 20 (1894) 8-38; Heckel, W., "The conspiracy against Philotas", *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 9-21; Rubinson, Z., "The Philotas affair: a reconsideration", *Archaiia Makedonika* I (1977) 414 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Syropoulos, (2003) op.cit.; Badian, E., "The death of Parmenio", *TPAPA* 91 (1960) 324-338;

<sup>30</sup> Borza, E. N., "Alexander and Callisthenes. Academic Intrigue at Alexander's Court", in *Studies in Honour of C. F. Edson*, Oxford 1981; Brown, T. S., "Callisthenes and Alexander" *AJPh* 70 (1949) 225-248; Robinson, C. A., Jr., "The arrest and death of Callisthenes", *AJPh*, 53 (1932) 353-357.

---



Greeks, notably the Athenians. This is the biggest proof that his eastern politics were well planned. This is the biggest proof that his empire had the potential to function properly, even after his death. Unfortunately, he had not left behind an heir unanimously accepted by all of his associates. The centrifugal potencies of his empire were expressed by successors not unworthy of their leader, but definitely not able or willing to maintain its unity.<sup>31</sup>

The apparent collapse of his empire is only one side of the coin. The other side is the successful spreading of a unifying language and a common cultural code that enabled the forthcoming establishment of another two major invasions: the Roman Empire and Christianity. In a sense, Alexander achieved the most successful cultural conquest of all times and he earned himself the eternal fame that he had so much desired, like that of the Homeric hero Achilles, whom he admired the most. Thus, Alexander transgressed the ultimate limits: Time and cultural perspectives, as he is a recognizable figure in Greek, Muslim<sup>32</sup>, Persian<sup>33</sup>, Egyptian, Indian and even Eastern culture and a figure that remains contemporary and intriguing until today<sup>34</sup>.

---

<sup>31</sup> Syropoulos (2005) op.cit.

<sup>32</sup> Alexander is mentioned in the Koran XVIII 59-62, 82-101, XIX 57-58.

<sup>33</sup> For the admission of Alexander in Persian literature see Buerger, Chr., *Nizami's Iskandarnama "das Alexanderbuch" erster Teil "Sharaf-Name" (Buch des Adels), zweiter Teil "Ikbalname" oder "Kheratname" Buch des Segers oder Buch der Weisheit*. Übersetzung vom persischen Text Dastgerdi's, Manesse Bibliothek der Weltliteratur Zürich, 1991; Vaccha, P.B. "Firdousi and the Shahnama". *A study of the great Persian Epic of the Homer of the East*, LLB Bombay 1950, Bew Book Company, pp1-128; Witzleben von, Uta, *Firdausi: Geschichten aus dem Schahnameh*, Düsseldorf-Köln 1960; Iatropoulou-Theocharidou Marianna, *Ο Μέγας Αλέξανδρος στην επική ποίηση Σαχ-Βαμέ του Φερντοσί & Εσκεντέρ-Ναέ του Νιζαμί*, εκδ. Έλλην, Αθήνα 2007.

<sup>34</sup> An interesting account of his influence from antiquity until now, in Bosworth A. B. & Baynham, E. J. (edd.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford, OUP 2000.

# The work of Claudius Ptolemy, as the epitome of the Macedonian Legacy in History, and of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Science and Civilization

PANAGIOTIS PAPASPIROU, Ph.D. Candidate, Section of Astrophysics,  
Astronomy and Mechanics, Faculty of Physics,  
National and Capodistrian University of Athens. Hellas  
Email: [p.papaspirou@academy.edu.gr](mailto:p.papaspirou@academy.edu.gr)

XENOPHON MOUSSAS, Professor in Space Physics,  
Director of the Astronomical Observatory of the University of Athens,  
Director of Astrophysics Laboratory, Section of Astrophysics,  
Astronomy and Mechanics, Faculty of Physics,  
National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Hellas  
Email: [xmoussas@phys.uoa.gr](mailto:xmoussas@phys.uoa.gr)

## Abstract

We propose to investigate the Hellenic, as well as the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Legacy, a direct product of the Macedonian legacy, and through the study of the life and work of the Alexandrian Giant of Astronomy Claudius Ptolemy. Claudius Ptolemy, as a historical Figure, as a Polymath, as an Astronomer, and as a Symbol, represents the World-Picture and the Civilization Alexander the Great offered to the Global Cultural Heritage. Macedonia, already Hellenic from its pre-historic times, conquers the Hellenic World, inherits all the great peaks of the Hellenic Culture and spreads through the world, generating the Hellenic Oecumene, and encompassing all the other Great Civilizations it meets. Within this sociocultural setting Alexandria in Egypt, the Capital city, the Cosmopolitan Metropolis, is founded. Alexandria becomes a central node of the cultural semantic web and an economic center, unifying East and West through the trading routes and the cultural osmosis, for many generations that followed, in the Hellenic and Roman civilization. Claudius Ptolemy is a full representative of this Civilization, an “Epitome” of the Hellenistic civilization, and the Hellenic Worldview, while his works reflects the cultural achievements of this civilization within the realm of Astronomy and other branches of Knowledge.

## 1. Introduction

Alexander the Great, within his quests in the Eastern Mediterranean, becomes the founder of the city of Alexandria, on the place of the small port of Rhacotis, as a natural and geographically well protected base for his operations, a city intended to supersede Naucratis, and also as a direct geographical connection for accessing the rich Nile valley.

Thus, Alexandria acquires already the merits of a central node serving for military and commercial reasons, as well as a bridge between Europe, Africa and Asia. The first rulers of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I the Soter, and Ptolemy II the Philadelphus, accomplish to realize Alexander's vision, and are the first to transforming the Capital city of the Ptolemaic Kingdom into a center for Culture, that is a center for teaching and further developing the Fine Arts, the Natural Sciences, the Applied Sciences, through the establishment of the Musaeum of Alexandria, which includes the famous Library of Alexandria (Durant, 1954). The Musaeum, which can be considered as a "noospheric Pharos" embracing all the great Civilizations of that era, that is the civilizations included within the geographical territory of Alexander's quests, is a center functioning similar to a University, and to a Technological and Scientific Research Center, while the Library of Alexandria serves as the most vast and detailed data base of the Ancient world, providing to the Scholars and Polymaths, which are engaged in the Teaching, the spreading of Knowledge, as well as for research of a quality of first degree, with all the valuable necessary knowledge. Within this cultural and social setting Claudius Ptolemy, many generations after the first king of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, lives and creates his own unique work (El-Abbadi, 1992).

Alexandria has already become a military, a political, a commercial, and a cultural center of the Ancient World, just as Alexander, the most prominent Personality of the Macedonian in particular, and the Hellenistic, in general, civilization and culture, has envisioned. Furthermore, the general setting of the function and the structure of that, which could call as the "Alexandrian Paradigm", especially the intellectual atmosphere dominating within the Musaeum and the Library, shall also become a Symbol, a need for achievement for the forthcoming great Civilizations that followed, the Byzantine, the Arabic and Islamic, and the European civilization (Laiou, 1992; Meri, 2004). Many kings and rulers always try to mimic and copy the "Alexandrian Paradigm", through the establishment of analogous Institutions and Universities, analogous to the ones already existing and flourishing within the Metropolis of Alexandria, many centuries after its acme.

More specifically, the capital city of Alexandria, at Strabo's time, includes and offers at a global scale, as conceived and existed by following the spirit of these times, all the characteristics of the Hellenic Polis, that is the Hellenic City – State, including the Great Theater, the Emporium (Exchange), the Apostases (Magazines), the Gymnasium and the Palaestra, together with the Musaeum, and its most famous Library of Alexandria, and the Royal Palaces, the Temples of Poseidon and the Serapeum. All these architectural monumental constructs reflect within space and time all the aspects of the Hellenic civilization (Hansen, 2006), which serve as symbols and metaphors within the spiritual world of the Hellenic tradition.

Also, a very short list of the names of prominent figures who lived for a part of their lives, and studied in Alexandria, covers the whole impression we receive by studying this Metropolis of the Ancient World, and gives us many insights into the framework of Ptolemy's own works and achievements. We can mention among the great personalities giants such as Archimedes, Aristarchus of Samos, Callimachus, Erastriatus, Eratosthenes, Euclid, Herophilus, Hipparchus, Pappus and Hero. Each one of these historical personalities



can also be regarded as Symbolic Figures within the realm of the sciences of Astronomy (Dreyer, 1953; Pannekoek, 1989), Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydraulics, Automata Mechanisms, Computing devices and machines (Moussas, 2012; Moussas, 2010; Freeth et. al. 2006), Mathematics, including the Euclidean Geometry, the Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, the introduction of the Stereographic projection, Number Theory, Geography, Medicine, Music Theory, and all branches of Literature, including the study of Logic and Grammar (Marlowe, 1971). Many novel scientific disciplines are being introduced, while other already existing disciplines are further investigated and expanded, not only in the Metropolis of Alexandria, but also in other great economic and cultural centers, such as Syracuse, Rhodes and Pergamum.

## **2. The works of Claudius Ptolemy**

Ptolemy belongs to a wide scientific and astronomical tradition, whose roots are traced back to the Orphic tradition of the Hellenic civilization, that is the first attempt for the transition from the realm of Mythos to the realm of Logos. Ptolemy can be regarded as a personality, that is as a Scientist and Astronomer, investigating and writing in the space of discourse we described, that is on the common ground built by Astronomy, Astrology, Music, and Optics, but we may also consider him as a symbol, as a symbolic figure of the Patriarch of Astronomy, Astrology, Music and Geography, as a man who stands beyond time, or even better, above time (Toomer, 1970), and who transcends all the traditions of the Great civilizations that followed, that is the Byzantine, the Arabic and Islamic, and the European civilization.

This Hellenic tradition continues to the Ionian Renaissance, with the appearance of the Philosophy of the Presocratic philosophers, as well as with the development of Mathematics and the laying of the foundations of the various branches of Science (Lloyd, 1970), that is the Natural sciences, the Social sciences and Humanities, the Applied sciences, and the technological Know-how, serving both the “divine curiosity” of the Philosophers and Polymaths, as well as economic and military purposes.

This tradition, in its astronomical aspect, further continues with the introduction of the astronomical theories of Eudoxus of Cnidus and of Callipus of Cyzikus, develops further within the space of discourse of the Platonic and Aristotelian school, by a combined effort of mathematicians, astronomers and physical scientists, passes through the landmarks of the Giants of Astronomy, that is of Apollonius of Perga and Hipparchus of Nicea, meets the advances of Eratosthenes, and culminates with the introduction of Ptolemy’s work (Dreyer, 1953; Pannekoek, 1989; Jones, 2010).

Here, we are just listing a very broad and somehow vague historical outline about the metamorphoses of the content of the science of Astronomy, a science regarded as most fundamental and important according to the Worldview of the Hellenic culture and civilization, in general, and also accompanied by many other realms of Knowledge.

In the present, we shall outline only the efforts given for the exposition of Ptolemy’s

approach to Cosmology and Astronomy, that is the geocentric and geostatic Universe according to the Aristotelian philosophical doctrines (Jones, 2010; Pedersen, 2011). In order to complete this short historical outline, we also have to mention the doctrine of Heliocentrism as well, the concept of a Heliocentric solar system, or Universe, which starts already within the broad context of the Pythagorean school, especially within the teachings of Philolaus, continues with the heliocentric theory of Aristarchus of Samos (Theodossiou et. al. 2002; Heath, 1913), and his disciple Seleucus of Seleucia, but seems to disappear in the forthcoming generations, after the publishing and spreading of Ptolemy's major astronomical world. The reasons about this historical and epistemological phenomenon are somehow obscure, while this subject deserves a better and more thorough investigation, than the one presented in this article.

We may proceed with the titles of Ptolemy's work, since this could be an indication about the spirit of his age, as well as about the certain mentality introduced, by him and within the framework of the culture he lives within. These are the philosophical claims and the metaphysical and physical doctrines of a whole tradition (Burt, 1954), and all its accompanying societal and intellectual factors which enabled the growth and the expansion of an open community of astronomers and polymaths, already from the very begin of the development of the science of Astronomy, and especially within the Alexandrian Zeitgeist, as implemented within the city of Alexandria.

These works (Toomer, 1970; Evans, 1998) include the "Mathematical Compilation", also known as "The Greatest Compilation", or the "Almagest", a work appearing in thirteen books, his treatise called as "The Planetary Hypotheses", his book entitled as "The Analemma", his work entitled as "The Planisphaerium", a work about Spherical Trigonometry and the stereographic projection, as well as its other major work entitled as "The Geography", or as "Cosmographia" or "Geographike Hyphegesis", in eight books, his treatise about "Optics", in five books, his "Tetrabiblos Syntaxis", a treatise about Astrology, in four books, his other work "Karpos" or "Centiloquium", and his work called "Harmonics", with its subject being about Music Theory.

Thus, we observe that Ptolemy feels to be compelled to investigate at the same time the realm of Astronomy, introducing in a novel way a most important astronomical Paradigm, known also as the Ptolemaic Paradigm, and by the parallel exposition of the astronomical observational instrumentation, the realm of Astrology, which appears in a systematized, mathematized and scientific manner, according to the understandings and the scientific consensus of Ptolemy's era, as well as of the forthcoming generations after him, the realm of Optics, and of Music Theory, and finally the science of Geography.

Ptolemy encompasses these branches of knowledge as a united whole (Cornford, 1966; Clayton and Davies, 2006; Mourelatos, 1986), and studies each of them in a systematized and mathematized manner, always staying in accordance with the most strict scientific criteria, his methodology and exposition of each of the subjects he studies meet all the modern scientific criteria, that is the criteria of the modernization of Science in general, which can be regarded as the era of Newton, Leibniz, and their successors. In Ptolemy's

work, the heavenly or celestial realm, that is the realm of the celestial bodies and fixed stars, their influences upon the earthly realm, and the human fate in particular, the musical expression and manifestation of these Harmonies, incorporated within celestial realm of the Music of the Spheres, and the musical influence on the human Fate and Ethos, but also the study of the Light and the related physical phenomena, all of them are studied thoroughly, in detail, and according to the highest scientific standards of his age.

More important, all these subjects of Knowledge, as “memetic themes”, appear again and again within the thought and the work of the astronomers and polymaths that followed (Walker, 1996), as we observe them evolving within the thought and the work of the Giants of Astronomy that followed, including the tradition and the school of all the Great Arabic and Islamic astronomers (Saliba, 1994), as well as Copernicus (Rosen, 1995) and Kepler (Kepler, 1997).

We may suspect that the whole body of Ptolemy’s work can be interpreted as the organic view imposed on the Aristotelian Universe, that is as a philosophical metaphor which describes the heavenly and the earthly phenomena in terms of a hierarchical structure of the Universe, where all of its levels interact among each other, and describing all the contents and the functions of the physical phenomena in terms of an organic unity (Cornford, 1966; Clayton and Davies, 2006; Mourelatos, 1986).

This certain aspect continued to survive in the generations of scholars and polymaths which succeeded Ptolemy’s era, and his major works, spreading through the historical net of the generations of the next following great Civilizations decided in a critical manner the inherent growth and the developmental tendencies of Astronomy, Astrology, Optics, Harmonics and Geography.

We observe the generation of a complex network built by the unification and close interaction of the spaces of discourse of Astronomy, Astrology, Optics, Harmonics, and Ethics, and we believe that the whole compendium of these aspects of Knowledge, was born under the Hellenic cultural influence, interconnected under this particular spirit, and took its final form within the realm of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian era, while the epitome of this achievement was created and published in the Cosmopolis of Alexandria, by one of the greatest astronomers, the Giant Claudius Ptolemy.

This whole “noospheric holon” continued its solitonic existence, and spreading, as an Autopoietic structure, in the forthcoming civilizations, always based on all the great works of Ptolemy, the offspring of the major contributions of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian culture.

Thus, Ptolemy is the epitome of all acquired and accumulated knowledge of its time, while a fundamental characteristic of his work refers to the fact that he ordered, systematized, and introduced a regular, orderly, and harmonious compilation of all of the aspects of Reality, incorporating the totality of the physical phenomena in a most simple and clear manner. Ptolemy also introduces novel concepts and techniques, such as the notion of the equant

point for describing the planetary orbits (Pedersen, 2011; Jones, 2010), or his Ptolemaic intense diatonic scale (Partch, 1979) which unifies the celestial music, that is the Harmony of the Spheres with the human perception about symmetry and harmony, on the mesoscopic scale of the Universe.

In Ptolemy's own words, in his introduction to the *Almagest*, his presentation is twofold: to offer a concise recapitulation of all the gained astronomical knowledge up to his time, aimed at the skilled professional, but also to discuss at length, to the best of his ability, all the newly introduced ingredients of his astronomical Paradigm.

Ptolemy follows this exact reasoning, as well as this guideline of thought in all his other major works. We may understand that his major astronomical work, the "*Almagest*", presupposes the Aristotelian corpus of Physics, and the detailed knowledge of the Hipparchean and Archimedean tradition, by the skilled reader of this astronomical compendium, thus his exposition is mainly mathematical, and for didactic reasons. Ptolemy is not only an ingenious Mathematician, he is also a skilled Physical Philosopher, although he does not feel obliged to present in full the physical astronomical theory he presupposes as valid.

Ptolemy starts his exposition in the *Almagest* (Pedersen, 2011; Jones, 2010) by stating intuitive and plausible first principles, arguing in favor of the Aristotelian concept of Cosmos, by the means of certain physical arguments. He also introduces in the structure of his astronomical Paradigm his three eponymous laws of composition of the planetary orbits, a scheme which can be regarded as similar to Feynman's introduction of his three principles of describing the phenomena within the framework of the theory of Quantum Electrodynamics, that is the three basic actions for the Feynman diagram elements (Feynman, 1998).

We cannot yet be certain of which of these achievements trace back to Hipparchus of Rhodes, since Ptolemy exposes in his astronomical treatise the law of the eccentric point, that is the eccentric description of a planetary orbit, the law of the deferent and epicycle, and the law of the equant point. The first two laws already exist within the teachings of Hipparchus of Rhodes, but we cannot be certain about the introduction of the equant point within the framework of the Hellenistic astronomy. The issue of the introduction of the equant point can be regarded as a major mathematical and physical achievement of Ptolemy, since he "saves the astronomical phenomena" in a most fruitful manner, but on the other hand, he also contributes to the generation of a polemic of the successive generations of Astronomers and Polymaths that followed his era, since the equant point seems to be unsatisfactory from an epistemological and philosophical view, contradicting with a certain interpretation of Aristotle's doctrines about the perfect circular motion of the celestial bodies (Kuhn, 1957). This polemic also enabled the inner evolution and the metamorphose of the Ptolemaic paradigm through the ages, that is its gradual perfection, according both on epistemic as well as on observational grounds.

In particular, Ptolemy proceeds in the investigation of the heavenly phenomena by posing

---

the Aristotelian cosmological paradigm (Elders, 1966) as the foundation of his own astronomical paradigm, presented in the form of plausible and self-verified empirical statements, which anyone may accept as self-evident. The heavens are attributed with a spherical form, the Universe is geocentric and geostatic, the Moon the Sun, the then known planets, and the fixed stars gyrate around Earth, the center of the Universe.

Then, he proceeds with the introduction of the mathematical machinery used in his paradigm, referring to Spherical Trigonometry, and to the calculation of his exhaustive and extensive table of chords, as well as with the observations of the obliquity of the ecliptic, that is the apparent position of the Sun as projected on the sphere of the fixed stars. Then, the rising and setting of the celestial objects, the length of the day and of the night, the determination of latitude, the shadows of the gnomons at the equinoxes and the solstices, are also investigated. The length of the year, the motion of the Sun, the motion of the Moon, the lunar parallax, the motion of the lunar apogee, the sizes and the distances of the Sun and the Moon relative to Earth, the solar and lunar eclipses, all of them are also investigated in detail. Via the introduction of the eccentric point, the system of the deferent cycle and epicycle, and the notion of the equant point, associated astronomical models of the planetary orbits are constructed, that is Ptolemy studies the motion of the Sun, the Moon, of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, their stations and the characteristics of their retrograde motion, in general, as well as their motion in latitude, and their conjunctions, oppositions and culminations, both in the case of the inferior, as well as for the superior planets. Ptolemy also offers a star catalogue, and classifies the then visible and known stars according to the Hipparchian model of classification of the magnitude of the stars (Pedersen, 2011; Jones, 2010).

We can regard Ptolemy as the Patriarch in the realm of Astronomy, a personality who creates within the physical Universe a human Universe, that is his own view on the orderly, mathematically structured, and causally explained Universe, the Cosmos, a Cosmos full of all connections and relations among Nature, Man, and the Celestial, or Divine, realm, always searching for Simplicity, Harmony, Symmetry and Causal explanation on the basis of Physical laws.

### **3. Two major landmarks of the Hellenic Culture**

Ptolemy's work is exceptional, according to many aspects, including the epistemological aspect, the ontological aspect, the methodological aspect, as well as the place of his work within the History of Science and of the Great Civilizations. The Ptolemaic astronomical Paradigm has survived for many centuries, and dominated in the conceptual spaces of successive great Civilizations, that is the Hellenistic and Alexandrian, the Byzantine, the Arabic and Islamic, and the European civilization (Laiou, 1992; Meri, 2004; Dreyer, 1953).

The same also holds for his influence upon the realm of Astrology, with its "Tetrabiblos" (Ashmand, 1822; Evans, 1998) being the most referred and cited work within the community of astrologers, and also polymaths, from the Alexandrian period up to the period of Johannes Kepler and perhaps Sir Isaac Newton.

The long historical route of Ptolemy's "Almagest" enabled the continuous flow of its inner metamorphoses as a Paradigm, that is a succession of improved or somehow altered Paradigms, which evolved through the ages, and the shaping of the mentality and the World-picture of successive generations of astronomers' and polymaths' communities. The same also holds for his "Tetrabiblos" and his "Optics", while his "Harmonics", via the introduction of the Ptolemaic intense diatonic scale, resulted to a major impact on the Theory and the practice of Music, during the period of the transition from the great Renaissance of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the era of Baroque, for example upon the influence of the great Theorist of Music, and also important composer, Gioseffo Zarlino (Reese, 1954).

The Giant of Astronomy Johannes Kepler feels obligated to "tune" the Harmony of the Spheres he is seeking in the planetary motions using a musical scale very similar to Zarlino's musical doctrines (Kepler, 1997), which are both of musical as well as of metaphysical character. These great personalities come in discourse with the meaning and the structure of Ptolemy's work, they are influenced by his Worldview, and whenever they modify or alter it, in reality they follow his footsteps in order to improve the way of thinking of a Great Master, or even overcome him, a fact which they do indeed succeed, as they are able to perform within the standards and their novel sociocultural environment, which absolutely differs than the Ptolemaic one. Thus, Ptolemy serves as one of the exemplars of the Hellenistic tradition in Science, while his own line of thought encompasses the whole of the Hellenic civilization.

This long historical route and endeavor within the "noospheric space" of the Hellenic civilization starts already from the era of the Orphic texts, with the introduction of Logos within the natural Order, via the concept of the Cosmic Laws that govern Nature and Man at the same time, continues to the epoch of the Ionian Renaissance, that is with the appearance of the Presocratic Philosophers (Schroedinger, 1996) and their various and rich in number and fundamental ideas Philosophic Schools, reaches the era of Plato (Vlastos, 1975) and Aristotle (Llyod, 1968), up to the era of Ptolemy, that is the Hellenistic and Alexandrian era.

Ptolemy's work, whether astronomical, physical, mathematical, philosophical, musical or astrological, is a culmination of many "layers of discourse", and the meeting point of many "spaces of discourse". These are amalgamated in a systematic and holistic manner, while Ptolemy, following the line of thought of the long Tradition he belongs, at the same time acts as the epitome of a certain World-spirit, the Hellenic one, and of a certain World-picture, the Hellenistic and Alexandrian, whose roots and foundation are traced back to the Macedonian Legacy (Austin, 2006; Boardman G. et. al. 2001).

We may regard that Ptolemy's work is only "the top of the iceberg" of a whole cultural and historical process. We can trace the origins of these "spaces of discourse" within the Glossogony and the Cosmogony of the Hellenic conception about Cosmos, its abstract and rich conception about the Universe, which embraces the world of the human existence and the world of the divine, following the long routes of the application and imposition of Logos on Nature (Schroedinger, 1996). Within the Ionian Renaissance, and the appearance



of the first Presocratic philosophers, the Hellenic culture experiences beyond the introduction of Philosophy, the introduction of Mathematics, as an axiomatized approach built upon Theorem Proving, and Physics, as a discipline based upon theoretical considerations and empirical evidence.

Other branches of Science, such as the science of Medicine, already transform from a set of practices and rituals into a scientific body of Knowledge, as we understand them even in our times. We also observe the appearance and further development of the science of Logic, of Rhetorics and of Dialectics, but also major breakthroughs in the field of the Arts, and most importantly the appearance of the Theater, and of the systemization and axiomatics, always correlated with metaphysical speculations, in the field of Music.

By considering them within their totality, all these “noospheric leaps” originate and emerge through the political and social appearance of a novel form of government, the Polis, that is the City-State. The Hellenic Polis includes the Agora, the common place of all citizens for their commercial activities and their everyday communication, the Vouli (Parliament), the Theater, while in many cases these City-States experience the novel introduction of the political system of Democracy, both in its theoretical definition and justification, as well as in its concrete historical implementation (Hansen, 2006).

We can furthermore trace these great achievements into the fractal nature of the Hellenic Geosphere, the Hellenic Biosphere, and the Hellenic Noosphere, as induced within the framework of the City-state, a theoretical conception introduced already from important researchers of this new field of investigation (Dimotakis, 1999; Dimotakis, 2005).

We observe at all levels a profound diversity and plasticity within these conceptual schemata, as well as a continuous succession of recurring stages of Chaos and Order within the flow of the historical time, from the first begin of the cultural Glossogony and Cosmogony, that is for the introduction of novel systems of Language, informal and formal ones, in order to perceive the natural, but also the social phenomena, under a new light. The fractality encountered in the geosphere and the biosphere of the Eastern Mediterranean region, the geographic region which is regarded as the fountain of the Hellenic Civilization, from its very begin, is responsible for the richness and the degree of complexity, and diversity, that is the fractality encountered in the noosphere of the Hellenic civilization (Dimotakis, 1999; Dimotakis, 2005; Dimotakis, 2010). The continuous process of the successive alternation of periods of Order which are followed by periods of Chaos, also contributes greatly to the successes and the landmarks of this Civilization, since it constitutes a main characteristic of the development of the Hellenic civilization and culture. Here, we may observe that the two important landmarks, as well as turnings of the Hellenic civilization, the Ionian Renaissance and the Hellenistic period, could be considered as two historical eras exhibiting a high degree of Order and of Emergence, both at the collective social level, as well as at the level of the appearance of great Personalities.

We may regard that the birth of the Hellenic civilization, with all its peculiar features, its fractality and its plasticity, which marks its idiosyncratic character, serves as the fountain of

various “Metaparadigms”, that is of “Paradigms of Paradigms”, and of Autopoietic structures, as well as structures exhibiting solitonic behavior within the flow of the historical time, which appear and reappear again, in their various historical phylogenetic forms, and during the course of the historical time, in all the great Civilizations that followed. Each of these civilizations, the Byzantine, the Arabic and Islamic, and the European civilization, inhere these forms in the form of “cultural memes”, and alter or modify them in order to serve the historical and social needs of each epoch, contributing with creative ways along the routes already established, during the course of their greatest acme.

Ptolemy introduces through his collected work the most immense and lifelong surviving “cultural” and “scientific memetic structures” (Heylighen and Chielens, 2009) into the astronomical communities, and the communities of the polymaths of the great Civilizations that followed.

Thus, we may investigate Ptolemy as an important node within the complex network of the Hellenic heritage to Astronomy and Science (Spandagos, 1995; Spandagos, 2011), as well as for the generations that followed, and express his position within the flow of historical time as the offspring of at least two great outbreaks of the sociocultural evolution of the Hellenic civilization. The first such outburst of creativity and of the wide expansion of the mental and cultural horizons refers to the long tradition of the Presocratic philosophers, while the second refers to the Macedonian legacy within the historical content of the evolution of our Global Heritage, that is to the conquests of Alexander the Great in general, and the osmosis between the Hellenic civilization with the great civilizations of Egypt and of the Persian empire, just to mention two important components of this process, and the foundation of the capital city of Alexandria, with its Pharos, but also its “noospheric Pharos”, that its its Musaeum and its Library.

Ptolemy introduces an astronomical Glossogony for the totality of the then observed natural and social phenomena, whose trends are being followed on his footsteps up to the era of Johannes Kepler (Koestler, 1960).

The generation and the publication, as well as the circulation of Ptolemy’s work, among the communities of the polymaths or the lay public, brings into the foreground issues referring to the emergent Complexity for the scientific Paradigms, and of the synergetic behavior of the production in Science within the historical content of each civilization. Acting as a symbol, or as a nearly mythical astronomical Figure, Ptolemy can be regarded as the epitome of the Hellenic tradition he acquired, as a scientist and astronomer within the Hellenistic and Alexandrian period of science, and of cultural development, in general.

#### **4. Acknowledgements**

The authors want to thank Professor Pavlos Dimotakis and Dr. Konstantinos Karamanos for many useful remarks, suggestions, directions and ideas, given for the study and the investigation of the scientific, and astronomical, work of Claudius Ptolemy, and the



exposition of its sociocultural roots, tracing back to the origins of the Hellenic civilization and the Hellenistic and Alexandrian era, in particular.

## 5. References

- Ashmand, J. M., (ed.) (1822), *Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos*, London: Davis and Dickson. Reprinted, Bel Air, MD: Astrology Classics, 2002.
- Austin M. M. (2006), *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, second edition, Cambridge.
- Boardman J., Griffin J., Murray O. (2001), *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*, Oxford.
- Burt, E., A. (1954), *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science*, New York: Kegan Paul.
- Clayton, P., and Davies, P., (Ed's) (2006), *The Re-Emergence of Emergence: The Emergentist Hypothesis from Science to Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cornford, F. M. (1966), *Plato's Cosmology: The Timaeus of Plato*, The Liberal Arts Press.
- Dimotakis, P. (2005), *Χάος και Τάξη: Η Μοίρα των Ελλήνων [Chaos and Order: The Destiny of the Greeks]*, in Greek, Georgiadi Publications, Athens.
- Dimotakis, P. (1999), *Η Αρμονία της Δημοκρατίας και το Χάος των Ελλήνων [The Harmony of Democracy and the Chaos of the Greeks]*, in Greek, Georgiadi Publications, Athens.
- Dimotakis, P. (2010), *Το Χάος στον 21<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα [Chaos in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century]*, in Greek, Athens.
- Dreyer, J. L. E. (1953), *History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler*, 2nd edition, Dover Publications.
- Durant, W. (1954), *Our Oriental Heritage*, Simon & Schuster.
- El-Abbadi, M. (1992), *Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, Paris: Unesco, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.
- Elders, L. (1966), *Aristotle's Cosmology: A Commentary on the De Caelo*, Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum.
- Evans, J. (1998), *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, Oxford University Press.
- Feynman, R. P. (1998), *Quantum Electrodynamics* (New ed.). Westview Press.
- Freeth, T.; Bitsakis, Y.; Moussas, X.; Seiradakis, J. H.; Tselikas, A.; Mangou, H.; Zafeiropoulou, M.; Hadland, R.; Bate, D.; Ramsey, A.; Allen, M.; Crawley, A.; Hockley, P.; Malzbender, T.; Gelb, D.; Ambrisco, W.; Edmunds, M. G., (2006), "Decoding the ancient Greek astronomical calculator known as the Antikythera Mechanism", *Nature*, v. 444, pp. 587-591.
- Hansen, M. G. (2006), *Polis: An Introduction to the Greek City-State*, Oxford University Press.
- Heath, T.L. (1913), *Aristarchus of Samos, the ancient Copernicus: a history of Greek astronomy to Aristarchus*, Oxford, Clarendon.
- Heyighen, F., and Chielens, K. (2009), "Evolution of Culture, Memetics" in Meyers, B., "Encyclopedia of Complexity and Systems Science", *Encyclopedia of Complexity and Systems Science*, Springer.
- Jones, A. (ed.) 2010, *Ptolemy in Perspective: Use and Criticism of his Work from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Series: Archimedes, Vol. 23.
- Kepler, J. (1997), *Harmonice mundi libri V, The Harmony of the World*, (Trans. Aiton, E. J., Duncan A.M., Field J. V.)

