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The Islamisation of the Meglen Vlachs (Megleno-Romanians): The Village of Nânti (Nótia) and the “Nântinets” in Present-Day Turkey

Thede Kahl

Introduction

The main objective of the research project “Self-Identification of Meglen Vlachs” was to compare the contemporary state of Meglen Vlach culture and identity in their different settlement areas.¹ Fieldwork sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG) in Meglen Vlach communities in Romania, Greece, Turkey and the Republic of Macedonia was able to identify the settlement areas of the Meglen Vlachs in Turkey. The paper represents a summary of the most important findings in Turkey.

The Meglen Vlachs or Megleno-Romanians are an independent sub-group of the Balkan Vlachs. While their neighbours use the same term (“Vlachs”) in reference to both groups, linguistic usage makes a distinction between *Aromanians* and *Megleno-Romanians*. The Megleno-Romanian language has far more in common with Romanian than Aromanian.² The assumption is therefore that the Megleno-Romanians broke away from the Romanian population at a later date than the Aromanians.³

Weigand considers the Meglen Vlachs a part of the Bulgarian-Vlach population group which, after the battle of Kosovo Polje, fled to the Karacova heights, where the rich soil and the favourable climate caused them to give up their nomadic lifestyle.⁴ Papahagi regards this theory as improbable.⁵ Since Jireček, many authors agree that the Vlach population intermixed with the Pechenegs, who settled in the Meglen region as military colonists after their defeat by the Byzantine Emperor Komnēnós in 1091.⁶ Some also speculate about an admixture with the Cumans.⁷

Owing to their sedentary agriculture instead of mobile animal breeding, the Meglen Vlachs did not migrate as extensively as the Aromanians. Although they collectively settled in Central Macedonia at the beginning of the twentieth century, their people disseminated after a phase of rural exodus into Romania and Turkey. Economic aspects were primarily responsible for emigration to Romania, whilst emigration to Turkey occurred as a result of the Greek–Turkish population exchange.

The majority of the Meglen Vlachs are Orthodox Christians. During the Ottoman era the Megleno-Romanian population had largely resisted islamisation. However,

there was one exception: the village of Nânti (Vlach language: *Nânti* or *Nânta*, Greek: *Νόντια* or *Νώτια*, Macedonian: *Н'нџи* or *Н'џи*, Bulgarian: *Нџнџи*, Turkish: *Nutyâ* or *Yediköy*), whose population converted to Islam in the eighteenth century.

Until a few years ago the history of the settlement of the Meglen Vlachs in Turkey was unknown⁸ and it was assumed that the whereabouts of the Megleno-Romanians, who had emigrated from Nânti would remain uncertain.⁹

During a short visit to Eastern Thrace in 1997 it was possible to identify the settlements and present-day distribution of the Megleno-Romanian Vlachs in Turkey as well as historic dates relating to their immigration.¹⁰ A subsequent expedition of several weeks in August and September 2000 gave information about their identity, language and culture. Interviews with speakers of the Megleno-Romanian language were conducted, and Megleno-Romanian stories and songs recorded. Most of both were taped and later transcribed.¹¹ The following assignment will trace the “Nântinets” (*i.e.* inhabitants of Nânti) from their islamisation until their present-day whereabouts in Turkish East Thrace.

Self-Appellation and Outside Appellation

While referred to by their immediate neighbours as Meglen Vlachs (Greek: *Βλάχοι Μογλενίτες*, Slavo-Macedonian: *Μεγλενскиџе Власџи*), they are mostly called Megleno-Romanians (Romanian: *Meglenoromâni*, German: *Meglenorumänen*, Russian: *Μεγλεноρουμενџи*) in other languages. The term “Meglen” designates the Central Macedonian area around S'bocko (today's Aridéa), in Turkish called Karacova, nowadays Almoḗia in Greek. The terms “Meglen Vlachs” and “Megleno-Romanians” may be used synonymously. However, preference should be given to “Meglen Vlachs,” since the members of that population group now call themselves Vlachs (singular Vla^u, plural Vlaḡ), not Romanians. The name *Rumôn, which might have been, in theory, the Meglen self-description,¹² is not verifiable. Their Aromanian neighbors refer to them primarily as Tucañi.

The numbers of Meglen Vlachs in Turkey are too insignificant for their Turkish neighbors to have an individual name for them. Most Turks of Eastern Thrace do not distinguish them from the Slavic-speaking Pomaks and describe them as *Karacovalı* (people from Karacova/Meglen) or even subsume them under the umbrella term *Rumeli* (immigrants from Rumelia), which is also used for the Turkish, Bosnian and Pomak immigrants from the Balkans. However, the Turkish and Pomak immigrants from Meglen who make a distinction from the Vlachs do not refer to the Meglen Vlachs as *Ullahlar*, as the Vlachs are commonly known in Turkish, but call them *Nutyalı* (people from Nânti), since the only Vlachs in the region originate from Nânti.

In addition to their self-identification as *Vlaḡ*, the Vlachs from Nânti also call themselves “Nântinets.” Accordingly, they speak *nântineḡti*, much like the Meglen Vlachs

of the Meglen region name their languages *oşineşti* (from Oşań/Archángelos), *umineşti* (from Uma/Huma), *cupineşti* (from Cupa/Kúpa), *etc.*

Nânti and Its Population before 1922

Until 1927, the present-day community of Almopía (Meglen, Karacova) was called Nótia in Greek, seemingly going back to the medieval name of Enótia. However, it is uncertain whether the location of the Byzantine castle Enótia, described by Kedrēnós in the eleventh century, is identical with that of the today's village.¹³ In 1134, St Ilários founded the Monastery of Moglená in the Enótia region. Until 1767, the Bishopric of Moglená belonged to the Archbishopric of Ohrid. After the occupation of central Macedonia by the Ottomans in the fourteenth century numerous groups of Turkic descent settled in the area, particularly nomads from Asia Minor (Juruks). During the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century the islamisation of local population groups in central Macedonia seems to have increased. Christian groups, having retreated to mountainous regions, mostly escaped islamisation.

Today, ancient and modern place names are often used simultaneously. Until 1927, ancient names such as Almopía were unknown to the local population. In that year, all place names of the region were changed; either by reviving antique Greek toponyms or by creating entirely new ones. The local elderly population holds on to the former names while the new generation and the refugees from Asia Minor use the modern ones.

Nânti is situated at a height of 595 metres, in the middle of the so-called Upper or Little Karacova Plain, at the foot of the Nidže and Tzéna mountains. The villages of Lugunţi/Lugunci/Langadiá and Birlislař/Borislaf/Períkliá are also situated in the Upper Karacova while the remaining Meglen Vlach villages are located in the higher regions of the Pajak/Payık/Páiko mountains: Oşań/Oşańj/Archángelos, L'umnitsa/Ljumnica/Skra, Cupa/Kupa/Kúpa, Ţárnareca/Crnareka/Kárpi; and in the Kožuf mountains: Uma/Huma.

