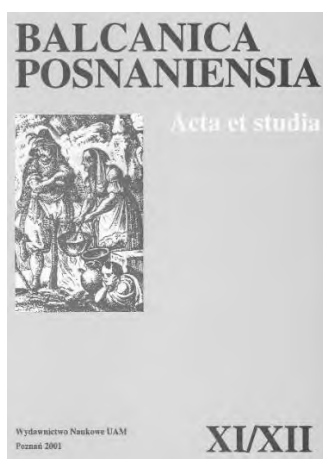




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ON THE SLAV COLONIZATION AND THE ETHNIC CHANGES IN MACEDONIA BY THE END OF THE 6th AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE 7th CENTURY

MITKO B. PANOV

ABSTRACT. Panov Mitko B., *On the Slav colonization and the ethnic changes in Macedonia by the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century* (O kolonizacji słowiańskiej i przemianach etnicznych w Macedonii w końcu VI i w pierwszej połowie VII wieku). *Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia*, XI/XII, Poznań 2001. Adam Mickiewicz University Press. pp. 23-33. ISBN 83-232-1078-0. ISSN 0239-4278. Text in English.

Mitko B. Panov, Institute of National History, Grigor Prlicev 3, 91000 Skopje, Republic of Macedonia.

After a series of Slav-Avar plunders up to the beginning of the 80s of the 6th century, the territory of Macedonia, as well as the entire Balkan Peninsula became an object of intensive Slav colonisation. By the mid-seventh century almost all of the Balkan Peninsula was settled by the Slavs. This was also stressed by G. Ostrogorski, when he stated that even in "the first decades of the 7th century the face of the Balkan Peninsula was thoroughly changed and that there was an overall ethnic turn throughout this area. Almost all of the Balkan Peninsula was turned into Slav countries", i.e. into "Sklavinii".¹ Similarly, S. Antoljak maintained that the Macedonian Sclavinii that were located in "the near and further surroundings of Thessalonica, had been an inexhaustible military source for various strategic operations of the Slavs on the broad expanse of the Balkan Peninsula."² Such a viewpoint hold both G. Litavrin and O. Ivanova, according to which "by the half of the 7th century the settlement of the Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula was completed" and that resulted into "formation of territorial areas of each tribal union of the Slavs".³

As a result of the Slav colonisation, the Byzantine rule on the Balkans was almost abolished. It "was paralyzed – Ostrogorski stressed – on the territory of the

¹ Г. Острогорски, *Византија и Јужни Словени*, Београд 1970, p. 9-10.

² С. Антолјак, *Средновековна Македонија*, Скопје 1985, p. 144; 454-498.

³ О. Иванова, Г. Г. Литаврин, *Славяне и Византия*, in: *Раннефеодальные государства на Балканах VI-XII вв.*, Москва 1985, p. 68

entire Balkan Peninsula, from the Danube to the deep south of Greece".⁴ Byzantium managed to keep its positions only in several island and seaside towns like Constantinople, Thessalonica, Tragurium (Trogir), Jadr (Zadar), Spalatum (Split), Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Akruvium (Kotor), Butua (Budva), Dyrrachium (Durrës) and others.⁵

This viewpoint is confirmed by the reports from the "Chronicle of Monemvasia" where it is registered that the "Avars" (i.e. Slavs) in their attack in 584 conquered "all Thessaly and all Greece and Epirus Vetus, Aticus and Euboea".⁶ The same author writes that in the 587/88 year the Slavs even settled in the Peloponnese, abolishing the local population.⁷ Isidore of Seville, in his "Chronica Maiora" also stated that in the 16th year of the government of the emperor Heraclius (610-641) "the Slavs had taken over Greece from the Romans" (Sclavi Graeciam Romanis tulerunt).⁸ Furthermore, the information from one Ermenian geography dating from the 7th century speak in favour of the fact that on the territory of Thrace, Macedonia, Achaea, Dalmatia, etc. around 25 peoples, i.e. tribes of the name Slavi lived there within this period.⁹ *Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica* contains information that the "Slav nation" by the second decade of the 7th century devastated "many cities and regions" as "all the Thessaly, the surrounding islands, the Hellades and Cyclades all of Achaea, Epirus, and the larger part of Illyricum and part of Asia".¹⁰ According to the report of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the 8th century even on the Peloponnese "the whole land was Slavinized and became barbaric" (Εσθλαβώθη δέ πασα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος).¹¹ The settlement

⁴ Г. Острогорски, *Византија и Јужни Словени*, p. 6.

⁵ D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500-1453*, London 1971, p. 52-53.

⁶ *Cronica di Monemvasia*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note a cura di I. Dujčev. Palermo 1976, p. 8 sq.