- Koestler, A. (1960), *The Watershed: a Biography of Johannes Kepler*, Garden City: Doubleday.
- Kuhn, T. (1957), *The Copernican Revolution: Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Laiou, A., E. (1992), *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, Washington, DC, : Dumbarton Oaks
- Llyod, G. E. R. (1968), *Aristotle: The Growth and Structure of his Thought*, Cambridge.
- Lloyd, G. E. R. (1970), *Early Greek Science: Thales to Aristotle*, New York:Norton
- Marlowe, J. (1971), *The Golden Age of Alexandria*, Trinity Press.
- Meri, J., W. (2004), *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, New York: Routledge.
- Mourelatos, A. (1986), "Quality, Structure, and Emergence in Later Pre-Socratic Philosophy." *Proceedings of the Boston Colloquium in Ancient Philosophy*. 2, pp. 127-194.
- Moussas, X., (2012), *Ο Μηχανισμός των Αντικυθήρων: Πίναξ, Το Πρώτο Μηχανικό Σύμπαν* [The Antikythera Mechanism: Pinax, The First Mechanical Universe], in Greek, EEF, (Ένωση Ελλήνων Φυσικών).
- Moussas, X. (2010), "The Antikythera Mechanism: A Mechanical Cosmos and an Eternal Prototype for Modelling and Paradigm Study" , *Adapting Historical Knowledge Production to the Classroom, Section A*, 113-128.
- Pannekoek, A. (1989), *A History of Astronomy*, Dover Publications.
- Partch, H. (1979), *Genesis Of A Music: An Account Of A Creative Work, Its Roots, And Its Fulfillments*, Second Edition, Da Capo Press.
- Pedersen, O., (auth.), Jones, A., (ed.) (2011), *A Survey of the Almagest*, Springer New York.
- Rosen, E. (1995), *Copernicus and his Successors*, London: Hambledon Press.
- Reese, G. (1954), *Music in the Renaissance*, New York.
- Saliba, G., (1994), *A History of Arabic Astronomy: Planetary Theories During the Golden Age of Islam*, New York University Press.
- Schrodinger, E., (1996), *Nature and the Greeks and Science and Humanism*, (For. By Roger Penrose), Cambridge.
- Spandagos, E., Spandagou, R. (1995), *Οι Αστρονόμοι της Αρχαίας Ελλάδος* [The Astronomers of Ancient Greece], in Greek, Αίθρα, 1995.
- Spandagos E., (2011), *Αρχιμήδους Βίος και Έργον*, [Life and Work of Archimedes], in Greek, Αίθρα, 2011.
- Stephenson, B. (1987), *Kepler's Physical Astronomy*, Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences, 13. New York: Springer.
- Theodossiou, E., Danezis, E., Manimanis V., , Kalyva E.-M. (2002), "From Pythagoreans to Kepler: the dispute between the geocentric and the heliocentric systems", *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 89 – 98, 2002.
- Toomer, G. J. (1970), "Ptolemy" in *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York
- Vlastos, G. (1975), *Plato's Universe*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Walker, C. (ed.) (1996), *Astronomy before the telescope*. British Museum Press .

# The exodus of Macedonians in New World Countries (1880-1940)

ANASTASIOS MYRODIS TAMIS,

Professor in Sociolinguistics and the History of Greek Migration and Settlement,  
School of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Notre Dame, Australia

Email: [a.tamis@bigpond.com](mailto:a.tamis@bigpond.com)

## Abstract

*During the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, adverse political realities emerging from the Ottoman Rule, natural catastrophes, continuous warfare, insufficient cultivable land and absence of large urban centres compelled thousands of Macedonians to emigrate. Their primary destinations included the main commercial centres of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and Constantinople, the flourishing ports of South Russia, the trading centres of the Black Sea and the rich cities of Austria and Hungary. They built there their ethno-linguistic and religious outlets, amassed substantial wealth and several of them were proclaimed benefactors of their native lands. From the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Macedonian immigrants settled in the Americas; primarily the English-speaking U.S.A. and Canada and the Spanish-speaking Uruguay and Argentina. The Macedonian settlement in the Americas did not have the temporary character of the preceded European exodus: its main occupational patterns, its social mobility, its socio-economic organization and its acculturation process were determined by the fact that the host countries were immigrant countries themselves. Since 1924 Macedonian migrants discovered Australia and commenced their settlement initially in its vast countryside. As from 1935 they settled in the large urban centres building their regional ethno-specific brotherhoods and social networks and disseminating their national legacies.*

## The European exodus

During the eighteenth century the *Great Porte* allowed the Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate and the officials of Phanarion, Constantinople (*Phanariotes*) to gain control and ecclesiastical supremacy equal to which they enjoyed during the Byzantine period, and began a process of Hellenization of Slavs of the upper zone of Macedonia (Tamis, 2013:22ff). Consequently, in the years that followed the Greek element flourished and impacted upon the area with the support of the Greek clergy and the affluence of its returning immigrants. The Christian masses of Macedonia adopted Greek cultural influences and gradually acquired a consciousness of a cultural Greek identity. Many Slavophone Macedonians sent their children to the Greek schools and fought alongside the other Hellenes against the Ottoman Empire, and later, throughout the nineteenth century, in all risings in Macedonia for the unification of Macedonia with the free Greek State.

Political insecurity created by the adverse political situation, economic instability caused by the restricted cultivable land, natural disasters, famine, the absence of large urban centres and the indifference of central government, the *Great Porte*, were the main reasons for the emigration of almost entire adult male population of certain regions of Macedonia as early as the 1500s. The immigration process was intensified during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vakalopoulos, 1958:35ff) and became epidemic for the Macedonian and Epirotic populations, involving not only the profession of *mastoroi* (stone-masons) but a wide range of occupations. In certain regions of Western Macedonia (Florina, Kastoria and Kozani) the emigration assumed the character of an exodus *en mass*, transplanting almost entire villages to Moldavia, Vlachia, Transylvania and central Europe with particular settlement concentration in Austria-Hungary.

During the Ottoman period Macedonian emigrants (*gourbetchis*), mainly from Western Macedonia, had the tendency to emigrate annually or for a short period of time within the domains under the jurisdiction of the Sultan. Each region of Western Macedonia was assigned to a particular area of occupational activities and their emigrants were engaged almost exclusively within these defined assignments. Gourbetchis from Kozani district were engaged in skilful professions related to masonry, bakery and carpentry; Florinian and Kastorian emigrants were employed as market-gardeners, carpenters, timber cutters and day labourers. The emigrants were mainly men, between 16 and 40 years of age, who were usually accompanied by their male children. Estimates based on information from shipping companies and Consular estimates, indicate that most peasants who immigrated to the U.S. were Slavophone Macedonians involved with agriculture.

Nevertheless, economic and social developments in Macedonia, caused mainly by the impact of emigration, were strong during the centuries prior to its liberation from the Ottoman rule. This immigration, in its particular political context, was mainly responsible for the economic survival of the region, which became as we have noticed the centre for the competing national ideologies of Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. The type, shape and various stages of emigration and its mechanisms, its political, socio-economic and cultural repercussions and the massive development of Macedonian Christian immigration to the European countries and to a lesser extend to the English speaking counties of the New World, during the Ottoman rule period were discussed and analysed by a comprehensive number of writers. More recent research attests that during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries thousands of Macedonians settled mainly in the wider region covering urban centres in the northern Balkans, Central and Eastern Europe, including Asia Minor and the numerous cities around the Black Sea. The new research focuses on the settlement patterns, the socio-economic and political mobility, the type of integration and the shape of acculturation of Macedonian immigrants; emphasis is also placed on specific communities, for example the Greek colony and the National School of Hellenes in Vienna, the Macedonian communities in Rumania, and particular leading families, i.e. the families of Georgios Lassanis, Georgios Zaviras, Anastasios Michael and Vassilios Bakirtzoglou.

The pioneer immigrants originated from urbanised rural centres in western Macedonia, where lack of adequate land facilities and security forced them to seek employment in the

---

greater urban and commercial cities of the north-western parts of the Balkan Peninsula and central Europe, as early as the sixteenth century. The main sources of immigration apart from the wider Florina region, which was primarily Slavophone, were Siatista, Kleisoura, Selitsa, Pelka, Dolos, Pentalofos and the mountainous villages of Kastoria. Initially the immigrants moved towards the regions which were later to be named Serbia and Romania, where they established permanent settlements, forming this time small Greek townships and even small cities. For example, the city of Stambatch, close to Belgrade, was almost entirely comprised of Greek immigrants, with their own primary and secondary educational establishments for boys and girls (Natsinas, 1939:7). In Belgrade itself, by the turn of the nineteenth century, there was a strong Greek community, comprised of 109 families with a Greek Orthodox daily school administered by the Macedonian Greek headmaster, Demetrios Kleidis. In the same city the primate of the Orthodox Church was Metropolitan Dionysios, a Macedonian Hellene born in Serbia of the Kozani district.

Following the collapse of the Greek War for Independence against the Ottomans in Macedonia (1821-1822), the waves of emigrants increased dramatically, especially towards the wealthy towns of the semi-independent Serbia. Oppression and widespread terrorism compelled many Macedonians to flee their native lands and to seek refuge in the cities of Serbia, including Nice, where a large concentration of Greek families from Siatista and Kleisoura settled permanently (Papandrianos, 1990:126). Macedonian Hellenes from Siatista, Pissoderi, Selitsa and Millovitsa, with commercial interests and fine artisans (mainly tanners, shoemakers and masons) settled in the Serbian city of Krakouyevatz in the 1820s. Significant Macedonian communities were formed by the mid-1850s in other smaller towns, including Kerouyevatz, Kozarevatz and Valiero (Papandrianos, 1993:126ff). The city of Zemoun (Semlin) was settled by Macedonian immigrants in the middle of the eighteenth century and quickly developed into an important commercial centre under the jurisdiction of the Hapsburg Empire (Tamis, 2012a:12ff). Western Macedonian Hellenes emigrated and some of them settled permanently establishing small clusters of colonies in the city of Novi Sad and the Croatian cities of Karlovac and Zagreb itself. Several of those immigrants rose within the socio-political hierarchy of these cities and stood out for their immense contribution to the economic life of their adopted countries. The emigrants travelled with the assistance of caravans which carried the commercial products of Macedonia, via Monaster and Skopje, to Belgrade, Zagreb and the Hungarian and Austrian cities.

During the second half of the nineteenth century there was a massive move of Macedonians, Slavophone as well as Grecophone, to Bulgaria, Romania, Constantinople and the annexed part of Greek Thessaly, assisted by the developing railroad network. Todorov (1983:372ff) estimated that in the late 1880s the number of immigrants from the Vilayet of Monaster was thirty thousand annually, whereas Schopoff, the Bulgarian travel agent, claimed that in the period between 1880 and 1900 some 200,000 Slav-speaking migrants from Macedonia had travelled to Homogloss Bulgaria in search of work and some of them had settled down in that country permanently; several thousands immigrated to Constantinople by the turn of the nineteenth century. Following the Turkish persecutions against the Macedonian community of Constantinople, many left for North America. The situation was aggravated drastically by the political instability that followed the Greco-Turkish War



of 1897 and by the irregular bandit activities of Greek and Bulgarian nationalist bands. The difficult financial conditions coupled with adverse political developments, exerted more pressure on the Christian population of Macedonia to emigrate. Bulgarian interference by the turn of the century became more apparent with their organised armed committees (the *Exarchists*) infiltrating and invading Ottoman territories and terrorising the local populations who remained loyal to Ecumenical Patriarchate (*Patriarcists*) and who had developed a certain Greek identity. This led to the *Macedonian Struggle* (1904-1908), a fierce warfare with irregular rebel activities between the members of the *Bulgarian Macedonian Komitaton* and the Greek *Ethniki Etaireia* (*National Society*). The Bulgarian objective was to proselytise the Slavophone communities in the Bulgarian Exarchate and thus form a Bulgarian national conscience, whereas the Greek bands attempted to protect the *Patriarchist* villages, or to bring those who became *Exarchists* back to their original loyalty.

The armed activities intensified in the Vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monaster and evidently affected immigration within the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. It was then that the possibility of immigrating to the United States became an adequate solution to the gradually deteriorating financial position of the Christian Macedonian population. As was the case in Australia in 1924, Florinian goubetchis were the first to settle in America between 1895 and 1901. The transatlantic immigration of Macedonian Christians increased sharply as a consequence of the *Ilinden* rising against the Ottoman rule in the summer of 1903 and in the apparent reprisals taken by the Turkish Army. In 1904 armed Bulgarian bands invaded Macedonia, attracting a reaction from the Greek bands manned by Slavophone and Grecophone pro-Patriarchist Christians. The constant warfare, particularly in the mountainous region of western Macedonia forced many from the Vilayet of Monaster to immigrate to the USA. The local people suffered numerous attacks on their villages, their houses ransacked by Bulgarian bands that were depending on them for financial support, food and accommodation. By the end of 1906, under pressure from the Bulgarian bands, approximately 7,000 Macedonian immigrants from the Vilayet of Monaster alone entered the U.S. and around 2,000 from the Vilayet of Thessaloniki. In 1907 another 2,500 from Monaster fled to America and some 7,000 from the other two Vilayets. Evidently, under the pressure of the Greek bands a great number of Exarchists from the district of Kavala and Serres were forced to immigrate to Bulgaria (Ferenczi, 1969:94).

### **The Transatlantic Exodus**

Available archival and demographical data ascertain that Macedonian Hellenes commenced exiting Ottoman Macedonia to settle in the USA as early as 1840. According to the U.S. record figures for alien passengers arriving there were no passengers from Greece or Asian Turkey during the decade of 1820s. The first significant Greek community to develop was in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the 1850s. By 1866, the community was numerous and prosperous enough to have a Greek consulate and the first Greek Orthodox Church in the United States. During that period, most Greek immigrants to the New World came from Asia Minor and those Aegean Islands still under Ottoman rule. By 1890, there were almost 15,000 Greeks living in the U.S. Until then, the pace of exodus of Hellenes to USA and Australia remained almost negligent. This kind of expatriation was sporadic and incident-



stricken. Most of those exiting Hellas were curious fortune hunters, sailors and merchants. There was a surge of expatriation of islander Greeks during the 1850s to Australia as a direct result of the gold rush epidemic, which lasted for almost thirty years. Systematic emigration of Hellenes to USA and Australia commenced from Hellas in the early 1880s by means of chain migration.

According to Xenides (1922:38) Greeks began to arrive in the U.S. in great numbers in 1891. They were settlers mainly from Peloponnesus, especially from Tripolis but also from other areas of Greece including Macedonia and the wider Asia Minor. During the first twenty years of massive settlement (1890-1910), a total of 216,962 immigrating Hellenes in the U.S., most of them (88 per cent) unskilled common labourers, found as their destination the large industrial urban centres of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and the industrial urban centres of Massachusetts. There were amongst them less than five per cent skilled labourers and the rest were farm workers, farmers, servants and professionals. Upon their arrival their destination was defined by the type of immigration and trade. Most of them followed the pattern of chain immigration; they settled in communes with their relatives or sponsors, usually four or five families living under one household. In broad terms, they scattered in all States, including Alaska and Hawaii, where in 1910, there were nine and 13 settlers correspondingly. Xenides (1922:73), based on the preceding works of Fairchild (1911), Burgess (1913), and Canastas (1918), claims that the number of Hellenes “*varies between 300,000 and 500,000*” whilst according to the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration the actual number was standing to 350,000, of which at least 95,000 were Macedonian Hellenes.

Hellene settlers managed by 1885 to build in the large urban centres of the two countries their own small business, mainly restaurants and cafés administered by family staff; some brought their trades from the old country: gobblers and stonemasons were employed immediately together with the miners, sponge-divers and timber cutters; some opened small bakeries, shoe repairs and shoe shine parlours, barber-shops, cigar and fruit stands, hair dressing saloons; several of them acted as peddlers selling fruits and food products and pool-rooms; fewer established their own importing and exporting businesses importing raisins and dry fruits from Greece. A couple of them were involved in the tobacco industry farming, producing and importing tobacco from Macedonia and Thrace via Egypt. Yet, there were also those who failed to become accustomed into their new environment; persisting racial attitudes, severe communication barriers and lack of proper employment compelled many pioneers to depart from the U.S. repatriating or seeking refuge to another Balkan or European city. For example, during the fiscal years 1908-1910, a total of 21,852 Hellenes left the U.S., most of them (89 per cent) unskilled common labourers, skilled workers (5 per cent) and the rest farm labourers, farmers, servants and people with no occupation. There were also 40 professional amongst them.

The pace of Greek immigration to USA accelerated after 1888 and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 more than 260,000 Greeks settled in the USA and Canada, of whom approximately 70,000 were from Macedonia. During the same period approximately 5,000 Hellenes, mainly from the Aegean and Ionian islands set-

tled in Australia. Available written sources attest that Greek settlement created serious gender instability and socio-psychological hardships as only less than five per cent of the settlers were females – the fourth smallest after the Turks, the Bulgarians and the Chinese. During the period 1899 to 1910 the *US Bureau of Immigration* compiled data relative to immigrants by race or people as well as by country of birth or origin. This departure was necessitated by the fact that among immigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries as well as from Canada the country of birth did not afford a satisfactory clue to the actual racial or ethnical status of such migrants. This time, the number of those immigrants who identified as Turks was reduced to a mere 12,954 settlers, whilst nobody declared any race or people as “Macedonian”.

The number of Greeks from the non-emancipated Greek-speaking areas in European and Asian Turkey drastically increased in U.S. after 1908 as a result of the compulsory Turkish military service. Another cause of the emigration from Turkey was religious, due to the conflict between Christianity and Islam. On the other hand, the number of those identified with Greek ethnicity or ancestry was increased to 216,962 of whom only 10,656 or 4.9 per cent were females. Increasing number of Macedonian Hellenes began to arrive after 1870 as a result of the turbulent political climate created in the southern parts of the Balkans because of Bulgarian nationalism and their irredentist aggression in the region. It was a period of deep gloom and alarm. Moreover, it was a period of political instability and neglect. The country site was totally abandoned and infested with numerous gangs of bandits; the urban centres were without resources, infrastructure or employment. Thousand of Macedonian Hellenes remained anxious about their socio-economic welfare and not without reason. They were experiencing continuous warfare and insurrectionary attacks in Macedonia. The number of Greek settlers in the U.S. began increasing as from 1907 to an average of 17,162 settlers annually for the next ten years. This influx was apprehended after March 1921, when the American Congress passed a legislation restricting the number of immigrants entering the U.S. to a maximum of three per cent of the people from any given country. The new ceiling of migration entry allowed only 3,283 persons to be admitted from Greece. Furthermore, the application of the new law worked great hardships on those Greeks from Asia Minor fleeing persecution and oppression and seeking shelter in the United States, as a refuge for the oppressed and downtrodden. The applied restrictions in U.S.A. and the massive exodus of over one million Greeks from Asia Minor diverted the stream of emigration for the U.S. to Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Macedonian peasantry mainly from the Florina and Kastoria districts began immigrating to Toronto and Richmond, large urban centres of Ontario, Canada, at approximately the same period as their fellow countrymen of Australia began to settle in the hinterland of Western Australia and Victoria. The occupational and settlement patterns, however, as we shall examine below were different. Macedonian immigrants in Canada, having spent some time in seasonal occupations in the cities and the countryside, settled permanently in Toronto, entering the restaurant and food industries. This mass immigration created a panic and the Ottoman authorities in 1909 were compelled to ban the exodus of all men under the age of thirty, while they persuaded the American immigration authorities to reject applications of prospective immigrants from Macedonia (Karpas, 1985:196). However, the

sophisticated ways of sending immigrants out to be employed by over thirty immigration agencies and travelling organizations who were involved with the immigration market in Macedonia kept the number of immigrants arriving to America high.

In most cases exorbitant commissions were claimed, increasing the fees for immigration to an amount of twelve British pounds, which represented the actual annual savings for an ordinary skilled labourer. This amount included the fees for their Piraeus-New York or Thessaloniki-New York tickets, usually eight British pounds, and the expenses for the issue of the passport and visa expenses which were paid to the American authorities. The French were the first to establish and operate their transatlantic shipping lines from Macedonia as early as 1898. Appointing agents in the main immigration centres of Florina, Kastoria, Kozani and Thessaloniki, they advertised excellent working conditions in the New Countries. These travelling networks claimed an average annual transportation of some 5,000 immigrants (Gounaris, 1989:142), while according to the records of the French *Transatlantique* from 1902 to 1907 this company sent away as many as 20,000. The profits from the immigration industry in Macedonia prompted other British and Italian shipping lines to join the venture. The British *Cunard White Star Line* entered the industry with a number of sub-agents in almost all major urban centres of Macedonia. The prospective immigrants were told by these cunning travel representatives, in the pages of the local newspapers, of comfortable trips through central Europe (Antwerp, Hamburg, Bremen), or France (Le Havre) or England (Glasgow, Liverpool), to New York or Canada. In 1915, the *Cunard White Star's* sub-agents in Thessaloniki, A. Papamosis and M. Tettos were advertising:

Macedonians!

Departing to America, do not forget to visit our agency. It is the oldest Macedonian agency. Most of you have travelled via our offices. Daily departures from Piraeus, Marseilles and by train to other European ports; with our colossal liners *Majestic*, *Berengaria*, *Aquitania*, *Olympic* and *Mauritania*.

There were no particular concentration centres for Macedonian immigrants in the U.S. or Canada. They were scattered from east to west of every state with trades which were more or less familiar from the old country. Their occupational patterns were, however, different from those of their compatriots twenty years later in Australia. Most tradesmen like shoemakers, carpenters and masons settled in the major urban American and Canadian centres, while unskilled labourers were popular as shop assistants, factory workers and seasonal labourers. Tanners, stone-masons and coal miners were in great demand and were paid enormous wages, sometimes six and seven times more than they could expect to earn in Macedonia. Only a few survived as market gardeners, timber cutters and farm labourers, the main occupations of their Australian counterparts. Those who were employed in the hinterland were occupied in the minefields because of the high risk factor involved and the consequent satisfactory wages.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, another large number of Macedonian immigrants moved to the countries of America Latina and in particular to Peru, Brazil and Ar-

gentina. These pioneer immigrants initially moved to Panama from North America and later on (1923) entered South America. The characteristic of their migration was the constant mobility in search of employment and their seasonal occupational patterns. Most of them settled in the large urban centres of Argentina, Uruguay and Peru and after WWII they arrived in larger number in Brazil. Several Macedonian Hellenes after amassing some wealth opened their own small business or commercial ventures; skilful migrants practiced the trades that they brought with them in Latin America. Available data attest that loads of Macedonian Hellenes in Argentina and Uruguay, although they had a distinguished presence as businessmen and community leaders, they did not set up any organize entity. In Buenos Ayres a fur industrialist from Siatista, Stephanos Tsingas, established his own fur and leather business and exported his goods in Europe and Russia. Tsingas also became the undisputed leader of the Greek Community of Buenos Ayres during the years 2004-2008. A significant number integrated into the local societies and their children soon were distinguished as high ranking government officials and politicians. For example, Siatistan brothers Ioannis, George and Christos Patsias settled in Lima, Peru; Demetrios Patsias studied geology in the State University of Peru and served for eight years as a conservative parliamentarian before becoming Minister of Mineral resources of Peru (Tamis, 2006:603ff).

In the more recent past, these factors encouraged by a vigorous and efficient travel agent network, both local and international as we shall see below, facilitated a more sophisticated migration, initially, from 1880 to the Americas and then from 1920 to Australia and New Zealand. The major difference between the Macedonian immigrants in the countries of Central Europe, Romania and the trading centres of the Black Sea, and those settled in the Americas and Oceania could be identified in the area of the mechanism of immigration. The former, after escaping financial indigence and terrorism in their native lands, were in fact returning immigrants. Their sojourn in their host countries was ephemeral and parochial, lasting usually for a short period of time. The latter were emigrating to settle permanently in the Americas and the Oceania regions. Some of them, having amassed a small fortune, repatriated and emerged as a new powerful social class in Macedonia. Once back, most of them settled down permanently, particularly after 1923. They were responsible for applying a new social order on the traditional peasant society, utilizing their experiences from the American and Australian phenomenon. Yet a substantial number of them, particularly those who returned only for the Balkan Wars, attempted to re-enter America during a period when its immigration authorities applied restrictions on immigration (1923). When Macedonian prospective immigrants found America's doors closed, they turned, with the assistance of the inventive, however mostly corrupt travel agents, to Australia.

The *padrone* or *patron* system imposed in the U.S., Canada and Australia from the middle of 1880s until the inception of government controlled migration, following the termination of WWII (Tamis, 2005:17ff), arguably has been detrimental for the welfare of underage and lack of English language impeded Greek and Macedonian Hellenes migrants. Thousand of migrants from the liberated kingdom and the rest of Hellas found themselves prisoners of this system of labour. Greek immigrants, who began to arrive in large numbers from the beginning of 1990 in the English speaking countries, found themselves prisoners of their patrons, who invited them from their native lands. The patrons were usually compatriots

or even relatives who acted as labour brokers, recruiting for large employers and then acted as overseers on the work site. In practice, many of them were like slave holders. In certain cases the padrone offered to pay the tickets of the migrant, in addition to lodge and boarding facilities, and then exploiting his age and his inability to communicate with the host authorities, he controlled his wages, contracts and even food supply. Underage and English language-impaired migrants under the padrone system were compelled to live generally under insanity conditions, to work long hours, without breaks from dawn to sunset.

The official reports of the U.S. Immigration Commissioner in 1911 clearly refer to the exploitation of underage Greek and Macedonian Hellenes immigrants by their patrons; numerous incidents of massive exploitation of immigrants from the entire Macedonian region, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia are reported to the American authorities, providing the names of the padrones and the victims, who “*do not even know that they are being sent to America as commercial ware and so are being exploited in Europe and also in the United States*”. Here is how another report describes the padrone system:

Among Macedonians the system for the most part affects peddlers of fruit and candies in many of the larger cities. Of the Bulgarians, Turks and Macedonians who are under the control of padrones, the majority are adults. Among the Greeks the padrone system is in operation in every city of the United States of over 10,000 populations, with few exceptions, and is confined in the main to shoe-shining establishments, although it is to a considerable extent prevalent among railroad labourers in the western States and among flower, fruit and vegetable vendors in Chicago. The aliens utilized by the system in peddling and in shoe shining are as a rule from 12 to 17 years of age, while those employed on railroad work are generally adults.

Greeks employed under the padrone system as flower vendors are few in number and are found principally in the city of New York. They are boys under 16 years of age, hired by florists and sent to park Row and other points in the city to sell flowers, principally old stock that cannot be sold at the stores...They usually live in basements or in filthy and unsanitary rooms; their quarters are sometimes located over stables in the same buildings in which are kept the horses and wagons used in the business...The bedrooms are small and poorly ventilated, and each is furnished with one or two beds; no sheets are used, no pillowcases and no pillows at times, but only rough, woollen blankets brought from Greece. These are seldom washed, and their odour is offensive owing to the filth and perspiration that permeate them. In these ill-smelling rooms occupants are crowded at the rate of two, three and sometimes four in one bed, with windows closed tight to permit no ventilation...The breakfast of the boys consists of black coffee and bread. With few exceptions they fast through the day until evening...

### **The Exodus to Terra Australis**

Greek settlement to Australia commenced in 1829 with the arrival of seven patriots convicted of piracy against the British Navy, west of Crete in the Mediterranean. They were brought to Malta where they were condemned to imprisonment and were sent as convicts



to the colony of New South Wales (Gilchrist, 1988:2; Tamis, 2005:11). Then, a few years prior to the Balkan Wars (1912) a small number of stonemasons and peasants from the Balkan countries under Ottoman rule, mainly Greeks, Albanians and Bulgarians settled in Western Australia. Existing data attest the arrival of approximately thirty Bulgarian labourers and forty Albanians who struggled to survive carrying on various seasonal occupations. They were concentrated initially in North Perth and were employed as construction labourers. According to Charles Price (1963) there were approximately thirty Macedonians in Australia by 1921 and 1,900 by 1947. It is plausible to argue that the first Macedonians may have arrived in this continent before the turn of the nineteenth century, possible via America, France or Constantinople. However, extensive research could not identify the first recorded arrival prior to 1914; a group of five Macedonian Hellenes from Kastoria settled first in Far North Queensland working in the sugar cane plantation outside Innisfail; by 1917 these pioneer settlers, taking advantage of the scarcity of labour in the market, arrived in Darwin seeking high paid remuneration and were employed at the *Vesteys Meatworks*. This massive abattoir was built by the Vestey's brothers at Bullocky Point to supply meat for the Australian army; it was a period of immense labour shortage as a result of WWI. The Macedonian Hellenes clustered together with other thirty Hellenes, who had arrived from the south eastern states of Australia, close to the meatworks at a location which was appropriately named "*Thessaloniki*". Soon after, the interconnecting street adjoining the meatworks with the railway was named "*Thessaloniki Crossing*". By 1920, when the work at the *Vesteys Meatworks* began to decline as a result of a demand for outrageous wages and the interference of the NT Workers Union, there were approximately eighty Hellenes in Darwin.

In July, 1924, approximately 250 immigrants arrived from Greek Macedonia, particularly from the district of Florina, which then included the Kastoria district, and to a lesser extent the Kozani district to settle in Perth, Melbourne and Adelaide. From the Kastoria district, there were several immigrants of Slavic background who identified with the Bulgarian national ideology. They sought employment in the small businesses of the Bulgarian pioneer settlers in Perth, mainly in Barrack Street, where they were employed as building construction assistants. A smaller number of those Bulgarophile Macedoslavs worked as market gardeners in the district of Fulham, West Adelaide, where some were also employed in dairy farms in the Gippsland area of Victoria. In broad terms, Macedonians, irrespective of their ethnic or national origin, more or less retained their old occupations in the new country. As it had been already ascertained about Macedonian Greek settlement in Australia most of these settlers travelled in small groups in the hinterland carrying on whatever work they could find- clearing farms in Manjimup, cutting railway sleepers in Greenbushes and Bridgetown, and deforesting land north of Geraldton in Western Australia. Many settlers in the rural parts of Victoria close to the urban centres of Melbourne, Werribee and Geelong, as small farmers, gardeners and timber cutters. A wave of fifty Florinian Macedonians settled in South Australia, by means of chain immigration. Most of them seized the opportunity to work as market gardeners in the areas of Fulham Gardens and Flinders Park on the farms of Bulgarian settlers, consequently, some became an integral part of the Bulgarian community, establishing the Balkan Club in the late 1930s, as we shall see below.



A rather large number of Macedonian Hellenes settled in rural south West Australia carrying from the old country their vast experience as tobacco growers and labourers, whilst



several unskilled immigrants were employed as timber and sleeper cutters in central New South Wales (N.S.W.). As in most urban centres the employment of southern European migrants was opposed by union action; many Macedonians were forced to work in unhealthy jobs and carry heavy posts in the steelworks of Port Kembla and Newcastle and the smelters of Port Pirie. Most of them were Macedoslavs from Polypotamos, Poimeniko, Makrohorri, Akritas, Skopia and Anno Kalliniki of north Western Macedonia. In 1928 another large wave of four hundred Macedonian immigrants arrived in Australia. The new settlers sought shelter in the business and small communes of the 1924 migrant intake. However, the con-

sequences of the Depression forced many of them to move to country areas of Victoria, N.S.W. and S.A. Living in pairs in small tents, they found scrub-clearing in a few towns of the Great Australian Bight and on the west coast of S.A., as well as timber-cutting in Crafton and areas of Coffs Harbour and Wauchope in central N.S.W. In most cases the settlement pattern involved groups of peasants from the same family and/or village creating small closely-knit, self-contained male clusters. These pioneer settlers were instrumental in bringing friends and relatives from the same village and creating larger concentrations in the urban centres.

From existing records, personal interviews and written sources, it is possible to ascertain that the first settlers to Australia from mainland Greece were the Macedonians. A stream of Macedonian settlement took place during the inter-war period and consisted mainly of immigrants from western Macedonia, particularly from the districts of Florina, Kastoria and Kozani. By contrast to the islander Hellenes, who moved into the food trades and small business, Macedonian Hellenes turned to farming-related occupations. During the first ten years of their settlement (1924-1934), almost eighty percent of them were dispersed in the countryside and bush. The few Macedonians left in the cities were stonemasons who were employed in the construction industry and some worked in the major ports of the country as dockside workers. A number of Macedonians became cane-cutters in Queensland, a few worked in the mines of N.S.W., particularly in the Broken Hill area and Coober Pedy. Most of these pioneer immigrants lived nomadically. Their life was monotonous and dull. On Sundays they looked after their tools, washed their clothes and bathed under very trying conditions. Sometimes they exchanged visits with compatriots, walking long distances to get to the nearest camp for *tavli* or a game of cards.

In Melbourne the Macedonians, irrespective of their Greek or Slavic origin, were often refused the opportunity to seek or to obtain work. Many immigrants, including southern Europeans particularly Yugoslavs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Italians and Hellenes, complained of discrimination and ill-treatment. Their protests are evident in statements to their honorary consuls as well as in the form of letters to their home governments and their press both locally and in their old country. They protested against the hostile attitude of the Australian press, the persecution and isolation of the southern Europeans, the denial of opportunity to seek or obtain work and the lack of consular protection. They also referred to the various cases of ill-treatment and assaults, as well as to the stoning incidents at Broken Hill on 16 December 1924 and Sydney in October 1924 when the victims were Greek, Italian, Yugoslav, Bulgarians and Albanian immigrants (Tamis, 1994:108-109).

The arrival of the first wave of Macedonian Hellenes in 1924 coincides with the Australian Government's application of its second control on the immigration and settlement of southern Europeans. The first restrictions had been imposed on Greek and Maltese immigration by means of prohibiting their entry completely, on the eve of the Australian Government's Referendum for conscription for military service overseas in 1916. This was a result, perhaps, of the public outcry that the government was importing cheap labour against Australians fighting on the European fronts. British, native-born and naturalized Australians were protesting that southern Europeans were undermining the Australian

quality of life and thus lowering the living standards. Following the wartime embargo on Greek immigrants entering the country (1916-1919), the Australian Government applied quota restrictions during the immediate post-war period. By the year 1924 only 1,200 new settlers a year from Greece were allowed into the country and it was mandatory for them to produce 40 pounds landing money to meet the initial basic settlement costs and the possibility of temporary unemployment, without burdening the already weakened economy of the country. However, the latter restriction became the subject of manipulation by many southern Europeans entering the country. In certain cases faked certificates were issued, at the cost of 1.10 pounds by Greek travel agents:

“My Greek informant tells me in confidence that a way in which the difficulty of showing 40 pounds Landing Money is overcome is by the production of a Bank Draft, usually in London, for the face values of 40 pounds. He states that Agents in Greece issue Drafts to prospective migrants on payment of a fee ranging from one to ten pounds, and that the said drafts are of no monetary value.”