For centuries Nânti was the largest Vlach village in the Meglen region and the only one with a central market place. Weigand¹⁴ counted 450 houses with Muslim Vlachs, while Gopčević¹⁵ mentions 500 houses with Muslim occupants, which would amount to around 3,000 inhabitants. Papahagi¹⁶ noted 550 houses with 5,500 inhabitants and Kāńčov¹⁷ gave a number of 3,500 for the year 1900, including 160 Roma. The first Greek censuses in 1913 for Macedonia show 3,442 Nânti inhabitants and in 1920 a mere 1,607—a number that clearly reflects the first substantial emigration wave of the Nântinets.

The inhabitants of old Nânti made a living from sericulture, fruit-growing and pepper, wheat and stationary stock farming. The craftsmen among them produced goods for their own needs but also for sale and export to neighbouring communities.¹⁸

The Nântinets of Weigand's time are said to have continued to practise some of their old, originally Christian customs. Thus, the feast of St Paraskeví was still observed and many of the inhabitants visited the parish fairs of neighbouring Christian Slavic and Vlach villages.¹⁹ It would appear that at least some of the Nânti inhabitants were a crypto-Christian community until the population exchange.

Apart from the Vlachs, another Slavic-speaking group also inhabited old Nânti before the islamisation. According to accounts of older people they were persons who had married into the community and had their own *mahalle* (quarter) called Prour. Apparently Meglen Vlachs also lived west of Nânti but they had blended in with the Slavic-speaking Muslim population.

Until 1923, there were eight quarters with four mosques in Nânti, which were built on the foundations of three churches (St Geórgios, St Paraskeví, St Ekateríni) and of the monastery of the Holy Mother of God.

The Islamisation in the Meglen Region

It is an interesting point that all over Southeast Europe South Slavs and Albanians converted to Islam more readily than Greeks and Vlachs. As far as the Greeks were concerned, this was primarily due to the status of Greek as the language of education and of the Byzantine Church. In the case of the Vlachs it was because of their lifestyle as a closed community in remote mountain regions and the special rights and privileges granted by the Ottomans that the Vlachs enjoyed there. Typically, Islam had already gained a foothold in many Slavic-speaking Meglen villages while the Vlach population continued to embrace the Christian faith.

The Slavic-speaking Muslim population of Central Macedonia are mostly referred to as "Çitaci" (Turkish: *Çitaklar*, Greek: *Τσιτάκιδες*)—even though their descendants in Turkey no longer use the term. They are the "Aegean-Macedonian" equivalent of the Pomaks from Greek Thrace and south Bulgaria as well as of the Torbesh in the present-day Republic of Macedonia. Their islamisation appears to have taken place from the fifteenth/sixteenth to the eighteenth century.²⁰ As relatively recent followers of Islam, they are thought to be more devout Muslims than the Turkish-speaking population. If one were to assume that the recent followers of a faith were generally also the more enthusiastic followers, then their present-day descendants in Turkey would have to be keener Muslims than many Turks. Accordingly, that phenomenon would have to be even more pronounced among the Vlach population of Nânti, because they converted to Islam at a later time. It appears, however, that the population was at least for a time divided about the recent conversions. Some groups were supporters while others had a hard time accepting the new situation.

The pressure exerted by the Muslim on the Christian population to convert to Islam in the eighteenth century seemed to have increased in the Meglen region. Yet, forced

conversions were rarely involved; many converted voluntarily for opportunistic reasons under economic and legal pressure.²¹

Since in Ottoman times, ethnic groups were primarily identified by *millet* on the basis of their religious affinity, all Muslims were known as “Turks,” irrespective of the language they spoke. Even today, many older Orthodox Christians in the region still call Muslims simply “Turks” although they speak the Vlach, Slavic or Albanian tongue. The islamisation of a large section of Meglen inhabitants was not automatically accompanied by adopting the Turkish language. Numerous Turkish phrases and idioms may have infiltrated their local South Slavic dialect and merchants in particular had a good command of the language, but Turkish was not spoken by the masses. Many Çitaci and Vlachs did not learn Turkish in their central Macedonian homeland but only after they had emigrated to Turkey. Most of the elderly women in Eastern Thrace confirmed during the interviews that they had no command of the Turkish language when they arrived. Furthermore, there were no linguistic centres of Turkish hegemony in the vicinity of the Meglen region; the nearest villages with Turkish-speaking inhabitants were in the area around Yenice/Giannitsá, on the plain of Thessalonica; around Gumence/Guménissa; in Gevgelija as well as in Mayadağ/Mādā/Fanós, where Conjars had settled; and in the trading centres of Prilep and Kavadarci. The decisive role in the islamisation of the Vlachs fell not so much to the Turks or Ottomans but to the large group of Çitaci who lived in great numbers at the foot of the Pajak/Payık/Páiko and Kaimakčalan mountains and on the S’bocko plain.

The Islamisation of Nânti

The case of the islamisation of Nânti appears to be the only example of conversion that involved an entire Vlach village. Apart from this occurrence, only a few smaller groups and some individuals among the Vlachs, particularly in southern Albania, converted to Islam.

Weigand writes about the evidently Christian past of the inhabitants of Nânti:

Once the village used to be Christian, as the recesses in the walls show and were meant to house pictures of saints; the furnishings of the older houses are likewise all Christian. The ruins of a monastery or church are said to be still there . . . Even the parish fair is still held and Christian names are very common.

Today, they [the Muslim inhabitants of Nânti] are worse towards the Christians than their then oppressors were towards them. It is remarkable how quickly they changed into Turks in that respect and also outwardly, with regard to their noble deportment, food and dress. Only their language they preserved well.²²

As episcopal see, Nânti was for many years a stronghold of Christianity. In the history of the islamisation of the Upper Meglen region the monastery of Ioánnis Pródromos of

Archángelos appears to have played a special part. It was raided and destroyed in 1790, then the Ottoman authorities in 1858 gave permission to erect another monastery in its stead. It was dedicated to the Archangel Michael and still exists today. The icons of the monastery date from 1888 and were painted by three Vlachs from Kruševo.²³ The scene of St Ignátios Theofóru contains a Romanian inscription in the Latin alphabet: “portator de Dumnezeu” (*Theoforos* = “bearer of the Lord” in the Vlach language). From the use of the word *Dumnezeu* it is obvious that the men wrote Romanian, not Aromanian or Megleno-Romanian (the word for “God” in Aromanian is *Dumnidzã*, in Megleno-Romanian *Domnu*). After the monastery served the rebelling Antarts as a military base in the Balkan wars, it was given up in 1918. Only after 1940 did the monks return. Efforts to revive the monastery led in 1987 to new arrivals, so that a small number of monks and novices, mostly from other parts of Greece, now live in the monastery.