⁷ *Cronica di Monemvasia*, p. 8 sq. Cf. P. Lemerle, *La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie. La contexte historique et légendaire*, REB, 21 (1963), p. 5-49; Idem, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Demetrius et la pénétration des slaves dans les Balkans*, II. Commentaire, Paris 1981, p. 62 sq.; F. Barišić, "Monemvasijska" hronika o doseljavanju Avaro-Slovena na Peloponez 587, *Godišnjak Naučno Društvo Bosne i Hercegovine*, I: Centar za Balkanološka ispitivanja, III, Sarajevo 1967, 95-109; J. Koder, *Arethas von Kaisareia und die sogenannte Chronik von Monembasia*, JEB, 25 (1976), p. 75-80.

⁸ *Isidori Iunioris episcopi Hispalensis Historia Gothorum, Wandalarum, Sueborum*, ed. Th. Mommsen, MGH, AA, XI, 1, 414 a, p. 479. According to the "Continuatio Hispana" in the year 613 "Sclavi Grecjam occupant" (Ibid., 337¹³⁻¹⁵).

⁹ В.Н. Златарски, *Насељаванье Словена на Балканском Полуострову – Избрани Произведения*, т. I, София 1972, p. 50.

¹⁰ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Demetrius et la pénétration des slaves dans les Balkans*, I. Le texte, Paris 1979, p. 175, § 179. About the penetration and settlements of the Slavs in the territory of Albania see: M. V. Popović, *Byzantins Slaves et autochtones dans les provinces de Prévalitane et Nouvelle Épire*, in: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum rotobyzantine. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Ecole française de Rome* (Rome, 12-14 mai 1982), Rome 1984, p. 181-243; Б. Панов, *Албанците од V-XVI век*, in: *Прилози за наставата по историја во основното и средното образование*, 3, Скопје 1995, p. 35-41.

¹¹ Constantino Porfirogenito, *De thematibus*, Introduzione, testo critico, commento a cura di A. Pertusi, Studi e Testi 160, Città del Vaticano 1952, 91, pp. 31-42.

of the Slavs in the Peloponnese was confirmed also by the existence of the large number of Slavonic place-names in this region.¹² Therefore, B. Grekov was right when he stated that in the 6th and 7th century the Balkan Peninsula, with a few exceptions, became Slavic even by language.¹³

Thus, Byzantium, in fact, lost the Balkan Peninsula. It, nevertheless, persisted in retaining a fictitious sovereignty over the already lost Balkans. In the course of the 7th century Byzantium did not succeed in forming military and administrative units (themes) on the Balkans, as was the case with Asia Minor. This confirms the fact that Byzantium had no real power in this period. In the 70s of the 7th century, according to P. Lemerle, even the prefecture of Illyricum, the capital city of which was Thessalonica, ceased to exist. The power of the prefect was limited only to the city of Thessalonica.¹⁴

Byzantium began to lose its power on the territory of Macedonia at the end of the 6th century, according to the information from the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Syrian chronicler John of Ephesus. Namely, he reports of a lasting settlement of the Slavs in the region of Thessalonica at the very beginning of the 80s of the 6th century.¹⁵ From 584¹⁶ onwards the City of Thessalonica was also exposed to constant Slav and Slav-Avar sieges and attacks, as was explicated in the *Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica*.¹⁷ Although Thessalonica was not conquered by the Slavs,

¹² According to the investigations made by D. Georgacas in the region of the Peloponnese, the slavonic place-names were so frequent, that could be found in every three miles distance (D. Georgacas, *Place and other names in Greece of various Balkan origins*, Zeitschrift für Balkanologie, Bd. III (1965), p. 77; D. Georgacas, W. A. McDonald, *Place Names of Southwest Peloponesus*. Athens 1967, p. 15). Simillary conclusions were made by other scholars. See: M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, Berlin 1941; J. Koder, *Zur Frage der slavischen siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland*, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 71 (1978), p. 315-331; A. A. Белецкий, *Славянская топонимия Греции*, in: *Перспективы развития славянской ономастики*, Москва 1980, p. 266 sq.; Ph. Malingoudis, *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands, I. Die slavischen Flurnamen der messenischen Mani*, Mainz – Wiesbaden 1981; Idem, *Toponymy and history. Observations concerning the Slavonic toponymy of the Peloponnese*, Cyrillomethodianum, VII (1983), p. 99-112.

¹³ Б. Д. Греков, *Избранные труды*, I, Москва 1957, p. 33.

¹⁴ P. Lemerle, *Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIII siècle*, Revue historique, 211 (1954), p. 268 and n.1; Г. Острогорски, *Историја Византије*, Београд 1969, p. 146.