(Inspector A.D. MacLennan's Report, Perth Investigation Branch, Attorney-General's department, *Australian National Archives*, ACT A367, *Dardalis Archives*)

By 1927, the Australian Commonwealth imposed the anti-migrational *Landing Money* obligation, requiring each prospective migrant to present 40 pounds on arrival in addition to other restrictive mechanisms introduced by the States. Immigrants from Macedonia mortgaged their family properties in their old country in order to secure the appropriate bank draft of 40 pounds. In certain instances the difficulty of showing the 40 pound *Landing Money* was overcome by travel agents in Greece who issued drafts of no monetary value to prospective migrants on payment of a fee ranging from one to ten pounds. In November 1927, the Agricultural Bank and the Industries Assistance Board, acting on a decree issued by the Ministry of Labour, ceased to advance money for clearing or other improvements on holdings to farmers and employers generally, unless the work was done by Australia-born citizens or naturalised British subjects. Exceptions were granted only in isolated instances and when it was adequately proven that British labour was not available. In December 1924, the eighth Australian Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce (1883-1967), announced as a policy that the number of Greeks, Macedonian Hellenes and Yugoslavs immigrants for Australia will be kept at a maximum of 100 per month. Access to employment was a constant problem. The fact that most Macedonian Hellenes were not naturalized excluded them not only from the public sector but also from business supported by the Industries Assistance board in all States. Certain Macedonians were disqualified from working in the mines by the mining wardens when they were found to be unfamiliar with mining terms. Labour unions objected to the employment of foreigners “*whose ignorance of English precluded even the barest interchange of messages and in certain trades this disability was an absolute bar to their employment*”.

The ostensible reason for this embargo was to protect the interests of British labour against the foreigners. The restrictions which the Government placed on settlers receiving state assistance were intended in addition to preventing price cutting to the detriment of

British labour. It was, however, generally recognized that clearing was performed more efficiently and in a shorter time by the Southern Europeans than by the British. The official policy of the Government regarding southern Europeans, including Macedonian Hellenes, was clearly restated by the Premier of Western Australia, P. Collier, who, speaking at the Primary Producers' Conference in August 1928, claimed it was fair to give Australian and British migrants preference in the selection of land, in the clearing of that land and in other necessary development works. Three years earlier (1925) the Victorian-born Premier of South Australia, John Gunn (1884-1959) protested against so many foreigners entering the Commonwealth. The *Soldiers' Fathers' Association* reminded the employers and the Commonwealth Government that they "*resent the insult offered to Australia's 59,330 dead soldiers sons by the Commonwealth Government filling their places with Jugoslavs, Italians, Greeks, Macedonians and other Mediterranean races now migrating to Australia.*"

The restriction of the 40 pounds Landing Money was considered to be a farce also by WA authorities "as the same money was sent back to Italy for the next migrant". Certain Macedonian immigrants were met by their respective community agencies and compatriots at the docks at Fremantle and were sent directly to jobs in the south-west part of the State where they were employed as timber-cutters and gardeners. The restrictions applied during the years 1924-1929 were followed again by the complete prohibition of entry to all southern Europeans by the labour Government which took office in 1929. Only close relatives and dependants for family reunion purposes and prospective foreign business were admitted. The embargo policies on southern Europeans in effect continued well after the downfall of the Labour Government in 1932 and its succession by the Joseph Lyons Government, which even imposed a land money restriction of 500 pounds until 1936.

Macedonian Hellenes upon their arrival in Western Australia sought refuge in the country areas during the period of the Australian Depression period (1922-1935), since the problem of unemployment was more acute in Perth and in Sydney. During the 1930s, in Perth tens of starving unemployed Macedonians, Greek and Slavs, had been trapped destitute, seeking the assistance of the State to be sent back home. In a plea published in Perth's mainstream papers, their representatives publicly outlined that they were deceived by travel agencies under false pretences to migrate to Australia and were left to starve without any support of employment:

"Many of us were induced to immigrate under false pretences, the conditions prevailing having been grossly exaggerated. When restrictions were placed upon the entry of our nationals into America, immigration harpies, finding their sources of income menaced, inciting us to emigrate to Australia, by telling us that we could get wages there at the rate of one or two pounds per day, and that living was cheap, just like it was in our country. And to get us into their clutches more tightly, they offered such inducements as the advance of the passage money and landing fees. For these advances we had to promise reimbursement, paying interest, also, at the rate of 50 and even, sometimes, 100 per cent...

As a result of the crisis, we find ourselves in deplorable conditions. No money, no food, no clothes and no beds! Although we are registered at the Government Labor Bureau there are

not any jobs for us, and because we were not born under the Union Jack we cannot obtain employment relief. The consular representative has no funds at his disposal to aid us. We have been sober, honest and industrious citizens. By hard tool we have earned hundreds of pounds in the quarries, as sleeper-cutters and in the farming industry. But much of this money has not been paid us. Only recently some of us came down to Perth from Yandanooka, having had to leave behind 700 pounds, which we cannot collect. We would willingly give the right to the federal Government to collect this money, if they would repatriate us and supply us with the necessities of life until such time as we leave Australia. Hundreds of us are starving and we want to go away. Please help us, in our dire need, to obtain what is only a human right.”

Isolated from government institutions they turned for assistance mainly to islander Hellenes, who were involved in the tobacco and timber cutting industry, relatives and compatriots and the *Salvation Army*. Furthermore, the insecurity of employment for those who were in the city of Melbourne led most Macedonians to move to the country areas on foot. The settlers from Kastoria and Florina were occupied largely with wood chipping and market gardening; many cut sleepers for the railways and most of them leased large farms, in the areas of Werribee, Gippsland and Shepparton. By contrast, the immigrants from Kozani, following the chain immigration system, remained in Melbourne and the large urban centres and were employed in shops owned by islander Hellenes. A large number of them, in the 1930s, were self-employed, selling fish and fruit on carts to their customers in the various suburbs. During the years 1928-1931, Macedonian Hellenes in Melbourne were forced to increase membership of their communes to survive the severe economic crisis. Many considered it an insult to accept charity such as common meals or to be taken in by the *Salvation Army*. In 1928 certain sections of the society, unions, Labour press, RSL branches, timber workers and parliamentarians were applying strong pressure on the State governments to prohibit the entry of southern Europeans. The WA government of Philip Collier was particularly hostile:

“...The solution of the problem of immigration of Southern Europeans to Australia lay in their total exclusion. The only other alternative was to admit those races on a quota system which would maintain the predominance of the British stock. If they were lawfully admitted, they should not be prevented by statutes from earning a living. They should be employed in work for which they were most suited. The majority of the Italian immigrants were accustomed to farm work, and they should be employed in the clearing of millions of acres of land which had to be opened up in this state. If they opened business in town they could generally undersell the Australian, who was accustomed to a higher standard of living...”

(J. Cornell's M.L.C. speech in the Fremantle *RSL* Branch, 16 August 1928, West Australia, p. 28)

When sufficient financial conditions prevailed in 1936 and the apparent outcry on the part of the British and native-born Australian eased, the Lyons Government relaxed the heavy restrictions on southern European immigration by reducing the 500 pound to 200 pound



and by allowing prospective immigrants with 50 pounds of their own to enter the country and be employed in occupations where vacancies existed (Price, 1963:93). Although the restrictions reduced the number of Greek islanders, they did not affect the number of Macedonian Hellenes, particularly in Western Australia and Victoria, during the period 1924-1929.

During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Macedonian Hellenes canvassed serious socio-psychological problems living mainly as bachelors; the scarcity of Greek women was augmented by the fact that mainstream social perceptions were against inter-ethnic marriages with southern Europeans. As a matter of fact it was unacceptable for a local girl to marry a Greek settler. Unmarried Macedonian Hellenes were not socially accepted by the broader Anglo-Celtic majority, and mainly Anglo-Australians, particularly in the small rural centres, considered any in-law engagement with a Greek or even a de facto relation as a social stigma. On the other hand the Macedonian Hellenic family, being strongly male centric during these years, did not allow initiatives and innovative activities by their female children. It was, therefore, inconceivable for young female Macedonians to marry outside the broader Greek community. The situation, however, changed by 1982, when the percentage of marriages outside the Greek family surpassed 30 percent, with the exception of the Greek community in Darwin, where intra-communal marriage rate was almost 92 percent. During the first fifty years of settlement, family events such as weddings and baptisms, even simple name-days, included the whole rural settlement, with relatives and people from the same home country village coming from long distances, even interstate. The first marriages involving Macedonian Hellenes began to appear after 1939, increasing thereafter.

In the 1890s and 1900s mining, fruit and grocery distributing businesses, and restaurant operations began to replace farming and sugarcane labouring as the main occupations among Greek immigrants. Sydney and Melbourne were the main centres for these employments. With the arrival of Macedonian Hellenes the occupational patterns changed. Most islander Greeks pursued commercial and industrial employments, whereas Macedonian Hellenes sought to work as market gardeners close to the metropolitan centres or as farmhands and timber-cutters. This was because the islander Greeks became urbanized more rapidly than the Macedonian Greeks. The urbanisation of the Macedonian Hellenes commenced only after 1936 for those involved in the mining, farming and railroad construction projects. The occupational structure of Macedonian Hellenes underwent another severe change after 1946 when they brought their families from Greece. Timber-cutting declined sharply due to restrictive government policies in the late 1930s, whereas market gardening experienced a steady growth, primarily because of the lack of objection by other non-British producers of vegetables- mainly Chinese and Italians.

Macedonian Greek immigration was influenced immensely by the fact that it was based on kinship, family values and loyalties. Pioneer immigrants had no choice but to follow the settlement and occupational patterns selected by the senior members of the family, to follow professions that had been followed by the pioneer settlers of their family and to safeguard the customs and tradition of their village of origin. Many young Macedonian Hellenes in Australia remained unmarried out of family obligations towards their single sisters that



they left in the old country; some decided to marry in order to provide a family environment and to look after their elderly parents. The formation of crowded communes in farm-houses and houses in the inner suburban areas of Melbourne, Perth, Sydney, Newcastle and Adelaide (1924-1968) whereby single young men or families of the same kinship or compatriots shared common facilities must be seen across these lines. Companionship, security, financial advancement and easy access to accommodation were the advantages of the communal system. The main concerns of the pre-war Macedonian Hellenes were for their children to maintain loyalty to the village's customs and values, not to marry outside the ethnic group and to maintain the mother tongue.

Macedonian Hellenes working as gold-miners, sugar and timber-cutters, farm-clearing labourers and market gardeners survived the hostile conditions, the anti-foreign restrictive legislations and labour union bans and came in the 1930s with a readiness to be accommodated within the broader Australian society. During the first twenty-five years of their settlement in Australia (1924-1949), they avoided entering into direct competition and conflict with the Australian public, selecting professions and occupations which were not broadly accepted by the Anglo-Australians. However, they could not avoid the anti-foreign feeling that flared up in the country, following a sharp increase of Asian and southern Europeans immigrants settling in Australia.

Anglo Australians viewed the situation with a degree of prejudice which was inflated by the fear that Australia would be flooded with Asians and southern Europeans as a result of the restrictive immigration policies of the U.S. Available data indicate that the total number of Macedonian immigrants, irrespective of their ethnic orientation, who arrived in Australia in 1924 to 1,700, as against 4,000 southern Italians and about 88,000 British. Yet, their arrival generated a fierce press campaign against the "invasion" of non-British immigrants, involving the labour unions, the *Returned Servicemen's League (R.S.L.)*, Church groups and political parties. After 1935, assisted by the islander Greeks in the capital cities and with the implementation of more liberal immigration rules by the Joseph Lyons Commonwealth Government, many Macedonian Hellenes changed their occupational patterns and their style or residence in the bush, settling in the large urban centres. Some were urbanized partly to survive certain discriminatory laws against them; several, partly as a reaction to the unfamiliar British-oriented Australian environment; finally, a larger section in order to accommodate more productively their experiences from the old country. A number of Macedonian Hellenic organizations sprang up in the 1930s not only as a result of the prevailing conditions but also because of the parochialism which characterised the Greek community of the time and the lack of their acceptance by the islander Greeks in their club rooms. A few associations emerged also to counterbalance the increasing presence of Bulgarophile Macedoslav groups in Perth and Melbourne. The struggle for an identity began.

## Bibliography

- Burgess, Thomas (1913), *Greeks in America*, Sherman, French and Company, New York.
- Canoutas, S. G. (1918), *Hellenism in America*, Self publication, New York.
- Dakin, D. (1966), *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897-1913*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki.
- Fairchild, Henry Pratt (1911) *Greek Migration to the United States*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Ferenczi, I. (1969) "Introduction and Notes in F. W. Wilcox (ed.)", *International Migrations*, pp. 93-95, New York.
- Gilchrist, H. (1988a), "The Greek connection in the nineteenth century" in A. Kapardis and A. M. Tamis (eds.), *Hellenes in Australia*, River Seine Press, Melbourne.
- Gilchrist, H. (1988b), "The Hellenes and the Australians" in J. Jupp (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of the Australian People*, pp. 507-511, Angus and Robertson.
- Gounaris, B. (1989), "Emigration from Macedonia the Early Twentieth Century, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7:133-153, Princeton.
- Hill, P. (1988), "Macedonians" in J. Jupp (ed) *The Encyclopaedia of the Australian People*, pp. 685-691, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.
- Hill, P. (1989), *The Macedonians in Australia*, Hesperian Press, Sydney.
- Karpat, K.H. (1985), "The Ottoman Emigration to America", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17:175-209.
- Kapardis and Tamis (1988) (eds.) *Hellenes in Australia*, River Seine Press, Melbourne.
- Natsinas, Th. M. (1939), *Macedonian Merchants in the Countries of Austria and Hungary*, Thessaloniki.
- Papandrianos, A. (1993), *Greek Immigrants in Yugoslav States*, Vantias Publishing, Thessaloniki
- Papandrianos, I. (1990), "Macedonian Immigrants to the North-Western Regions of the Balkans, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, in A. M. Tamis (ed.) *Macedonian Hellenism*, pp. 125-129, River Seine Press, Melbourne.
- Petrovski, T (1981), "Macedonian Emigration to the U.S.A.", *Macedonian Review*, 11:102-110.
- Tamis, A. M. (1990) (ed.), *Macedonian Hellenism*, River seine Press, Melbourne.
- Tamis, A.M. (1994), *The Immigration and Settlement of Macedonian Greeks in Australia*, La Trobe University Press, Melbourne.
- Tamis, A. M. (1997), *An Illustrated History of Hellenes in Australia*, La Trobe University Press, Melbourne.
- Tamis, A.M. and D. Tsolakis (1999), *The History of the Greeks in Canberra and Districts*, NCHSR, Melbourne.
- Tamis, A. M. and E. Gavaki (2002), *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration to Australia and Canada*, NCHSR, Melbourne.
- Tamis, A. M. (2005), *Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, London.
- Tamis, A. M. (2008), "Macedonian Identities in the Diaspora: The Case of Australia" in Vassilios Gounaris, Ioannis Hassiotis and Vlassis Vlassidis (eds.) *Contemporary Identities and Policies*, pp. 323-369, Foundation for Macedonian Struggle, Thessaloniki.
- Tamis, A. M. (2011), *Greeks in the Far Orient*, Vantias, Thessaloniki.

- Tamis, A. M. (2012a), "Zissis Dardalis, The Maecenas", in *A Trilogy of Greek Voices in Australia*, Vantias Publishing, Thessaloniki.
- Tamis, A. M. (2013), *Macedonian Hellenes*, FAATH, Thessaloniki (under publication).
- Todorov, N. (1983), *The Balkan City, 1400-1900*, University of Washington Press, Washington.
- Vakalopoulos, A. (1958), *The History of Macedonia*, EMS, Thessaloniki.
- Xenides, J. P. (1922), *The Greeks in America*, George H. Doran Company, New York.

Greek Bibliography:

- Λουκέρης, Κώστας και Κυριακή Πετράκη (2011), (επιμ.), *Οι Δρόμοι των Ελλήνων*, Εκδόσεις, Polaris, Αθήνα.
- Κολιόπουλος, Ιωάννης και Ιάκωβος Μιχαηλίδης (2011), (επιμ.), *Οι Μακεδόνες στη Διασπορά*, 17ος 18ος και 19ος αιώνας, Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Τάμης, Α. Μ. (1997), *Η Ιστορία των Ελλήνων της Αυστραλίας*, τ. 1<sup>ος</sup>, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Τάμης, Α. Μ. (2000), *Η Ιστορία των Ελλήνων της Αυστραλίας*, τ. 2<sup>ος</sup>, Ellikon Press, Melbourne.
- Τάμης, Α. Μ. (2006), *Οι Έλληνες της Λατινικής Αμερικής*, Ελληνικά Γράμματα, Αθήνα.
- Τάμης, Α. Μ. (2012), «Ελληνισμός της Αυστραλίας: Εγκατάσταση, ωρίμανση και μετεξέλιξη» in Α. Kontis and N. Tatsis , *Η Ελληνική Διασπορά στην Αυστραλία*, σσ. 27-42, Παπαζήσης, Αθήνα.
- Χασιώτης, Ι. Κ. (1993), *Επισκόπηση της Ιστορίας της Νεοελληνικής Διασποράς*, Βάνιας, Θεσσαλονίκη.



Macedonian Army Pezetairios

The **Pezetairios** was the name of the pedestrian elite soldier of the army of Macedonia.

The body of Pezetairion was the bodyguard of Philip II and his son Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Phalanx was made up of soldiers which were mostly self-employed, farmers with small holdings and urban dwellers.

The name was in correspondence with their partners, who were on horseback with aristocratic lineage.

Ο **Πεζεταίρος** ήταν η ονομασία του πεζού επίλεκτου στρατιώτη του στρατού της Μακεδονίας.

Το σώμα των Πεζεταίρων αποτελούσε τη σωματοφυλακή του Φίλιππου Β' καθώς και του γιου του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου και συγκροτούσε τη Μακεδονική Φάλαγγα, στρατιώτες της οποίας ήταν κυρίως ελεύθεροι επαγγελματίες, αγρότες με μικρές ιδιοκτησίες και κάτοικοι πόλεων.

Η ονομασία τους ήταν σε αντιστοιχία με τους εταίρους, οι οποίοι ήταν έφιπποι με αριστοκρατική καταγωγή.

## Twenty years from the Journey Home Twenty years Museum of Byzantine Culture

AGATHONIKI TSILIPAKOU, Ph.D. Archaeologist,  
Director of Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki. Hellas  
Email: [ntsilipakou@yahoo.gr](mailto:ntsilipakou@yahoo.gr)

*Summary: The Museum of Byzantine Culture is a state museum, which is part of the Ministry of Culture and Sports. The building, a work of art and historically listed monument, constructed between 1989-1993 and based on the plans of Kyriakos Krokos, joins elements of modernism and of Greek architectural heritage. It has received a special notion by the international committee of the competition Awards 2000 of the Hellenic Institute for Architecture. In 2005, the Museum of Byzantine Culture was awarded the "Museum Prize" of the Council of Europe, given for the first time in its history to a Greek museum. The Museum received this distinction because of its "visitors-friendly" and educational character. The eleven rooms of the permanent exhibition opened gradually to the public from 1997 to the beginning of 2004. 2014 is a landmark, because there have been supplemented twenty years from its first opening to the public. One of our goals is to organize exhibitions with institutions located both in Greece and abroad. We aim at establishing unique events promoting not only scholarly research, but also dissemination of knowledge to the wider public. The Museum's overall work involves a variety of subjects connected to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine culture, and the role of Thessaloniki as the most important political, economic, intellectual, and artistic centre after Constantinople in the process of its incorporation in the Modern Greek state.*

According to the writings of the unforgettable Eftychia Kourkoutidou - Nicolaidou, first Director of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, curator of Byzantine Antiquities at the time of its foundation, in the first part (1994) of the trilingual periodic edition *Museum of Byzantine Culture*: "*The Museum which has recently been founded in Thessaloniki is intended to be a centre for the preservation, investigation and study of those remnants of Byzantine culture which still survive in Macedonia in general, and Thessaloniki in particular, the most important centre after Constantinople in the European part of the Byzantine Empire*", "*Parallel the new museum with its permanent exhibitions, its attractive spaces for temporary exhibitions on special themes, its modern conservation laboratories, its scientifically laid - out archaeological storerooms providing a place of research and investigation for the Museum's constant renewal, its educational programs for young people, its information systems, its regular scientific and scholarly meetings and conferences, and many cultural events....will function as a second pole for research into and promotion of Byzantine culture*" together with the monuments of the city themselves.





This year the Museum of Byzantine Culture is celebrating. 2014 is a landmark, because there have been supplemented twenty years from its first opening to the public with the first temporary exhibition “Byzantine Treasures of Thessaloniki. The Return Journey” on 11th September 1994. That way officially opened by the prime minister himself, the Museum of Byzantine Culture. That inaugural exhibition with the inspired title marked the return of the Byzantine Antiquities, in June 1994<sup>1</sup>, which were repatriated after about eighty years of their residence in Athens, in the Byzantine and Christian Museum where they have been transferred in 1916 and delimits the end of a long-lasting effort for the foundation of Byzantine Museum in Macedonia and more specifically in Thessaloniki, which is connected with events and persons of the modern and contemporary

history of Modern Greek state.

In August 1913, a decree issued by the Governor General of Macedonia, Stephanos Dragoumis, resolved to establish a «Central Byzantine Museum» in Thessaloniki (no 746/21.8.1913/Government Gazette, Annex of Thessaloniki, 3th September, serial number 25 - decree of 31th August), which stipulates that the museum is to be installed in Acheiropoietos church. In a relevant letter written by Archbishop Gennadios of Thessaloniki (no 661/22.8.1913) is clearly apparent the properness of that church, “quite capable...of serving as the auspiciously founded Central Byzantine Museum of Greece”. In the same year (9-9-1913) Adamandios Adamandiou, Professor of Byzantine Art and Archaeology in Athens University, curator of Christian and Medieval Monuments since 1908, presented (written in 7-9-1913) Dragoumis with a “Memorandum on the Establishment and Organisation of a Central Byzantine Museum in Macedonia”, “a general diagram of the establishment and scientific organization of the Museum” developing among other reasons, why “has been reserved under Divine Providence, the second capital of the Byzantine Empire, the official medieval city of Thessaloniki as the city of the Central Byzantine museum” because “Where else, owing to both its geographical position between West and East and its exalted historical statue, in the fullest sence, in the Byzantine Empire, is more favourably predestined to be the finest centre of research into Christian and Byzantine art than the great and glorious Byzantine city of Thessaloniki?” Thessaloniki is “the city that symbolizes the national ideal of the reestablishment of the Great Greek Empire”, indicates the revival of the Great Idea including the patriotic enthusiasm but then political considerations necessitated the establishment of a Byzantine and at least Christian Museum in Athens, as it was defined in article 1 of the Law N. 401/17-11-1914 (Government Gazette, ΦΕΚ 347/Α'/25-11-1914), that it shall contain “works of Byzantine, mediaeval, and Christian Art from the early Christian period until the establishment of the Greek Kingdom with the exception of those in Macedonia”. Article 9 explains that “a second royal decree may establish another museum in Thessaloniki

<sup>1</sup> The word “return” refers in the ministerial decision (ΥΠΠΟ/ΑΡΧ/Β2/Φ21/44861/467/6-9-1993) of the approval of the return to Thessaloniki and deposit at the Museum of Byzantine Culture of specific icons and relics, which had been transferred to Athens and kept at the Byzantine and Christian Museum.



for the works in Macedonia under the direction of the curator of Byzantine and Medieval Monuments”.

On 31st December 1915, when in Thessaloniki had already landed allied troops of the Entente, the electoral commission of the Byzantine and Christian Museum decided, according relevant suggestion of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education, the passage of Adamandiou to Thessaloniki “to rescue the relics which had been found at risk because of the specific circumstances” (Proceedings of the fourth Session). Adamandiou collected with the help of the lawyer G. Komitopoulos and transferred to Athens in early 1916, more than 1600 objects, which have been imported in the Byzantine and Christian Museum and remained in its exhibition or in its storerooms until 1994.

The interest of founding Byzantine Museum in Thessaloniki regenerated after the change of polity in 1975. By a relevant act of the Central Archaeological Council (18/25.5.1975) a nationwide architectural competition was announced in 1977 about the design of the new building and it was won by the unforgettable and distinguished architect and painter Kyriakos Krokos, who was asked to develop the final study<sup>2</sup>. The first phase of the study completed in 1978-1979, while the second after six years, during 1985-1987 in collaboration with the architect G. Makris (partners architects: G. Kalavritinou, L. Mantziou and N. Rokas) because of a problem of the concession of the preferred land (part of the former Tsiroyiannis Army Camp), property of the National Defence Fund, for the construction of new museum, that was resolved 1984 with the personal intervention of the then Prime Minister and Minister for National Defence, Andreas Papandreou. In 1988 the project of construction was included among the European Community's Integrated Mediterranean Programs. The foundation stone was laid in March 1989 by the unforgettable Melina Merkouri, Minister for Culture in that period. The building was completed and handed over in October 1993. On 13 April 1993 the Minister for Culture, Mrs Dora Bakoyanni, in consultation with the Central Archaeological Council, issued a decision approving the museographical program proposed by the Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities responsible for the Museum and the name put forward by the Ephorate: “the Museum of Byzantine Culture”. Since 1997 the Museum of Byzantine Culture has had the status of an independent initially regional service of the Ministry of Culture and Sports as it was defined in the § 15 of the article 7 of the Law N. 2557/23-12-1997 (“Institutions, measures and actions for cultural development”, ΦΕΚ 271/Α'/24-12-1997). By decision of minister it would be established the regulation of Museum's operation, would be regulated matters about the organisation, operation and its administration, the relations with the Ephorates (Services) of Byzantine Antiquities of Ministry and each other necessary detail, which has been achieved by the ministerial decision ΥΠΠΟ/ΓΝΟΣ/50304/26-10-1999 (ΦΕΚ 2018/Β'/17-11-1999), according to which the Museum now established as a special regional Service, Directorate level and located on the Stratou Avenue and in the White Tower<sup>3</sup>. Purposes of the Museum defined as follows:

*Article 4, Purposes: The Museum of Byzantine Culture is a scientific foundation, open to the public with wider cultural and educational character, and has the purpose of collection, preservation, protection, conservation, exhibition, promotion, and study of works and objects of the Early Christian, Byzantine, Medieval in general and post - Byzantine period, derived mainly from the geographical area of Macedonia and from the excavation material in the area of responsibility of the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities with which cooperates directly. The Museum of Byzantine*

---

<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of the competition started his collaboration with the designer Tasia Papanikolaou.

<sup>3</sup> Previous decision (ΥΠΠΟ/ΔΙΟΙΚ/Α/21457/7-5-1999, ΦΕΚ 884/Β/26-5-1999) has defined that Museum of Byzantine Culture belongs from its establishment to the special regional Services of the Ministry of Culture and is added thereto as listed in the provisions of the article 39 of the presidential decree ΠΔ 94/1977 about the Organization of the Ministry of Culture.

---

*Culture also cooperates appropriate with other EBA, if this is necessary for the enrichment and the fuller, better and more scientifically documented presentation of its exhibitions. The Museum of Byzantine Culture in the context of carrying out its objectives, addressed to the wide public, encourages appropriate activities to increase attendance of visitors to the museum, promotes recreational and educational contact of the public with its collections and guarantees the science-based and internationally probationary museological approach of their presentation."*

Then the structure and the above mentioned responsibilities are amended after publication of the presidential decree ΠΔ/191 ("Organization of the Ministry of Culture", ΦΕΚ 146/Α'/13-6-2003) as it was defined in the article 56. Its responsibilities described in detail as follows: "matters relating to the acquisition, acceptance, storage, conservation, registration, documentation, research, study, publication, exhibition and promotion to the public objects of the Early Christian, Byzantine, Medieval in general and post-Byzantine period in Northern Greece, as of the modern era with issues relating to the Byzantine and Christian art".

The building of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, among the best works of public architecture of the last decades in Greece, has been received «outside competition» a special notion by the international committee of the competition «Awards 2000» of the Hellenic Institute for Architecture as «an exemplary of its kind and worthy example of large public building, in the category of Public Works». In 2001 the Ministry of Culture has declared it a historically protected monument, and a work of art (ΥΠΠΟ/ΔΙΛΑΠ/Γ/3142/55420/19-10-2001, ΦΕΚ 1458/Β'/22-10-2001).



Main features of the museum is the large "aithrion", courtyard with perimeter Gallery after the external entrance opened in the masonry, which rises to the north to isolate the area from the intensity of the Stratou Avenue. The intention of the architect was "this space to work apocalyptic causing memory". As Krokos confides: "I wanted a space that movement in it gives a feeling of freedom, shaking senses, and where the exhibit will be the surprise within the movement." [...] "The form of the building without obvious references to another era, with main materials concrete and brick - is a picture I have from the block of flats before plastered when they are showing their little truth". Indeed in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, after integration of all permanent exhibitions in 2004, the visitor "is getting a strong feeling of walking through the past",

the presentation and the interpretation in the Museum are not only original and surprising, but can also be moving sometimes", as Ms Aleid Rensen member of the EMF judging committee pointed.

The Museum, a pioneer in addressing both the exhibits and the actions and the high quality of its services in perfect balance with each other, was awarded the "Museum Prize" of the Council of Europe for 2005, one of the major European distinctions in the field of cultural heritage, given for the first time in its history to a Greek museum. The above mentioned Prize has been awarded every year since 1977 to a museum which has either recently completed its permanent exhibition, or re-

organized the presentation of its collections, the criterion being that the museum has contributed significantly to awareness of Europe's common cultural heritage, selected from among a number of candidate museums put forward by the European Museum Forum's judging committee. The decision to give the prize to the Museum of Byzantine Culture was taken unanimously by the Council of Europe's Committee for Culture, Science and Education in Paris on 2 December 2004, that has been announced in a letter to the Museum on 15 December by the President of the Parliamentary session of the Council of Europe Peter Schieder. The jury based its decision on "the excellence of the museum" and the "balance between conservation, preservation, and presentation" of the exhibits, noting in particular the absence of show-cases and the promotion of the conservation work. It described the Museum as "visitors-friendly" and underlined its educational character. The official award ceremony coincided with the 50th anniversary of the European Cultural Treaty and took place on 26 April 2005 at the Palais Rohan in Strasbourg. The trophy, the statuette "femme aux beaux seins" by Joan Miro had been displayed at the Museum for a year and today in the same position is a photographic depiction beside the main entrance to the permanent exhibition.

The eleven rooms of the permanent exhibition opened gradually to the public from 1997 to the beginning of 2004. In an area of 3,430 m<sup>2</sup> presented through authentic exhibits, coming mainly from Thessaloniki and Macedonia, visual material and multimedia, aspects of Byzantine and post-Byzantine culture through various thematic and according to standard integration in periods of Byzantine history and art, with particular emphasis on perfect and imaginative museographic and artistic design. There are exhibited 3190 archaeological objects, relics and works of art from the 46.000 and more included in the collections, which date from the 2nd to the 20th century AD.

The visitor after the reception area enters and proceeds to an internal corridor, "dromos", a helical ascendant path to reach the level of which he started through a large scale. This corridor unifies the exhibition areas giving at the same time the visitor the possibility of choice, to visit a concrete room without seeing obligatorily previous rooms. "This adversative relation of route and room also intensified with the different treatment of materials, characterizes the quality of internal space of Museum". The lighting of this route becomes from internal courtyards and windows - panes of glass, while the lighting of rooms from superstructure with sun protected elements.

The first three rooms are related to the Early Christian period and address issues of transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Byzantine period in the course of predominance of the Christian religion and its triumph from the 4th to 6th c. AD. In the first room («The Early Christian temple»), that was inaugurated in June 1997, is approached the architecture, decoration, liturgical vessels and equipment of an early Christian church through the basic type of the woodenroofed aisled basilica. Of particular interest are the marble incrustations, the marble revetment slabs and mosaics of the churches of St. Demetrius and Acheiropoitos, mother – of – pearl incrustation from mural decorations, glass panes, wall paintings and architectural sculptures (slabs, capitals, imposts).



*Extremely rare frieze, of 5th-6th century, from the church of St. Minas: fourteen relief plaques depicting animals and birds are separated with rich soft acanthus leaves impress with their realism and the successful expression of movement.*

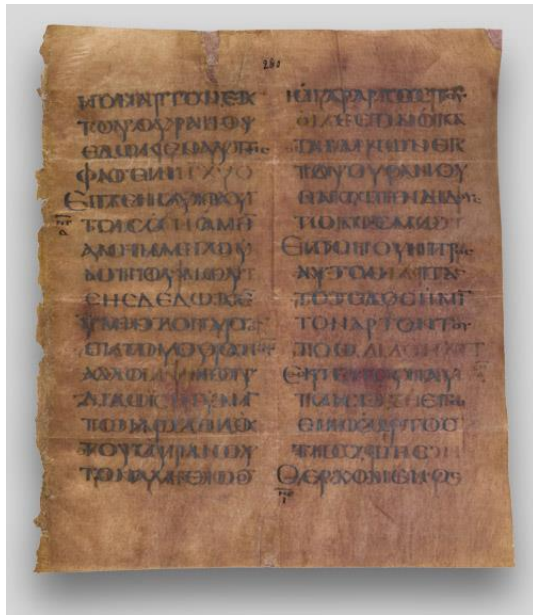




*Extremely rare fan - shaped pulpit from the Basilica C, Philippi with one entrance and two staircases brings to our memory the equivalent of the Rotunda of Thessaloniki, which is now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.*

*Silver reliquary from N. Heraclea, of the late 4th century, rare work of Early Christian silversmith attributed to Thessaloniki's workshop, which was directly related to the corresponding laboratories the same season in Constantinople. The four sides of the casket are decorated with symbolical representations in high relief from the Ancient and New Testament (Christ delivering the Law to the Apostles Peter and Paul, Three Boys in the Furnace, Daniel in the Lions Den, Tradition of the Ten Commandments to Moses). On the surface of the cover the monogram of Christ is flanked by the letters A and Ω of the Revelation, which indicate the beginning and end, and the eternal presence of God in Creation. Its edges encircles shoot from vine leaves and grapes.*





*Purple leaf of parchment (John 6:31-39) from a book of the Four Gospels (tetraevangelion), the so-called St Petersburg codex, rare example of religious book of 6th century with silver capital letters, where the abbreviations of nomina sacra are highlighted with gold.*

In the second room («Early Christian city and residence»), that was inaugurated on 10-7-1998, with the triclinium as its centre, the reception hall of a rich house in Thessaloniki are developing issues which highlight the role of the city as a fortified residential complex, with public and daily life, professional activities, economic life, trade, workshops, residence and its equipment (pottery and glassware) activities there (weaving, cooking), vesture, ornateness and grooming.