Islamisation brought the Nântinets the support of the leading social class and thus more influence in the region. During the second half of the nineteenth century beys from Nânti succeeded in making several surrounding Vlach villages their *chiftlik* (a sort of feudal holding).²⁴ While Nânti became increasingly prosperous, the surrounding *chiftlik* villages became poorer. It is assumed that the chieftains of Nânti even oppressed the inhabitants of these villages.²⁵ After the islamisation of Nânti, the village of Ljumnica/L’umnitsa/Skra became the centre of the Meglen Vlach villages of the region.

It was not, and is not to be, expected that the Megleno-Romanians who were interviewed would correctly remember the history of their islamisation. Nevertheless, some myths survived that probably contain a good deal of truth. Although the following story may not convincingly describe the sequence of events during the islamisation process, it does represent an interesting, if largely mythical, explanation. It is also interesting that the versions heard in the Meglen region, in Turkey, in the Republic of Macedonia and in Greece differ only little from one another.²⁶ The following story is the “explanation” the abbot of the monastery of the Archangel Michaíl near Oshan’/Ošanj/Archángelos told; he himself comes from the Sérres region and had heard the story from local monks:

It is not known in which year it happened, but it was Easter when Nótia [Nânti] became Turkish. Many villages in the plain were already Turkish but Nótia resisted for a long time. The inhabitants of Nótia observed Lent before Easter . . . and prayed that God would help them in their difficult situation. When everyone was gathered in church at night on Easter Saturday, Bishop Ioánnis announced after the Easter proclamation of “Christós anésti” [Greek: “Christ has risen”] his decision to convert to Islam. He conferred with the congregation and many of them consented to his will. After that the majority of the population of Nótia became Muslim.²⁷

Another man we talked to in Turkey told us a somewhat simpler version of this story:

The *büyük papa* [high priest] entered the church with the words “Christós anésti” [Christ has risen] and came out as *hoca* with the words “Salaam aleykhum” [Arabic:

“Peace be with you”]! The congregation responded, “Aleykhum salaam” and in that way the monastery became a Teke, our *Tikia mare*.²⁸

Von Hahn, too, says “the conversion to Islam of the people of Notia probably came about at the instigation of the archbishop himself who resided there at the time and converted at the same time as his flock.”²⁹ Capidan thinks that the islamisation of the population of Nânti occurred around 1671—but emphasises that it happened gradually within a 40–50-year time span.³⁰ Kukúdis suggests the year 1759 as the time of islamisation, based on the Ottoman history archive of Thessalonica;³¹ Rošev, however, designates the period 1765–1770 for the islamisation of Nânti.³² In 1764, a certain Jovan Kosta from Nânti became a Muslim in Thessalonica and changed his name to Mehmet.³³ The “mass conversion” probably took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. Most likely, the decision of the priest/*hoca* did happen and islamisation came about gradually. At the time this decision was taken, part of the population had possibly already converted to Islam. It is difficult to imagine that the bishop’s decision of mass conversion took the churchgoers by complete surprise. The intention was probably discussed with the population or at least with the leading class.

According to three of the men interviewed in Turkey,³⁴ the former Bishop Joánnis was thought to have moved to Lárisa after his conversion, to serve in the local mosque Turhan Camii. There he allegedly expressed remorse for having converted and was murdered. Until the beginning of the twentieth century his grave was located in Lárisa and his tombstone was said to have been inscribed “ne bizim ne sizin,” meaning “neither ours nor theirs.”³⁵ The inhabitants of Nânti told Capidan that the bishop/*hoca* was thought to have returned to Nótia to proclaim his remorse to the local population and to reintroduce Christianity.³⁶ However, they had apparently become such devout Muslims in the meantime that they chased him from the village, killed and buried him near Săm Toader and erected a poplar instead of a cross.

The question arises of how deeply rooted the Christian faith actually was in that population; many might already have been crypto-Christians before islamisation. According to Capidan, the decision of mass conversion was recorded on 24 April 1671 on the last page of a Bible in the church.³⁷ Until the population exchange, it was said to have been in the hands of the Muslim-turned inhabitants. Inquiries about this document in Eastern Thrace were unsuccessful—nothing was known of the Bible. Another Christian document is also believed to be in their possession: the icon of St Paraskeví, the patron saint of the church. Before the church was rebuilt as a mosque they allegedly embedded the icon in its foundation. Other sources say that the icon was taken to the neighbouring village of Birislaŕ/Períkliá.³⁸

Presumably, some of the inhabitants refused to change their religious orientation. It is quite possible that some of them were forced to convert to Islam, others have left Nânti. Neighboring Meglen Vlach villages such as Ošan’/Ošanĵ/Archángelos, Lugunĵi/Lugunci/Langadiá and Birislaŕ/Borislaŕ/Períkliá have certainly seen an

increase in their population because of the influx of the Christians from Nânti. In the course of time, the Vlach element disappeared and the Slavo-Macedonian element became stronger in other adjoining villages such as Resna, Náusa and Véria where only few had sought shelter.³⁹

With regard to the whereabouts of the Christian population of Nânti, an examination of the neighbouring village of Tuşim or Tuşań (Túsiani in Greek form, today Aetochóri) might be useful. There, word of mouth has it that the ancestors of the inhabitants of Tuşim originally came from Nânti, from where they fled in order to preserve their Christian faith. Certainly, some Christian Vlach families will have moved from Nânti to Tuşim but the village must have also had Slavo-Macedonian inhabitants. Since the inhabitants of Tuşim still speak a Slavic tongue, the question arises whether the newcomers from Nânti became Slavicised in Tuşim or whether they were Slavic-speaking people from Nânti. In any case, the Vlach-speaking group that came from Nânti did not represent a sufficiently strong element to preserve the Vlach language.

Despite the mostly Christian past of the population, many of the islamicised inhabitants of Nânti appear to have been rather aggressive advocates of Turkish culture to their Christian neighbours, even towards Vlach neighbors who spoke the same language. The destruction of the monastery of St Ioánnis Pródromos in neighboring Archángelos at the end of the eighteenth century by Muslim Vlachs from Nânti (c. 1790) may be seen as an attack on this important pillar of Christianity in the region but it can also be viewed as a raid on the riches the monastery contained.⁴⁰ In all of the neighbouring Vlach villages, they say that the beys from Nânti used to abduct Christian girls and force them to marry in Nânti.

Emigration to Turkey and the Population Exchange

The Meglen Vlachs' emigration to Turkey took place in several waves. Some families emigrated as early as 1912. The conflicts in the First World War and the following years forced the majority of the inhabitants of Meglen to move north to towns such as Prilep and Kavadarci. By that time relatively large waves of emigration of the Muslim population to Turkey via Bulgaria had already been taking place. There, they initially settled in the then mostly Greek villages of Demirköy/Samakov and Soğucak/Kryónero. A large number of these first immigrants succumbed to the Spanish flu. After the war, several returned to Nânti; only a few remained in Demirköy/Samakov or moved to Tekirgağ/Redestó and other small settlements.