¹⁵ А. Дьяконов, *Известия Иоанна Эфесского и сирийских хроник о славянах VI-VII веков*, ВДИ, I, 1946, p. 32 sq.; Н. В. Пигулевская, *Сирийская хроника VI в. о славянских племенах в Ближний Восток, Византия, славяне*, Ленинград 1976, p. 150.

¹⁶ Ф. Барнишк, *Чуда Димитрија Солунског као историски извори*, Београд 1953, p. 49-55.

¹⁷ For the different interpretation of the chronology of the "Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica" concerning the Slav and Slav-Avar sieges to Thessalonica, see: Ф. Барнишк, *Чуда Димитрија Солунског као историски извори*, Београд 1953, p. 49 sq.; B. Grafenauer, *Kronološka vprašanja selitve južnih Slovanov ob podatkih spisa Miracula D. Demetrii*, Zbornik fil. fak. u Ljubljani, 2, (1955), p. 36 sq.; А. Бурмов, *Славянские нападения срещу Солун в „Чюдесата на Св. Димитър“ и тяхната хронология*, in: *Избрани произведения*, т. I, София 1968, p. 95 sq.; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Demetrius et la penetration des slaves dans les Balkans*, II: Commentaire, Paris 1981, p. 13 sq.

nevertheless, its entire surroundings at only 10 km distance,¹⁸ as well as the remaining territory of Macedonia were settled by Slav tribes by the 30s of the 7th century. According to the *Miracles*, in the second decade of the 7th century the city of Thessalonica "stood surrounded" by the Slav settlements and that by the beginning of the 30s of the 7th century "The Slav people lived in the vicinity of Thessalonica", those Slavs "that had settled" near the city.¹⁹ This was also confirmed by the results of the archaeological finds from various localities.²⁰ According to D. M. Metcalf there was reduced output of coins from the Thessalonica mint from the 80s of the 6th century, and that no coins were minted after 629, linking it with "the Slavonic settlement of Illyricum and the widespread loss of Byzantine political control".²¹

Consequently, in the course of this period several Sclavinii, which, in fact, represented the territories of the separate Macedonian Slav tribes, were created on the territory of Macedonia.²² The *Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica* also denote the names of most of the Macedonian Slav tribes which by the second decade of the 7th century²³ and in the 70s of the same century²⁴ were united into large tribal unions with the main purpose to abolish the Byzantine rule from the city of Thessalonica and to create their own Slav state in Macedonia. From the available authentic data²⁵ it is possible to notify the names, as well as the territories that were settled by sepa-

¹⁸ According to P. Lemerle, by the second decade of the 7th century, the Slavs had taken the large part of Macedonia coming only to the 10 km distance from Thessalonica (P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, II, p. 133-134).

¹⁹ *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People for Independence and a Nation-State*, Skopje 1985, p. 32-33.

²⁰ D. M. Metcalf, *The Slavonic Threat to Greece ca. 580. Some Evidence from Athens*, *Hesperia* XXXI/2, 1962, p. 134-157; Idem, *The Aegean Coastlands under threat. Some coins and coin hoards from the reign of Heraclius*, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, N 57, London 1962, p. 14-23; Idem, *The mint of Thessalonica in the Early Byzantine period*, in: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum rotobyzantine. Actes du colloque organise par l'Ecole française de Rome. (Rome, 12-14 mai 1982)*, Rome 1984, p. 111-128; M. V. Popović, *La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars, vers la Mer Égée: Le témoignage de l'archéologie*, in: *Académie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres. Comptes Rendus*, Paris 1978, p. 612 sq.; Idem, *Aux origines de la Slavisation des Balkans: La constitution macédoniennes vers la fin du VI siècle. Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris 1980, p. 243 sq.; Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, Скопје 1985, p. 17-18; Б. Алексова, *Епископијата на Брегалница*, Прилеп 1989, с. 65 sq.

²¹ D. M. Metcalf, *The mint of Thessalonica in the Early Byzantine period*, p. 127-128.

²² M. V. Popović, *La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars, vers la Mer Égée*, p. 630 sq.; С. Антолјак, *Средновековна Македонија*, I, Скопје 1985, p. 153-154; Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 31 sq.; О. Иванова, Г. Г. Литаврин, *Славяне и Византия*, p. 65 sq.

²³ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, I, p. 175, § 179: των δρογουβιτων, βελεγεζητων, βαиουνητων, βερζητων, και λοιπων εθνων.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 209. 14-221. II, § 232-281; p. 209 „του Στρυμωνους Σκλάβους...του Ρυγχίνου και Σαγούδάτους” „εθνους των Δρογουβιτων.”