*Marble pedestal of the 4th-5th century from Thessaloniki, Kassandrou street, near the church of St. Demetrios, with relief female allegorical figures. The one with a shield rendered as an Amazon has been identified with the Fortune of Rome, while the other holding the horn of abundance is the Fortune of Constantinople or Thessaloniki.*

*Rim of a well. This dossert/impost block of the temple of the 5th century depicted with a relief cross surrounded by wide meandering acanthus leaves. At a later period, possibly in the years of Ottoman rule, the suffix/dossert used as an orifice of a well.*





*Central exhibit, the triclinium, that is an apsidal reception room of an urban house in 5th-century Thessaloniki.*

*Around it developed the other rooms of the house. The rectangular room is paved with mosaic floor with geometric and floral motifs, the walls are decorated with painted panels which imitate marble revetment. A dedicatory inscription praying for happiness for the house' owners, Eusebius, Marcia, Helladitis and Klementini is included in a panel. The apse on which the*

*couches were placed is paved with thick mosaic of irregular pieces of marble.*



In the third room («From the Elysian Fields of Antiquity to the Christian Paradise»), that was inaugurated on 29-3-1997 and organized as part of the European Science Foundation research project "The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900" with the support of the European Union, Raphael Program, is handled the subject of the title throughout the typology of tombs in the cemeteries outside the fortification walls of the town, the funerary inscriptions, the objects that accompanied the deceased to the grave and generally of the funerary cult and the extremely rare and unique collection of wall-paintings from the tombs which illustrates marvelously the route of transition from the conception of Late Antiquity about life after death in a heavenly place of material prosperity and the survivals from the ancient world in burial customs and decoration to the final triumph of the Cross with the predominance of new religion and world-view about final judgment and the resurrection of the dead.

*Table Support ("trapezoforon") with the Good Shepherd - Western cemetery, Axios burial complex, mid - 4th century.*





*Vaulted tomb decorated with a family of Flavius Eustorgius performing the funerary customs in honor of their dead forefathers, mid 4th century.*

*Tomb decorated with motifs referring to the desired heaven of the dead with specific material pleasures (carcase, heart, liver, ham and two large fishes), first quarter of the 4th century.*

*Funerary wall painting from the west wall of a vaulted tomb (East Cemetery) with the history of Sossanah (Susanna) in the Old Testament, who has been accused by two Jewish judgments of adultery and who has proved her innocence. The history of Sossanah is an allegory of the triumph of the Christian Church against its heretic persecutors, first half of the 5th century.*



In the next three rooms, inaugurated on 10-11-2000, we are entering the main Byzantine period. The first room with the title: "From Iconoclasm (8th-9th c.) to the splendour of Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties" is referring to the period from the 8th to the 12th century. The 9th century with the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 after the iconoclastic crisis and the reinstatement of Byzantine rule in the East and in Southern Balkans signals the beginning of a new era of the Middle Byzantine period, which is characterized by the regeneration of arts and letters, the Greek culture, the Byzantine humanism and the universal idea of Byzantium with decisive political and cultural influence on all

over the then known world and particularly on the peoples of the Balkans. There are represented new architectural types of a byzantine church in this period (the simple and composite octagonal and the domed cross - in - square church, which expresses the new theology through the development of the iconographic program), through exhibits as architectural sculptures, painted wooden

and marble icons, items of ritual use, but also generally manifestations of public and private life during this period through stamps, coins, funerary monuments, everyday life objects, clothing and personal adornment (grooming).



*Relief icon of the Virgin Orans, 11th century. From the holes in her palms was flowing the holy water, which was collected in a utensil in the height of her pelvis.*



*Koutrouvia, lead vials: Pilgrims - travelers took with them venerable objects as holy water, myrrh or oil, transporting blessing in their land and their relatives. Thessaloniki became an important pilgrimage center during Middle Byzantine Period. SS Demetrios and Theodora have been the two local myrrh - emanating saints, whose veneration spread in the orthodox Slavic peoples.*





*Icon of the Virgin holding Christ on her right arm ("dexiokratousa"), about 1200, probably a work imported from Cyprus.*

*Manuscript of a late 11th - century lectionary, written on 325 leaves of fine parchment. Decorated with miniatures of the evangelists Matthew, Mark and Luke. Probably is a product of an important scriptorium in Constantinople.*



*Pair of gold wristbands, 9th -10th century, an excellent example of cloisonné enamel technique with motifs of the plant and animal kingdom.*



*Gold and silk made piece of textile, found in a tomb in the Basilica of Saint Achilles, the small islet of Prespa, a rare and important excavation finding, 10th-11th century. The decorative pattern with rows of medals filled with birds, probably hawks, placed within them is a common theme decorating garments of strong personalities in the Byzantine world.*

The next room is the one titled: "The dynasties of the Byzantine emperors", in which are presented the imperial dynasties of Byzantium from the time of Heraclius (610-641) to the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 throughout genealogical trees, coins, hoards of coins and stamps.



*Gold coin (hyperpyron) of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)*



*Hoard of gold coins issued by the emperors Basil II (976-1025), Romanos III (1028-1034) and Constantine IX (1042-1055)*

In the next room with the title: "The Byzantine fortress" are presented the defence system of the Byzantine Empire, the organization of the city-castle and the daily life and production in and out of it. The archaeological material derived from castles in Macedonia and mainly from the one at Rendina. The exhibition is supplemented by video installation, which informs the visitor about the castles of north Greece and Thrace.

The tour in the Byzantine world closes with the room: "The twilight of Byzantium (1204-1453)", inaugurated on 8-3-2002. The organization and the conservation of the exhibits were sponsored by Groupe Carrefour Marinopoulos S.A., in memory of Ioannis P. Marinopoulos. The Late Byzantine period is for Thessaloniki a time of intellectual development, theological pursuits and social move-



ments that have led to the revival of artistic creativity and particularly of painting and figurative art in general, the radiation of which influences Mount Athos and the neighbouring Slav peoples.



*Bilateral icon with Virgin Eleousa, A Side, 14th century. Double sided icons commonly used in processions, while in other cases used the back side, where the main has been perished.*



*Icon of Christ as "The Wisdom of God", probably from the iconostasis of the church of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki, second half of 14th century. Masterpiece of painting art which crystallizes the intellectual pursuits of that period through the elaboration of color and light. A work that has been a prototype without being able to find worthy imitators.*



*The gold - embroidered silk epitaphios, about 1300, is one of the most valuable masterpieces of Byzantine gold - embroidery that could be worthy linked with works of monumental painting.*



*Unfinished relief icon of Christ Pantocrator, 14th century, which argues for the existence of workshops manufacturing marble relief icons in Thessaloniki.*

*Omphalion, a circular sculpture, with depiction of an eagle tearing apart a hare in a vineyard, in champlevé technique with insert red wax and gum from the church of St. Sophia at Trebizond (1238-1263).*



*Glass vases and glazed pottery confirm the role of Thessaloniki as a commercial centre.*

Great part of the collections now exhibited in the permanent exhibition or stored in the warehouses of the Museum of Byzantine Culture came from donations and sponsorships-financial aid for the purchase of movable monuments or works of art. Even from the time it belonged to the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities before its independence in 1997, as a Special Regional Service, but even before its foundation the Museum has been the recipient of donations until today. The first donation was made in 1977, while the second one in 1981. Then, from the 1980s to the present day there is a constant flow of donations that enrich the museum's collections, almost on an annual basis, and demonstrate active participation of citizens, especially of the local community and not only, and the trust in the work of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, despite the economic depression. Among them stand out the great donations of Demetrios Economopoulos and Dori Papastratou collections exposed in two rooms of the permanent exhibition of the Museum bearing their names. The first one devolved to the Museum after collector's testament already from 1986. The formal transfer took place shortly afterwards, in 1987, with the care of his wife Anastasia Zamidi - Economopoulos. It consists of 1460 objects dating from prehistoric times to the 19th century with quantitative and qualitative superiority of Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons. The collection of Dori Papastratou, constituted by 232 engravings of



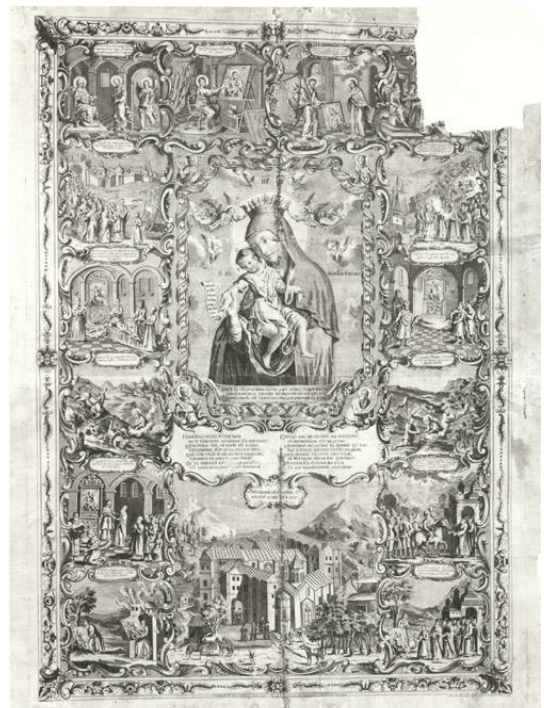


18th and 19th century, eight wooden and copper matrices, given to the Museum in 1994 by her daughters Marina and Daphne Eliades. Parts of these private collections exhibited honorably in two separate rooms, which were inaugurated on 05.27.2001 and function as independent entities, while supplementing the museum's main thematic display, and they also allow visitors to perceive, through the choice of archaeological material, the collectors' sources, motives, and orientations when putting their collections together.

In the room 8 are presented works of the Dori Papastratou collection, a copper written table and Christian Orthodox religious engravings which come from all the main centres where they were printed, from Venice, Vienna, Mount Athos, Constantinople, Leopoli. They were the monasteries' chief means of communicating with the outside world. They were distributed to the faithful as *eulogia*, "blessing", encouraging them to give the monasteries financial support by making a pilgrimage. Collection objects that are not exposed presented occasionally in temporary exhibitions both in Greece and abroad highlighting the special value of the collection and the special contribution of the collector who brought forth the interest of experts and the public an ambiguous visual material of post-Byzantine religious painting.



*Tinted woodcut depicts St John of the Ladder, printed in 1700 at Leopoli (Lviv) now in Ukraine and was commissioned by the Sinai Monastery.*



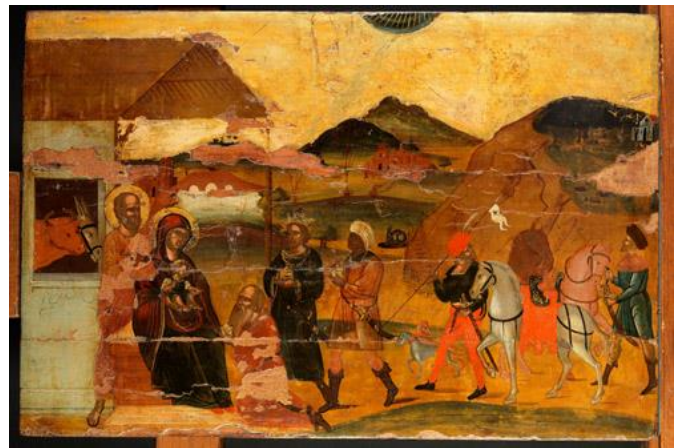
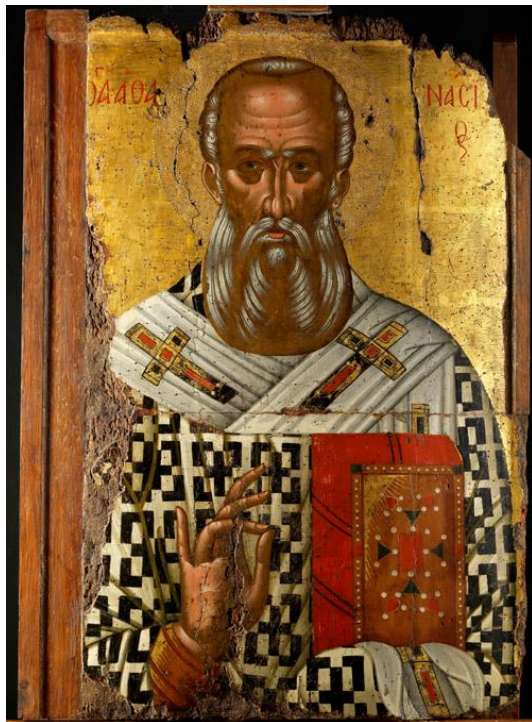
*Engraving depicts the Kykkos Monastery on Cyprus, printed in Venice in 1778, commissioned by the Kykkos Monastery.*



*Engraving depicts the Monastery of Saint Paul on Mount Athos, printed in Vienna in 1798, commissioned by Saint Paul Monastery.*

In the next 9th room is respectively displayed part of the Demetrios Ekonomopoulos Collection. For the exhibition selected representative works of each category. But the main volume of the collection and therefore of the exhibition material are icons, dating from the late 14th to the 19th century. There are presented 146 objects. Their choice was driven by their age, their artistic value and the diverse trends and schools of post-Byzantine painting representing.

*The Adoration of the Magi, early 16th century. It belongs to a large group of icons of the 15th and 16th centuries, characterized as «Italian - Cretan». In them predominate western elements, however, they have been painted by Cretan artists, usually ordered by a Catholic client.*



*Icon of St Athanasios of Alexandria, a work of Cretan school, end of 15th century.*



The Museum recognizing the contribution of donors - sponsors to create and enrich the Museum's collections organizes occasionally small temporary exhibitions with new acquisitions from donations<sup>4</sup>, while this year we are planning a retrospective from 1977 until today within the celebration of the twenty years of our Museum.



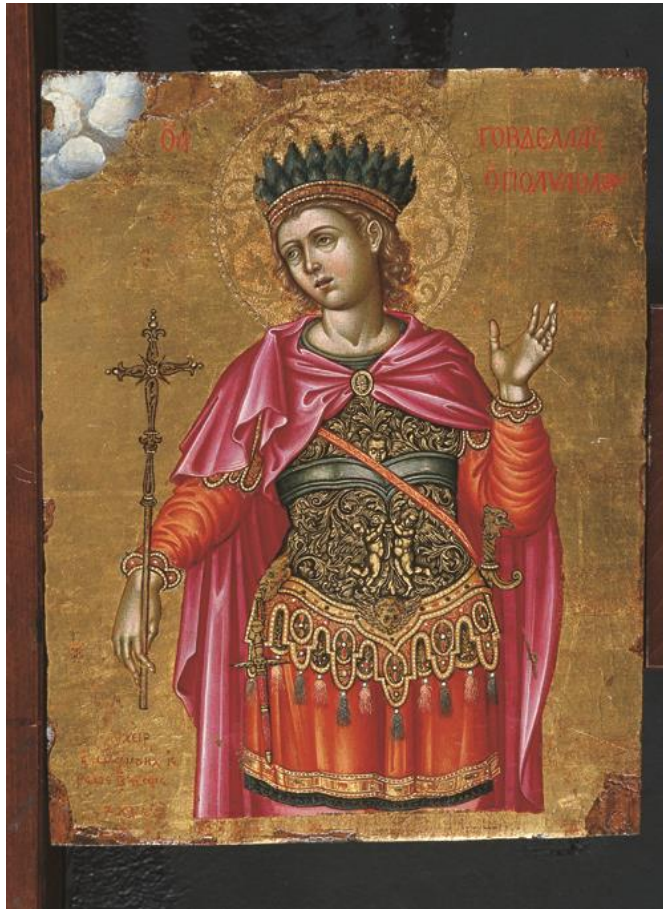
The last room based on the conventional chronological path is the room 10 "Byzantium after Byzantium", inaugurated on 31-1-2004 simultaneously with the next and the last spatially room of the wing of the permanent Museum's exhibition. In the room 10 is presented the Byzantine heritage in the years after the Fall of Constantinople. The paintings on display represent the various schools of painting in the Greek areas under Ottoman and Venetian rule. Engravings also are presented, while the display also includes some outstanding examples of ecclesiastical gold embroidery, liturgical books and examples of ecclesiastical silverwork. Lastly, an approach is made to the survival of aspects of Byzantine culture in the private domain, with references to private worship and everyday life.

*Icon of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa, 1784, painted by the monk Makarios, leader of the painters from the village of Galatista.*

*Icon with the Judgement of Potiphar, 1677-1682, executed by the famous Cretan painter Theodor Poulakis. It is a part of a broader group of icons (four of them are exhibited in our Museum) which depict the story of Joseph from the Ancient Testament.*



<sup>4</sup> Donor's exhibitions: 1) 17-12-1999 (Museum of Byzantine Culture 7, 2000, 6, pin. 3), 2) 28-4-2002 (Museum of Byzantine Culture 9, 2002, 9, 104-109), 3) 2007.



*Icon of St Govdelaas, 1655, executed by the well-known painter of Cretan School, Emmanuel Tzanes.*



*Parts of the ikonostasis of St Athanasios Church. Belonging to different periods, which correspond to phases of repairs or renovations of the ikonostasis of the church. The epistyle and the Pyramis from the oldest phase of the ikonostasis, mid - 16th century, are exposed to the right of it. The epistyle is attributed to the painter Frangos Katelanos from Thebes, the supreme representative of the second great School of this period, the North-West Greek School.*





*Gold and silk sakkos which belonged to Bishop Ioannikios of Melenico (1745-1753), a work made by Christophoros Zefarovitch, a Serbian multitalented artist who has been active as painter, carver and designer of ecclesiastical embroideries.*

In the niches of the corridor, in the exit to the last room are displayed in two show - cases everyday life objects, products and waste of pottery workshops of the post-Byzantine period.



The last room entitled “Discovering the Past” is an “epilogue” to the permanent display. By displaying archaeological material and using digital applications, this last room traces the journey made by an ancient object from the excavation where it is discovered to the museum where it is displayed. The intervening stages are the one of recording, of study and conservation. The history of museums is also presented via two computer units and touch screens. The only authentic exhibit is a floor mosaic from the reception and banquet hall of an urban villa of the 5th century in Thessaloniki ,

which was revealed after excavation. It illustrates rich geometric issues associated with the personifications of the sun, months and winds. The finding is accompanied by a contemporary artwork, a wall painting referring to the urban landscape of Thessaloniki, recalling the circumstances of the discovery but also the continuity of the new town on the old one.

In the lobby of our Museum visitors have the opportunity to be informed through the help of an application of an electronic platform under the title "Exploring the world of Byzantium", a production of the European Centre of Byzantine and Post Byzantine Monuments, which fully corresponds to the museological approach of our Museum and its educational character.

The department of Educational Programs of the Museum of Byzantine Culture has been planning and implementing educational activities since 1998. The programs are addressed to kindergarten pupils, primary and secondary school students, teachers, families, as well as children and adults with disabilities. For each group various educational activities are organized; these aim to create amusing and constructive visits to the Museum featuring several interactive and educational games and putting the participants in different roles. Teachers are also encouraged to organize educational visits themselves with the help of "books for the teacher", which is also published by the museum. The Department of Educational Programs of our Museum also participates and organizes workshops, seminars, university courses, with announcements promoting education policy, presenting educational activities of the Museum and training of teachers in approach of museum objects, while encouraging school actions on the experiential approach of aspects of Byzantine culture.

The Museum has also seven different conservation laboratories, fully equipped, which specialize in specific types of archaeological material, wood and icons, ceramics and glass, metal, paper, wall paintings, mosaics, marble and stone. In addition there is a special room in which temporarily are deposited the discoveries for the first cleaning before promoting in specific laboratories. Our laboratories are implementing modern methods of diagnosis and conservation accepted by the international scientific community and they become an attraction for education and training of many students from Greece and abroad. They are cooperating with domestic and international research centers and undertake the conservation of collections from other countries within European programs. In our laboratories are also conserved apart from the objects of the Museum's collections and others hosted, becoming from the Services of the Ministry of Culture or other beneficial to the public entities, under the guidance and supervision of our experienced and qualified staff. Our aim is to promote the work of our conservation laboratories displayed through workshops, seminars, special editions and temporary exhibitions with educational and interactive character.

The multi-level "Byzantium" bottom up system has been designed in 2001 by the Department of Computer Science of the Aristotle's University of Thessaloniki and developed such as a powerful multi-information database tool, to systemize and manage the documentation data from the various stages of the conservation procedure. This system unifies the registration and documentation of all the art objects belonging to the collections of the Museum, throughout all stages of the work undertaken in the conservation laboratories, the photographic workshop and registry, the temporary and permanent storage areas and the exhibition galleries.





Naturally the museum also has storage areas, the good organization and functionality of which contributes greatly to the proper operation of a museum. From the stage of architectural design have been provided storage and laboratory areas of 2.900 m<sup>2</sup>. The storerooms formed properly so that various kinds of archaeological finds kept under conditions according to the international standards. There have been adopted solutions used by industrial storage, such as shelves and pallets which are moved with a forklift truck for the storage of sculptures and uploading of icons and mosaics in vertical sliding metal frames. For ceramics is used appro-

priately modified system of rolling racks used in libraries. One more "unorthodox" method was adopted to store the great number of amphorae. In a model of ship built with sponsorship of "PAPASTRATOS" "stored" the amphorae one above the other with the way they stacked in the hold of a merchant ship in antiquity. The system has been proved ideal, because it secured space economy and stability for contained ceramic vessels. All these create the most appropriate storage conditions and working of the staff, while it also offers the opportunity of educational activities. We are planning for the future the reorganization of storage areas for more space economy, creating training courses and interaction for the audience.



The Museum has a multipurpose room (58 m<sup>2</sup>), which in the last three years is utilized as an exhibition room, because of the rich exhibition program of our museum, main gallery of temporary exhibitions bearing the name of the designer of the building Kyriakos Krokos (411 m<sup>2</sup>), the large courtyard with the peristylon, two auditoriums, one smaller in the main museum building, the "Melina Mercouri" (capacity of 70 persons) and a larger one in the Administration building, the "Stefanos Dragoumis" (capacity of 160 persons), which conducted educational

and cultural activities, art and literary events, projections, lectures, meetings, conferences, seminars, educational programs.

Our Museum also offers a shop of the Archaeological Receipts Fund, where the visitor can buy editions related to cultural, archaeological, historical themes, art books, children's books, copies of archaeological artefacts from ancient times to the post-Byzantine period, modern constructions inspired by the exhibits, clothing, jewelry, practical gifts, toys, posters and postcards, etc. Income from tickets and items for sale manages the Archaeological Receipts Fund, because the museum is a public service. Also



in direct communication with the reception of the Museum is a cafe - restaurant which is leased to a tenant by the Archaeological Receipts Fund, which is the owner.

The permanent exhibition on the history of city of Thessaloniki, as this is hosted by the White Tower, namely the most popular historic building and symbol of Thessaloniki, is also a part of the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The exhibition traces the history of the city since its founding in 316/15 until modern times, through various aspects of its culture. The difficult task of presenting a 23-century history in a space of 450m<sup>2</sup> was accomplished through the use of new technologies: Information is presented mainly through impressive multimedia interactive applications of image and sound (video, slides-show, projections, touch screens, light boxes, sound documents) along with printed graphic compositions, all harmonically combined with the limited number of objects displayed. For foreign visitors there is also an audio tour in English.

Additional information is provided through a DVD-ROM as well on the museum's website [www.lpth.org](http://www.lpth.org). The DVD-ROM, which encompasses all the applications and information, is distributed to schools. Visitors of the website have the opportunity to view a digital map of the city with monuments and museums, a timeline with events relevant to Thessaloniki, scientific articles of distinguished historians and archaeologists, bibliography on the city and recipes revealing the diversity which characterizes the city's culinary identity.

One of the top cultural events that took place at the Museum during the period of twenty years of its operation was the temporary exhibition "Treasures of Mount Athos" which was jointly organized by the Holy Community of Mount Athos and the Organization for the "Cultural Capital of Europe, Thessaloniki 1997" with the scientific and technical support of the Services in the Ministry of Culture, that has been opened on 21 June 1997 by the President of the Hellenic Republic, Mr K. Stefanopoulos. The exhibition which lasted until April 30, 1998, was visited by the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew (29-9-1997) himself and attracted 700.000 visitors, among them a large number of national leaders, scientific, political and religious figures from all over the world.

Sixteen years later the patriarch, a great honor for the Museum for a second time, launches himself on 23 October 2013 the temporary exhibition "The veneration of Saint Mamas in the Mediterranean: A traveller border defender Saint", an exhibition organized by our Museum in collaboration with the Holy Bishopric and the Municipality of Morphou, Cyprus within the context of 4th Biennale of Contemporary Art at Thessaloniki based on the thematic unit "Mediterranean". The theme of the exhibition, which could be the subject of specific research program, was scientifically and museological approached for the first time not only in Greece but internationally. Through seven units and eleven subsections have been presented the identity and history of Saint Mamas, the dissemination of his veneration in the Mediterranean with an emphasis in Cyprus and Greece through sources, his depictions in art, places of worship of the early Christian to modern times. Target the research and highlighting of timeless cultural relations in the Mediterranean through the sea routes of communication.

As part of implementation of exhibitions as a result of scientific research or research project or collaboration between the Museum and other institutions such as the European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, aiming conservation and enhancement of cultural heritage of Greece and the wider area that once was part of the Byzantine empire, we will mention the major temporary exhibitions organized - hosted at the Museum of Byzantine Culture: 1) "Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Arts of Sgraffito", 1999 on the occasion of the 7th International Congress of Medieval Pottery in the Mediterranean, which was also presented at Rhodes. 2) "Every Day Life in Byzantium" (White Tower), 2001, organized as part of a multi - venue exhibition "Byzantine Hours:

Works and Dates in Byzantium" which was held in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mistras. 3) "Icons from the Orthodox Communities of Albania: From the Collections of the National Museum of Medieval Art in Korce" (14.3 - 12.6.2006), presented the results of a successful five year collaboration program between the Museum of Byzantine Culture, the ECBPM and the National Museum of Medieval Art in Korce, covered the areas of scientific research, conservation, training and the transfer of expertise. 4) "Architecture as Icon. Perception and representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art" (6.11.2009 - 31.01.2010) also presented at the Art Museum, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University (6.3.2010 - 6.6.2010), a collaboration with the European Centre of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments and the Princeton University (Program in Hellenic Studies).

To highlight unknown aspects of the history of Thessaloniki in the process of its integration in the Modern Greek state we have co-organized two highly successful exhibitions in 2012, the 100th anniversary year of the liberation of Thessaloniki and the action "Thessaloniki Cultural Crossroad 2012": 1) "Thessaloniki of Collectors. City Stories" (21.9 - 8.12.2013) and 2) "The Armée d' Orient in the Balkans: Archaeological evidence of a hospital in Thermi/Sédès" in collaboration with the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities, the History Center of the Municipality of Thessaloniki and the French Consulate (21.12.2013 - 12.5.2013). The first exhibition, result of creative synergy of our Museum with Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, launched by the Deputy Minister of Religious Education, Culture and Sports Kostas Tzavaras, despite its brief period of duration time, just two months, visited over 8.000 people.

The extroversion of our Museum outside space and place marked the temporary exhibition "A history of light to light" organized by the Museum in 2011, a collaboration with the Folklore and Ethnological Museum of Macedonia and Thrace in its place (31.10.2011 - 11.6.2012), which enriched hosted with great success in the summer of 2012 at "Technopolis" of Athens Municipality. Inter - country cooperation is certified by a number of exhibits in 2012 and 2013: 1) "Kyrillitsa: thirty works of contemporary artists of Plovdiv inspired by the Cyrillic alphabet" (23.5 - 8.7.2012), 2) "The Light of Letters" (28.11.2013 - 4.5.2014, Consulate General of the Republic of Bulgaria, Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies University of Macedonia), 3) "And so the Word had spread among young people" (29.11 - 20.12.2013, Municipality of Thessaloniki, Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia), the last two as part of the celebrations of the anniversary year of Cyril and Methodius, 4) "Architectural Treasures of the heart of Medieval Serbia" (7.12.2012 - 31.3.2013, Institute Kraljevo Serbia). An example of cooperation with the other four major art museums of Thessaloniki ("Movement of 5M") and the Louvre Museum was the exhibition "The reliquary of the True Cross" in the context of a multi - venue exhibition "Works of art from the Louvre in Thessaloniki" (14.10 - 27.01.2013).

One of our Museum' goals is to organize temporary exhibitions with institutions located both in Greece and abroad. We aim at establishing unique events promoting not only scholarly research, but also the dissemination of knowledge to a wider public. The Museum's overall work involves a variety of subjects related to the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine culture, the mutual influences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox peoples within the ecumenical Byzantine Empire and -last but not least- the role of Thessaloniki as the most important political, economic, intellectual, and artistic centre after Constantinople in the process of its incorporation in the Modern Greek state. We care all our exhibitions to be accompanied by a corresponding bilingual (Greek - English / Greek - French sometimes) scientific catalogue with specific thematic units, while flanked by parallel actions of literature and art. We established the inauguration of these exhibitions enriched with music events. We are planning new digital interactive applications, which will contribute to the management and development of the exhibits and collections of the Museum in a friendly and accessible way, and will enhance recreational and educational contact of the Museum with the public. We also wish to

organize in the future digital thematic temporary exhibitions and specially designed trails in our permanent exhibition for visually impaired and blind people. To promote our actions beside special oblations, press releases to the media, television and radio broadcasts, we also use the Museum's website ([www.mbp.gr](http://www.mbp.gr)) and the social media, of which each person regardless of origin and ethnicity may be informed. Our exhibitions always accompanied by explanatory and informative bilingual text (Greek - English / Greek - French).

Alongside the Museum participates in all actions, of national, European or international range in the context of anniversary celebrations, such as "the Night of Museums", "the International Museum Day" in cooperation with other partners, to produce small films of special thematic (video), tours, art events (dance, music events), special educational activities, interactive exhibitions. We laid the groundwork for new institutions of visitors' service-information, which became a reality, such as thematic lecture-tour cycles with the title "One exhibit tells his story ...." and "Tales from the depths of the Museum" with the first unit: weapons and diplomacy in Byzantium.

All the above mentioned are part of the strategic planning to attract more visitors in the Museum. In our place have been implemented during last two years 2012-2013 above 150 actions, without the number of temporary exhibitions and daily educational programs. During the same period we have an increase in visitors of 63% in comparison with 2011 despite the economic crisis, which highlights the renewal of the extroversion policy of the Museum and the occasionally enrichment of temporary exhibitions of high quality with new interesting themes as decisive factors in attracting visitors.

Within the framework of the anniversary of 2014 the Museum organized a temporary exhibition with the title "Ex Thessalonica Lux" (31.1.2013 - 4.5.2014), honouring Thessaloniki as the birthplace of Saints Cyril and Methodius. In this original temporary exhibition the definitive contribution of the Thessalonian brothers, Constantine - Cyril and Methodius is highlighted regarding the invention of the Slavonic script, the establishment of the Cyrillic alphabet –the third official alphabet of European Union- along with the subsequent spread of Christianity in the world of today's Central Europe and beyond. For all the above-mentioned reasons, the exhibition is to frame the parallel activities of the Greek Presidency of the Council of the European Union during the first semester of the year. The exhibits shed light on the middle Byzantine Thessaloniki and on the largely unknown 9th century, the spiritual and cultural background of Thessaloniki and Constantinople, the diplomatic, missionary and cultural activity of Saints Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs of today's Central Europe, and finally the impact of their work. Apart from a rich visual material, the display is enriched by selected original exhibits from the collections of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, the 9th and 10th Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities and the Georgios Tsolozidis private collection. The largest part of this material is presented to the public for the first time and it comes from recent excavations.

Our overall goal is to make the museum an appealing destination for all ages, taking into consideration the public's interests and regardless of their level of education, a museum accessible, centered to the human being. We seek to integrate the museum within the city's cultural life, organizing literary and artistic events, conferences and workshops with modern themes related to culture. Our collaborators are mainly museums, institutions and organizations in Thessaloniki, but we also reinforce our collaborations with various institutions from abroad. Through the support we receive from the "Association of Friends of the Museum", through collaborations, sponsoring and above all through our passion to promote our culture, the Museum of Byzantine Culture remains active, as a healthy public service in a period of crisis.