However, the returning emigrants only remained for a short time in Nânti. In 1919, the first group of Pontic refugees (around 100 families) arrived in Nânti: Orthodox Christians from the Kars region in the southwestern Caucasus (Turkey) who spoke Turkish and Russian. As a result of the Greek–Turkish population exchange several other small groups from the area around Ankara followed at the beginning of the 1920s (particularly in 1924). Pontic immigrants also arrived in neighbouring Vlach

settlements (Lugunți/Lugunci/Langadiá and Birislař/Borislař/Periklia), but primarily in the villages on the plain. At the time over 100 Muslim families were still living in Nânti—mostly poor families who had returned to destroyed houses after their sojourn in Bulgaria. Some of them had relatives in neighbouring villages and obviously no desire to emigrate. While the remaining Vlachs and newly arrived Pontians lived side by side, a Greek school and an Orthodox church were built. In the spring of 1924, the officially controlled emigration within the Greek–Turkish population exchange began and the remaining locals also left Nânti.

Accounts on the time of the Vlach–Pontic cohabitation were marked by bitterness. Since word of mouth can make it difficult to distinguish between truth and exaggeration, this paper will refrain from a closer description, but Kukúdis⁴¹ deals with the details. Violent disputes developed between the followers of the Greek Patriarch Church and those of the Bulgarian Exarchate Church. Seemingly, the Vlachs got on well with the advocates of the Bulgarian Exarchate Church, the so-called “Komitadži,” while the Pontic refugees followed the Patriarchy. These contrasting orientations had a negative effect on the cohabitation of Vlachs and Pontians. Presumably, several Vlachs who were with the Komitadži at the time of the Balkan Wars, remained in the Monastir/Bitola and Gevgelija area for good. Only one man who was said to have cooperated with the Greek newcomers was permitted to remain in Nânti: Chrístos G. Lemonídis. He was baptised after the departure of the Muslims and the ending “-idis,” typical of the Pontic Greeks, was added to his original name, Lemon. He died shortly before my first visit to Nânti. Atanasov had asked him where in Turkey the Nântinets had moved to and learned about a letter that was sent to Mr Lemonídis from Turkey and postmarked in Çorlu.⁴² A woman was also said to have insisted on remaining in Nânti, whereupon her husband killed her with the help of the Nânti authorities. Despite being sentenced to several years in prison, he was eventually taken to Turkey. According to the Vlachs of Nânti, at least seven women from Christian families followed the Nântinets to Turkey, mostly married women from neighbouring villages, as in the case of Ayşe Çavuş from Tuşim/Tuşim/Aetochóri and Lütfiye Rizvan from Oşan’/Oşanj/Archángelos.

It would be interesting to learn how many persons did not wish to participate in the population exchange and to what extent the Christian past of the population might have played a role. It is possible that part of the population tried to influence the committee for population exchange, citing the Christian element of their culture or that of their ancestors. However, the Greek authorities made no exceptions, so several Nânti inhabitants approached the Romanian consulate, expressing their desire to emigrate to Romania⁴³—which they were apparently not permitted to do. As a rule, they journeyed by caravan to Vrtikop/Skýdra, then by train to Salonica and eventually on Turkish ships to Turkey. Most travelled to Tekirdağ and were distributed from Bursa to formerly Greek villages that had fallen vacant after the population exchange and the exodus of the Greek Orthodox population. Fewer disembarked in Mudanya/Mudianá and İzmir/Smýrni. Some still reside there today.

The Village of Nótia after the Population Exchange

Visitors to present-day Nótia will find it difficult to imagine how large and important the village once must have been. Climbing the southern slopes of the Tzéna mountain, one realises from the terraces rising up the slope as well as from the structure of the nearby fields to the south of the village that buildings and numerous farmsteads once stood there.

Two of the old quarters (Manastir and Băicuș) can still be made out in the present-day village. A stream running from north to south through the village centre divides the two quarters. Several of the people remember three further quarters: Puntî, Lohceva and Prour. The names of the quarters Al Cule, Gornits, Boz and Beilic/Amber that Capidan mentions⁴⁴ fell into oblivion. The place where the church of St Paraskevi once stood is now occupied by a school building.

Since the population exchange Nótia has been almost exclusively inhabited by Pontians (according to Greek population censuses in 1928 these amounted to 712 persons; 1,512 in 1940; 95 in 1951; 437 in 1961; 440 in 1971; 412 in 1981, 367 persons in 1991 and 388 in 2001). Atanasov says that there were also ten Vlach families among the Pontian inhabitants.⁴⁵ However, they are descendants not of the old Nótia inhabitants but of the Vlach population from the neighbouring Christian Vlach villages (Perikliá and Archángelos). The settlement of the refugees from the Caucasus and Asia Minor was carried out on the basis of Greek agricultural reforms. The land vacated by the emigrant population was redistributed amongst the newcomers; each one was allotted 8–15 hectares.

Since Nótia is situated in a mountainous region less remote than most other Meglen Vlach villages and at the edge of a fertile plain, far more Pontians were settled in Nótia than in all other Vlach villages in Meglen put together. In the 1950s several Saracatchans who originally had their summer camp on the Tzéna heights also settled in Nótia. Some of them are still occupied with stock farming there today.

The Meglen Vlachs in Turkey

Numbers and Distribution

The Meglen Vlachs were not concentrated in one community in their new Turkish homeland but dispersed over many settlements in Eastern Thrace and several towns in the rest of western Turkey. Their emigration and settlement thus differ from the situation in Romania, where the Vlachs from nearly all Meglen Vlach villages settled in *one* village while in the case of Nânti the entire population of a single village settled in numerous hamlets.

Assuming that nearly the total population of Nânti emigrated, then the number of emigrants must have been around 4,000. If the reported number of people living

there today is added, the whole Meglen Vlachs population is *c.* 5,000. Although that number is only a rough estimate and may be exaggerated by the individual interviewees, it might correspond to reality. However, the number of those who still speak the Megleno-Romanian tongue is certainly far smaller.

The number of the “406 speakers of Romanian” in Turkey that Andrews mentions,⁴⁶ of whom only very few live in Thrace, is probably not including the Megleno-Romanians. The speakers of Romanian also include, apart from the new Romanian emigrants, some Tartars who left their homeland in Dobruja in 1934–1939 and migrated to Turkey when disputes between Bulgaria and Romania rendered living conditions, particularly for Muslim groups, more and more difficult.