²⁵ Ioannis Cameniatae, *De excidio Thessalonicensi, apud Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bonn, p. 490-496: „Δρογουβιται τινες και Σαγούδάτοι”. For other documents where the names of the Slav tribes are mentioned see: *Византиски извори за историју народа Југославије*, т. 1, Београд 1955, p. 186 sq.; Р. А. Наследова, *Две византийские хроники X века*, Москва 1959, p. 218, п. 6 sq.; С. Антолјак, *Средновековна Македонија*, I, p. 127 sq.

rate Slav tribes in Macedonia. The tribe of the Draguviti lived west of Thessalonica. The Sagudati had settled nearby, in the Thessalonica plain. The Velegiziti lived in Thessaly, around the cities of Thebes and Demetriada. In South Epirus, north of the bay of Arta the Vojuniti were located. In the vicinity of the Sagudati, on the Chalcidice Peninsula, on the shores of Orfan bay the Rinhini tribe had settled. The Strumjani were along the course of the river Struma, and the Smoljani along the river Mesta. The territory of the tribe Berziti extended between the present-day cities of Veles, Prilep, Bitola, Kičevo, Debar, Ohrid, also including Prespa, i.e. in West Macedonia.²⁶ Certainly, other tribes existed as well, but their names are not cited in the sources.²⁷

Although the Macedonian Slav tribes did not succeed in colonizing the City of Thessalonica and uniting into a Macedonian Slav state, Byzantium, however, until the first half of the 9th century failed to impose permanent and stable control over the territory of Macedonia.²⁸

As a result of the Slav colonisation on the territory of Macedonia, in the course of the period from the end of the 6th to the mid-8th century there were radical ethnic changes. Excluding the city of Thessalonica, the entire territory of Macedonia was dominated by the Slav *ethnos*. Even before the settlement of the Slavs in Macedonia, the original inhabitants had been dispersed. During the Slav-Avar attacks (until the 80s of the 6th century), and especially in the course of the Slav colonization, a large part of the natives, of which the Macedonians were the largest, were either slaughtered or enslaved by the Slavs and the Avars, as Theophylactes of Ohrid reported in his "Hagiography of the Tiveriopolis Martyrs". Namely, he stated that the Avars and the Slavs, failing to take over the city of Thessalonica, had penetrated into "the areas around Tiveriopolis (Strumica)", moreover, "some of the inhabitants they had slaughtered with a sword, and the others they had imprisoned".²⁹ This is also confirmed by John of Ephesus, as he reported that while settling the Thessalonica region, besides slaughtering and plundering, the Slavs also "took prisoners".³⁰ Furthermore, according to the *Miracles of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica* during the sieges of Thessalonica, the Slavs and the Avars had enslaved the inhabitants from its vicinity, as well as the citizens that were found outside the City walls.³¹

²⁶ P. Koledarov, *Zur Frage der politischen und ethnischen Veränderungen auf dem Balkan im 7. Jahrhundert*, Etudes historiques, IX, Sofia 1980, p. 72 sq.; O. B. Иванова, *Некоторые вопросы экономического развития славян в долинах Струмы и Вардара в VII-VIII вв.*, in: *Формирование раннефеодальных славянских народностей*, Москва 1981, p. 217-218; O. B. Иванова, Г. Г. Литаврин, *Славяне и Византия*, p. 57 sq.; С. Антољак, *Средновековна Македонија*, I, p. 114 sq.; Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 1 sq.; Idem, *Создавање и развој на македонската средновековна држава*, in: *Предавања од XXIII меѓународен семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура*, Скопје 1995, p. 137 sq.

²⁷ The report from the *Miracles* where the anonymous authors mention "other tribes" could be connected with the existence of other tribes, which are not denoted in this source, and most probable were in a greater distance from Thessalonica (P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, I, p. 175, § 179).

²⁸ Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 20.

²⁹ *Fontes graeci historiae Bulgariae*, IX, II. София 1994, p. 62.

³⁰ *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People*, p. 22-23.

³¹ Ibid., p. 22 sq.

The fact that the native Macedonians used to be the majority of the population even before the settlement of the Slavs in Macedonia is confirmed by several contemporary sources.³² Those scholars, however, who hold the viewpoint that after the abolition of the Macedonian state by the Romans at the mid-2nd century B.C., the ancient Macedonian had totally disappeared as a nation, are wrong.³³ F. Papazoglu, however, is right when he emphasises, that although the Macedonian state was abolished during the Roman rule, "the Macedonian people did not vanish: they continued to exist within the frames of the new political community – the Roman state, preserving their ethnic distinctions, their language, their faith and customs".³⁴ G. Kurbatov also stressed that in the Early Byzantine period "on the territory of Macedonia lived Macedonians – numerous people for a long time submitted to the hellenisation and romanisation".³⁵ P. Koledarov approves that the ancient Macedonians existed until the 6th century AD when they were assimilated by the Slavs.³⁶