## Bibliography:

- Βυζαντινοί Θησαυροί της Θεσσαλονίκης. Το ταξίδι της επιστροφής*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, 9η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Θεσσαλονίκη, χχ., 8-11 (Το Χρονικό της Επιστροφής), 12-18 (Προβληματική και περιεχόμενο της έκθεσης)
- G. Galavaris, "Gospel Lectionary Ms 20 in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki: A Hidden Treasure", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 9 (2002), Short Studies, 55-59
- Heaven & Earth, Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, Washington 6 October 2013 – 2 March 2014, Los Angeles 9 April 2014 – 25 August 2014, edited by A. Drandaki, D. Papanikola – Bakirtzi, A. Tourta, Athens 2013
- I. Or. Kanonidis, "The Story of the Omphalion from Trebizond", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 10 (2003), Miscellanea, 121-124
- E. Katsanika – Stefanou, G. Papadeli - Marconi, "Byzantine Treasures of Thessaloniki. The Journey home: Planning the Exhibition", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 2 (1995), Short Studies, 66-67
- E. Katsanika – Stefanou, G. Papadeli - Marconi, "The Early Christian Churches Exhibition", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 5 (1998), Short Studies, 62-67
- E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "A Museum is born, Aims and Orientations", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 1 (1994), 14-20.
- E. Κουρκουτίδου - Νικολαΐδου, *Από τα Ηλύσια Πεδία στο Χριστιανικό Παράδεισο*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, 9η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, Θεσσαλονίκη 1997
- E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, "Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus", *Museum of Byzantine Culture*, 4 (1997), Short Studies, 50-51
- D. Lazidou, G. Karagiannis, D. Mamaginidis, "BYZANTIO: An ontology based system for the conservation treatment documentation of artworks, International Meeting, Icons": *Approaches to Research, Conservation and Ethical Issues*, ICOM, Hellenic National Committee, Benaki Museum, Athens 3-7 December 2006
- Δ. Λαζίδου, Ε. Σαμολαδά, Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, "Βυζάντιο: Ψηφιακή Βάση Δεδομένων", *Διεθνές Συνέδριο CIDOC 2008, Ετήσιο Συνέδριο της Διεθνούς Επιτροπής Τεκμηρίωσης της Διεθνούς Επιτροπής Μουσείων* (ICOM), Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 15/9/2008 - 18/9/2008, Αθήνα
- Museum of Byzantine Culture* 2 (1995), 12 (The official opening of the Museum), 14 (The Dori Papatratou Collection)
- Museum of Byzantine Culture* 7 (2000), Short Studies, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Arts of Sgraffito, Archaeological and Museological Approach", 70-71 (D. Papanikola - Bakirtzi), "Museographical Approach", 72-73 (G. Skordali)
- Museum of Byzantine Culture* 12 (2005), Miscellanea, "Award of the Council of Europe «Museum Prize» to the Museum of Byzantine Culture", 128-133
- Museum of Byzantine Culture* 13 (2006), Museum News, Temporary Exhibitions, "Icons from the Orthodox Communities of Albania: From the Collections of the National Museum of Medieval Art in Korce", 19-20
- G. Papadeli – Marconi, E. Katsanika - Stefanou, "Exhibition Early Christian City and Private Dwelling - Organisation and Design", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 8 (2001), Short Studies, 66-68
- G. Papadeli – Marconi, E. Katsanika - Stefanou, "From the Elysian Fields to the Christian Paradise: Organisation and Design of the Exhibition", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 9 (2002), Short Studies, 90-93
- G. Papadeli - Marconi, "The Ekonomopoulos Collection: A display in the Museum of Byzantine Culture", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 10 (2003), Short Studies, 110-112
- D. Papanikola – Bakirtzi, G. Skordali, "Archaeological Storerooms in the Museum of Byzantine Culture", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 6 (1999), Short Studies, 56-59
- D. Papanikola – Bakirtzi, A. Tzitzimbasi, "The «Ups and Downs» of a Dossier", *Museum of Byzantine Culture* 11 (2004), Short Studies, 40-44



An. Tourta, E. Kourkoutidou - Nikolaidou, *Short Guide Museum of Byzantine Culture*, Athens 2005

Ag. Tsilipakou, "Museum of Byzantine Culture Thessaloniki, Culture Management, Galata Greek School Workshops, Voids in the City, Exploring Vacancy and Re-use": *Galata Greek School, Greek School Colloquium - Programme, Culture management and re-programming*, Galata Greek School Foundation, Netherlands Architecture Institute, 19 November 2012, Istanbul

Αγ. Τσιλιπάκου, "Ψηφιοποίηση και Ανάδειξη πολιτιστικού Αποθέματος του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού", *Ενημερωτική Ημερίδα: Αναβαθμίζοντας λειτουργίες και υπηρεσίες: δράσεις για τη δημιουργία και διαχείριση πολιτιστικού αποθέματος*, ΥΠΑΘΠΑ, Γενική Γραμματεία Πολιτισμού, ΕΥΠΟΤ, ΔΕΑΜ, Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο, 20-12-2012, Αθήνα

Αγ. Τσιλιπάκου, "Η δράση ενός δημόσιου ελληνικού Μουσείου την περίοδο της κρίσης. Το έργο του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού το έτος 2012", *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη, ΚΣΤ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση, Θεσσαλονίκη 20-22 Μαρτίου 2013* (Proceedings under edition)

Ag. Tsilipakou, "Education and Culture in the Era of New Technologies. Museum of Byzantine Culture Thessaloniki", *Symposium, New Technologies in service to our knowledge of Antiquity*, Academy of Institutions and Cultures, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 14.12.2014, Thessaloniki

Ag. Tsilipakou, "Donors and Sponsors at the Museum of Byzantine Culture. The motive lever for development and promotion of our Cultural Heritage", *International Scientific Conference, The Institution of sponsorship from Antiquity to the Present*, National Archaeological Museum, Numismatic Museum, Norwegian Institut at Athens, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 7-8 February, Thessaloniki (Proceedings under edition)

# American Diplomats and Officials on Macedonia and the Macedonian Question during the 1940s

CHARALAMPOS MINASIDIS,  
School of History & Archaeology,  
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Hellas  
Email: [ch.minasidis@hotmail.com](mailto:ch.minasidis@hotmail.com)

## Abstract

*The article analyses United States diplomats' and officials' perception on Macedonia and the Macedonian Question during the 1940s. Based on the collection of Foreign Relations of the United States, the microfilms of the State Department, part of the Historical Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies, and other primary and secondary sources it examines the evolution of their writings, their influences, their proposals and Washington's decisions. It also examines the pursuit of United States diplomats and officials to maintain the Greek territorial integrity and the importance attributed in Macedonia region. Moreover, it discusses the escalation of the Cold War, the intervention of the United States and the United Nations in Greece and interpretations attributing to communist activities and the Macedonian Question by the Americans. Furthermore, the article discusses the upgrade of the Macedonian Question from a solely Greek security issue to a Yugoslav one too after the breach between Belgrade and Moscow. Finally, it deals with the degradation of the Macedonian Question by Washington and the need for cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece and argues United States policy makers effectiveness throughout the revival of the Macedonian Question.*

## 1. Introduction

Until the Second World War, Southeast Europe was a relatively unknown and unimportant region, for the United States. Immigrants originated from there were relatively few, while the reputation that followed the area was that of the "powder keg" of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Washington had no long-term interests in the region, which belonged to the British sphere of influence.<sup>2</sup> However, the absence of a specific policy for Southeast Europe did not mean that Washington had no interest in the area. The latter's concern was gradually increasing as fascism continued to spread throughout Europe. Unsurprisingly, Washington was worried that fas-

---

<sup>1</sup> For a European and North American view on the Balkans see Todorova, M. (1997), *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, Oxford; Hammond, A. (2007), *The Debated Lands. British and American Representations of the Balkans*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

<sup>2</sup> Frazier, R. (1991), *Anglo-American Relations with Greece. The Coming of the Cold War*, Macmillan, London, p. 3.

cism would also spread in the Balkans, because of the many “unsettled” issues of the region.

One of them was the Macedonian Question. Since 1936, the reports of the American Ambassador to Greece, Lincoln MacVeagh (1933-41 and 1943-47), had identified revisionism as a threat for the peace and security in the Balkans.<sup>3</sup> MacVeagh was worried for a Yugoslav-Bulgarian approach against Greece over the protection of the Slavic minorities in Greek Macedonia and Thrace.<sup>4</sup> As Washington was occupied with the Second World War, American officials foresaw new implications in the Balkans, when Bogdan Dimitrov Filov, a pro-German, who they considered a Bulgarian-Macedonian, was appointed as Prime Minister of Bulgaria in February 1940 by the Bulgarian Tsar Boris.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, worrying reports were arriving from Belgrade too. Weeks after the declaration of the Greco-Italian War (1940-41) Rome launched a propaganda campaign against the Yugoslav regime in Yugoslav Macedonia. According to the American Ambassador in Belgrade, Arthur Bliss Lane, the “fledgling Macedonian movement” was supported by the intellectuals and the leftists of the region, whose purpose of founding a “Yugoslav Balkan federation on republican basis”, the communists who prefer “to keep the pot of trouble boiling” and the “Serbophobes” and peasants who were against Belgrade’s regime and mostly identified themselves as Bulgarians.<sup>6</sup>

The outcome of the Axis’ Balkan Campaign in April 1941 was the occupation of Greece and Yugoslavia and the revival of the Macedonian Question, leading Rome and Sofia to argue over their overlapping territorial claims. Finally, the Albanian-speaking territories of Yugoslav Macedonia and Greek Western Macedonia came under Italian military occupation, the Slav-speaking territories of Yugoslav Macedonia, Greek Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace came under Bulgarian military occupation and Greek Central Macedonia and the area across the Greco-Turkish border came under German military occupation.

Washington was following closely the developments in Greek Macedonia,<sup>7</sup> informing Sofia about its frustration for choosing the path of war instead of peaceful negotiations. By November 1941, the American officials were observing the Bulgarian administrative policy in the occupied territories, the suppression of the “revolt” at Doxato in Greek Eastern Macedonia and the project for settlement of Bulgarian citizens. It was clear that Sofia was “proceeding with the systematic subjugation” of the Greek territories.<sup>8</sup> Commenting on the “Bulgarian outrages” that followed Doxato revolt, George Wadsworth, Chargé d’Affaires ad

---

<sup>3</sup> MacVeagh to Department of State, 10.3.1936 in Iatrides, J. O. (ed.) (1980), *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports, Greece, 1933-1947*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> MacVeagh to Roosevelt, 17.2.1937 and 22.11.1938 in Iatrides, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110, 139. His concerns were not unfounded, as both governments signed a treaty of friendship on January 24, 1937 (Crampton, R. J. (2007), *Bulgaria*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, pp. 249, 251-252).

<sup>5</sup> Department of State (DS), Internal Affairs of Bulgaria (IAB) 1940-1944, m. 17, 874.114 NARCOTICS/176, A[lling] to Fuller, 15.2.1940; Crampton, *op.cit.*, pp. 253-254.

<sup>6</sup> DS, Internal Affairs of Yugoslavia (IAY) 1940-1944, m. 16, 860H.00/1219, Belgrade (Bliss Lane) to Hull, 1035, 10.10.1940.

<sup>7</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) (1958), Diplomatic Papers, 1941, v. II, *Europe*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 740.0011, Sofia (Earle) to Hull, 201, 19.4.1941, p. 720.

<sup>8</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/844 1/2, Division of European Affairs to Atherton, 8.11.1941.

---

interim in Rome, claimed that “[i]t seems clear that there is being carried out in this district a policy of Bulgarization similar and probable even more brutal than the policy of Germanization currently applied by the Nazi authorities of occupation in Slovenia”.<sup>9</sup>

## **2. The American consulate in Istanbul as Washington’s peripheral reporting centre**

After the United States’ entry into the Second World War in 1941 and the withdrawal of her diplomatic missions in occupied Europe, the upgrade of the remaining ones, in the neutral states, seemed necessary. Burton Yost Berry, who was familiar with the area of Southeast Europe and Southwest Asia,<sup>10</sup> became the new Consul General in Istanbul. His task was to organise a peripheral reporting centre on the occupied Eastern and Southeast Europe. The consulate was collecting and analysing a large amount of data, and each country was followed by at least one member of staff. Dr. Floyd H. Black, former president of the American College of Sofia, was responsible for Bulgaria.<sup>11</sup> He was the only one with previous knowledge on the Macedonian Question and contributed greatly with his analysis, while he influenced Berry’s reports too.

According to Dr. Black the Bulgarian-Macedonians were playing a crucial role,<sup>12</sup> “not allow[ing] the rest of Bulgarians to forget Macedonia”.<sup>13</sup> By promoting an irredentist nationalism they cultivated the idea, and strongly influenced Bulgarian public opinion that Macedonia was Bulgarian.<sup>14</sup> It was clear for Dr. Black that “this time Bulgaria has gone to Macedonia to stay”. But in case the War ends he argued that Macedonian Question should not return to its pre-war status, otherwise the peace and stability of the area would be jeopardized once again. He claimed that, if guarantees were to be granted to minorities for a good standard of living, freedom of religion, freedom to use their language and practice their traditions, they would be indifferent to the state they belonged. However, he considered that no Balkan government alone would grant such rights, and that international control should be charged in Macedonia. With respect to Dr. Black, “[p]rosperity is the only medicine which will cure the disease”, thus proposed a “reasonable welfare for all classes of the population in Macedonia”. That is why, according to him, communications should be developed in the area, as a way to promote trade, rather than war.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, Berry was also convinced that the restoration of the Greek and Yugoslav sovereignty would lead to a new wave of persecution against the Bulgarians.<sup>16</sup> Keeping in mind the welfare of the Balkans and the prewar political and economic obstacles he proposed the exercise of interna-

---

<sup>9</sup> DS, Internal Affairs of Greece (IAG) 1940-1944, m. 1, 868.00/1136, Rome (Wadsworth) to Hull, 2508, 17.11.1941. On the Germanization of Slovenia see Florian Ruhs, “Foreign Workers in the Second World War. The Ordeal of Slovenians in Germany”, *aventinus nova* 32, 29.05.2011, <[http://www.aventinus-online.de/no\\_cache/persistent/artikel/8599/#rlmp\\_officelib\\_footnote\\_top\\_10](http://www.aventinus-online.de/no_cache/persistent/artikel/8599/#rlmp_officelib_footnote_top_10)> (4.10.2013).

<sup>10</sup> Berry, B. Y. (1989), *Near Eastern Excursions*, n.p., n.p., pp. 5, 11, 14, 44, 71, 77.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15; Melbourne, R. M. (1997), *Conflict and Crises. A Foreign Service Story*, University Press of America, Lanham/New York/Oxford, pp. 80-81, 87.

<sup>12</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 17, 874.01/661, Istanbul (Honaker) to Hull, 162, 4.11.1942.

<sup>13</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 19, 874.9111/196, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 789 (R-723), 22.6.1943.

<sup>14</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/635, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 19 (R-15), 21.1.1943.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00/635, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 19 (P-15), 21.1.1943.

<sup>16</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 18, 874.9111/78, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 456 (R-430), 26.4.1943.

tional control and the opening of the northern Greek harbours to the Bulgarian and Balkan trade.<sup>17</sup> This action was necessary for Sofia in order to abandon its claims.<sup>18</sup>

The solution proposed by both Dr. Black and Mr. Berry was the one advanced by the United States, namely the free trade and “open door” policy. Athens should not resume its Inter-war policy, thus isolating itself economically, and therefore politically from the rest of the peninsula or part of it. The predominance of capitalism and liberalism through trade and the improvement of economic relations would lead to a political consensus, peace and welfare. The depoliticisation of the Balkans seemed necessary.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, most of the principles above were stressing the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Atlantic Charter, United States President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points and, lastly, the United States government’s suggested peace terms during the First World War.<sup>20</sup> It is also possible that Berry was influenced by the economic policy of the New Deal and conveyed this new ethos in his reports. On the other hand, Dr. Black was a Wilsonian.<sup>21</sup>

However, the postwar development of Macedonia had to await the final defeat of the Axis. The future attitude of Sofia, in the course of the War, preoccupied Berry since the spring of 1943, when he tried to explain her ultimate policy and flexibility in finding and maintaining alliances. As Bulgaria allied with Germany in order to annex the rest of Macedonia, she could ally with any of the Allies to retain it.<sup>22</sup> Many Bulgarians believed that their country had advantages to offer to Moscow, because of its proximity to the Turkish Straits. Moreover, rumours about a postwar establishment of a communist federation between Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia made Bulgaria consider that she was in a more powerful

---

<sup>17</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 19, 874.9111/296, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 1054 (R-963), 31.7.1943; *ibid.*, 874.9111/165, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 699 (R-639), 4.6.1943.

<sup>18</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/6-1544, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 5108 (R-2872), 15.6.1944.

<sup>19</sup> On the Interwar United States’ consensus culture see Wall, W. L. (2008), *Inventing the “American Way”: The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement*, Oxford University Press, New York.

<sup>20</sup> The Library of Congress, Web Guides, Primary Documents in American History, Documents from the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, 1774-1789 , <<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/bdsbib:@field%28NUMBER+@od1%28bdsdcc+c0801%29%29>> (7.10.2013); *ibid.*, Declaration of Independence, <<http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/DeclarInd.html>> (7.10.2012); “Joint Statement by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, August 14, 1941” in *The Avalon Project. Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, <<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/at10.asp>> (15.10.2013); “8 January, 1918: President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points” in *ibid.*, <[http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/wilson14.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp)> (13.1.2014); FRUS (1942), 1919. *The Paris Peace Conference*, v. I, Government Printing Office, Washington, Inquiry Document No. 887, “The Present Situation: The War Aims and Peace Terms it Suggests”, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> According to Roy M. Melbourne, Vice Consul in Istanbul, Dr. Black was “a gentleman of the Wilsonian generation” (Melbourne, *op.cit.* (f. 11), p. 81). Besides, Dr. Black’s key proposal, prosperity, had a key role in both the Fourteen Points and Wilson’s government suggested peace terms (Fourteen Points, *op.cit.*; FRUS, 1919, Inquiry Document No. 887, “The Present Situation: The War Aims and Peace Terms it Suggests”, p. 51).

<sup>22</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 18, 874.9111/127, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 622 (R-571), 24.5.1943.



position in comparison with the rest. Being the only Balkan country with a conventional army she would act as the main defender of Balkan communism.<sup>23</sup>

Soon, as a result of the first major Allied victories, the majority of Bulgarians were considering the withdrawal from the occupied territories as a mean to protect the Bulgarian Kingdom.<sup>24</sup> Besides, Berry was clear regarding Sofia's practices. It was her politicians that had to be blamed, because their lack of moderation destroyed a just claim.<sup>25</sup> According to the American General Consul it was true that territories "inhabited by a predominantly Bulgarian population" were left outside the Bulgarian Kingdom. For this reason the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) that offered to Bulgaria almost whole of Macedonia had become Sofia's "fundamental charter" on legitimising her territorial claims. However, commenting on the Bulgarian arguments about the Treaty Berry mentioned that although they were accurate in general, Bulgaria's later practices made her tarnish her name worldwide.<sup>26</sup> Berry accepted that although Yugoslav Macedonia was a mixed area, her vast majority was Bulgarian.<sup>27</sup> As for Greece, he estimated that approximately 100.000 Bulgarians were living in Central and Western Macedonia. A Bulgarian defeat would threaten their lives. That is why he proposed that "the only solution is absolute control by a foreign power or exchange of populations". For the American diplomat the protection of innocent lives in a region that "the idea of justice [...] does not exists" was "rather a question of humanity".<sup>28</sup>

However, Berry hoped that the postwar Balkan leaders would leave the past behind and work in the future together, for a fair solution to the Macedonian Question. Although he characterized Macedonia as "a land of tragedy with little prospect of being anything else for a long time to come",<sup>29</sup> hope and despair for its future was encountered frequently in his reports. However, despair was repeated more often. For him Macedonia was an area where justice was always unbalanced and Great Powers' interests prevailed.<sup>30</sup> Thus he was critical of the Bulgarians, who used arguments of ethnical and historical rights to defend their policy. As he claimed, they could not understand that only power settles such questions.<sup>31</sup> His pragmatism was stronger than his idealism.

Meanwhile, on April 3, 1944 the Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Skryabin "Molotov" announced that Moscow would respect Romanian frontiers as marked before the attack to the Soviet Union and would not proceed to any social changes in Romania. Due to this statement the Bulgarians, according to Berry, knew that their borders were guaranteed without excluding an outlet in the Aegean Sea.<sup>32</sup> Besides they remembered the Soviet pro-

---

<sup>23</sup> Black to Berry, 28.10.1943 in DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/775 1/2, Istanbul (Berry) to Cavendish, 30.10.1943.

<sup>24</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/971, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull 2058 (R-1913), 22.12.1943.

<sup>25</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 20, 874.9111/670, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 1908 (R-1773), 2.12.1943.

<sup>26</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 21, 874.9111/764 1/2, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2685 (R-2498), 20.3.1944.

<sup>27</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 20, 874.9111/470, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 1578 (R-1464), 18.10.1943.

<sup>28</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 19, 874.9111/335, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 1106 (R-1013), 9.8.1943.

<sup>29</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 21, 874.9111/738, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2565 (R-2384), 4.3.1944.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.9111/768, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2697 (R-2508), 23.3.1944.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.9111/791, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2883 (R-2680), 22.4.1944.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.9111/782, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2777 (R-2582), 3.4.1944.

posal of November 25, 1940, for the annexation of Northern Dobruja, Greek Thrace and, even, Turkish Thrace by Bulgaria without any Soviet intervention to her internal affairs. However, Sofia preferred to ally with the Axis than the Soviet Union.<sup>33</sup> On their part, American officials were worried that the Kremlin would prefer a great Bulgaria, while the annexation of Bessarabia by the Soviet Union and of Northern Dobruja by Bulgaria would form a “practical highway” that would lead to the Aegean, bypassing the Straits.<sup>34</sup> By denying to Bulgaria the annexation of Northeast Greece, the Soviet “practical highway” could be transformed to an Anglo-American practical embankment.<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, the Macedonian Question was not limited only to a Bulgarian outlet in the Aegean, but also extended to the sovereignty in the territory of Macedonia. For Berry lasting peace in the Balkans presupposed a reasonable settlement of the Macedonian Question. He believed that the imminent defeat would make Sofia accept a compromise, and the need for reconstruction of Yugoslavia would push Belgrade on this decision too. According to Berry, the ideal solution was the autonomy of Yugoslav Macedonia, whilst her independence was “undesirable from every point of view”.<sup>36</sup> An independent Macedonian state would still be the apple of discord between Sofia and Belgrade. Autonomy seemed the perfect middle ground. Furthermore, was expected such a proposal by a citizen of a federal state, who knew that one of the main problems was the state centralization that was followed by all Balkan states. But the proposal lacked the fate of the remaining parts of Macedonia. This makes sense since the American Consul General did not recognise a separate Macedonian ethnicity. Therefore, he could not accept any claims for autonomy or union of the whole Macedonia.

Besides, Berry believed that Sofia’s inability to protect the pro-Bulgarian Macedonians, because of the looming defeat, would perhaps lead to the strengthening of the separatist movement and the formation of a government in Skopje in an attempt to maintain permanently a status of autonomy.<sup>37</sup> Already, the dissatisfaction over the policy of Bulgarization and the centralization in Yugoslav Macedonia led more people to join the autonomist/separatist movement which asked for an autonomous Macedonia in a federal Yugoslavia.<sup>38</sup> Finally, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1944, the First Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) was held which proclaimed the founding of the People’s

---

<sup>33</sup> See Pundeff, M. V. (1969, reprint Seattle/London 1994), “Bulgarian Nationalism” in P. F. Sugar, I. J. Lederer (eds.), *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, University of Washington Press, pp. 152-154; Crampton, *op.cit.* (f. 4), p. 255.

<sup>34</sup> FRUS (1965), Diplomatic Papers, 1944, v. III, *The British Commonwealth and Europe*, Governmental Printing Office, Washington, 740.0011 Stettinius Mission/3-1944, “Memorandum by the Division of Southern European Affairs”, Washington, March 1944, p. 304.

<sup>35</sup> On the double nature of countries and territories that could be used as embankments-highways see Spykman, N. J. (1942), *America’s Strategy in World Politics. The United States and the Balance of Power*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.

<sup>36</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 16, 874.00/6-1544, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 5108 (R-2872), 15.6.1944.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00/6-3044, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 3182 (R-2937), 30.6.1944.

<sup>38</sup> DS, IAB 1940-1944, m. 21, 874. 9111/750, Istanbul (Berry) to Hull, 2662 (R-2476), 17.3.1944.

---

Republic of Macedonia (NRM). However, within ASNOM disagreements occurred between communists and non-communists.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. Protecting Greek territorial integrity

The Soviet advance into the Balkans meant the termination of Istanbul as a reporting centre, while the Fatherland Front, a Bulgarian antifascist coalition, established a new government on 9<sup>th</sup> of September 1944, after the Soviet invasion in Bulgaria.<sup>40</sup> Although, under German pressure the Bulgarian occupation forces withdrew from Yugoslavia,<sup>41</sup> they did not evacuate Greece, handing only the civilian administration to the leftist Greek National Liberation Movement (EAM). The new Bulgarian government saw fit to justify this action to the British and Americans who until that time demanded a full evacuation. To dispel any allied concern Sofia invoked the necessity of the presence of its troops as the only conventional anti-German military power in the region, since German forces still stationed in the Aegean Islands and Salonika.<sup>42</sup> However, the British were not persuaded and were fearful of a possible descent of the Red Army in the Aegean, in conjunction with the strong presence of EAM in Northern Greece.

This is why British Prime Minister Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill visited Moscow between 9 and 19 October and proceeded to the so-called “percentages agreement” with the Soviet Premier Iosif Vissarionovich Jugashvili “Stalin”. The British acknowledged the Soviet dominance in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary and the Soviets the British dominance in Greece, while both would have equal influence in Yugoslavia.<sup>43</sup> United States President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, accepted the Anglo-Soviet understanding as a mean to avoid a clash between his two main allies.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, in Yugoslav Macedonia the National Liberation Brigade, or the so-called, Macedonian Brigade, was founded. According to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) it was going to be composed of 10,000 men, equipped by the Bulgarian Army and commanded by Tito. Moreover, OSS informed Washington about the alliance between Slav-Macedonian federalists and communists, namely ASNOM, and their decision to found an autonomous Macedonia.<sup>45</sup> Until that time Yugoslav partisans did not have any significant presence in the

---

<sup>39</sup> Sfetas, Sp. (2003), *Η Διαμόρφωση της Σλαβομακεδονικής Ταυτότητας. Μια Επώδυνη Διαδικασία*, Vanyas, Thessaloniki, pp. 177-179; Rossos, A. (2008), *Macedonia and the Macedonians. A History*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, pp. 196-197.

<sup>40</sup> Crampton, *op.cit.* (f. 4), pp. 279-280.

<sup>41</sup> Mitcham, S. W. Jr. (2001), *The German Defeat in the East, 1944-45*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA, p. 201.

<sup>42</sup> FRUS, 1944, v. III, 740.0011 E.W./10-344, Ankara (Steinhardt) to Hull, 1894, 3.10.1944, pp. 442-443. On November 1, 1944, when the German evacuation from Greece was completed, 45,000 Axis' soldiers were still stationed in the Aegean islands and Crete (Mitcham, *op.cit.*, p. 206).

<sup>43</sup> Churchill, W. (1953, reprint New York 2002) *The Second World War*, v. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy*, Rosetta-Books, Company, pp. 273-274.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, R. J. (1973), *The United States and the Anglo-Soviet Balkan Agreement of October, 1944: A Study in Wartime Diplomacy*, PhD thesis, Political Science, International Law and Relations, Clark University, p. 240.

<sup>45</sup> DS, IAY 1940-1944, m. 22, 860H.01/9-2544, Caserta (Kirk) to Hull, FMH-217, 25.9.1944.

region.<sup>46</sup> In reality the Brigade was under the command of a Slav-Macedonian from Greece, Elias Dimakis "Gotse", who was among those men that sought refuge in Yugoslavia after a clash with the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) and the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS).<sup>47</sup>

These developments led to the adoption of an official policy by the United States. Evidence of this need was a report by the State Department, concerning the policy towards Greece, dated 23 October 1944. Although, the authors accepted as valid the Greek territorial claims, they suggested that an early reconciliation was needed as well as the "removal of commercial, financial, social and cultural barriers" in order to build good relations among the Balkan states. A possible economic and political isolation of Greece, Turkey and perhaps Albania, from their Slavic neighbours, was considered as a threat to world peace. Regarding the Macedonian Question they proposed as official stance as follow:

*To oppose any revival of the Macedonian issue as relates to Greece, as already seems threatened by the formation in Russian-occupied Bulgaria of a Macedonian Army. The Greek section of Macedonia is largely inhabited by Greeks, partly as a result of population exchanges after the First World War. The Greek people are unanimously opposed to the creation of a Macedonian State and allegation of a serious Greek participation can be assumed to be false. We should hold the Bulgarian and Soviet Governments responsible; despite any disclaimers or misleading propaganda they may issue, for any menacing or aggressive acts of "Macedonian" forces or a "Macedonian State" against Greece, and should not hesitate to make our views clear to Moscow and to the public if the occasion arises.*<sup>48</sup>

American officials acknowledged, contrary to the official Greek position, that Greek Macedonia was not only inhabited by Greeks, but also that the non-Greek minority may pose a problem. Therefore they interpreted the revival of the Macedonian Question as a Bulgarian-Macedonian initiative and regarded Sofia would control a Macedonian state. It was believed that Sofia wanted to keep the occupied territories at all costs. It was also understood that the principle of self-determination for the "Macedonians" jeopardized the Greek territorial integrity and could lead to Soviet descent in the Aegean, an outcome that the Americans wanted to avoid.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, it seems that for the American officials, Bulgarians and

<sup>46</sup> Markham to Carroll, 1, 10.6.1944 in DS, IAY 1940-1944, m. 18, 860H.00/7-744, Ambassador to the Yugoslav Government in Exile (Patterson) to Hull, 50, 15.6.1944.

<sup>47</sup> Michailidis, I. D. (2003), *Τα Πρόσωπα του Ιανού. Οι Ελληνογιουγκοσλαβικές Σχέσεις τις Παραμονές του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου (1944-1946)*, Pataki, Athens, pp. 63, 165, 233-235.

<sup>48</sup> FRUS (1969), Diplomatic Papers, 1945, v. VIII, *The Near East and Africa*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 711.00/11-144, "United States Policy With Regard to Greece", Washington, 23.10.1944, pp. 301-302.

<sup>49</sup> According to the Atlantic Charter (1941) which was prepared by Washington and London and was signed by the rest of the Allies, there would be "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" and Allies would "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them" (Joint Statement, *op.cit.* (f. 20)). Although it was a political statement and not a legal document that could have binding force (Roucounas, E. (2010), *Δημόσιο Διεθνές Δίκαιο*, Nomiki Vivliothiki, Athens, pp. 149-150), this characteristic did not become understood by the Yugoslav government or the Bulgarian-Macedonian and the Slav-Macedonian diaspora organizations in North America (see, for example, DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 7, 868.00/11-1046, Popoff to Byrnes, 10.11.1946; Mitcheff,



Soviets were acting in a double manner. Although, they withdrew the conventional Bulgarian military forces from Northeast Greece,<sup>50</sup> they were arming Bulgarian-Macedonian irregulars to invade Northern Greece. On the other hand, Yugoslav territorial claims to Greece were an additional threat.<sup>51</sup> The above, as well as the indications on the establishment of a Balkan Federation and a possible agreement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, in order to solve the Macedonian Question, were causing concern among American officials.<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, Balkan states' aspirations were not the only problem. War and Occupation had radicalized politically and ethnically the population of geographical Macedonia and had a particular impact on Slav-Macedonians. Both, the Communist Party of Macedonia (KPM), which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KJP) controlled, and ASNOM were acting as hegemonic blocs. KPM and ASNOM's purpose was to establish a Macedonian state,<sup>53</sup> but each aimed at making its discourse hegemonic, so to produce and reproduce its model on Slav-Macedonian national identity as something natural rather than artificial.<sup>54</sup> Athens, London and Washington were seeking the promoter of Slav-Macedonian movement in Sofia, Belgrade and Moscow. Certainly these centres favoured, more or less, this movement, guided and tried to control it. But, its success showed that there was already fertile ground.

Developments were calling Washington itself to conclude to a policy framework. The increasing propaganda on the Macedonian autonomy and the detachment of Greek Macedonia recommended very clear threats to Greek territorial integrity and undermined the American objective for a peaceful post-war world. The new Secretary of State, Edward Reilly Stettinius, adopted the report of 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1944 and informed the American diplomatic missions that "...[t]his Government considers talk of Macedonian 'nation,' Macedonian 'Fatherland,' or Macedonian 'national consciousness' to be unjustified demagoguery representing no ethnic nor political reality, and sees in its present revival a possible cloak for aggressive intentions against Greece".<sup>55</sup>

Thereby Washington formalized its willingness to maintain the status quo in the Balkans. While not implying any direct involvement, it was the first major step to end the hitherto lack of official stand on many of the developments that took place in the region. By this decision, and in response to the Macedonian Question, the United States' policy regarding Greece was formalized. Specifically, Washington decided that it was in its interest to maintain Greek territorial integrity. American policy makers understood how the transformation of the term "Macedonian" from a simple geographical designation to a national

---

Vangeloff to Huber, 18.7.1945 and Grew to Huber in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/7-2045, Huber to Byrnes, 20.7.1945).

<sup>50</sup> The Bulgarian evacuation was completed in November 1944 (FRUS, 1944, v. III, 740.00119 Control (Bulgaria)/11-2844, Caserta (Kirk) to Hull, 1523, 28.11.1944, p. 493).

<sup>51</sup> Markham to Carroll, 1, 10.6.1944 in DS, IAY 1940-1944, m. 18, 860H.00/7-744, Ambassador to the Yugoslav Government in Exile (Patterson) to Hull, 50, 15.6.1944.