The information given on the distribution of the Meglen Vlachs varies greatly; the following represents an average: in Hoşküy/Chóra twenty to fifty families, in Malkara/Málgara fifty (largely assimilated) families at most, in Gözsüzküy/Kiosús-Kiói fifty to seventy families, in Ballı mainly individual persons (nowadays assimilated or moved away to Malgara), in Gönence/Kalývia eighty families, in Kalamış/Kalamítsi nearly the entire village = at least 280 persons, in Aşağı Kalamış only a few persons from Yukarı Kalamış, in Şarküy/Perístasi up to eighty families and in Mürefte/Myriófyto at most ten families (see Fig. 1). The exodus to the towns of Odrin/Edirne/Adrianúpoli, Kırklareli/Saranda Ekklisiés, Vize/Vizýi, Saray/Sarái, Babaeski/Artískos, Lüleburgaz/Arkadiúpoli, Uzunköprü/Makrá Géfyra, Tekirdağ/Redestós, Çorlu/Tyrolói, Manisa/Magnisía, İzmir/Smýrni, Konya/Ikónio and İstanbul/Konstantinúpoli appears to be very substantial.

Language

The decision to introduce Islam is the reason why people in Turkey still speak Megleno-Romanian, which remained untouched by official Romanian and thus is more archaic than the language spoken in Greece, Romania or the Republic of Macedonia.

The place name Meglen/Meglina/Moglena is unknown among the Vlachs in Turkey and consequently also the term “Megleno-Romanian.” It was difficult to meet Pomaks (*e.g.* in Tepeküy/Stérna) who refer to themselves as *Meglenci*. Derivative words based on *Romanus* such as “Romanian” or “Aromanian,” as used by Aromanians (armân) and Romanians (român), are also unknown. Megleno-Romanian is mostly referred to by utilising the names of the original villages. Thus, the Nântinetes in Turkey rarely say they speak *vlăheşti*, but rather call their language *nântineşti*. A Pomak in Şarküy explained, “In the old days we spoke *româneşte*.” This statement is deceptive, since the term *româneşte* does not exist in Megleno-Romanian (“Romanian” in Romanian); he must have heard the word dropped in conversation with tourists or immigrant workers, in the media or used by Romanian-speaking Tartars.

The elderly interviewees knew that the same language was spoken in Nânti’s neighbouring villages that one village in Pajak/Payık/Páiko called Livezi

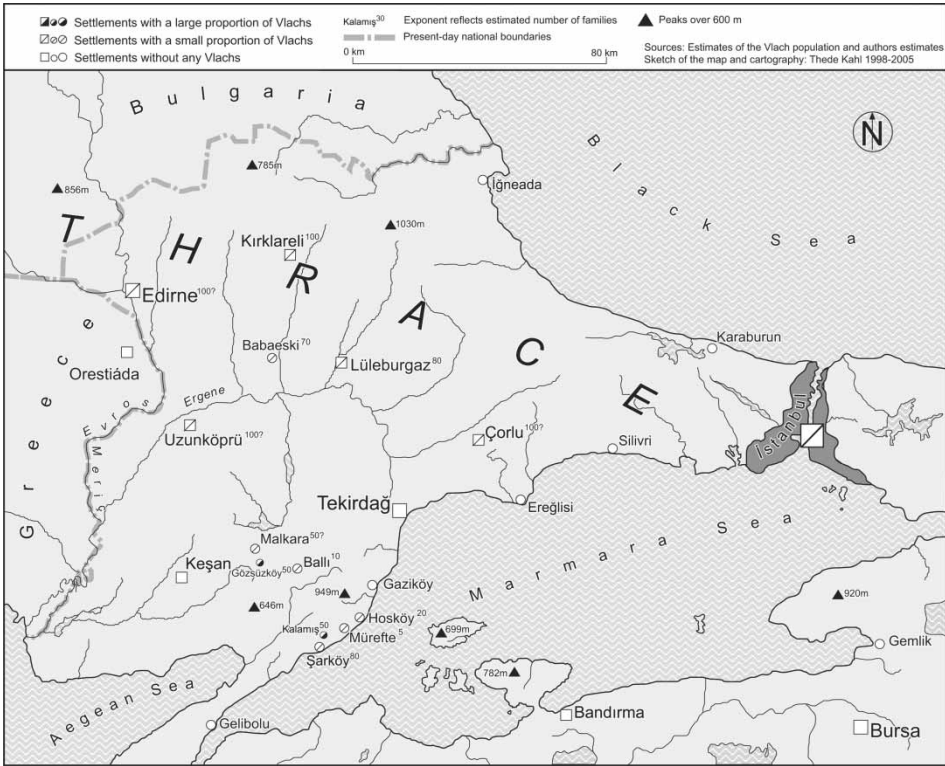


FIGURE 1 Meglen Vlachs from Nânti in Eastern Thrace at the end of the twentieth century

(Aromanian: Livădz, Greek: Megála Livádia) spoke a “different Vlach” which was difficult to understand. The language is referred to as “Aromanian” and the eldest interviewee, Ramazan Kara, was even able to identify it as *armâneashti*. Others simply claimed that the Vlach spoken in Livezi was “heavier” and “bigger.”

The Tatars who emigrated from Bazargik in Dobruja play an interesting role in this context. They caused the Meglen Vlachs to come in contact with the Romanian language, however sporadically. With these Tatars, Turks also arrived who lived in the regions settled by the Tatars and who also spoke Romanian. As this were only a few people, the majority of Meglen Vlachs continue to be unaware of the proximity of their language to Romanian. Only a few educated people were able to point out that their language is closely related to Latin and that it has similarities with Romanian. People, particularly in the towns of Hoşköy and Malgara, knew that Meglen Vlach is very similar to Romanian: they had met Romanian truck drivers and were astonished at being able to converse with them.

Generally, the condition of Megleno-Romanian was better than I had expected. Turkish influence is evident especially in religious terms, as well as all neologisms,

specialist terms, measurements, *etc.* Some Turkish influence can be traced back to before the period of emigration to Turkey. Statements involving numbers, months and days of the week in particular are often used in Turkish among speakers of Megleno-Romanian, because they are more at ease with these terms in Turkish.

It was very interesting to observe how Vlach was well established in some families and only a little or not at all in others. Predilections for Pomak and Turkish have led to different degrees of neglect of Vlach. In Kalamış, inhabitants used both the Turkish and Vlach terms for week days and time of the day: some people had mastered them completely in Vlach, whereas others used a mixture. The existence of Latin forms of time data suggests that these were used at the time of migration.

Today the names of the inhabitants are almost entirely Turkish. However, alongside the official names, nicknames exist that are typically Meglen Vlach. Old names of partially Christian provenance live on in songs and sagas (*e.g.* Mita, Boshco, Dodo).

Alongside Turkish, which is spoken today by all Meglen Vlachs in Turkey, Pomak is very prevalent among the Vlachs. The oldest interviewees could still muster a few words of Greek, but they were rare exceptions. As the Çitak/Pomak Ali Karanfil (born in 1910 in Trstenik) told us, Vlach was much more widely spoken shortly after their arrival in Turkey than today. He claimed to have learned Vlach from his neighbor in Şarköy. There were also Vlachs who had learned Slavo-Macedonian communicating with the Çitaci in Turkey.