Moreover, the fact that during the Roman rule the Macedonians were the dominant inhabitants of Macedonia was confirmed from different sources.³⁷ The fact that Macedonians still existed in the Roman period is also confirmed by Dexip, who lived in the 3rd century, when he pointed out that the "Macedonians" (Μακεδόνων) lived in Macedonia.³⁸ The same was emphasised by Eusebius (end of the 3rd century – beginning of the 4th century), stating that "the Macedonians" (Μακεδόνων)³⁹ in the course of this period were the majority of the population in Macedonia. These authentic data are also confirmed by several epigraphic monuments dating from this period.⁴⁰ Recently according to the inscriptions found in Macedonia, Ph. Petsas concluded that the Macedonian nation was "still alive five centuries after the subjugation" from the Romans in 4th century AD.⁴¹ The ancient

³² M. B. Panov, *Thessalonica, Its foundation and the First Contacts with the Slavs*, Macedonian Review, 1, Skopje 1992, p.7-8.

³³ Most of the scholars in their studies describing the demographic situation in Macedonia and the Balkans as a whole in the pre-Slavonic period, showed the existence of the Thracians, Illyrians, Greeks, but they avoid to recognize the existence of the Macedonians. В. Тъпкова-Займова, *По някои въпроси за етническите промени на Балканите през VI-VII в.*, Известия на института за история, 12, София 1963, p 75 sq.; Д. Ангелов, *Образуване на българската народност*, София 1981 and others.

³⁴ Ф. Папазоглу, *Македонски градови у римско доба*, Скопје 1957, p. 4.

³⁵ Г. Л. Кубратов, *Образование Византии. Территория, природные условия и население*, Изд.: *История Византии*, I, Москва 1967, p. 72.

³⁶ П. С. Коледаров, *Името Македония в историческата география*, София 1985, s. 18, 205.

³⁷ *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth revised edition, 2nd print. Stuttgart 1994, 16, 9, p. 470-471; 27, 2.

³⁸ *Dexippi atheniensis fragmenta ex "XPONIKH ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ"*, ed. F. Jacoby, FGH, II A, 5, fr. 27 (20): pp. 470, 24-472, 9.

³⁹ Eusebii, *Fragmenta*, ed. F. Jacoby, FGH, II A, 1, fr. 1-2: pp. 480, 13-482, 1.

⁴⁰ *Inscriptiones Graecae. Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Schythiae. Consilio et auctoritate academiae scientiarum germanicae editae*, pars II. Inscriptiones Macedoniae, Fasciculus I. Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et Viciniae. Ed. C. Edson. Zerolini MCMLXXII.

⁴¹ Ph. M. Petsas, *Μήτερ Θεων αὐτόχθων. Unpublished manumission inscriptions from Macedonia. - Ancient Macedonia*, III. Thessaloniki 1983, p. 243.

Macedonians as the majority people in Macedonia continued to exist in the early-Byzantine period (4th-7th century). The works of the Latin authors from this period like Sextus Aurelius Victoris (beginning of the 4th – mid 4th c.),⁴² Ammianus Marcellinus (c.a 333-c.a 400)⁴³, Claudius Claudianus (last decades of the 4th – beginning of the 5th c.),⁴⁴ Paulinus Nolanus (mid-4th – first decades of the 5th c.),⁴⁵ Fredegarius (7th c.)⁴⁶ clearly shows that the ancient Macedonians (Macedonas, Macedonum, Macetum, Macedo, natione Macedonum) still lived in Macedonia in the 4th-5th century and during this period played an important political role in Byzantine Empire⁴⁷.

The information from the *Ecclesiastical History* by Sozomen (end of 4th to mid-5th century), speaks in favour of this, denoting that "the Macedonians" (Μακεδόνες) were the largest population by number in Macedonia.⁴⁸ Moreover, Theodorit from Cyrrhensis (387-457), in his description of the city of Thessalonica, designated that this large and densely populated city "belonged to the Macedonian people" (εις μὲν το Μακεδόνων ἔθνος τελευσα).⁴⁹ The fact that the "Macedonians" (Μακεδόνων) were the largest population by number in Macedonia is also confirmed by Zosim, who lived in the second half of the 5th century.⁵⁰

The Macedonians as the majority of the population in Macedonia, were also mentioned in the *Miracles of St Demetrius of Thessalonica*, where Jovan, the archbishop of Thessalonica, describing the second Slav-Avar siege of the city in 586, stressed that "if one was to imagine them in a heap, not only the Macedonians gathered in Thessalonica, but also the Thessalians and the Achaeans, then we would not even have a small part of those that besieged the city from the outside". Further on, he reported that the city had been saved thanks to the "courage of the Macedonians" (ὁ τό θάρσος τοις Μακεδόσιν).⁵¹ After the Slav colonization, the city of

⁴² Sexti Aurelii Victoris *Liber de Caesaribus. Praecedunt Origo gentis Romanse et Liber de vis illustratibus urbis Romae. subsequitur Epitome de Caesaribus*, recensuit Franciscus Pilchlmayr, Lipsiae 1911, 29, 1; 33, 3, pp. 107₁₋₂₂; 108₂₈ – 109_{3, 7-8}.