<sup>52</sup> DS, IAG 1940-1944, m. 6, 868.014/10-1144, Caserta (Kirk) to Advisory Council for Italy, 712, 11.10.1944.

<sup>53</sup> On hegemony and hegemonic blocs see Forgacs, D. (ed.) (2000), *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, New York University Press, New York, pp. 189-221.

<sup>54</sup> On hegemony and discourse see Laclau, E., Mouffe, Ch. (1981, reprint London/New York 2001), *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso.

<sup>55</sup> FRUS, 1945, v. VIII, 868.014/12-2644, Stettinius to Sofia, et al., 26.12.1944, pp. 302-303.

---

identification posed a risk to Greek territorial integrity. Essentially, a portion of geographical Macedonia's population, had founded a Macedonian state in a corner of Macedonia, which was acting as a national centre and claimed on its behalf the exclusive use of the term "Macedonian" and "Macedonia" and the sovereignty over the entire geographical area under a single state entity. Besides, Washington was worried that a Macedonian state would be supported by Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and would act as a Soviet motorway to the Aegean. Therefore, it was necessary to defend Greek interests and it was essential the non-recognition of the existence of a Macedonian ethnicity and homeland. Nevertheless, the denial of the problem constituted its existence. Washington acknowledged that pro-Bulgarians were living in Greece and that they could be attracted by the new state entity. However, the statement made clear that the Macedonian Question interested Washington only if its revival was creating a threat to the Greek security. American officials recognized that since they were not in position to intervene in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, they would not be able to prevent any action directly related to Greece.

Washington chose to agree on any plans for regional consultations that could prove conducive to the welfare of the Balkans, but to oppose to the creation of coalitions that would entrench the region for once more and could jeopardize world peace and security. Such a union was not to be accepted before the conclusion of peace between the United Nations and Bulgaria.<sup>56</sup> United States could favour a "Balkan entente that would include Greece, instead of a Slav bloc to the North of Greece" and would oppose any attempt for a Greater Macedonia. Although Washington acknowledged that it could not object "an autonomous Macedonia as part of a federated Yugoslavia" it understood that "such a move would only foster exaggerated Macedonian consciousness, to the ultimate danger of Greek territorial integrity".<sup>57</sup>

However, developments in the Balkans created a very complex set of new data and reports were unable to provide a clear picture. Dimitrov argued to the American representative in Sofia, Maynard B. Barnes that peace would be established only if a Balkan federation or confederation, which would include Greece, was going to be founded.<sup>58</sup> While, other reports were claiming that Sofia had no clear policy on Greece. On the other hand, Tito himself stated that Yugoslavia had no aggressive intentions in Greek Macedonia and any claims would be submitted to the ongoing Peace Conference.<sup>59</sup> However, a month later Yugoslav General, Svetozar Vukmanović "Tempo", spoke in favour of Macedonia's reunification.<sup>60</sup> Although, the mass of soldiers in Skopje demonstrated against their transfer to the North, asking to occupy Salonika instead, the Yugoslav leadership chose not to clash with the Brit-

---

<sup>56</sup> FRUS (1967), Diplomatic Papers, 1945, v. V, *Europe*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 760h.00/1-245, Department of State to the British Embassy (Washington), 2.1.1945, pp. 1306-1308.

<sup>57</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/2-2445, Baxter, "Data on Greece for Secretary's Notebook", 24.2.1945.

<sup>58</sup> DS, IAB 1945-1949, m. 5, 874.01/1-245, Sofia (Barnes) to Stettinius, 3, 2.1.1945.

<sup>59</sup> A.I.S. Land Force and Military Liaison (Greece), *Weekly Report No. 11, 24 December – 30 December 1944* in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 1, 868.00/1-1045, Office to Stettinius, 998, 10.1.1945.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.00/2-245, Caserta (Kirk) to Stettinius, 394, 2.2.1945.

ish.<sup>61</sup> As argued by American observers, the Slav-Macedonian autonomists “acting without, and contrary to, the authority of Marshall Tito” and therefore the autonomists and not Yugoslav communists possessed threat to Northern Greece.<sup>62</sup> This was the reason why, by the end of the War in Europe, Belgrade tried to increase its control all over Yugoslavia. In May 1945 two Serbian Corps of the Yugoslav Army were transported to the Greco-Yugoslav borders, which until that time were lightly guarded.<sup>63</sup> Although Athens was worried by such a move, American officials reassured that the two Corps were insufficient for any military attack,<sup>64</sup> but could be used from a “politico-psychological [...] point of view”. As Captain William H. McNeill, Assistant Military Attaché in Athens, mentioned, in case Belgrade wanted to invade Greece, the propaganda over autonomous Macedonia had to be increased, but Bulgarians and not Yugoslavians controlled the propaganda organization.<sup>65</sup> McNeill had failed to distinguish between the Slav-Macedonian autonomists/separatists and Sofia, claiming that the latter controlled the former. As for Greece both OSS and MacVeagh were claiming that ELAS was too nationalistic and opposed an independent Macedonia or an incorporation of Greek Macedonia to Yugoslavia.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, in February 1945 OSS argued that KKE was unaware of Yugoslav Slav-Macedonian propaganda’s success.<sup>67</sup> MacVeagh was also worried by the ever-growing influence of Tito in Greek Western Macedonia and the possibility of encouraging EAM to anti-government actions. Lastly, he agreed with Athens that the troubles in Macedonia were the outcome of external and not internal factors.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4. In search of political identifications

If Greece was the embracement in the spread of communism to the South and the KKE the fifth phalanx according to Athens, London and Washington, Greek Macedonia was the backdoor. Not only was exposed defensively, but beyond its borders it had a new state, the NRM that claimed the role of a Macedonian national centre and complete control over geographical Macedonia. That is why Slav-Macedonian minority in Greek Macedonia possessed qualitative and quantitative characteristics that no other ethnic minority in Greece had. It lived in border regions and had a different self-identification from the rest of the Greek

<sup>61</sup> A.I.S. Land Force and Military Liaison (Greece), *Weekly Report No. 15, 21 January – 27 January 1945* in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 1, 868.00/2-645, Offie to Stettinius, 1033, 6.2.1945; A.I.S. Land Force and Military Liaison (Greece), *Weekly Report No. 17, 4 February – 10 February 1945* in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/2-1945, Offie to Stettinius, 1053, 19.2.1945.

<sup>62</sup> A.I.S. Land Force and Military Liaison (Greece), *Weekly Report No. 18, 11 February – 17 February 1945* in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/2-2745, Offie to Stettinius, 1070, 27.2.1945. For more on Macedonian anti-communist, anti-Yugoslav autonomist/separatist opposition see Rossos, *op.cit.* (f. 39), pp. 205, 220-226.

<sup>63</sup> A.G.I.S., *Weekly Report No. 45, 19 August – 25 August 1945* in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 4, 868.00/9-345, Offie to Byrnes, 1134, 30.4.1945.

<sup>64</sup> FRUS, 1945, v. VIII, 760H.68/6-2245, Caserta (Kirk) to Stettinius, 2713, 22.6.1945, pp. 318-319.

<sup>65</sup> FRUS (1960), Diplomatic Papers, *The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference)*, 1945, v. I, Government Printing Office, Washington, 124.686/6-2345, Athens (MacVeagh) to Stettinius, 1213, 23.6.1945, p. 666.

<sup>66</sup> OSS XL817, 24.6.1944 in Stavrakis, P. J. (1989), *Moscow and Greek Communism 1944-1949*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca/London, p. 130; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 1, 868.00/1-1045, Athens (MacVeagh) to Stettinius, A-5, 10.1.1945.

<sup>67</sup> OSS L53686, 8.2.1945 in Stavrakis, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>68</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/3-845, Athens (MacVeagh) to Stettinius, 667, 8.3.1945.

population. Either pro-Bulgarian or pro-Macedonian, its members were recognizing as their national centre Sofia or Skopje respectively. Moreover, it was the largest minority in Greek Macedonia and in Greece overall. Unquestionably, Slav-Macedonian movement could constitute a threat for Greek territorial integrity. However, Greek Macedonia was vastly inhabited by Greeks, mainly refugees from Turkey and Caucasus, who to a great extent had turned to the Left in the Interwar period and especially during the Occupation. Although, Slav-Macedonian movement could constitute threat for Greek territorial integrity, the Greek communist movement could lead to the communisation of Greece. Both could prove a threat for United States interests in the region.

Seeking answers and explanations for the evolution of the Macedonian Question and the shaping of the United States policy, Leonard J. Cromie, Third Secretary at the Embassy in Athens, turned in to the new discipline of political behaviour. That is why Cromie conducted a fieldwork in Greek Macedonia and Thrace between 12 and 24 June 1945.<sup>69</sup> His report tried to explain the political behaviour of Greek Macedonia's inhabitants, having been influenced by studies such as André Siegfried's,<sup>70</sup> Herbert Tingsten's<sup>71</sup> and Paul Felix Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet's.<sup>72</sup> For Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, political homogenization takes place in social groups. According to them, social environment in which he lives and develops shared values and ideas affects the person. Most likely, Cromie followed their model, since their methodology was based on individual interviews and Media influence. He mentioned clearly that he conducted numerous interviews with representatives across the political and social spectrum. Moreover, he studied newspapers' influence and gathered data from information services. Moreover, Cromie and his main adviser Governor General of Central Macedonia, Charalampos Fragkistas, were influenced, likely, by Siegfried's and Tingsten's electoral geography as they claimed that "the kaleidoscopic character of political sentiment in Northern Greece may be ascribed to the mixed origins of the population". Both supported that Greek-Macedonians and refugees from Eastern Thrace and the rural areas of Asia Minor were rightists. On the other hand, Slav-Macedonians and refugees from Transcaucasia and the urban areas of Asia Minor were leftists. The American Secretary maintained that the urban population of Macedonia had been radicalized.

But why the United States should be interested in the Macedonian Question? Cromie argued that "[t]he spotlight of world attention is once again swinging back to Macedonia and Western Thrace, the granary of Greece and outpost of British influence in the Balkans". He recognized that ideological and ethnic conflicts were taking place in Macedonia and different territorial claims were prevailing. Greece wanted greater strategic depth for her northern regions, while "Slavs and Bulgarians" aspired for an outlet to the Aegean. According to him, Macedonia was a "border-key" between Russian and British influence. For Cromie, the

---

<sup>69</sup> Cromie, L. J., "Northern Greece. A Regional Survey of Present Conditions" in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 3, 868.00/7-1745, Athens (MacVeagh) to Byrnes, 1331, 17.7.1945.

<sup>70</sup> Siegfried, A. (1913), *Tableau Politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République*, Armand Colin, Paris.

<sup>71</sup> Tingsten, H. (1937), *Political Behavior. Studies in Election Statistics*, P.S. King, London.

<sup>72</sup> Lazarsfeld P. F., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H. (1944), *The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign*, Columbia University Press, New York.



Greek demands, that emerged because of rivalries in Greek internal politics and were causing the military readiness and perhaps possible military action in neighbouring states, as well as the old pursuit of Moscow to descend to the Aegean via a "Free Macedonia' movement", could currently cause geopolitical upheavals with the loss of Northern Greece and the redefinition of the balance of power in the Mediterranean and the Straits. Although, he believed that EAM was realistic enough not to promise anything else to Slav-Macedonians, except from the free use of their language, but he considered that a Soviet intervention in favour of minorities in Greece, especially the Slav-Macedonians was possible. For Cromie the solution would be a moderate minority policy aimed at future integration of Slavs in the Greek national trunk.<sup>73</sup>

Although Cromie's report was the first on Northern Greece's political behaviour, soon Raleigh A. Gibson, Consul General at Salonika, became responsible for monitoring and analysing the public opinion in Northern Greece. His reports focused mostly on political behaviour and morale and Slav-Macedonian demographic presence. However, he was also reporting on Northern Greeks dissatisfaction over Greek authorities or their opinion on United States.<sup>74</sup>

### 5. Border regions and the Greek Issue

Meanwhile, the new Secretary of State, James Francis Byrnes, was informed that "it is improbable that large-scale incursions into Greece by Bulgarian, Albanian or Yugoslav forces will occur, but possibly there may be small-scale incursions. It is unlikely they would be backed by gov[ermen]ts concerned but in order to test our reactions and as part of general war of nerves may have their unofficial backing".<sup>75</sup> However, Belgrade was accusing Athens for a series of frontier violations and for the influx of 20,000 refugees from Greece, because of a persecution by Greek ultra-right gangs and the authorities.<sup>76</sup> Also, it was asking Washington to put an end to such actions and proceed to the implementation of the Atlantic Charter for the Slav-Macedonians.<sup>77</sup> On the contrary, McNeill reported an escalation of the Yugoslav aggression, mainly through Greek irregulars, while the Yugoslav frontier guards attacked their Greek and British counterparts and behaved with disrespect during their

---

<sup>73</sup> Cromie, *op.cit.* (f. 69).

<sup>74</sup> See "Report on Situation in Central and Western Macedonia With Regard to Slavo-Macedonian Minority and Left-Wing Armed Bands, and Policy of Greek Government Towards Them", Widney to American Embassy Athens, 6.11.1946 in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 7, 868.00/11-746, Salonika (Widney) to Byrnes, 757, 7.11.1946; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 11, 868.00/8-447, Salonika (Gibson) to Marshall, 125, 4.8.1947; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 23, 868.00/7-1948, Salonika (Gibson) to Marshall, 141, 19.7.1948; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/4-549, Salonika (Gibson) to Acheson, 41, 5.4.1949; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 29, 868.00/7-1449, Salonika (Gibson) to Acheson, 93, 14.7.1949; *ibid.*, 868.00/7-1949, Salonika (Gibson) to Acheson, 96, 19.7.1949; DS, *ibid.*, 868.00/9-3049, Salonika (Gibson) to Acheson, 105, 30.9.1949; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 30, 868.00/10-349, Salonika (Gibson) to Acheson, 107, 3.10.1949; *ibid.*, 868.00/10-1849, Salonika (Flood) to Acheson, 114, 18.10.1949.

<sup>75</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 34, 868.014/7-1345, Caserta (Kirk) to Byrnes, 2940, 13.7.1945.

<sup>76</sup> FRUS, 1945, v. VIII, 740.0011 EW/7-2045, Belgade (Shantz) to Byrnes, 295, 20.7.1945, pp. 323-324; FRUS (1960), Diplomatic Papers, *The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference)*, 1945, v. II, Government Printing Office, Washington, 760h.68/7-2445, Grew to Byrnes, 117, 24.7.1945, pp. 1065-1067.

<sup>77</sup> FRUS, 1945, v. VIII, 760H.68/7-2345, Athens (MacVeagh) to Byrnes, 742, 23.7.1945, pp. 328-329.

common meetings. These incidents made the American Captain reconsider his claims on Bulgarian primacy and supported that Belgrade troubles in West Greek Macedonia served Yugoslav territorial claims.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, he denounced Yugoslav accusations claiming that no persecutions were taken place against Slav-Macedonians<sup>79</sup> and advised against Greek territorial claims arguing that would add more Slavic populations to Greece and worsen her defensive capabilities.<sup>80</sup> On its part Sofia blamed Greece for aggression,<sup>81</sup> asked for an autonomous Macedonia<sup>82</sup> and annexation of Greek Thrace as a way to improve her relations with Greece.<sup>83</sup> According to American diplomats in Bulgaria, the Macedonian Question still influenced Bulgarian foreign policy, since many Bulgarian communists had Macedonian origin<sup>84</sup> and that was a reason why the Fatherland Front was not willing to discuss publicly the concession of Bulgarian Macedonia to NRM.<sup>85</sup> The Paris Peace Conference that was held between 29 July and 15 October 1946 was an opportunity to put on the table all the open issues. Bulgaria demanded the annexation of Western Thrace, Greece asked for the Dodecanese, Northern Epirus and boundary changes with Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia claimed the annexation of Greek Macedonia.<sup>86</sup> However, only Greece's annexation of Dodecanese was accepted.

During 1946, the leftist reaction to the rightist persecutions led to the Greek Civil War, which complicated the internal situation in Greece. After Kennan's telegram on Soviet policy,<sup>87</sup> Washington was suspecting Moscow for any Eurasian crisis.<sup>88</sup> The American diplomats in the Balkans were seeing the local communists as Moscow's puppets<sup>89</sup> and failed to distinguish between Soviet policy and local nationalism and irredentism, save the British Ambassador in Belgrade, Charles Brinsley Pemberton Peake, whose report on independent from Moscow Yugoslav policy was transmitted to Washington via the United States embassy in Belgrade.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, both Soviet and Ukrainian United Nations delegations tried

<sup>78</sup> McNeill, W. H., *Greco-Yugoslav Border Incidents*, No. R 132-45 in FRUS, *Berlin*, v. II, 760H.68/7-2445, Athens (MacVeagh) to State Department, 1346, 24.7.1945, pp. 1068-1071.

<sup>79</sup> FRUS, 1945, v. VIII, 760H.68/8-2845, Athens (MacVeagh) to State Department, 933, 28.8.1945, pp. 340-341. In contradiction, McNeill acknowledged in his book the persecution against the Slavic population of Greek Western Macedonia (McNeill, W. H. (1947), *The Greek Dilemma. War and Aftermath*, J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia/New York, p. 266).

<sup>80</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 34, 868.014/9-45, Athens (MacVeagh) to Byrnes, 1487, 4.9.1945.

<sup>81</sup> DS, IAB 1945-1949, m. 2, 874.00/6-1346, Sofia (Barnes) to Byrnes, 441, 13.6.1946.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00/4-2646, Sofia (Harris) to Byrnes, 344, 26.4.1946.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00/6-1346, Sofia (Barnes) to Byrnes, 441, 13.6.1946.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00/6-1146, Sofia (Barnes) to Byrnes, 435, 11.6.1946. On Bulgarian Left's nationalism see Sygkelos, Y. (2011), *Nationalism from the Left. The Bulgarian Communist Party during the Second World War and the Early Post-War Years*, Brill, Leiden/Boston.

<sup>85</sup> DS, IAB 1945-1949, m. 2, 874.00/9-346, Sofia (Rewinkel) to Byrnes, 689, 30.9.1946.

<sup>86</sup> FRUS (1970), 1946, v. III, *Paris Peace Conference: Proceedings*, Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 113, 203, 381.

<sup>87</sup> FRUS (1969), 1946, v. VI, *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 861.00/2-2246, Moscow (Kennan) to Byrnes, 511, 22.2.1946, pp. 696-709.

<sup>88</sup> See, for example, Ferrell R. H. (ed.) (1980, reprint Columbia/London 2002), *The Autobiography of Harry S. Truman*, University of Missouri Press, p. 100

<sup>89</sup> De Santis, H. (1979), "Conflicting Images of the USSR: American Career Diplomats and the Balkans, 1944-1946", *Political Science Quarterly*, 94, 3: 475-489.

<sup>90</sup> DS, IAY 1945-1949, m. 3, 860H.00/12-1446, Belgrade (Hickok) to Byrnes, 1235, 14.12.1946.

unsuccessfully to internationalise the Greek Issue in January and September 1946, claiming respectively that British military presence in Greece and Greek policy in general destabilized the region.<sup>91</sup> Yet according to MacVeagh, Athens, except from the Greek extreme Right, avoided any conflict with its northern neighbours. On the contrary, MacVeagh claimed that the latter followed an aggressive policy towards Greece. For him, frontier violations' purpose was to create a strong Greek reaction. In this way, the communist bloc could argue that Greece was indeed a menace to peace and stability.<sup>92</sup> Greek Issue was crucial for American officials, who started to worry that Greece could be brought under communist control. Because of that, United Nations had to be ready to intervene, either by sending military forces<sup>93</sup> or organising an investigation, as the Greek border zone was in critical condition and Belgrade and Sofia were still seeking to annex Northern Greece.<sup>94</sup> Finally, on December 3, 1946, Greece internationalised the Greek Issue to the UN General Assembly, accusing her northern neighbours of supporting the communist-led Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) and claiming that the latter was an act, which endangered the maintenance of international peace and security.<sup>95</sup> As a result, the Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents was founded on 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1946.<sup>96</sup>

Meanwhile, Britain's economic weakness to assist the Greek government in its struggle against DAG led the United States to assume this burden. Washington had essentially inherited the British system of security and was convinced that Moscow was behind DAG, but Kremlin unwilling to collide with its former allies did not favour the Greek guerrillas.<sup>97</sup> American policy makers argued that in case United States did not intervene in Greece, not only she would become communist, but also communism would spread to Eastern Mediterranean and Europe.<sup>98</sup> Eventually, Washington took over this responsibility. United States' anti-communism had to ally itself with Greek and global anti-communism. The Truman Doctrine, which was announced in 12<sup>th</sup> March 1947 by the United States' President, Harry S Truman,<sup>99</sup> was the epitome of Washington's new global policy,<sup>100</sup> from which "a new kind of war" emerged.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Nachmani, A. (1990), *International Intervention in the Greek Civil War. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, 1947-1952*, Praeger, New York/Westport/London, p. 33.

<sup>92</sup> FRUS, 1946, v. VII, 868.00/9-3046, Athens (MacVeagh) to Byrnes, 1307, 30.9.1946, pp. 226-227.

<sup>93</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 7, 868.00/10-2146, *Memorandum Regarding Greece*, 21.10.1946.

<sup>94</sup> FRUS (1969), 1946, v. VII, *The Near East and Africa*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 501.BC/12-946, *Incidents on the Northern Greek Frontiers: A Summary Statement* (Howard), Washington, 9.12.1946, pp. 276-277.

<sup>95</sup> Aghnides to Secretary-General, 3.12.1946 in FRUS, 1946, v. VII, 501.BB/12-446, United States Acting Representative at the United Nations (Johnson) to Byrnes, 921, 4.12.1946, pp. 272-273.

<sup>96</sup> Nachmani, *op.cit.* (f. 91), p. 33.

<sup>97</sup> Zubok VL., Pleshakov, C. (1996) *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War. From Stalin to Khrushchev*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge/Massachusetts/London, p. 45.

<sup>98</sup> FRUS (1971), 1947, v. V, *The Near East and Africa*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 868.00/2-2147, Acheson, "Crisis and Imminent Possibility of Collapse in Greece", 21.2.1947, pp. 29-31.

<sup>99</sup> Address of the President of the United States delivered before a Joint Session of the Senate and the House of Representatives, Recommending Assistance to Greece and Turkey, 80, 1, No. 171, 12.3.1947 in Harry S. Truman. Library & Museum, <[http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf#zoom=100](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf#zoom=100)> (25.10.2013).

The decision itself was bypassing the UN, and Washington that did not want any control on its activities in Greece rejected any proposals for cooperation between the United Nations with the American Mission for Aid to Greece (AMAG). Moreover, Washington no longer trusted the findings of the Commission of Investigation, although it had proposed its creation in the first place. Marshall considered the findings inconclusive and feared that the Commission would stand mostly on internal conditions of the Greek Issue. For this reason, he asked the representative of the United States to the Commission, Mark Foster Ethridge, to make some changes in the final text so as to serve better the American positions.<sup>102</sup> The conclusion of the Commission was announced on June 27, 1947. The majority of the committee members accused Yugoslavia, and to a lesser extent, Albania and Bulgaria for supporting the DSE and proposed a permanent observer mission at the Greek frontiers in order to investigate, help and resolve any border incidents.<sup>103</sup> As expected, Americans used Commission's report as a diplomatic tool, in an effort to defend Greece against her three northern neighbours.<sup>104</sup>

In a State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee meeting, on 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1947, officials of the three ministries reiterated their faith in the strategic importance of Greece and the need to preserve her as embankment against communism, believing that developments in this country can affect the safety of the United States and the interests of all capitalist democracies. For them, the insurgent groups that crossed the borders aimed at isolation of Macedonia from Greece.<sup>105</sup> However, although State Department acknowledged that "[t]he crux of the Macedonian problem is its relation to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Greece", it still denied to follow British proposals for an early action against the foundation of a Macedonian Republic after the union between NRM and Bulgarian Macedonia. Washington understood that such an action could lead to "a diplomatic defeat", an outcome it wanted to avoid at any rate.<sup>106</sup> American policy on the Macedonian Question had reached the point of having clear goals and boundaries.

Alongside its intervention in Greece, Washington processed a more permanent, but supportive role of the United Nations. After repeated Soviet vetoes at Security Council, the General Assembly, on 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1947, established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) aiming at conciliation between Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and

---

<sup>100</sup> Ambrose, St. E. (1971, reprint New York 1993), *Rise to Globalism. American Foreign Policy since 1938*, Penguin Books, pp. 78-83; LaFeber, W. (1993<sup>7</sup>), *America, Russia and the Cold War 1945-1992*, McGraw-Hill, Inc., New York, p. 49.

<sup>101</sup> Jones, H. (1989) *"A New Kind of War". America's Global Strategy and The Truman Doctrine in Greece*, Oxford University Press, New York/Oxford.

<sup>102</sup> FRUS, 1947, v. V, 501.BC Greece/5-2047, Marshall to Ethridge, 403, 16.5.1947, pp. 862-863. See also Jones, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-70.

<sup>103</sup> Nachmani, *op.cit.* (f. 91), pp. 33-35.

<sup>104</sup> See FRUS, 1947, v. V, 501.BC Greece/5-1247, Genoa (Ethridge) to Marshall, 299, 12.5.1947, pp. 850-860 and 501.BC Greece/6-2647, Marshall to Austin, 280, 26.6.1947, pp. 866-868.

<sup>105</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 8, 868.00/3-2047, Moseley, Schulgen and Lawrence, *State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee. SWNC Subcommittee on Foreign Policy Information. Public Information Program on United States Aid to Greece*, 20.3.1947.

<sup>106</sup> FRUS, 1947, v. V, 868.00/7-2147, Reber to Henderson, 28.7.1947, pp. 263-264.

---



Yugoslavia and observing the Greek frontiers.<sup>107</sup> Besides, one of UNSCOB's primary concerns was the exploitation of the Macedonian Question by the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav communists as a way to annex the Greek Macedonia.<sup>108</sup> UNSCOB became part of the great propaganda war that was taking place between the two opposite camps. It did not only observe, but published its findings too. According to the American officials, this was "sufficient to deter the Communists from extending additional aid" to the DSE.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, the Greek National Army (EES), after any serious frontier incident, asked for a "swift and massive retaliation", as UNSCOB methods lingered. However, the latter had resulted to the prevention of any escalation of the crisis. By this way peace and stability was protected, thus UNSCOB was fulfilling its task.<sup>110</sup>

Besides, Washington preferred collective security, than sending its own troops in Greece. However, London's decision to withdraw its forces from Greece<sup>111</sup> met Washington's severe reaction,<sup>112</sup> as EES was designed to counter guerrillas and not conventional forces.<sup>113</sup> Dwight Palmer Griswold, chief of AMAG, warned that the British evacuation could mean the failure of AMAG and the split of Greece.<sup>114</sup> Although London reassured that no withdrawal would take place,<sup>115</sup> General Stephen J. Chamberlin proposed the preparation in various contingency plans.<sup>116</sup> American policy could not afford a failure in Greece. Communisation of Greece, Italy, Turkey and Iran or any loss of their territorial integrity should be avoided. The National Security Council (NSC) worried that Soviet Union could threaten the security of Eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia, and hence the American security. Moreover, it assumed that for the realization of this policy the complete political, economic and military power of the United States and the maintenance of the strong military and economic position of Britain in the region were necessary.<sup>117</sup>

## 6. Upgrading and downgrading the Macedonian Question

The escalation of the American-Soviet relations led to the establishment of two opposing blocs in 1947. Moscow since late 1947, through its Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), tried to answer back to American initiatives of Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan by expanding its control to the Eastern European communist countries and curding the in-

---

<sup>107</sup> Nachmani, *op.cit.* (f. 91), p. 36

<sup>108</sup> Rossow, R., "The Macedonian Question from 1878 to the Second World War" in DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 24, 868.00/8-448, Sofia (Heath) to Marshall, 4.8.1948.

<sup>109</sup> NA, SD, USNA, 501.BB Balkan/2-2448, "Next steps of UNSCOB", Washington, D.C., 24 February 1948 in Nachmani, *op.cit.* (f. 91), p. 37.

<sup>110</sup> Nachmani, *op.cit.* (f. 91), p. 63.

<sup>111</sup> FRUS, 1947, v. V, 841.2368/7-3047, British Chargé Washington (Balfour) to Marshall, G58/-/47, 30.7.1947, p. 268.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 841.24568/8-147, Marshall to the Embassy in the United Kingdom, Washington, 3304, 1.8.1947, pp. 274-275.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.00/8-147, Athens (MacVeagh) to Marshall, 1261, 1.8.1947, pp. 270-271.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.00/8-547, Athens (Griswold) to Marshall, 1291, 5.8.1947, pp. 279-280.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 841.2368/8-2047, Bevin to Marshall, London, n.d., pp. 301-302.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 867.00/10-2747, Jernegan to Henderson, 27.10.1947, pp. 381-382.

<sup>117</sup> FRUS (1974), 1948, v. IV, *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, Government Printing Office, Washington, Executive Secretariat Files, Lot 63-D351, [Souers] to [NSC], NSC 5, Washington, 6.1.1948, p. 2.

dependent Yugoslavia. Yugoslavians were expanding their communist model to the rest of East European CPs and their intervention to the Greek Civil War could lead to an American invasion to the Balkan border of world communism.<sup>118</sup> The regional role Belgrade wanted to acquire antagonized Soviet influence in the Balkans. Yugoslav initiatives exposed the Soviets, since the capitalist world stereotypically believed that Kremlin was the great puppeteer and CP the puppets.<sup>119</sup> Moscow could not continue to tolerate the Yugoslav hegemonism. Despite Belgrade's efforts not to escalate the confrontation with Moscow, Cominform, on June 28, 1948 expelled the KPJ from its ranks.<sup>120</sup>

The first rupture within the Communist bloc was a fact and surprised the capitalist governments. American diplomats and officials started discussions on how to exploit the split and assist Yugoslavia.<sup>121</sup> For the first time Washington was facing the dilemma of supporting a communist state, independent from Moscow. Therefore, the decision about the type of relation should be formed with Belgrade had to be carefully configured because a precedent could be set and also other East European states could be affected, while there was always the risk of a rapprochement between Belgrade and Moscow.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, the Yugoslavs began to worry about a possible Cominform invasion.<sup>123</sup> Tito's regime survival served the American interests.

Naturally, the split upgraded the Macedonian Question, which "once again become a key to the general Balkan situation".<sup>124</sup> Bulgaria was released from her agreements with Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, Sofia worried about Yugoslav aspirations in Bulgarian Macedonia, Skopje's influence on Bulgarian-Macedonians<sup>125</sup> and accused Skopje of denying the right of existence of the "Bulgarian national minority".<sup>126</sup> According to the new minister in Sofia, Donald H. Heath, the attitude of the communist regimes on the Macedonian Question was revealing, since it proved that the nationalist passions were not silenced. The Macedonian Question had reverted to its former condition by the awakening of Bulgarian and Yugoslav chauvinism.<sup>127</sup> American diplomats' mission was to follow and analyse not only the developments on the Macedonian Question, but its history as well.

---

<sup>118</sup> Zubok, Pleshakov, *op.cit.* (f. 97), pp. 128-133, 135; Mastny, V. (1996), *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity. The Stalin Years*, Oxford University Press, New York/Oxford, pp. 34-35; Roberts, G. (1999), "Ideology, Calculation, and Improvisation: Spheres of Influence and Soviet Foreign Policy 1939-1945", *Review of International Studies*, 25: 672-673.

<sup>119</sup> Banac, I. (1988), *With Stalin Against Tito. Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca/London, pp. 259-260, 267.

<sup>120</sup> Mastny, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-46, 53; Zubok, Pleshakov, *op.cit.* (f. 97), pp. 125-136.

<sup>121</sup> See FRUS (1974), 1948, v. IV, *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 860H.00/6-2948, Belgrade (Reams) to Marshall, 789, 29.6.1948, p. 1076; *ibid.*, 860H.00/6-3048, Belgrade (Reams) to Marshall, 799, 30.6.1948, pp. 1077-1078; *ibid.*, 840.50 Recovery/7-848, Marshall to Harriman, Washington, 2532, 8.7.1948, p. 1092.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, Policy Planning Staff, "The Attitude of This Government Toward Events in Yugoslavia", PPS 356, 30.6.1948, pp. 1079-1081.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 800.00 Summaries/7-648, Marshall to Athens, et al., 6.7.1948, pp. 1084-1085.

<sup>124</sup> Rossow, *op.cit.* (f. 108).

<sup>125</sup> DS, IAY 1945-1949, m. 5, Sofia (Heath) to Marshall, 818, 5.7.1948.

<sup>126</sup> DS, IAB 1945-1949, m. 4, 874.00B/7-1548, Sofia (Heath) to Marshall, 874, 15.7.1948.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 874.00B/7-1648, Sofia (Heath) to Marshall, 882, 16.7.1948.