Some of the interviewees said they could write in Vlach but used the Turkish alphabet. When I requested them to write down the text of a well-known song in Vlach, they completed the task without any surprise and with great ease (in contrast to the Vlachs in Greece, who regard Vlach as simply “impossible to write”).

Absolutely no attempt is being undertaken in Turkey to ensure the continued existence of Megleno-Romanian. Moreover, any attempt to maintain these people’s culture would be extremely difficult because of the highly dispersed settlement patterns of this small group. It remains to be seen if perhaps academic interest and research in the Meglen Vlachs living there, will stimulate the inhabitants to take a more active interest in the preservation of their cultural uniqueness.

Economy

Only some of the traditional occupations of the Meglen Vlachs from the Meglen region, such as sericulture and ceramics production, were kept up in Eastern Thrace. The Greek population that had lived there previously were already silkworm farmers. The Meglen Vlachs from Nânti soon replaced this craft with cattle breeding and sheep farming. Many farmers practise market gardening, especially the cultivation of different types of vegetables and pepper.

Due to the favourable climate along the Sea of Marmara, the majority of the population is now engaged in viticulture (vine growing and wine production). The cultivation and processing of tobacco are of similar importance.

Settlement

The eldest interlocutors in Turkey described the Nânti of their childhood as a densely populated small town: one house stood very close to the next and all were surrounded by railings and situated in narrow closed-in alleys. None of this is apparent in present-day Nótia. However, the screened courtyards and entrances characteristic of Muslim settlements can be observed in present-day villages in Turkey. When Meglen Vlachs arrived after the population exchange they found numerous buildings belonging to the Christian population who had been living there. They took over many of those houses that had not been destroyed by the earthquake of 1917, but also built new houses. In some cases the ancient foundations are still visible today, while the walls themselves are of a later date. In Kalamış, for instance, a number of old houses were found beside the former church (*kilise*). The church's foundations are visible to this day. In other former Greek villages entire buildings were preserved (*e.g.* in Tepeköy/Stérna).⁴⁷

The refugees formed their own districts within their new settlements. Hence, the Nântinets in Şarköy lived in close proximity to one another, while the Mayadans (Konjares from the village Mayadağ/Mada/Fanós in Pajak/Payık/Páiko) largely lived in their own neighbourhoods and the Pomaks in still other districts. The population is aware of these old settlement structures even if nowadays districts are completely different. When comparing the districts largely populated by Meglen Vlachs with the Turkish ones, the Vlachs seem to be the wealthier group. This difference is particularly obvious in Yukarı Kalamış, where there are only well-tended, often two-storey houses that impart a totally different impression to the surrounding villages of the natives. An example of the latter is Çengelli, where there are ovens in the open street and no multi-storey buildings, the laundry is often dried on the side of the street and ancient agricultural implements are still in use.

Folklore

Nowadays, anyone who wants to collect the songs, fairytales, customs, *etc.* of the Meglen Vlachs will face a difficult task. The process of islamisation caused a great loss of the Vlach culture and it is no longer possible to aspire to the comprehensiveness of the monumental collections of Weigand (1892), Papahagi (1903) or Capidan (1925). Many songs, games, proverbs and fairytales are still known *passively* but hardly anyone is able to reproduce them. Similarly, people have a passive knowledge of typically Vlach vampire legends, but they are no longer told.

There are only a few elderly inhabitants of the villages with large Vlach contingents who still know the old songs. A comparison of the state of folk music between the different Megleno-Romanian communities in Greece, the Republic of Macedonia, Turkey and Romania shows that the Nânti must have had a very independent repertoire of songs. Most of the songs that were equally well known in Romania, Greece and the Republic of Macedonia were unknown in Turkey. The *gáida* (a type of

bagpipe), which was widespread in the Meglen region, is no longer played. Some old Meglen Vlachs can still play the *shupelca* (shepherd's flute) and the *tambura* (a long-necked lute). Otherwise instrumental music is largely in the hands of the Roma, who play the *kemane*, *kornata*, *cümbüş* or *tambura* together with the clarinet or *zurna*. The Gypsy bands of the region of Eastern Thrace can boast of a comprehensive repertoire of *rumeli* (immigrants' music from the Balkans) which includes numerous Pomak and Macedonian but also Bosnian, Albanian and Greek songs. Only few of the Vlach songs that have survived here, can be found in the Meglen region too. The Vlach song "Oi tsi sun buni fetili" seems to have developed into a veritable hit amongst the Vlachs in Turkey, so that even the Roma bands Şarköy, Mürefte and Vize have included it in their repertoire.

As expected, specifically Meglen costumes have disappeared—Weigand was already astonished by how fast the inhabitants of Nânti had "turned into Turks" (also in terms of apparel).⁴⁸ Although present-day inhabitants no longer wear folk costumes, it is still relatively easy to distinguish especially women from their Turkish neighbors on the basis of their dress. In contrast to Capidan's reports,⁴⁹ the Megleno-Romanian women did not seem to be strict adherents of the veil. In Kalamış some of them claimed with a certain pride, "No, no scarves—we don't wear any! We come from Europe, after all."

The Muslim Vlachs did not seem as fanatically Muslim as they have been described by travellers to Nânti and this could have a number of reasons. They lost the position of power in Turkey that their religion gave them in Meglen and Atatürk's reforms. Migration from the land and modernisation have left their mark on religious conventions. However, there could also be another explanation. The people interviewed were mostly speakers of Megleno-Romanian and there were only few who consciously chose not to speak it. Capidan reports that the Vlach language was cultivated above all by poorer families and that those who gave up Vlach in favour of Pomak were the more active Muslims.⁵⁰ Thus, today the identity of the more active Muslims could possibly not be defined as Vlach.

Identity

Generally, a specific Vlach identity is less pronounced among the Megleno-Romanians than amongst the Aromanians.⁵¹ As the Vlachs in Eastern Thrace are a very small and dispersed group, the preservation of a Vlach consciousness up to the present time is rather astounding. Alongside their Vlach origins, virtually all of them tend to emphasise their *Balkan* origins.

Religion plays a decisive role in the identity of Muslim Vlachs. It increases the opportunities to identify with other Muslim ethnic groups (particularly Turks and Pomaks) and at the same encourages distance from their linguistic relatives (Vlachs). Thus, most individuals have a marked double identity that allows them to identify themselves both as *Vla*^u and *Türk*. This identification with the Turks is

curtailed by stressing the fact that one is a Balkan Turk, a Rumeli Turk or simply of the “Turkish faith” and that the Turks in Turkey are “a different kind of Turk.” Interestingly, hardly any of the Vlachs wanted to send their children to the Turkish school in Nânti. However, identification with the Megleno-Romanians left in Meglen is also restricted because it was pointed out that the Vlachs who remained in Macedonia stayed *gâvurlar/gauri* (Christian); solely language now links the two groups.