⁴³ A. Marcellini *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*. Recensuit rhythmicèque distinxit, C. U. Clark, I-II, Berolini 1910-1915, 8, pp. 405₁₆ – 407₁₄.

⁴⁴ C. Claudiani *Carmina*, recensuit Theodorus Birt, MGH AA, X, Berolini 1892, XX, 146-150, pp. 101; XXVI, 164-181, pp. 266.

⁴⁵ W. Hartel, P. Nolani *Opera*, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, XXI-X-XXX, Wien 1894, XVII, 193.

⁴⁶ B. Krusch, *Chronicorum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV*, Hannover 1888, MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, II, 57, pp. 78₁-79₁₃.

⁴⁷ For the ethnic structure of Macedonia during the period from 4th Century B.C. till 5th Century A.D., see: *Ημορπα на Македонскуом народ*, I, Ckonje 2000, p. 231-239

⁴⁸ Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Patrologia cursus completus. Series Graeca, Ed. J.P.Migne, Paris 1864, LXVII, 1-2, col. 864 B; 873 A, 16, col. 1417 A-B.

⁴⁹ Theodoretus Cyrrensis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca, Ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1864, LXXXII, 21, col. 1232 A.

⁵⁰ *Zosimi comitis et exadvocatus fisci historia nova*. Editio I. Bekker; CB (Bonnae 1837), 17, pp. 208, 20-211, 21.

⁵¹ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, I, p. 128 sq.: „ει γάρ μή μόνον τούς Μακεδόνας ἅπαντας, ἀλλά καί Θεσσαλοῦς καί Αχαιοῦς ὑποθεϊτό τις σωρηδόν ἐφ Θεσσαλονίκη τηνικαῦτα συνηθροισμένους, οὐδέ το πολλοστόν μέρος των ἐξωθεν περιστοιχιστάντων τήν πόλιν ἐτύγχανον.”

Thessalonica was still referred to as "the first of the Macedonians" (πρῶτος τῶν Μακεδόνων), as John Camentinæ stated at the beginning of the 10th century;⁵² and moreover, the Macedonians (Μακεδόνων) were also mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.⁵³ Although the city of Thessalonica remained the sole Byzantine base on the territory of Macedonia, under the influence of its pure Slavic surroundings had gradually been Slavinized, so that by the mid-9th century, as the Emperor Michael III had declared "all the people of Thessalonica speak pure Slav" (да селоуняние вси чисто словѣньскы бесѣдоють).⁵⁴ The process of this infiltration of the Slav elements in Thessalonica most probably began from the first decades of the 7th century. The *Miracles* contain information that while preparing the third and the fifth attack, the leaders of the Slavs, Hacon and later Prebond, spent some time in Thessalonica and even found shelter from the "prominent" citizens.⁵⁵ In that sense, the viewpoint of G. Litavrin and O. Ivanova is quite convincing, when they point out that even in the second half of the 7th century in the city of Thessalonica "there already lived Slav inhabitants" who had settled among there by trade or by other relations between the citizens of Thessalonica and the Slavs from the surrounding settlements.⁵⁶

Pertaining to the fate of the native Macedonian population, after the settlement of the Slavs in Macedonia, this issue has not been clarified by the scholars yet.⁵⁷ This, first of all, is due to the deficient and biased authentic data (written or material). Nevertheless, on the basis of the available sources, it can be notified that a large number of Macedonians, especially the richer families, fleeing before the "barbarian army", had found shelter in the fortified seaside cities, like Thessalonica, and on the islands.⁵⁸ Also, many Macedonians had permanently left Macedonia and settled mainly in Thrace, around the city of Adrianople, and after those settlers later on the entire area, as P. Koledarov indicates, was called "Macedonia", which by the end of the 8th century was formed by Byzantium as a separate theme, named "Macedonia".⁵⁹ Those natives, however, that had not left their birth places and

⁵² J. Cameniatae, *De exidio Thessalonicensi*, 3, pp. 489, 5-490, 17-490 5; *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People*, I, p. 71 and n. 286. This term is wrongly translated as "The first town in Macedonia" by P. A. Наследова, *Две византийские хроники X века*, s.160 and also from М. Войнов, *Гърци извори за българската история*, V, София 1964, p. 19.