In regards to Washington, DSE could be used by Moscow to encircle Yugoslavia from the South.<sup>128</sup> Cavendish W. Cannon, Ambassador in Belgrade, claimed that Greek and Slav-Macedonian agents would conduct Cominform's anti-Yugoslav campaign in Yugoslav Macedonia.<sup>129</sup> KKE was in a difficult position too. EES' successes had limited the territories controlled by DSE, mainly in Western Macedonia. This fact, coupled with the evacuation operation of the villages around, reduced the recruitment tanks to Greek communist refugees who fled to the Balkan communist countries and Slav-Macedonians who lived in areas under DSE control. Thus, Slav-Macedonians recruitment was a necessity and the Soviet-Yugoslav rift threatened to enlarge Slav-Macedonians desertion from DSE. For this reason KKE decided, on 30-31 January 1949, that "the Macedonian people will find their full national restoration the way they want it".<sup>130</sup> It was obvious for Cannon that KKE chose to follow an anti-Yugoslav stand and that could work in favour of a Greco-Yugoslav rapprochement,<sup>131</sup> as "Yugoslavia has supplanted Greece as immediate Communist objective".<sup>132</sup> Rumours on a Macedonian state foundation in Greek soil by the Slav-Macedonian organization attached to DSE, National Liberation Front (NOF),<sup>133</sup> divided the American policy makers. Some expected, as it happened,<sup>134</sup> a rift inside the KKE that could be exploited<sup>135</sup> and some believed that Washington should act against any such declaration.<sup>136</sup> Finally, on March 17, 1949, Truman denounced the idea of Macedonian autonomy,<sup>137</sup> while American diplomats and officials continued to discuss Belgrade's, Sofia's and KKE's role.<sup>138</sup>

Since the inter-communist rupture and Washington's effort to "recruit" Belgrade, the Macedonian Question received new dimensions and started to be associated not only with Greek security, but Yugoslavian too. Americans realised that, like in the case of Greece, Macedonia was the backdoor of Yugoslavia as well. Its geographical position, between Cominform members, and its population volatile political and ethnic identities, created suitable conditions to thrive the propagandas by the Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek CPs and also by Cominform. United States had to ensure Yugoslav security and keep the USSR away from the Aegean. The strategy of containment of communism included now Yugoslavia too, even if she remained a communist state. Essentially, the axis of American policy, as

<sup>128</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/3-249, Directors for European Affairs and Near Eastern and African Affairs to Webb, Acheson, 2.3.1949.

<sup>129</sup> FRUS (1976), 1949, v. V, *Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 860H.014/3-849, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 237, 8.3.1949, pp. 877-878.

<sup>130</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Plenum of KKE's SC, 30-31.1.1947 in To Kommounistiko Komma tis Elladas (1987), *Επίσημα Κείμενα* v. 6 1945-1949, Sygchroni Epochi, Athens, p. 337.

<sup>131</sup> FRUS (1977), 1949, v. VI, *The Near East, South Asia, and Africa*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 868.00/2-1649, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 161, 16.2.1949, pp. 250-252.

<sup>132</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/3-949, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 242, 9.3.1949.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.00/3-1149, 11.3.49, Howard to Jermegen, Baxter, Cromie, 11.3.1949.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 868.00/3-949, Athens (Grady) to Acheson, 441, 9.3.1949; DS, IAY 1945-1949, m. 8, 860H.00 (W)/3-1149, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 257, 11.3.1949.

<sup>135</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/3-349, Athens (Grady) to Acheson, 392, 3.3.1949.

<sup>136</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 35, 868.014/3-1049, Jernegan, "Possible Proclamation of a Macedonian State", 10.3.1949.

<sup>137</sup> See FRUS, 1949, v. VI, p. 261, f. 3.

<sup>138</sup> See DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/3-2349, Athens (Rankin) to Acheson, 233, 23.3.1949; *ibid.*, 868.00/3-2549, Sofia (O'Donoghue) to Acheson, 255, 25.3.1949; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 35, 868.014/3-2949, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 330, 29.3.1949.

far as the Macedonian Question upgraded and transformed at the same time, functioned as a response to the upgrading and transformed Soviet policy. While during the early post-War period the Macedonian Question was originally connected Sofia and Belgrade and was used against Athens periodically, now it had adopted an anti-Yugoslav role. However, the American willingness to support Tito's regime and the acknowledgment of NRM's vulnerability implied the indirect recognition of the Slav-Macedonian identity. United States policy makers had to follow the developments in NRM and judge whether the constituent republic would remain loyal to the federal government in Belgrade or the Bulgarian propaganda could succeed once again by endangering the Yugoslav structure and independence of Belgrade against Moscow. It is characteristic that the American diplomats dealt with the Slav-Macedonians, instead of the Albanians of the NRM who had more coherent national identity.

Scenarios on whether the Soviets would invade Yugoslavia or would prefer to use guerrillas instead, in order to weaken Belgrade were exchanging between American officials and diplomats.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, Cannon acknowledged that the Yugoslav program succeeded to make the Macedonian self-identification strong in NRM which, according to him, could not be reversed anymore, and thus loyal to the Yugoslav federation. The only weakness, according to him, was that the emphasis on the Macedonian nationality might weaken the loyalty to the Yugoslav state in the future.<sup>140</sup> Meanwhile, KKE's anti-Yugoslav turn caused the termination of the Yugoslav support to the DSE and on 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1949 the Yugoslav frontiers close for DSE troops.<sup>141</sup> One and a half month later, DSE suffered a decisive defeat by EES.

The end of the Greek Civil War did not lead to discontinuation of the scenarios on a possible Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia<sup>142</sup> or a possible use of the Greek guerrillas in Yugoslav Macedonia.<sup>143</sup> For Washington, especially after the beginning of the Korean War, the continuance of the Greco-Yugoslav rapprochement was essential.<sup>144</sup> While, the upgrading of the Macedonian question, from a mere issue of Greek security to an issue of Yugoslav security too, had led the United States to adopt a neutral stance, after the termination of the Greek Civil War and the rumours over a possible Cominform invasion to Yugoslavia, Washington sought to downgrade it. The Macedonian Question should be downgraded to an internal issue for both Greece and Yugoslavia who had to improve their bilateral relations.

---

<sup>139</sup> See DS, IAY 1945-1949, m. 11, 860H.20/4-149, Mead to Armstrong, GSGID-ID 8-381, 1.4.1949; FRUS, 1949, v. V, 760H.61/4-449, Moscow (Kohler) to Acheson, 829, 4.4.1949, pp. 880-881; DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/4-1249, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 142, 12.4.1949.

<sup>140</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 28, 868.00/4-1249, Belgrade (Cannon) to Acheson, 142, 12.4.1949.

<sup>141</sup> Kofos, Ev. (1964), *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, p. 184.

<sup>142</sup> FRUS, 1949, v. V, PPS Files, Lot 64 D 563, Policy Planning Staff, "Yugoslav-Moscow Controversy as Related to U.S. Foreign Policy Objectives", P.P.S. 60, Washington, 12.9.1949, pp. 947-954.

<sup>143</sup> DS, IAG 1945-1949, m. 30, 868.00/12-1549, Sofia (Heath) to Acheson, A-462, 15.12.1949.

<sup>144</sup> FRUS (1980), 1950, v. IV, Gleason, S. E., Aandahl, Fr., Churchill, R. P., Sampson, Ch. S. and Slany, W. Z. (eds.), *Central and Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union*, Government Printing Office, Washington, p. 1477, f. 5.

---



This would have guaranteed the cooperation of both sides. What could Washington succeed was to find a temporary solution before the common enemy. Containing the Soviet Union preceded the final settlement of the Macedonian Question.

## **7. Conclusion**

Ethnic and political radicalization in the Balkans and, especially, Macedonia forced Washington to take a closer view in the region. It did not take long for the American diplomats and officials to realise that the revival of the Macedonian Question threatened United States' interests. The strong presence of Greek communist rebels and Slav-Macedonian autonomists transformed Macedonia to the most vulnerable part of Greece. It was in the American interest to protect the Greek territorial integrity and to keep the country in the British or, afterwards, American sphere of influence. Although, United States diplomats and officials recognised that KKE sought to protect Greek territorial integrity, they also believed that the annexation of Greek Macedonia and Thrace by Greece's northern Slavic neighbours was quite possible. Besides, they were familiar with rumours and statements about founding a Balkan Federation where Greece, without or with her northern territories, would be a constituent state. KKE's predominance had to be prevented, if Truman's administration wanted to contain the spread of communism and Soviet influence. In this way Greece climbed at the evaluative scale of Washington's strategic planning. She would be used as an embankment in what Americans interpreted as an export of Soviet influence. But above all, she must not become a Soviet highway to the rest of Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia, at all costs. Therefore, Athens ought to be supported in its struggle against its domestic enemies.

American policy makers admitted that the Macedonian national movement, which was emerging in neighbouring Yugoslavia, could be used as a Trojan Horse for the conquest of Greece and the spread of Moscow's influence. That is why it was decided that the recognition of the Macedonian nationality and the establishment of the People's Republic of Macedonia as a national centre for the whole of Macedonia endangered Greek territorial integrity. At the same time, reports on Macedonia's autonomy and the foundation of a South Slav Federation were considered equally dangerous. Washington proved in many ways its determination to protect Greek territorial integrity and thus its interests, either by supporting Greece financially and succeeded to retain the British military troops in Northern Greece or by manipulating United Nations' collective security.

Yugoslav-Soviet rift led to the restructure of United States' strategic planning in the Balkans. The American policy makers recognized that the Yugoslav communist model could act in competition with the Soviet one and distract other Eastern European countries from Kremlin's control. But to achieve that Yugoslavia ought to be part of the American security system. In return, the Yugoslavs had to end their support for the KKE. In accordance with Washington, this action would not only benefit Americans and their Greek allies, but also Yugoslavs themselves. If the KKE had decided to join Moscow, then the Yugoslavs might be faced with a particularly difficult situation. Like Greek Macedonia, Yugoslav Macedonia was also vulnerable to either conventional or unconventional invasion regimes. Therefore, the

inter-communist rupture upgraded the Macedonian Question to the point that it could be associated, for Washington, not only with Greek security. However, this change implied a large database and continuous analyses and reports on the rapid developments. The Macedonian Question on regard to Greece was easier to comprehend than on regard to the ongoing conflict between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Therefore, United States diplomats were asked to refer to libraries and compile reports on the Bulgarian and Yugoslav perspective concerning the Macedonian Question.

With the adoption of the new axis of American policy, rapprochement was reached between Athens and Belgrade, which led to a partly strategic unification of Macedonia. Washington chose to follow Black and Berry's proposals to de-politicise the Macedonian Question. She also worked on a Greco-Yugoslav consensus and succeeded to convince Yugoslavia and Greece that they had to leave aside their differences, due to their similar interests. Once American interests got secured and served on the Macedonian Question would be considered accomplished. American policy makers had established clear goals and priorities, but also were inspired by practicality and flexibility, which proves that they did not have ideological rigidities and they could integrate a communist state in their strategy of containment of communism, while helping an anti-communist regime to suppress a communist revolution.

## Policy and War in the Post-War Balkans. Germany and the Greco-Yugoslavian Issue at the beginning of the 1950s\*

STRATOS N. DORDANAS,  
Lecturer in History,  
Department of Balkan, Slavic & Oriental Studies,  
University of Macedonia. Hellas  
Email: [dordanas@uom.gr](mailto:dordanas@uom.gr)

In November 1950, Marshal Tito gave his first interview to a German journalist referring, among other things, to German-Yugoslav foreign relations. In the interview he emphasised Yugoslavia's willingness to strengthen the trade cooperation between the two nations, but also to restore it to prewar levels. Following the reconstitution of full diplomatic relations, Tito felt these prospects to be favourable. He assured the Germans that the Yugoslavs held no hard feelings towards them regarding the war, emphatically stating: "We do not hate any peoples, we hate only fascism". Characterizing the German people as highly competent and diligent, he re-affirmed his support for a united Germany, deeming that the formation of two Germanies held dangers analogous to those of the Korean peninsula. Clearly, Tito's views, stated above, started a new phase in bi-lateral relations. On the one hand, both sides sought a convergence in the fields of politics, economics and culture, and on the other, attempts were made to overcome the legacy of the past, of which the war was a part. The Bonn government included in this latter category the pressing issues concerning the German prisoners-of-war, the war criminals, and the ethnic-German minority in Yugoslavia.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier in that year, March 1950, Hans Schumacher, the German representative for matters of foreign policy, had had a series of meetings in Athens with distinguished individuals of the Greek political, scientific and business worlds, which took place both before and after the elections. Tsaldaris, Plastiras and Pipinelis stressed to the German interlocutor the need for an immediate restoration of trade relations between the two countries; this being a matter of absolute priority for Greece. All three politicians recognised the importance of the German factor in fortifying Europe against Moscow and communism at large (Fleischer, 2008: 528-9). Pipinelis, having made the biggest impression on Schumacher, argued that a

---

\* A first draft of this paper was presented at the conference *War and Political Transformation. Scrambling for Power in the Balkans 1940's*, organized by the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, the Program on Order, Conflict and Violence, Yale University and the Civil Wars Study Group, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, May 31st – June 3rd, 2012.

<sup>1</sup> Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes [Political Archive of Foreign Office], Berlin (PA AA), 210-01/39 (1950-54): Tito für gute Beziehungen mit Deutschland [Tito on good relations with Germany], Belgrade, 13 November 1950.

common Greco-German anti-communist defence preparedness would also inevitably strengthen the economic and cultural relations between the two countries. He concluded: "To some extent, there remain in Greece unpleasant memories from the period of war [...]. Today, however, we must look forward. The common dangers that threaten the democratic peoples of Europe make the shadows of the past pale before them. Greece believes that Europe cannot be saved without Germany [...]"<sup>2</sup>

These 'shadows of the past', however, were not that easy to dispel. Partly because politics and the economy were interdependent and partly because memories of the war were still fresh. As far as German politics was concerned, the urgent issue of the German war criminals still imprisoned in Greek jails was high on the political and economic agenda between Athens and Bonn. And as far as the Greeks' vivid memories of the German occupation went, there could not have been a more appropriate witness to them than the foreign correspondent of Spiegel, who was the first German after the war to visit Crete. Walking the streets of Chania, he experienced first hand the anti-German sentiments of the residents not only from their strong words but also from their deeds. Things were no better when he tried to contact the local authorities: the mayor refused to see him, the director of the municipal archives behaved insultingly by swiping the journalist's papers off the table, and the metropolitan refused to answer most of his questions.<sup>3</sup> All this that the Spiegel correspondent had gone through, the German diplomatic mission in Athens simply interpreted as "Cretan idiosyncrasy". In other words, it was assumed that the negative situation on Crete cannot be compared with the rest of Greece, adding that fortunately for them, Crete would not comprise a favoured destination for Germans in the foreseeable future.<sup>4</sup>

As can be seen from all that has been said above, the cases of Greece and Yugoslavia present a number of similarities as to the restoration of diplomatic ties with the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II. Willing to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany for almost the same reasons, both states sent ambassadors to Bonn, at the same time allowing German embassies to reopen in Athens and Belgrade, respectively. If anything with this move, the two Balkan capitals acknowledged, on the one hand, the importance of the German political factor on the Cold War in Europe, and on the other, Germany's key contribution to their respective countries' economic reconstruction.

In 1950, having been hit by a severe economic crisis, Yugoslavia found itself literally on the verge of starvation. This officially signaled the failure of the five-year plan, which the Yugoslavian side blamed on the following factors (Bombelles, 1968: 12-46): firstly, the adverse turn of events on their internal economy brought on by the Tito-Stalin split that saw their exports cut in half, this was added to by the economic embargo imposed by the Cominform,

---

<sup>2</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): Hans Schumacher an Konrad Adenauer, „Eindrücke von einem mehrwöchigen Besuch in Griechenland [Impressions from a visit of several weeks to Greece]", Berlin, 21 April 1950.

<sup>3</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Athen an Bundeskanzleramt, Dienststelle für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Bonn [Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Athens to Bonn], „Kreta", Athens, 29 December 1950: Dr. Horst J. Becker, „Reisebericht Kreta [Report on a Trip in Crete]", Athens, 25 December 1950.

<sup>4</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): Generalkonsulat der Bundesrepublik Deutschland [Grundherr to Bonn], „Kreta", Athens, 29 December 1950.

---



the crisis in Korea, and finally, the slow pace with which their return to the West was being accomplished. Regarding this last point, Germany's crucial role must be noted. From 1947, Yugoslavia and Germany signed a series of respective trade and economic agreements worth several million dollars, or rather several million Deutsch-marks. Apart from the obvious economic character of these agreements, there were also two other aspects of great interest. The first of these was Germany's opportunity to apply pressure for the release of her prisoners of war or "supposed" war criminals held in Yugoslav jails.<sup>5</sup>

According to data, in 1945, this figure amounted to 84,000 men, of which 74,000 had been released by January 1949, and about 1,300 still remained imprisoned. In May 1951, the data that Yugoslavia gave to the United Nations was that 6,200 Germans had died in captivity, approximately 400 were considered to be war criminals, and some 4,000 men were employed as free labourers. This last category had been released from jail on account of their agreeing to sign contracts to work for the Yugoslav government. The fact becomes obvious that in order for Yugoslavia to increase her industry, there was a real need for manpower and skilled workers, which led her, on the one hand, to turn to the existing reservoir of war criminals, offering them long-term contracts, and on the other, to look to Germany in the hopes of luring a labour force from there. In the early 1950s over 10,000 Germans were calculated to have been working in the implementation of Yugoslavia's five-year plan, which included the industrialization of the country.<sup>6</sup>

In light of this, it is perhaps easier to understand why Tito, in his 1950 interview - mentioned at the beginning of this talk- had announced that amnesty would also be granted to German war criminals; this essentially meant that Yugoslavia was ready and willing to gradually but definitively close the chapter on the war legacy relations between her and Germany.

The legacy of the war was also accepted when it could be used to support the case for yet another, this time ideological, ongoing war against Moscow. In July 1951, an article was published in the newspaper *Politika*, which was a tribute to the *Three years of Struggle against Oppression in Moscow*. In this article, 1948 was perceived to be the second stage in a decade-old battle (begun in 1941) against tyrants and conquerors, which although indirectly, very clearly paralleled Stalin with Hitler. It was regarded as a national and historical obligation to continue the struggle of building socialism in the face of all the old and new

---

<sup>5</sup> PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): „Geschichte [Report]“, pp. 16-19. For these reasons, among others, the German Embassy in 1952 denied the following article of “Yugopress”: “The German Chargé d’ Affaires in Belgrade, Heinrich Graf von Hardenberg, who returned from an official trip to Bonn, told the Yugopress Diplomatic Representative that the official Bonn circles and the German Embassy in Belgrade had received with the great satisfaction the conclusion of the trade agreement between the Federal German Republic and the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. Graf von Hardenberg considers that this agreement will serve to strengthen an unhampered trade exchange between the two countries. The German Embassy is convinced, he stated, that, in the spirit mutual understanding, it will very soon come to an expansion of political and cultural relations. He also believed that at summer’s end the Yugoslav and German Governments will be advancing their proposals concerning the settlement of detailed technical questions bearing of the further development of German-Yugoslav Relations”, see, PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): “Yugopress” Information Bulletin, “The German and Yugoslav Relation”, Nr. 31, Belgrade, 25 June 1952.

<sup>6</sup> PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): „Geschichte [Report]“, pp. 16-19.

challenges and threats to Yugoslavia's independence.<sup>7</sup> What is more, being at loggerheads with Moscow and the Cominform, Yugoslavia needed to muster support from other partners, and the Federal Republic of Germany became such a one (Christidis, 2003: 117-121).

In the first place, Tito had repeatedly expressed his support for an independent Germany, strongly criticising the Allies' policies on the German question, which he believed were no different to what they had been at the end of the First World War.<sup>8</sup> Tito's views on Germany were, in fact, in keeping with general European perceptions that supported the strengthening of West Germany in order for it to be used as a buffer against the Soviet threat (Young, 2006: 134).

On February 15, 1953, the new German Ambassador to Belgrade, while handing his credentials, received the assurance from Tito himself, that "Yugoslavia supported an independent Germany with full rights, which would counter the Russian threat." Despite its transient, as it turned out, nature, this German-Yugoslav political agreement against Moscow also had positive impacts on a number of other matters of importance for Germany. One such was the release of the final twelve German war criminals, at the start of 1953. Another promoting the rights of the ethnic-German minority in the Yugoslav state.<sup>9</sup>

Even up until May 1952, a German report entitled *The state of the German minority in Yugoslavia*, stated that there had been "systematic extermination of the ethnic German population in Yugoslavia from October 1944 until the summer of 1948". From a total of 620,000 in 1941, the remaining 55,000 ethnic-Germans in Yugoslavia were, however, gradually granted some of their rights. More particularly, the use of the German language was allowed in 1948, and there was almost a complete reversal of the Yugoslavs' negative public opinion about Germany. In fact, as hatred of the Germans subsided, blatant hostility against the Russians grew.

Greco-German relations, in the early 1950s, followed a similar trend to those between Germany and Yugoslavia, and although from the very beginning trade agreements had been the focal point, it was the new political priorities that played the catalytic role in the Bonn-Athens rapprochement. Thus, in December of 1950, Greece had made a positive impression on the first German diplomatic mission on its six-day stay in the Greek capital. More important than these feelings of friendship and warm reception, however, were the diplomats' initial meetings with the political heads which determined the future framework of the bilateral relations. Express instructions from Bonn stated that good relations with Greece were essential at this early stage. There were obviously a number of political and economic reasons for this, but the two main ones were, firstly, Greece's anti-communist orientation and secondly, that as a member of the UN and other international organisations, Greece could be useful in supporting German interests until the Federal Republic of

---

<sup>7</sup> PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): Politische Vertretung, Ulrich an Auswärtiges Amt, „Der Ton der jugoslawischen Propaganda gegen Moskau [Yugoslavian Propaganda against Moscow]“, Belgrade, 9 July 1951.

<sup>8</sup> PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): Politische Vertretung, Ulrich an Auswärtiges Amt, „Marschall Tito über Deutschland [Tito on Germany]“, Belgrade, 25 October 1951.

<sup>9</sup> PA AA, 210-01/39 (1950-54): Kroll an Auswärtiges Amt, „Telegramm“, Belgrade, 12 February 1953.

---

Germany was itself accepted as a member in itself.<sup>10</sup>

For Greece, besides strengthening commercial exchanges with Germany, the other major advantage concerned the 'threat from the north' (Valden, 1991: 50-52, 67-69; Michailidis, 2007; Katsanos, 2013);<sup>11</sup> Europe was now responsible for dealing with the political alignment between Greece and Germany. Germany was considered to be a decisive factor in Europe's security and for this reason, Greece was willing to support its accession to Western organisations. In addition, in view of meeting the new challenges posed by the Cold War, Greece thought it best to erase the period of the German occupation from its memory, or in the words of the Athens government: "The past should be forgotten".<sup>12</sup>

Only that, as already mentioned, this particular memory was painful and persistent and could not be easily erased. It seems that perhaps the sole exception was for the sake of the new political interests (Fleischer, 1991: 99). The first issues that the German diplomats put to the Greek government, as they did with Yugoslavia, were those concerning the return of the German war criminals and German assets seized by the Greek government after the war. These were linked directly to matters that were vital for the Greek economy, such as opening up the German market to Greek agricultural products, tobacco, in particular (Králová, 2012: 161-264). On the basis of the Greek Foreign Minister's, Sophocles Venizelos' promise to the German ambassador, an attempt was made to legally regulate the matter in 1951, at least to some extent. Obviously, this move comprised a public policy objective of both sides: on Germany's part this entailed having every one of her prisoners released from Greek jails, whereas on Greece's part, it was thought that this policy of compromise would be an effective bargaining tool in Athens's future dealings with Bonn. A characteristic example of how Greece chose to settle the prisoner-of-war issue in order to secure Germany's politico-economic support is evident in the case of the first German commander on Crete, who although sentenced to life imprisonment in 1947, was released within three years, after Germany applied strong pressure (Dordanas, 2012: 83-109). For its part, the Greek foreign Ministry let the relevant German authorities know, in no uncertain terms, that bringing up the memory of the Occupation and stirring up the past did not serve Greek interests at the time. Nevertheless, in October 1952, to its great satisfaction, the Bonn government was able to announce that the last German, former SS officer, would soon be freed, being thus able to focus its attention on handing over more than twenty such cases to the German justice system, all of whom were either official staff of the German Embassy in Athens or had been former officers during the occupation period, of whom

---

<sup>10</sup> PA AA, 210-01/199 (1950-53): „Vermerkt [Note]“, Bonn, 15 February 1951.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted here that the Greco-Yugoslav relations in the early '50s followed a different path from that of the other countries of the Soviet bloc. Thus, in 1950-51 diplomatic and economic contact between the two countries was restored, which did not happen with other eastern bloc countries at that same period. For Yugoslavia this shift towards Greece was of vital importance following the rupture with the Cominform in 1948. The case for Greece, however, was that the US had applied strong pressure in order for the government to overcome its reluctance due on the one hand to the assistance that Belgrade had given to the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) during the Civil War and on the other Belgrade's stance on the Macedonian Question.

<sup>12</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): Telegramm [Grundherr] von Athen an Auswärtiges Amt (Bonn), „Zusammenfasse Eindrücke ersten 6 Tagen nach Ankunft Athen [A summary of the impressions of the first six days after the arrival in Athens]“, Athens, 13 December 1950.

---

many had since become part of the administrative mechanism of the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>13</sup> One month later, Papagos assured the German side of his decision to resolve past differences in a way that would be satisfactory to both countries.<sup>14</sup>

In the ensuing period, following consultations at senior government level, the German side put on the negotiating table the issue of the return of German owned property in Athens and Thessaloniki, at the same time, outrightly rejecting all requests for financial compensation towards the reconstruction of Greek cities that had been destroyed by the German army in the war (Fleischer, 1991: 101-102).<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, however, the German foreign ministry decided that it would cover a significant part of the cost for the publication of Papagos's book *The War in Greece, 1941-1944*, in German, having recognised, of course, the political benefits that this could bring. This happened only after certain passages on issues that allegedly "did injustice to" Germany had been revised. The preferred date for the book's release was before March 1954 when Adenauer would make an official visit to Athens (Fleischer, 1991: 103).<sup>16</sup>

The incessant process of forgetting the past was not actually dealt with in this history book, as it did not seem to concern the author, who omitted outright to discuss the distressing period of the occupation. Instead, Papagos chose to present a virtually painless narration of military events, and in deed, ended with the statement that the German people were in a worse situation, having themselves been the victims of their leadership or the comment about Wehrmacht being "the best army in the World" (Fleischer, 2008: 528-9).

In a similar vein, postwar German sensitivities were never broached in the official correspondence between the German ambassador in Athens and the infamous Laskaris Papanaoum, one of the biggest Nazi collaborators and most ardent persecutors of the large Jewish community in Thessaloniki, then living in Germany. In their letters reference was only ever made to the good collaboration that had been established between them a few years prior in occupied Thessaloniki (Dordanas, 2005: 349-369, 410-428, 445-6). Any likely reaction on the part of the Greeks that would have arisen in the event that this official correspondence had been made public, was sacrificed on the altar of politico-economic interests and for the sake of cordial Greco-German post-war relations.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): Abteilung II an Abteilung III, „Gesprächsmaterial für den Empfang des neuen griechischen Botschafters durch den Herrn Bundespräsidenten [Material for discussion for the reception of the new Greek Ambassador from the Chancellor]“, Nr. 210-01/23 II, 13513/52, Bonn, 13 October 1952.

<sup>14</sup> PA AA, 210-01/23-24 (1949-54): The German Embassy in Athens [Knoke] to the German Foreign Office in Bonn, „Besuche bei Ministerpräsident Feldmarschall Papagos und Außenminister Stephanopoulos [Visit to Prime Minister Marshal Papagos and the Minister of the Foreign Office Stephanopoulos]“, Athens, 22 November 1952.

<sup>15</sup> For the cases of Klisoura, Kalavrita and Distomo and the German denial to financially support these cities in the Post War period see also: PA AA, B 11/230 (1951-55).

<sup>16</sup> PA AA, B 11/230 (1951-55): Bonn to Embassy of Athens, „Marschall Papagos, Der Krieg in Griechenland, 1941-1944 [Marschall Papagos, The War in Greece, 1941-1944]“, Bonn, 10 Dezember 1952 and other material.

<sup>17</sup> Details on the relations between the German politicians and the section of the Greeks who during the German occupation in Greece cooperated with the military authorities see: PA AA, B 11/230 (1951-55).

---



In conclusion, both Greece and Yugoslavia, two countries that had played a leading role in the resistance movement against the German occupation forces in WWII, found themselves, at the beginning of the 1950s, in the position of having to acquiesce to the new state of affairs. In order to receive the political and economic benefits of their respective national objectives and policies, as these were dictated by the Cold War situation, they had to turn a blind eye to the events of the very recent past. Whether referring to Yugoslav socialism or post-civil war Greece, the attempts made to restore the economy were based on Western capital, part of which came from Bonn. The political directives of the Cold War imposed on Belgrade and Athens the requirement to build their relations with West Germany from scratch. This, in turn, entailed obliterating the past, which was considered to perhaps be of educational value, but which was worth very little in the bipolar world. In sum, the Federal Republic of Germany developed into a critical safety valve for the West against the Eastern Bloc. At first as a trading partner, Germany returned to South-Eastern Europe: to Tito's socialist Yugoslavia and to Greece, which in the then largely communist Balkans, was an islet of "the West".

#### Archival sources

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes [Political Archive of Foreign Office], Berlin  
PA AA,  
210-01/23-24 (1949-54)  
210-01/199 (1950-53)  
210-01/39 (1950-54)  
B 11/230 (1951-55)

#### Bibliography:

Bombelles, T. J. (1968), *Economic development of communist Yugoslavia, 1947-1964*, Hoover Institution Publications/Stanford University, Stanford.

Dordanas, N. S. (2012), "Egklimata polemou: Oi dikes tw'n Germanwn stratiwtikwn di-oikhtwn tou 'Ochirou Krhths' [War crimes: The Trials of the German Military Commanders of the Fort Crete]", in K. E. Psihogios (ed.), *H Krhth sthn taragmeni dekaetia, 1940-1950: Maxi ths Krhths, Katoxi, Antistasi, Emfilios* [Crete in the turbulent decade, 1940-1950: The Battle of Crete, Occupation, Resistance, Civil War], Historical, Folklore and Archaeological Society of Crete, pp. 83-109, Chania.

Dordanas, N. S. (2005), *Ellhnes enantion Elllhnwn: O kosmos ton Tagmaton Asfaleias sthn katoxikh Thessaloniki, 1941-1944* [Greeks against Greeks: the World of the Security Battalions in Occupied Thessaloniki, 1941-1944], Epikentro, Thessaloniki.

Katsanos, K. (2013), *To 'aniparkto zhthma'. Oi Ellhno-giougkoslabikes sxeseis kai to Make-doniko, 1950-1967* [*The "non-existent" issue. Greco-Yugoslav relations and the Macedoni-an Question, 1950-1967*], Epikentro, Thessaloniki.

Králová, K. (2012), *Sti skia ths Katoxis. Oi ellhnogermanikes sxeseis thn periodo 1940-2010* [*In the shadow of occupation. Greco-Germans relations during the period 1940-2010*] Alexandria, Athens.

Michailidis, I. (2007), *Ta prosopa tou Ianou. Ellhno-giougkoslabikes sxeseis kata th diarkeia toy ellhnikou emfyliou polemou, 1947-1949* [*The faces of Ianou. Greco-Yugoslav relations during the Greek Civil War (1947-1949)*], Patakis, Athens.

Fleischer, H. (2008), *Oi polemoi ths mnimis. O B' Pagkosmios Polemos sth dhmosia istoria* [*The wars of memory. The Second World War in Public History*], 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Nefeli, Athens.

Fleischer, H. (1991), „Der Neubeginn in den deutsch-griechischen Beziehungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und die „Bewältigung“ der jüngsten Vergangenheit“, in Institut for Bal-kan Studies (ed.), *Griechenland und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Rahmen Nachkriegseuropas*, pp. 81-108, Thessaloniki.

Christidis, E. G. (2003), *Ta kommounistika Balkania* [*The Communist Balkans*], Vantias, Thessaloniki.

Valden, S. (1991), *Ellada kai anatolikes xores 1950-1967: Oikonomikes sxeseis kai politiki* [*Greece and the Eastern Countries 1950-1967: Economic relations and Policy*], vol. 1, Odys-seas, Athens.

Young, W. J. (2006), *Cold War Europe, 1945-1991: A Political History* (Greek translation), Patakis, Athens.

# Cinema and Propaganda: An aspect of Bulgarian-Yugoslavian relations in the shadow of the Macedonian Question

VASSILIOS S. DIMITRIADIS, Archaeologist, Ph.D. candidate in History,  
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Hellas  
Email: [dimitriadisvas@yahoo.gr](mailto:dimitriadisvas@yahoo.gr)

## Summary

*The purpose of the current article is to present a broad description of Bulgaria's stance toward the Macedonian Question after 1948; its objective is also to describe the upheavals in the Bulgarian- Yugoslavian relations in their efforts to secure as their own a large portion of the broader region's history. Bearing this in mind, the study will focus on the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party, during its plenum of March 1963, and the way it was linked to the ongoing battle of the two rival countries in a certain area, that of filmmaking. With the use of unpublished Bulgarian archival documents, it reveals an unknown, until today, incident between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia concerning a renowned film and nominee for Oscar award, the "Battle of Neretva".*

The course of the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia during the period 1948 – 1967, is characterized, more or less, by the continuous changes and, to a large degree, by the reflections on the Soviet – Yugoslavian relations. Simultaneously, although there was an ephemeral calmness and readiness for cooperation in their bilateral relations, nevertheless there was an ongoing conflict, both concealed and open, with a high stake: the claim on a large portion of the Balkan history and especially the one that it was directly connected to a part of the geographical area of Macedonia.

In a brief review of this particular period, it is quite obvious that there was a systematic effort exerted from the Bulgarian side to castigate the policy of "Macedonism", which was being conducted both in a brash and anti-Bulgarian basis. Furthermore, Bulgarians tried to reject the idea of a south-Slavic confederation, while pinpointing the unbroken bonds between the Bulgarian people and the "Macedonian" minority in the Pirin region of Bulgaria. Their main effort, however, was to deprive from the leadership of Socialist Republic of Macedonia the opportunity to usurp and misappropriate any historical event, which could become a potential threat, a vaulting horse for a renegotiation of the local History on an anti-Bulgarian basis.