Although, some of the present-day Meglen Vlach population in Greece and Turkey see the history of islamisation in a similar way, individual people deal with it differently. Some see islamisation as unwanted (most of those who stayed in Meglen), while others seem to have repressed the Christian past of their ancestors (this is the attitude of many Vlachs in Turkey). Single individuals viewed my questioning with suspicion. Some, therefore, requested that their names should not appear in any publication. It can be assumed that in a few years there will be no one in Turkey who can recount the oral tradition of the islamisation of the community. Young people have hardly any knowledge of the Christian past of their heritage and it seems to be more a subject of repression than recall amongst the elderly. Even older Megleno-Romanians in Turkey might soon feel the same outrage as most Pomaks when they are presented with “theories” about their Christian past. This is understandable if one considers that most younger people have no idea of their own history.

An 80-year-old Vlach in Şarköy gave the clearest mark of acceptance of her people’s Christian past in 1997:

We became Turks, but we have remained at heart Christians. Secretly we have continued the liturgy.

A 62-year-old in Hoşköy opined,

Just as the Turks in Greece feel themselves to be Greek, so I too feel myself to be a Turk.

It was striking in Kalamış that the mosque did not even possess a minaret and the inhabitants made no bones about the fact that it was mostly empty. In spite of the absolute majority of Meglen Vlachs in the village, the Hoca (priest) of the village has always been a Turk from the Asian part of Turkey. For anyone who has read of the religious fanaticism of the Muslim Vlachs in Nânti—and all the authors who visited it are unanimous in this—the open-minded comments will perhaps come as a surprise. It should be noted here, however, that as a non-Muslim researcher the author might have consciously been given answers that were intended to please.

Prospects

Mixed marriages are now the rule amongst the Meglen Vlachs and other ethnic groups in Turkey. No comprehensive genealogies have been drawn up but it should be noted with certain reservations that the Vlachs tend to mix more with other immigrants from the Macedonian region (“Rumeli”) than with the Turks in Thrace. Most marriages are with Pomaks, according to statements of the residents—and, indeed, the relationship to the Pomaks must be described as close. It was amazing to see how the Nântinets of Kalamış knew almost all Pomak residents in the neighbouring villages and kept in contact with them, while the equally close Turkish villages of the *yevli* natives had not even been visited by the *yerli* (natives) for decades. They said of the Pomaks, “Of course we know them: after all we’re also *karacovalı* [Meglens].” It can be assumed that the Meglen Vlachs in Turkey will abandon Megleno-Romanian sooner or later, and—if they do not end up in the long term merely speaking Turkish—the Slavic linguistic element will probably grow.

Even before the population exchange the ties between the Christian and Muslim Megleno-Romanians were dominated by the Muslim beys of Nânti. For this reason it does not seem strange that there is no contact between the Meglen Vlachs in Turkey and other countries in Southeastern Europe. None of the interviewees in present-day Meglen could say anything about where the former population of the Islamic village of Nânti in Turkey had emigrated to and where they could be found today. While older people in Turkey still retained a precise memory of which regions they had emigrated from and could remember many places and even individual people in neighbouring villages in Meglen, neither in Romanian Dobruja nor in Meglen, their area of origin, is there any knowledge left of where the Muslim Vlachs now live. There were no Meglen Vlachs in Romania who knew of the existence of Islamic Vlachs. Just as little was known in the Vlach settlements in Turkey about the fate of the Megleno-Romanians who had left for Romania. Even if for some reason there was an intensive exchange between the Meglen Vlachs in Turkey and their kinfolk in Greece, Romania and the Republic of Macedonia, it must be feared that their linguistic and cultural uniqueness cannot last for long.

NOTES

1. For a report on the project see Thede Kahl, “Feldforschungen zur Ethnizität von Aromunen und meglenitischen Vlachen,” *Berliner Geographische Arbeiten*, Vol. 91, 2001, pp. 65–72.
2. Petar Atanasov, “Meglenoromâna,” in: *Consiliul Culturii și Educației Socialiste: Tratat de dialectologie românească* (Craiova, Scrisul românesc 1984), pp. 476–550; Nikólaos A. Katsánis]: *Οι Βλάχοι του Πάικου του Βυζαντινού Θέματος των Μογλενών* (Thessaloniki, 2001); Petar Atanasov, *Meglenoromâna astăzi* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2002).
3. Wolfgang Dahmen, “Rumänisch: Areallinguistik III. Meglenorumänisch,” in: Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt, eds, *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Vol. 3 (Tübingen, Germany, 1989), pp. 436–447; Gottfried Schramm, “Frühe

- Schicksale der Rumänen: Acht Thesen zur Lokalisierung der lateinischen Kontinuität in Südosteuropa,” in: Gottfried Schramm: “Ein Damm bricht: die römische Donaugrenze und die Invasionen des 5.–7. Jahrhunderts im Lichte von Namen und Wörtern,” *Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, Vol. 100, 1997, pp. 275–343.
4. Gustav Weigand, *Vlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 53–55.
 5. Pericle N. Papahagi, “Megleno-Români. Studiu etnografico-filologic,” *Analele Academiei Române*, Series II, No. 25, 1903, pp. 7–9.
 6. Constantin J. Jireček, “Über die Wlachen von Moglena,” *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, No. 15, 1893, pp. 97.
 7. Tilémachos M. Katsugiánnis, *Περί των Βλάχων των ελληνικών χωρών*, Vol. 1, (Thessaloniki, 1964), pp. 34–36.
 8. Peter Alford Andrews, “Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey,” Supplement to *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Vol. B 60, 1989, p. 103; Peter Atanasov, “Le mégléno-roumain de nos jours. Une approche linguistique,” *Balkan-Archiv*, New Series, Supplement, Vol. 7, 1990; Theodor Capidan, “Istoria și graiul lor,” *Meglenoromâni*, Vol. 1, 1925, p. 15; Wolfgang Dahmen and Johannes Kramer, “Das Meglenorumänische,” in Günther Holtus and Edgar Radtke, eds, *Rumänistik in der Diskussion*. (Tübingen, Germany, 1986), pp. 266; Beate Wild, “Meglenorumänischer Sprachatlas,” *Balkan-Archiv*, New Series, Supplement, Vol. 2, 1983, p. 11.
 9. Dahmen, “Rumänisch: Areallinguistik III. Meglenorumänisch,” pp. 436–447.
 10. Thede Kahl, “Ethnizität und räumliche Verbreitung der Aromunen in Südosteuropa,” *Münstersche Geographische Arbeiten*, Vol. 43, 1999, p. 186; Astérios Kukúdis, *Οι Ούμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά* (Thessaloniki, 2001), p. 404.
 11. The most significant information was obtained from the following (the year of birth is only given for the eldest): in Kalamış: Ramazan Kara (b. 1914 in Nânti), Hüseyin Karakoç (b. 1937), Murat Yörük, Ayşe Yörük, Ismail Yörük, Mustafa Dimida, Aydar Körpe, Cemile Körpe (b. 1926), Meryem Arslantaş, Ayşe Arslantaş, Şeker Körpe; in Şarköy: Hasan Ocak (b. 1917 in Demirköy/Samakov), Ali Karanfil (b. 1910 in Trstenik/Thyriópetra), Hasan Karanfil (b. 1912 in Trstenik/Thyriópetra), Hüseyin Bayır (b. 1917), Vişo Yaşar, Yaşar Yavuz, Gültekin Ergun, Ayşe Karakoç; in Hoşköy: Recep Yaşar (b. 1914 in Nânti), Mustafa Akgün; in Göszüzköy: Murat İşcan, Ali Arap (b. 1930 in Göszüzköy), Hüseyin Berdikaya (b. 1929), Süleyman İbrahim Çavuş (b. 1923), Mustafa Karahasan; in Gönence: Hüseyin Karahasan, Mustafa Poto (b. 1930) and others, who wish to remain anonymous. I am indebted to them and to the *hoca* of the village of Kalamış, Kazım Gülmez, as well as to the musicians of Osman Evin (Mürefte) and my hosts Hüseyin und Haldun Keresteci for their helpfulness, patience and hospitality. I also interviewed inhabitants of the Meglen region who, although originating from Nânti families, had not emigrated to Turkey. Some are descendants of Slavic-speaking Christian Roma, who must have had their own quarter in Nânti but today live in S’bocko/Aridéa and Fuştan/Fústani (most important contact: Vangélis Siderás); others are the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Tuşim/Aetochóri, who are also thought to originate from Nânti (most important contact: Riste Voçu = Chrístos Vótsis).
 12. Vasile Arvinte, “Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnamen,” *Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik*, Vol. 114, 1980, p. 37.
 13. Papahagi, “Megleno-Români. Studiu etnografico-filologic,” pp. 5; Gustav Weigand, “Die Aromunen. Ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren,” Vol. 2, (Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1895), p. 26.