⁵³ C. Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins, Budapest 1949, 6, p. 91, 31-42, 84, 1-89, 9.

⁵⁴ А. Тодоровъ-Баланъ, *Кирил и Методи*, т. I, София 1920, p. 88; Cf. Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 140.

⁵⁵ P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, I, p. 179, 4-16, § 193; p. 209, 7-18, § 231, 232; p. 209, 29-31, § 235.

⁵⁶ О. Иванова, Г. Г. Литаврин, *Славяне и Византия*, p. 74, 82.

⁵⁷ Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 7 sq.; Л. Славеска, *Етногенеза на македонскиот народ. Континуитет и традиција*, Скопје 1992, p. 27 sq.

⁵⁸ The *Miracles* contain information about the "Christian refugees" that found shelter in the city of Thessalonica, and the refugees from various regions and cities (P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils*, I, p. 175, § 179; p. 227, 18-228, 6, § 284).

⁵⁹ П. Коледаров, *Образуване на тема „Македонија“ в Тракия*, Известия на Института за История, 21, София 1970, p. 226 sq.; idem, *Името Македонија в историческата география*, p. 18.

submitted to the Slavs, after the abolition of the Byzantine rule, were granted freedom and as equal citizens lived together with the Slavs in the newly-created Slav rural settlements. A small part of the ancient Macedonians, who mostly were either Romanized or Hellenized, withdrew to the Macedonian mountains and, hence, preserved their ethnic marks: the language, the customs, their culture etc. Hence, the Vlachs are considered to be their remnants.⁶⁰ Although they were first mentioned by John Skylitzes in 976,⁶¹ a large number of them lived on the territory of Macedonia in the Middle Ages.⁶² Recently F. Malingoudis from the linguistic analysis of the toponym "Σουβδελίτα" near Thessalonica, connoted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,⁶³ differently from other scholars⁶⁴ concludes that this term is most probably the oldest evidence of the past of the history of the Vlachs. According to him this toponym proves that in the time of the settlements of the Slavs in Macedonia they found the "romanized autochthonous" in the region around Thessalonica.⁶⁵

After the Slav colonization, as a result of the dominance of the Slav *ethnos* in Macedonia, there were fundamental changes in the naming of separate towns and rural settlements, the mountains, rivers, lakes, various places etc. Some of that received pure Slav names, while the others were Slavinized. For example, the following cities received pure Slav names: Strumica (former Tiveriopolis), Ohrid (Lihnidos), Raven (Armonia), Kičevo, Debar etc., as well as the villages: Baništa, Broštica, Gorenci, Vapa etc. Many Macedonian rivers received pure Slav names, like: Vardar, Strumica, Sateska, then the Ohrid Lake, the mountain Korab and others. Slavinized names received: Skopje (Skupi), Bregalnica (Bargala), Solun (Thessalonica), Kostur (Castoria), as well as the rivers Struma (Strimon), Bregalnica (Bargala) etc.⁶⁶

The contacts between the Slavs and the native Macedonians, which were present during the peaceful period, were intensified in time. This was due, to a great extent, to the cult of St. Demetrius, which as a merge between paganism and Chris-

⁶⁰ Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 380, n. 34; 463; According to D. Dvoichenko-Markov the Vlachs spoke "the lingua Romana, whence sprang Vlak, the Romanian-Macedonian language" (D. Dvoichenko-Markov, *The Vlachs: The Latin speaking population of Eastern Europe*, Byzantion, LIV/2 (1984), p. 518).

⁶¹ I. Skylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum*, rec. I. Thurn. B.: N.Y. 1973, p. 329, 80.

⁶² For details see: Г. Г. Литаврин, *Влахи византийских источников X-XIII вв.*, in: *Югославия в средние века*, I, Кишинев 1972, p. 91-138; В. Ј. Трпкоски-Трпку, *Власите на Балканот*, Скопје 1986.

⁶³ Constantini Porphyrogeniti *De cerimoniis aulae byzantine*, rec. I. I. Reiske, Bonn 1829, I, s. 634-635.

⁶⁴ P. Schafarik the term "Σουβδελίτα" connect with the "Σαγούδατοι" (P. Schafarik, *Slavische Althertumer*, Bd. II. Leipzig 1847, p. 194).

⁶⁵ Ф. Малингудис, *Славяно-греческий симбиоз в Византии в свете топонимии*, Византийский Вренник, 48, Москва 1987, p. 44 sq.