Within the aforementioned scope and framework are also subsumed a series of actions, including the effort of restoring the prestige of certain personalities, such as Metodi Satorov, Gotse Delcev, Yane Santanski and Dimo Hatzidimov. The above mentioned personalities, which played a crucial role in different periods of the Bulgarian history, were set aside during the time of the approach with Yugoslavia, due to the reactions or claims pushed forwards by the latter.

Indicative of the policy that Bulgaria followed was its reaction towards those Yugoslavian publications that attempted to manipulate Bulgarian history. On the other hand the Yugoslavian policy was aiming both towards the country's interior, in the framework of the process of "macedonizing" the populace, as well as the exterior of the country, mainly towards Bulgaria. Eloquent example was a note sent on 2 October 1957 by the Yugoslavian embassy to Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which the former asked for the retrieval of Yugoslavian cultural – historical relics, which were transferred by Bulgarian soldiers from various Serbian regions during the First and the Second World Wars. Among them there was a reference to the grave stone of Tsar Samuel, which was discovered in the village of Trebenista by Bulgarian soldiers, but also to the archives of important Slav-Macedonians. The response of the Bulgarian side was indicative of their stance. They rejected the requests on the basis that these items "were not taken from Yugoslavia".

Despite the reflexive reactions of the Bulgarian leadership, the enhancement of "Macedonism", the successful Yugoslavian propaganda in the region of Pirin and the Slav-Macedonian nationalism did not leave many margins of optimism to Bulgaria. The necessity of lining an independent policy towards the Macedonian Question, which would serve only the country's national interests, was becoming increasingly a one-way road, for reasons that had to do not only with Bulgarian–Yugoslavian bilateral relations, but also due to the international and surrounding changing conditions. Recent past was showing the way to the future. Within a decade Bulgaria was forced to change its policy towards Yugoslavia three times. In this frame the sixties were becoming one of the most crucial decades concerning the two countries policy towards the Macedonian Question.

Until the early 1963's, Bulgaria's foreign policy could be characterized as stringed to the corresponding Soviet, as following strictly the demands of the Soviet diplomacy. Bulgaria was the most obeying ally of U.S.S.R. and that often led the country to serious conflicts with its own interests. This was true especially with the Macedonian Question where the turbulences in the Soviet–Yugoslavian relations had an immediate impact on the corresponding Bulgarian–Yugoslavian ones. As a result Bulgaria, perennially and to a great degree, was let exposed to the attacks of the Slav-Macedonian nationalism, which was acting under the cover of the Yugoslavian expansionism. But this situation was bound to change.

In January 1963 Bulgaria's Prime Minister, Todor Zhivkov, made an official visit to Belgrade. For the first time, after Dimitrov's era, the Macedonian Question played a very important role in the conversations between the leaders of the two countries. Especially important were the actions of Zhivkov, who attempted to put the issue on a more realistic basis: *"I underlined that our party acknowledges the creation, immediately after WWII, in*



*Vardar Macedonian, of the People's Republic of Macedonia within the framework of the Confederation of People's Republic of Yugoslavia. We also acknowledge and agree that within the People's Republic of Macedonia has been created a Macedonian, national awareness*". The new policy was adopted officially during the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which was held at 11-12 March 1963, and is considered a significant turn in the history of the Macedonian Question. Based on this policy Bulgaria would recognize the process of the Slav-Macedonian nation-building, not as a historical fact, but rather as an artificial structure, based on political aims which would be confined within the borders of Yugoslavia. In no circumstances would there be any official recognition of the existence of "Macedonians" within the borders of the region of Pirin. Thus, the census of 1966 clearly depicted the above mentioned policy through the record of only 8.000 "Macedonians".

The radical decisions of the BCP were taken during a period of calmness in the bilateral relations as an immediate effect of the betterment of Soviet-Yugoslavian relations. Nevertheless, after the March Plenum and despite the official policy of mild tones concerning the Macedonian Question, the rhetoric between the two countries resumed at a scientific level. Especially concerning Yugoslavia this particular period was characterized by a dense movement in the production of historical works, with the ultimate purpose of resolving specific "historical oddities", which caused trouble to the newly-born Socialist Republic of Macedonia. The leaders and the historians of the latter continued claiming part of the Bulgarian history, while Bulgaria refuted those attempts.

Public disputes, conducted basically through the press, but also the unseen ones bear proof that there were many different levels of confrontation. In the framework of seeking but also, at the same time, protecting those that were considered as historical footholds of the collective memories of the Balkan past, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia moved forward in a fierce confrontation concerning the national identity of many personalities. Moreover the Yugoslavian side, in its effort to establish the process of "Macedonizing" in rigid bases, did not hesitate to give a "Macedonian" identity to one of the greatest personalities of the Bulgarian medieval history, Tsar Samuel. This effort, which was strongly supported by the Yugoslavian propaganda, was only natural to extend in every possible aspect, even in that of the Seventh Art. Representative, in this aspect, is the example of the film the "*Battle of Neretva*" (1967), which was an Oscar nominee in 1968.

The movie was written by the brothers Stevan and Veljko Bulajic; the latter being also the director. It refers to the historical battle that took place in the river Neretva and was conducted between the forces of Axis, which were reinforced by their allies, and Tito's partisans. This particular battle was the peak of a German plan, which was executed in the beginning of 1943 and had as an objective the complete annihilation of the partisan forces.

Despite their goals and the means that undermined this effort, the Germans did not fulfill their objectives while the above mentioned battle gave immense prestige to Tito and his forces.

The movie drew the international interest as it was one of the greatest movies ever made by the Yugoslavian movie industry and as such many famous actors participated from both western and eastern countries. Among them were Sergei Bondarcuk, Yule Brynner, Curd Jurgens, Antoni Doson, Milena Dravic, Franco Nero and Orson Welles. Furthermore, indicative of the special interest that attracted the above mentioned film was also the drawing of the movie's poster from one of the 20<sup>th</sup> century greatest painters, Pablo Picasso. Nevertheless, this promising movie was also bound to become the unseen battleground of a furious confrontation. The conflicting sides were Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, whether the apple of discord was a part of the region's history and more specifically the geographical region of Macedonia.

In April 1967, while the Yugoslavian press was circulating articles about the movie, there were also references for movies that would entirely involve the life and actions of Tsar Samuel. In this context, the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*, which was issued in Skopje, published an article entitled "*Grand psychological spectacle*". The article included an interview of director Veljko Bulajic, who revealed that he had already proposed to the "Macedonian" movie industry, "Vardar – film", the creation of a movie entirely about Tsar Samuel.

In this context Georgi Karamanev, the man in charge of the Bulgarian movie industry, conducted, in the end of May 1967, a formal visit in Sarajevo as a guest of his Yugoslavian counterpart. During his staying, he had also talks about a possible Bulgarian participation in the making of the film "*Battle of Neretva*" by contributing economically, materially or in manpower.

In that particular period and despite the turbulences which had occurred in the bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, for various reasons, their general state was relatively good. A vivid depiction but also a major contribution to the betterment of the latter was the cooperation which had been achieved during the making of the movie "*The Peach Thief*" (1964), which was shown to the film festival in Venice, but also in Yugoslavia. It is highly possible that it was due to this cooperation that the script of the movie "*Battle of Neretva*" was given to Karamanev, an act that although it was meant to fuel a new rapprochement, ended in a confrontation between the two countries, since there was a particular scene, which, according to Sofia, counterfeited Bulgarian history. To be more specific, the Bulgarian reaction was caused as a result of the following passage of the script:

*"A long column with wounded in stretches is passing. Some blind soldiers are on foot, one after another, being leaded.... by orderlies. The camera is focusing on the blind soldiers, which the orderlies are leading by their hands [...]" and suddenly "[...] From the fire two hands take out, incandescent, tongs. They lift them and carry them through the smoke. We see Byzantine soldiers. They wear heavy armor and shields, in which crosses and coats of arms can be seen.*

*The executioner with the tong goes straight to the eyes of the blindfolded soldiers of the Macedonian king Samuel. The tongs are closing in those, which*

*are shown with frightened eyes. The tongs once more are lifted, closing to the eyes of one of the Slav soldiers. There is one, second... third ..... fifth voice. In front of the fire, tight to each other, stand the soldiers of Samuel. On their side there are soldiers with breastplates and drawn swords, in front of which an officer is reading from a parchment words in the Greek language: - I, the king of Byzantium, Vassilios the Second order: the soldiers of Slav King Samuel to be blinded and in every 100 soldiers let it be just one eye and thus should be sent to the Macedonian King – so that no one can even think again about freedom[...]*'.

The presentation of Samuel and his soldiers as "Macedonians" and "Slavs" was bound to attract the interest of Karamanev, which expressed his bitterness by stating that the country which in the script was mentioned as Slavic: *"is called Bulgaria and in that Bulgaria the king is Samuel"*. On the same day, 2 June 1967, the man in charge of the Bulgarian movie industry instructed the Bulgarian ambassador in Belgrade who a day later sent a letter to the general secretary and Prime Minister of Bulgaria Zivkov. In his letter Karamanev described what had happened and asked for the complete removal of the above mentioned scene and that the U.S.S.R. embassy in Sofia to be informed as well.

The reaction of the Bulgarian side was not without thought. The fact that there was a participation of Soviet and western actors in the movie, which already had drawn the international interest, could be a possible source of threat. At the same time a part of the Bulgarian history was presented as Yugoslavian. There was a strong possibility that the movie could, both politically and diplomatically, enhance the Yugoslavian arsenal in the framework of the ongoing confrontation over part of geographical Macedonia and the overall region's past. Consequently, the Bulgarian side, on the basis of its renewed policy, was not willing to succumb without giving a fight against actions that jeopardized its diplomatic position. Within the aforementioned framework Bulgaria's first move was to try and gain the Soviet support.

On June 27, 1967 Tsentov, supervisor of the third sector in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and subsequently responsible for the Bulgarian-Yugoslavian relations, had a meeting with Maslenikov, advisor to the embassy of U.S.S.R. During their talk Tsentov gave a detailed brief to the Soviet advisor about the incident that had occurred, and indirectly asked for the Soviets to put pressure on the Yugoslavian side. Tsentov underlined to Maslenikov that in case there was no change to the script, the U.S.S.R would essentially give support to an anti-Bulgarian movie, since there would be prominent Soviet actors participating in it. After the briefing Maslenikov stated that he was already aware of what had happened and asserted Tsentov that he would immediately inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Few days later, on June 29, Vasev, secretary of the Bulgarian embassy in Belgrade, visited the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia. During his visit Vasev made clear that the movie did not refer: *"to the history of Croatia or Montenegro [...] but deals with Macedonia, which from that time is part of the history of the Bulgarian nation and this issue is*

*since then a Bulgarian issue*". In his conclusion Vasev asked to be informed about the measures that the Yugoslavian authorities had taken.

It was clear that the Bulgarians intended to apply international and bilateral pressure as well as personal. The Yugoslavian's response though was not that offensive. Instead, they adopted a method of postponement with its main aim to avoid the transformation of the movie to an issue of diplomatic confrontation. To that end they tried to lessen its importance firstly by a letter that it was sent August 11 and was addressed from the director of the movie towards Karamanev. In his letter Bulajic tried to defend his script by mentioning that:

*"In the prologue of this movie, by the authors view over the history of the Yugoslavian nations, you have read scenes, which speak about the battle of the Slovenian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Macedonian nation, a battle that has been given through an extract about Tsar Samuel. In this, through a text that was read by an executioner just before the blindness of Samuel's soldiers, it was said that the soldiers of Slav Tsar Samuel must be blinded and thus be sent to their Macedonian Tsar Samuel.*

*I tried to convince you that you don't have right to be angry and assert that Samuel is called Slav and Macedonian Tsar without basis, although I didn't think and even now I don't think that this is an insuperable problem between us.*

*Based on historical facts, which I found in Yugoslavia, as those in the "Encyclopedia of the Lexicographical Institute", I estimated that I can handle this particular fact as I did".*

Besides the fact that Bulajic tried to justify his presentation of Tsar Samuel by appealing to Yugoslavian scientific sources he went on revealing the actions that Bulgarian authorities had taken to eradicate the controversial scene. Towards this purpose he wrote:

*"With this letter I would also like to pinpoint in addition some of your actions, which turned out to be deliberate hostility towards the movie "Battle of Neretva", a product of the Yugoslavian community and Yugoslavian movie industry. During the festival in Moscow my collaborates were informed by Soviet comrades that you had asked from them not to cooperate with the Yugoslavian filming company in the movie "Battle of Neretva" after you had irrationally claimed that this is an anti-Bulgarian movie. The comrades from the Soviet embassy in Belgrade have informed us that also the Bulgarian side had taken actions towards this end".*

Based on the above it is clear that Bulgaria tried to use its bilateral relations with U.S.S.R. in order to force Yugoslavia to eradicate the controversial scenes. The escalation of the issue to a diplomatic confrontation appeared inevitable and forced Yugoslavia to give an official response to the Bulgarian authorities. On September 13, Stefan Stefanov, *charge d'affaires* of the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade, was summoned by Voukolic, the man in charge of the

---



office within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs responsible for the relations with the socialist states. During their meeting Voukolic, in an effort to justify the film's script, mentioned, between others, the following:

*"1. The artistic team of the movie "Battle of Neretva" has based the content of the movie upon the history and the historical perspective of Yugoslavia. The people in charge of the movie and us don't see the need to correct the movie.*

*2. We think that the Bulgarian participation in the making of the movie might give the possibility for a broader cooperation. Co-production can process the historical issues even those that Bulgarian and Yugoslavian history disagrees".*

Judging by the answer that Yugoslavian authorities gave to their Bulgarian counterparts it was obvious that although the former did not want to come in a direct confrontation with the latter, they also did not want to back down from their claimants towards "Macedonian" history. They were moderate in appearance but steady in their goals. Towards this attitude Bulgaria kept on repeating its perspective.

*"Which is the undeniable historical truth?*

*From the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century until the mid of the second decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (more exact until 1014) Tsar of the Bulgarian state, where Ochrid was its capital, was Samuel. All historical documents from that era, regardless of its source, reveal squarely, precisely and without doubt, that in the battle of Belasitsa the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel, was crushed because of 'treason' and his soldiers were blinded by 'the Byzantine emperor Vasilios II', also called, in short, Bulgarian killer."*

It is obvious that there was an absolutely opposite way of approaching the issue. And it seems that it was another more link on the ongoing battle over the historical past, precisely that of the medieval times, where Bulgaria tried to defend and repel the claims of the newly born Socialist Republic of Macedonia with the assistance of Yugoslavia. In this tensed climate the movie could have lead to a significant deterioration of the bilateral relations between the two countries. But that was not the case. It seemed that the official Belgrade started to think more calmly over the whole issue and decided not to include in the movie the controversial scenes. This decision must have been the outcome of the pressure that was exercised by both the Bulgarian and the Soviet side. Besides, the main aim of the movie was to hymn the role of the Yugoslavian nations during WWII and their fight towards the power of the fascist and nationalist forces. The confrontation with Bulgaria over the Macedonian Question was in this case secondary and as such a further escalation would only be negative to the Yugoslavian purposes.

Undoubtedly, the case of the film "*Battle of Neretva*" and the subsequent Bulgarian reaction compose a characteristic view of the overall climate in the relations between the two countries after the decisions of the March Plenum (1963). The configuration of a fixed political and ideological stance, towards the Macedonian Question, reinforced Bulgaria, which tried,

within certain constraint framework, to create an external policy that would protect its national interests.

On the other hand it is clear that both sides were eager to use any means in order to defend or enforce their point of view. In this framework the products deriving from the Seventh Art were, beside their artistic or cultural values, just means to an end; the latter being a goal of the policy towards either the interior or the exterior of each country. As such, concerning the movie "*Battle of Neretva*", cinematography was subdued to the needs of the general Yugoslavian propaganda and not that of a particular one, as Slav-Macedonian was. Finally, the very ideology of communism proved to be nothing more than thin air, as the nationalist reflexes of both countries could not be overshadowed by ideology.

Almost one year later, the national orientated Bulgarian policy, found more footholds, when the Warsaw Pact invaded Czechoslovakia (August, 1968). Tito, Yugoslavia's leader condemned the invasion and gave moral support to the government of Czechoslovakia. This attitude was the cause for a renewed deterioration of the bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and ultimately with Bulgaria.

#### Bibliography:

1. Barker Elizabeth, (1996), *Η Μακεδονία στις διαβαλκανικές σχέσεις [Macedonia in the inter – Balkan relations]*, Thessaloniki.
2. Baxmajer Peter, (2006), "Njakoi aspekti na Bâlgaro-jugoslavskite otnošenija sled vtorata svetovna bojina"[Some aspects of Bulgarian-Yugoslavian relations after the Second World War], *Makedonski Pregled*, 2, 73 – 84.
3. Gjzelev Vasil, Georgi Markov, Dojno Doinov, Plamen Mitev, Svetlozar Eldârov, and Stefan Andreev (eds) (2009), *Makedonskijat Vâpros v Bâlgaro-jugoslavskite otnošenija 1950-1967*[The Macedonian Question in Bulgarian-Yugoslavian relations 1950 – 1967], Sofia.
4. Michailidis I. D. (ed.), (2007), *Μακεδονισμός. Ο ιμπεριαλισμός των Σκοπίων 1994 – 2006* [Macedonism. The imperialism of Skopje 1994 - 2006], Athens.
5. Koliopoulos, I.S, and I. D. Michailidis (eds), (2008), *Το Μακεδονικό στα ξένα αρχεία. Απόρρητα έγγραφα Γιουγκοσλαβίας και Βουλγαρίας (1950 – 1967)* [Macedonian Question in the foreign archives; Secret documents of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (1950 – 1967)], Athens.
6. Martinovski Dejan, (2009), "BKP i Makedonskijat Vâpros 1957-1963 godina" [BCP and the Macedonias Question 1957 - 1963], *Istoričeski Pregled*, 3-4, 172 – 200.
7. Kofos, Evangelos, (1964), *Nationalism and Communism in Macedonia*, Thessaloniki.
8. Petranovic Branko, (1988), *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988 [History of Yugoslavia 1918 – 1988]*, kniga II, Narodnooslobodilasci rat I revolucija, 1941-1945, Beograd.
9. Radonja Leposavic, (2004), *Tito: Past and Present*, Belgrade.

10. Γούναρης Βασίλης, (2010), *Το Μακεδονικό Ζήτημα από τον 19<sup>ο</sup> έως τον 21<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα. Ιστοριογραφικές προσεγγίσεις* [B. K. Gounaris, *The Macedonian Question from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>th</sup> century. Historiographic re-approachments*].
11. *Nova Makedonija* (New Macedonia, newspaper), 6 April 1967.
12. *Rabotničko delo* [Working action, newspaper], 26 January 1963.
13. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0064091/>
14. [http://folk.uib.no/smkgg/midi/soundtrackweb/herrmann/articles/reviews/battle\\_of\\_neretva001/](http://folk.uib.no/smkgg/midi/soundtrackweb/herrmann/articles/reviews/battle_of_neretva001/)
15. <http://booksvscigarettes.tumblr.com/post/5781689386/bitka-na-neretvi-poster-by-pablo-picasso>
16. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0058277/>
17. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Peach\\_Thief](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Peach_Thief)





*Supplement of the  
Journal*



January 22, 2009

Editor, *Archaeology Magazine*  
36-36 33<sup>rd</sup> Street  
Long Island City, NY 11106  
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

I opened the January/February issue of *Archaeology* today and eagerly turned to "A Letter from Macedonia" only to discover that it was actually a letter from ancient Paionia – the land north of Mt. Barmous and Mt. Orbelos. Livy's account of the creation of the Roman province of Macedonia (45.29.7 and 12) makes clear that the Paionians lived north of those mountains (which form today the geographically natural northern limits of Greece) and south of the Dardanians who were in today's Kosovo. Strabo (7. frag 4) is even more succinct in saying that Paionia was north of Macedonia and the only connection from one to the other was (and is today) through the narrow gorge of the Axios (or Vardar) River. In other words, the land which is described by Matthew Brunwasser in his "Owning Alexander" was Paionia in antiquity.

While it is true that those people were subdued by Philip II, father of Alexander, in 359 B.C. (Diodorus Siculus 16.4.2), they were never Macedonians and never lived in Macedonia. Indeed, Demosthenes (*Olynthian* 1.23) tells us that they were "enslaved" by the Macedonian Philip and clearly, therefore, not Macedonians. Isokrates (5.23) makes the same point. Likewise, for example, the Egyptians who were subdued by Alexander may have been ruled by Macedonians, including the famous Cleopatra, but they were never Macedonians themselves, and Egypt was never called Macedonia (and so far as I can tell does not seek that name today).

Certainly, as Thucydides (2.99) tells us, the Macedonians had taken over "a narrow strip of Paionia extending along the Axios river from the interior to Pella and the sea". One might therefore understand if the people in the modern republic centered at Skopje called themselves Paionians and claimed as theirs the land described by Thucydides.

But why, instead, would the modern people of ancient Paionia try to call themselves Macedonians and their land Macedonia? Mr. Brunwasser (p. 55) touches on the Greek claims "that it implies ambitions over Greek territory" and he notes that "the northern province of Greece is also called Macedonia." Leaving aside the fact that the area of that northern province of modern Greece has been called Macedonia for more than 2,500 years (see,

*inter alios*, Herodotus 5.17; 7.128, *et alibi*), more recent history shows that the Greek concerns are legitimate. For example, a map produced in Skopje in 1992 (Figure 1) shows clearly the claim that Macedonia extends from there to Mt. Olympus in the south; that is, combining the ancient regions of Paionia and Macedonia into a single entity. The same claim is explicit on a pseudo-bank note of the Republic of Macedonia which shows, as one of its monuments, the White Tower of Thessalonike, in Greece (Figure 2). There are many more examples of calendars, Christmas cards, bumper-stickers, etc., that all make the same claim.

Further, Mr. Brunwasser has reported with approval (*International Herald Tribune* 10/1/08) the work of the "Macedonian Institute for Strategic Research 16:9", the name of which refers "to Acts 16:9, a verse in the New Testament in which a Macedonian man appears to the Apostle Paul begging him: 'Come over into Macedonia, and help us.'" But where did Paul go in Macedonia? Neapolis (Kavala), Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessaloniki, and Veroia (Acts 16:11-17:10) all of which are in the historic Macedonia, none in Paionia. What claim is being made by an Institute based in Skopje that names itself for a trip through what was Macedonia in antiquity and what is the northern province of Greece today?

I wonder what we would conclude if a certain large island off the southeast coast of the United States started to call itself Florida, and emblazoned its currency with images of Disney World and distributed maps showing the Greater Florida.

Certainly there was no doubt of the underlying point of "Macedonia" in the mind of U.S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius on December 26, 1944, when he wrote:

"The Department [of State] has noted with considerable apprehension increasing propaganda rumors and semi-official statements in favor of an autonomous Macedonia, emanating principally from Bulgaria, but also from Yugoslav Partisan and other sources, with the implication that Greek territory would be included in the projected state. This government considers talk of Macedonian "nation", Macedonian "Fatherland", or Macedonian "national consciousness" to be unjustified demagoguery representing no ethnic nor political reality, and sees in its present revival a possible cloak for aggressive intentions against Greece."

[Source: U.S. State Department, Foreign Relations vol viii, Washington, D.C., Circular Airgram (868.014/26Dec1944)]

Mr. Brunwasser (a resident of Bulgaria), however, goes on to state, with apparent distain, that Greece claims "Alexander III of Macedon (Alexander the Great) . . . as Greek."

This attitude mystifies me. What is there to “claim”? Alexander’s great-great-great grandfather, Alexander I, was certified as Greek at Olympia and, in the words of the father of history “I happen to know that [the forefathers of Alexander] are Greek” (Herodotus 5.22). Alexander’s father, Philip, won several equestrian victories at Olympia and Delphi (Plutarch, *Alexander* 4.9; *Moralia* 105A), the two most Hellenic of all the sanctuaries in ancient Greece where non-Greeks were not allowed to compete. If Philip was Greek, wasn’t his son also Greek?

When Euripides – who died and was buried in Macedonia (Thucydides *apud* Pal. Anth. 7.45; Pausanias 1.2.2; Diodorus Siculus 13.103) – wrote his play *Archelaos* in honor of the great-uncle of Alexander, did he write it in Slavic? When he wrote the *Bacchai* while at the court of Archelaos did he not write it in Greek even as it has survived to us? Or should we imagine that Euripides was a “Macedonian” who wrote in Slavic (at a date when that language is not attested) which was translated into Greek?

What was the language of instruction when Aristotle taught Alexander? What language was carried by Alexander with him on his expedition to the East? Why do we have ancient inscriptions in Greek in settlements established by Alexander as far away as Afghanistan, and none in Slavic? Why did Greek become the *lingua franca* in Alexander’s empire if he was actually a “Macedonian”? Why was the New Testament written in Greek rather than Slavic?

On page 57 of the so-called “Letter from Macedonia” there is a photograph of the author standing “before a bronze statue of Alexander the Great in the city of Prilep.” The statue is patently modern, but the question is whether the real historic Alexander could have read the Slavic inscription beneath his feet. Given the known historic posterity of Slavic to Greek, the answer is obvious.

While Mr. Brunwasser’s reporting of the archaeological work in Paionia is welcome, his adoption and promotion of the modern political stance of its people about the use of the name Macedonia is not only unwelcome, it is a disservice to the readers of *Archaeology* who are, I imagine, interested in historic fact. But then, the decision to propagate this historical nonsense by *Archaeology* – a publication of the Archaeological Institute of America – is a disservice to its own reputation.

Let it be said once more: the region of ancient Paionia was a part of the Macedonian empire. So were Ephesos and Tyre and Palestine and Memphis and Babylon and Taxila and dozens more. They may thus have become “Macedonian” temporarily, but none was ever “Macedonia”.

Allow me to end this exegesis by making a suggestion to resolve the question of the modern use of the name “Macedonia.” Greece should annex Paionia – that is what Philip II did in 359 B.C. And that would appear to be acceptable to the modern residents of that area since they claim to be Greek by appropriating the name Macedonia and its most famous man. Then the modern people of this new Greek province could work on learning to speak and read and write Greek, hopefully even as well as Alexander did.



Sincerely,

Stephen G. Miller  
Professor Emeritus,  
University of California,  
Berkeley

PS: For a more complete examination of the ancient evidence regarding Paionia, see  
I. L. Merker, "The Ancient Kingdom of Paionia," *Balkan Studies* 6 (1965) 35-54

cc: C. Brian Rose, President, Archaeological Institute of America  
Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State of the United States of America  
Dora Bakoyiannis, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece  
Antonis Samaras, Minister of Culture of Greece  
Olli Rehn, European Commissioner for Enlargement  
Erik Meijer, Member, European Parliament

### THE BRONZE PORTABLE SUNDIAL FROM PHILIPPI

The portable sundial of Philippi is an important and unique discovery which came to light during the 1965 excavations of Philippi, in Macedonia, Greece by Prof. Stylianos Pelekanidis and dates between 250 and 350 AD. The details described in this brief guide have been extracted from a 1978 publication with the same title, by Dr. G. Gounaris (Arch. Efem. 1978, 181).

#### Description of the instrument

It is a circular instrument made of copper alloy with a diameter of 75 millimeters bearing two diametrically opposite suspension rings (see Figure 1). It is made of three interlaced, concentric rings with a cross-section width of 5×5 millimeters each.



Figure 1: The portable sundial of Philippi in storage configuration

The outer ring bears no inscriptions or engravings, only the holes for the supporting pins of the other rings. The middle ring consists of two separate half-rings, bearing inscriptions. These half-rings can be rotated by 360°. Figure 2 shows the Philippi sundial with its rings and half rings unfolded. The names and the geographical latitudes of two cities are engraved in the outer cylindrical surface of one of the half rings: Vienne ("IOYENN") located on the banks of the Rhone River in France with latitude 45° (*ME*) and Rome ("ΡΩΜΗΣ") with geographical latitude 41° 1/3 (*ΜΑΓ'*). In one of the flat sides of the half ring the names of the months, from January to June, are engraved covering a 47° arc, which is twice the obliquity of the ecliptic (23° 27'). Similarly, on the opposite flat side the months July to December are engraved.

On the other half ring the names and geographical latitudes of two more cities: Alexandria ("ΑΛΕΞΑΝ") with latitude 31° (*ΛΑ*) and Rhodes ("ΡΟΔΟΥ") with geographical latitude 36° (*ΜΑΣ*) are engraved.

The inner ring is attached to the outer ring with the help of two diametrically located pins, with a Cardan Suspension System. In the inner cylindrical surface's scale of this ring 12 equal divisions are engraved, dividing it into 12 equal parts, each 30°. On this ring and in the middle of the one of the half-rings, there is a slot which has an optometric hole for aiming at the Sun.

#### Operation of the instrument for finding the time

In order to operate the instrument, the outer ring should first be correctly oriented, i.e. be set perpendicular to the equatorial plane, in the east-west direction (see Figure 3). Then the inner ring, bearing the optometric hole, should be placed on the current month, which is marked on one of the flat sides of the half rings (of course, the measurement should take place in the geographical latitude of one of the cities written in lower half ring (the upper half ring is closed) or, anyway, in a close by area with approximately the same latitude. The position of the bright spot that passes through the optometric hole on the scale of the ring marks how many hours before or after the Sun's upper culmination have passed.

#### Calculating the geographical latitude of a place

A useful operation that can be performed by this instrument is finding the geographical latitude of a place. To achieve this, the measurement should be made on the day of the equinox.

The outer ring is positioned perpendicular to the equatorial plane. The angle  $\nu$ , between the line-of-sight of the Sun and the horizontal plane is equal to the complement of the geographical latitude of the place where the measurement is undertaken, i.e. the geographical latitude of the place is  $\varphi = 90^\circ - \nu$  (where  $\nu$  = height Sun).



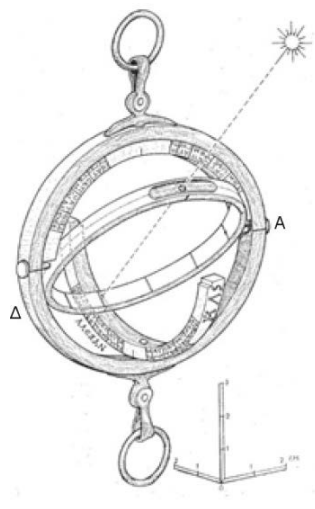
Figure 2: The portable sundial of Philippi with its rings and half rings unfolded

#### Calculating the azimuth and the height of the Sun or a star

Besides the calculation of the geographical latitude of a certain location, the Philippii sundial can be used to approximately calculate the *Horizontal Coordinates, Azimuth ( $A$ )* and *Height ( $v$ )* of the Sun or another star. In this case, the outer ring should be set parallel to the plane of the local meridian (*Meridian Circle*), the middle circle parallel to the sunrise-sunset plane (*Prime Vertical Circle*) and the inner ring parallel to the horizontal plane (Horizon Circle).

The azimuth ( $A$ ) of a star is the dihedral angle between the local meridian and the vertical circle passing through the star. It is measured on the horizontal plane from  $0^\circ$  to  $360^\circ$  starting from the south. The height ( $h$ ) of a star is the angle  $v$ , between the line-of-sight of the star and the horizontal plane and it is measured on the vertical circle of the star starting from the horizontal plane. The *Height ( $v$ )* is positive between the Horizon and the Zenith. It is negative from the horizon to the Nadir. Finally, the *Zenith Distance ( $z$ )* is measured on the vertical circle of the star from the Zenith to Nadir and takes values between  $0^\circ$  and  $180^\circ$ .

A: East



$\Delta$ : West



Figure 3: The portable sundial of Philippi in functional configuration



# ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΘΕΣΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΩΝ ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES

*Χρώμεθα γάρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούση τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέροις. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' εἰς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται....*  
ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, Ἱστορία του Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Ἐπιτάφιος, [2.37.1]

## Award of Oecumenic Hellenism

The Academy of Institutions and Cultures establishes as an institution the bestowal of the “Award of Oecumenic Hellenism”, whose grant shall take place each year in the city of Thessaloniki, and shall be offered to four personalities, who, due to their total activity in the international space of Science and Intellect, have served the value system of the Hellenic Oecumenism, and have promoted as values of the Global Civilization Paideia and Humanism. Decisive for the bestowal of the award is the recognition that the granted personality excelled in life, according to the emblematic proverb of Heraclitus, “ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων”.

The bestowed Award carries the image of the accurate and operating copy of the portable Sundial of Philippi, of the 250 CE, which is the development of the portable Clock of Parmenion, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The Sundial of Philippi is a complex instrument, which determines the hour, the geographical latitude, as well as the altitude and the azimuth of the Sun, or another star, and the distance between stars, by pointing the instrument at a region of the sky.

From the Award the Members of the Academy of Institutions and Cultures are excluded.



ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΘΕΣΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΩΝ  
ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES

*Χρώμεθα γάρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούση τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέροις. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται....*  
ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ, Ἱστορία του Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Ἐπιτάφιος, [2.37.1]

---

**AWARD OF OECUMENIC HELLENISM**

**THE ACADEMY OF INSTITUTIONS AND CULTURES**

**AT THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI**

**BESTOWS**

**THE AWARD OF OECUMENIC HELLENISM**

**FOR THE YEAR 2013**

**TO PROFESSORS**

**MICHAEL OSBORNE**

**ANASTASIOS TAMIS**

**GEORGE CONTOGIORGIS**

**STEPHEN MILLER**

**FOR THEIR IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION**

**TO THE RESEARCH AND PROMOTION**

**OF THE OECUMENIC CHARACTER OF HELLENISM**