14. Weigand, *Vlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung*, p. XIV.
15. Spiridon Gopčević, *Makedonien und Alt-Serbien* (Vienna, 1889), p. 403.
16. Pericle N. Papahagi, "Megleno-Români. Studiu etnografico-filologic," *Analele Academiei Române*, Series II, No. 25, 1903, p. 21.
17. Vasil Kăncov, *Избрани произведения*, Vol. 1–2 (Sofia, 1970), reprint.
18. Anastase N. Hâciu, *Aromânii. Comerț, industrie, arte, expansiune, civilizație* (Focșani, Romania, 1936), pp. 234–243.
19. Lázáros A. Méllios; *Ο εξισλαμισμός του μητροπολίτη Μογλενών-Πέλλης*, (Aridaia, 1986), Έκδοση της Ιεράς Μονής του Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ Αριδαίας αρ. (Publisher of the Monastery of Archangel Michael) 2, p. 37.
20. Kole Rošev]: *Македонските војводи низ собитијата и народните песни во Воденско и Мегленско* (Skopje, 1997), p. 70.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 22 (Muslims were granted taxation privileges).
22. Weigand, *Vlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung*, pp. XIV–XV.
23. Nikólaos Siókiis, "Η βλάχικη γλώσσα και η διατήρησή της," *Ελιμιακά*, Vol. 21, No. 48, Kozani (Greece) pp. 39–57, 2002.
24. Weigand, *Vlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung*, p. XXVI.
25. Kukúdis]: *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά*, p. 252.
26. Nijazi Limanoski, "Исламизацијата на областа Меглен," in Gjurovski, Stojan, Risto Nikolovski & Trajko Ogneovski, ed. *Folklorot i etnologijata na Mariovo i Meglen* (Prilep, Bitola 1994), pp. 267–273; Kukúdis, *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλάχομογλενά*, pp. 283–286; Méllios, *Ο εξισλαμισμός του μητροπολίτη Μογλενών-Πέλλης*, pp. 24–37; Pétros N. Papageorgíu, "Ο εξισλαμισμός του μακεδονικού χωριού Νοτίων," *Μακεδονικό Ημερολόγιο* [Makedoniko Imerologio], 1909, pp. 91–95.
27. Interview, Father Serafím, Archángelos (Greece 1999).
28. Interview, Hasan Ocak, Şarköy (Turkey 1997).
29. Johann G. von Hahn, *Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar* (Vienna, 1863), p. 262.
30. Capidan, "Istoria și graiul lor," pp. 17–18.
31. Kukúdis, *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά*, p. 283.
32. Rošev, *Македонските војводи низ собитијата и народните песни во Воденско и Мегленско*, p. 70.
33. Vasdravéllis, 1952, p. 261, quoted in Kukúdis, *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά*, p. 284.
34. Hüseyin Karakoç, Hasan Ocak and Ramadan Kara.
35. Méllios, *Ο εξισλαμισμός του μητροπολίτη Μογλενών-Πέλλης*; Papageorgíu, "Ο εξισλαμισμός του μακεδονικού χωριού Νοτίων," pp. 91.
36. Capidan, "Istoria și graiul lor," pp. 15–16.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
38. Kukúdis, *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά*, pp. 283–285.
39. Hâciu, *Aromânii. Comerț, industrie, arte, expansiune, civilizație*, pp. 109, 238; Capidan, "Istoria și graiul lor," p. 17; Ioan Nenițescu, *De la români din Turcia Europeană. Studiu etnic și statistic asupra armânilor* (Bucharest, 1895), p. 377.
40. Papageorgíu, "Το χωριό Χώστιανες του θέματος Μογλενών," p. 55.
41. Kukúdis, *Οι Ολύμπιοι Βλάχοι και τα Βλαχομογλενά*, p. 290.
42. Atanasov, "Le mégliéno-roumain de nos jours. Une approche linguistique," p. 6.
43. Hâciu, *Aromânii. Comerț, industrie, arte, expansiune, civilizație*, pp. 239–240.
44. Capidan, "Istoria și graiul lor," p. 11.
45. Atanasov, "Le mégliéno-roumain de nos jours. Une approche linguistique," introduction.

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46. Andrews, "Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey," pp. 101, 103.
47. For the Greek settlements in the area see Ángelos Germídis, "Τα Γανοχώρια της Ανατολικής Θράκης," *Θρακικά*, No. 46, 1972, p. 136.
48. Weigand, *Die Aromunen. Ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren*, pp. 27–28.
49. Capidan, "Istoria și graiul lor," p. 12.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 19.
51. Dominique Belkis, "Comment peut-on être Mégléno-roumain? La construction historique d'une identité ethnique," *Martor. Revue d'Anthropologie du Musée du Paysan Roumain*, No. 1, 1996, pp. 205–237; Thede Kahl, "Ethnizität und räumliche Verbreitung der Aromunen in Südosteuropa," *Münstersche Geographische Arbeiten*, Vol. 43, 1999, p. 186.