⁶⁶ P. Koledarov, *Zur Frage der politischen und ethnischen Veränderungen auf dem Balkan im 7. Jahrhundert*, Etudes historiques, IX, Sofia 1980, p. 72 sq.; Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 506-507; П. Х. Илиевски, *Остатоци од предсловенската топонимија во Македонија*, In: Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, т. I. Скопје 1994, p. 180 sq.

tianity, had quickly spread among the Slavs. Hence, in the 30s of the 7th century during the peace period, which contributed to the stabilization of their mutual relations, as was indicated in the *Miracles*, the Slavs from the vicinity of Thessalonica "announced with songs" and "with joy" the miracles performed by St. Demetrius.⁶⁷

Hence, although the native Macedonians, as a minority, were gradually assimilated by the Slavs, with the symbiosis that was developed between them, the Slavs adopted a lot of their customs and culture, as well as the name of the native Macedonians and the name of their new homeland – Macedonia, terms which from the 8th century had imposed upon the Byzantine and Latin authors.⁶⁸ From the 8th century they were called "Macedonian Sclavinii". The Sclavinii were also named by the Byzantine and other authors after the names of the tribes as "Berzitia", "Sagudatia", "Dragovitia", etc. Until the mid-9th century they existed outside the frames of Byzantium and Bulgaria, hence, from the 8th century growing into half-state formations (Slav princedoms). From the second half of the 7th century attempts were made to unite the associated Slav tribes into a state with the Rinhinian prince Prebond at their head. Although Byzantium did not allow that, the Sclavinii continued to be governed by their, own tribal leaders and to resist the frequent Byzantine and Bulgarian attacks until the middle of the 9th century. As a result of the more than two centuries-long existence of the Macedonian Sclavinii as independent and half-independent Slav princedoms, a permanent and compact Slav ethnic territory was established in Macedonia, which in the second half of the 10th century became a basis for the creation and the establishment of the new Slav state on the Balkans, known as Macedonian or Samuel's state after the founder of the royal dynasty.⁶⁹

O KOLONIZACJI SŁOWIAŃSKIEJ I PRZEMIANACH ETNICZNYCH W MACEDONII W KOŃCU VI I W PIERWSZEJ POŁOWIE VII WIEKU

Streszczenie

Jednym ze źródeł ukazujących stosunki etniczne na ziemiach macedońskich w VI-VII w. jest utwór *Męczeństwo św. Dymitra Soluńskiego*. Na podstawie zawartych w nim informacji można wnioskować, że już na początku VII wieku okolice Tessaloniki były zamieszkane przez plemiona słowiańskie i zeslawizowane. Wyjątkiem pozostawało samo miasto i jego najbliższe otoczenie w promieniu 10 km. Anonimowy autor wymienił nazwy zamieszkałych w pobliżu plemion słowiańskich. I tak, na zachód od miasta zamieszkiwali Dragowicze, w bezpośrednim zaś jego sąsiedztwie Sagudaticze. W Tessalii w okolicach Teb i Demetriady mieszkali Welegizitczice, w południowym Epirze, na północ od Artu – Wajuniticze, na półwyspie Chalkidiki – Rinchini, nad Strumą – Strumjanicze, nad Mestą – Smoljanicze. W zachodniej Macedonii, między miastami Weles, Prilep, Bitola, Kičevo, Debar.

⁶⁷ *Documents on the Struggle of the Macedonian People*, I, p. 33.

⁶⁸ Theophanis *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, Lipsiae 1883, p. 430, 21-22: "Τὰς κατὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας Σκλαυινίας"; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Chronographia Triperita*, ed. C. de Boor, II, Lipsiae 1883, p. 282, 20-21: "Sclavenians penes Macedoniam".

⁶⁹ С. Антолѡк, *Средновековна Македонија*, I, p. 239 sq.; Б. Панов, *Средновековна Македонија*, III, p. 138 sq.; Idem, *Создавање и развој на македонската средновековна држава*, p. 141 sq.

Ochrid mieszkali Berziticze. Anonimowy autor *Cudów* wspomina też o istnieniu innych plemion słowiańskich, których nazw nie jest w stanie wymienić. Istniała jednak wówczas dość liczna grupa ludności, określana jako Macedończycy. Określenie to pojawia się sporadycznie w literaturze jeszcze w X wieku. Ludność macedońska jeszcze w starożytności została zhellenizowana i zromanizowana, jednak w dobie intensywnej kolonizacji słowiańskiej w znacznej mierze uległa sławizacji. Jedynie w górach funkcjonowała pod mianem Włachów. Plemiona słowiańskie były w znacznej mierze niezawisłe, lub półniezawisłe, co umożliwiło w X wieku powstanie państwa Samuela.